The Report of the Archdiocesan Commission of Enquiry into the Sexual Abuse of Children by Members of the Clergy
Volume Two
Background Studies and Briefs

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PREFATORY NOTE

The documents that make up this volume are intended to provide a background to the Main Report (Volume I) of the Commission. These documents were not written by the Commission but were either solicited or commissioned from independent agencies or individuals. "Child Sexual Abuse: A Review of the Literature", written by Cheryl Hebert and Carmel Wyse, was commissioned to provide a fuller overview of recent thinking about the complex and still enigmatic problem of child sexual abuse in our society.

Jocelyn Aubut, Chief of Psychiatry at Institut Pinel in Montreal, responded with another view of the problem and provides an analysis of the important issue of informed consent.

The third component of this volume is a series of briefs invited by and submitted to the Commission. These submissions represent the words of those individuals, institutions and agencies who cared enough and took the time to express their views - their beliefs, their faith, their advice and sometimes their anger - about the Church and its problems. They have profoundly affected the work of this Commission.

The study of opinions undertaken by Omnifacts Research assesses the views of Church and other related matters expressed by the youth of the Archdiocese - who are, after all, the Church's future - in the aftermath of the public disclosures of child sexual abuse.

The report by the chartered accountancy firm of Peat Marwick Thorne was commissioned, after allegations of financial mismanagement (related to the incidents of child sexual abuse), to assess the finances and financial management of three parishes in the Archdiocese.

Because all of these documents are independent contributions to the work of the Commission, they have not been altered except where necessary to conform to general editorial policy and format. The briefs, especially, were preserved in almost all cases as the original authors delivered them, some as formal documents and some as oral presentations to the public hearings conducted by the Commission during 1989. The words of the briefs are those of the people who submitted them; we therefore can take no responsibility for their contents, but record them as evidence submitted to the Enquiry.
## CONTENTS

**Child Sexual Abuse: A Review of the Literature,**  
*Cheryl Hebert and Carmel Wyse*

- Part One: Introduction ........................................ A1
- Part Two: Conceptual Framework ............................ A5
- Part Three: The Dynamics of Child Sexual Abuse .......... A41
- Part Four: Responding to the Problem .................... A93

- Report Presented to the Commission of Enquiry into  
  Sexual Abuse of Children, *Jocelyn Aubut* .................. B1

- Briefs Presented to the Commission of Enquiry into  
  Sexual Abuse of Children ...................................... C1

- A Report on Student Opinions Regarding Church and  
  Related Issues, *Omnifacts Research* ........................ D1

- A Financial Review of Selected Parishes,  
  *Peat Marwick Thorne Chartered Accountants* ............... E1
Child Sexual Abuse:
A Review of the Literature

Cheryl Hebert
Carmel Wyse
Part I

Introduction
Section One: Introduction

The problem of child sexual abuse has recently received great prominence as victims have spoken about their shocking and painful experiences and struggled to find support and healing. However, society's commitment and will to act on the problem and bring about a more caring and just environment for children is not as notable.

Until the mid-1970s, not much literature was available on child sexual abuse. Since then, however, the field of knowledge has developed rapidly in terms of the quantity of material that has been published. Literature on the subject ranges from first-person accounts to clinical textbooks to research articles. While there is a strong consensus that child sexual abuse is a widespread problem, there is considerable divergence of opinion on its nature. Issues related to the definition of the problem, the prevalence of the crime, its causes and treatments as well as the value of preventative techniques are debated throughout the literature. As well, numerous authors have commented that the quality of the research literature is variable (Finkelhor, 1986, 12; Torjman, 1989, 7; Haugaard and Reppucci, 1988, xiii). There is also an inconsistent use of terminology which results in uncertainty about whether the same behaviours and outcomes are being studied or observed in various published materials. (We have attempted to alleviate this problem in the present report by adopting a consistent use of terms outlined in Section Two.)

The atmosphere of disorder and struggle, both in the real world of victims and communities, as well as in the literature, is the backdrop for the present report. We hope the report will contribute in some small measure to understanding the complexity of issues related to child sexual abuse and consequently provide help to victims.

1.1 TERMS OF REFERENCE

In May, 1989, as a result of charges of sexual abuse of children being laid against a number of priests in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, the Archbishop of St. John's established the Special Commission of Enquiry into Sexual Abuse of Children by Members of the Clergy. The Commission was required to address five mandates which are listed in Appendix A.

In an effort to make informed recommendations on the mandates, the Commission hired independent researchers to prepare a comprehensive yet general overview of factors influencing child sexual abuse. The present review is the result of that effort to provide a summary educational brief, based on the current child sexual abuse literature, to the commissioners for their deliberations. The terms of reference for the research project are given below:

1. The primary purpose of the research project on "Sexual Abuse of Children and Adolescents" is to provide background information to members of the Special Commission of Enquiry for preparation of their final report to the Archdiocese. The information, gathered and assembled in documented report form, will present an understanding of the factors underlying the sexual abuse of children and adolescents.

2. The objectives of the research will be to
(a) identify and discuss the known historical, cultural, political, legal, psychological, societal and familial factors which contribute to the sexual abuse of children and adolescents, with attention to any factors unique to the Newfoundland situation;
(b) identify and discuss what has contributed to the lack of detection and reporting of the sexual abuse of children and adolescents; and
(c) identify and discuss possible methods for, and approaches to, identifying and preventing the sexual abuse of children and adolescents.

Although the literature review was undertaken with the needs of the Commission in mind, the authors of the review anticipate that the document will be of value to concerned readers outside of the Commission.

1.2 BACKGROUND

When work began on the present report, the Commission researcher had already compiled a bibliography and developed a library of material. That material was then reviewed, and an assessment of gaps in certain subject areas resulted in a further accumulation of resource literature. Local and national contacts were also made with professionals and relevant people working in the field. Certain primary source documents, such as briefs and transcripts that had been read by or submitted to the Commission, were also examined.

As mentioned previously, the quantity of information available on child sexual abuse is enormous and a considerable amount of material was reviewed for this report. Figure 1 (Appendix B) is an organizational framework that was developed as part of the process of viewing the literature in one area: sexual offenses. The figure has been included as an illustration of the process used to decide which features needed notation and definition.

Working drafts were submitted to the Commission two occasions in order to facilitate incorporation of information from the literature of child sexual abuse into their overall report.

Working drafts were reviewed by two counsellors who have worked extensively with victims and offenders. They were Jocelyn Greene, Program Coordinator at Emmanuel House, a residential centre which also offers specialized programs to the community, and Susan McConnell, the Consultant Supervisor for Adolescent Programs at the Thomas Anderson Centre, Janeway Hospital.

In summary, our review of the literature and subsequent identification of important issues seemed limitless. While we acknowledge that certain issues may have warranted more attention, we have endeavoured to present as comprehensive a review as possible within the time available.

1.3 STRUCTURE

The report is divided into four parts and each of these is subdivided into major sections. Part I is this introduction, and Part II provides a general overview of the context of child sexual abuse. It includes Section Two, which introduces the terms and classifications used in both the present review and in the other literature. It also provides information related to the prevalence of the problem and contains general demographic information about victims and offenders. Section Three looks at the historical, social and cultural context of child sexual abuse. Some historical highlights are first presented in an effort to provide examples of how society has dealt with child sexual abuse in the past. A discussion on contemporary issues examines topics related to child sexual abuse in modern society.

Part III narrows the focus of the review to the victim and the offender and the dynamics of child sexual abuse. Section Four explains some of the theories on offenders and their behaviour. It also attempts to provide a more detailed picture of the characteristics of offenders and the approaches they use with their victims. The section concludes with an explanation of issues related to treatment of convicted sex offenders. Section Five focuses on the victims, their vulnerability and their experience of abuse. Section Six discusses the impact of child sexual abuse. Although the impact upon the victim is the primary focus of the material, the impact upon the family and the community is also presented.

Part IV (Section Seven) provides information related to developing general strategies to deal with the problem of child sexual abuse. It emphasizes the importance of all segments of society taking ownership
Figure 1: An Organizational Framework for Review of the Literature on Sex Offenses

Sex Offenders

Categorization of Offender Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational Child Molester</th>
<th>Preferential Child Molester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- regressed</td>
<td>- seduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- morally indiscriminate</td>
<td>- introverted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- sexually indiscriminate</td>
<td>- sadistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- inadequate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressed</th>
<th>Fixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- strength of sexual interest
- exclusivity of sexual interest

Relationship to Victim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intra-familial/Extra-familial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- incest (blood relative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- extended family (other blood relative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- guardianship position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- adoptive family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- and in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- persons in position of trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- friends and acquaintances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- strangers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- strangers

Approach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex Pressure</th>
<th>Sex Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- intimidation</td>
<td>- exploitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- manipulation</td>
<td>- aggressive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Types of Child Sex Abuse

- incest
- pedophilia
- pederasty
- exhibitionism
- molestation
- violent rape
- sex rings
- child prostitution
- child pornography

Acts

Non-Contact

- exhibitionism
- voyeurism
- solicitations

Contact

- kissing
- fondling
- masturbation
- oral-genital
- anal penetration
- vaginal penetration

Child Pornography

Child Prostitution

Pederasty Groups
of the problem and developing a long term commitment to change attitudes, values, behaviours and structures that contribute to the problem. Fundamental principles for approaches are outlined and the specific needs of victims, families, offenders and communities are presented. Part IV concludes with a description of prevention strategies and summarizes the authors' conclusions based upon review of the literature. The most important messages about the problem of child sexual abuse and the needs of those affected by it are emphasized in this concluding portion.

A Note on Pronoun Use

Since the vast majority of child sexual abusers are men, throughout the report we have referred to the offenders as he. While most victims are female, the victimization of males is receiving increasing attention; thus, the pronouns he and she are used interchangeably when referring to victims.

Use of the Term Child

The word child, as used in the term child sexual abuse, includes adolescents as well as younger children.
Part II
Conceptual Framework
Section Two: Conceptual Framework

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature on child sexual abuse is replete with terms, definitions and research data on the extent of the problem and its relevant characteristics. The present section introduces these aspects of the problem. Collectively they provide a conceptual framework from which to begin understanding child sexual abuse and its many complexities.

2.2 TERMS

2.2.1 Problem

The term most widely used in the literature is *child sexual abuse*, although authors such as Finkelhor (1979, 17) prefer *sexual victimization* while Goldstein (1987, 27) uses *sexual exploitation*. Other terms in the literature are *sexual harassment, sexual assault, child rape and sexual misuse*. Although the particular designation might seem to be insignificant or arbitrary, a particular term may influence the way people think of the crime. Sexual assault, for instance, carries a connotation of violence, while sexual harassment may suggest something much more benign. The use of either phrase might result in an inappropriate understanding of the problem. Finkelhor (1979, 17) comments on several of the terms:

Sexual assault is not a good term because many of the experiences we will be discussing do not involve physical violence. Similarly, child rape is not accurate because of many of the differences from rape which we described earlier. Child molestation is a classic term, but it is too closely associated with the stereotype of the stranger in the schoolyard and does not appear to encompass the many family members who are involved. Sexual harassment is too weak, and sexual misuse makes the child sound like a thing, not a person....

Sexual abuse is a concept based on a parallel with physical abuse, emphasizing its aggressive and hostile motivation. But sexual abuse is not necessarily aggressive and hostile. We favour the term sexual victimization, which emphasizes that the child is victimized by age, naivety, and relationship to the older person rather than by the aggressive intent of the abusive behaviour.

It seems that certain terms, like *sexual abuse* and *sexual victimization*, might be used in a broad sense while others, such as *sexual exploitation* are better used when speaking of specific activities involving monetary arrangements, such as child pornography or child prostitution.

For the purposes of the present review the term *child sexual abuse* will be used as the general designation for the broad range of sexually abusive, exploitive and inappropriate behaviours committed on children, which form the subject of this review. It is the term most widely used in the literature and by local professionals, media personnel and the public.

2.2.2 Offenders

The terms most often used in the literature to refer to perpetrators of child sexual abuse are *sex offender, child molester and pedophile*.

Review of the literature is complicated by the inconsistent use of different terms for perpetrators. It is difficult to compare and consolidate articles because of the uncertainty about whether or not the authors are talking about the same type of offender. For example,
Kempe and Kempe (1984) discuss pedophilia but during their discussion they change the term they use to child molester. Goldstein (1988, 27-29) uses the term child molester to write about the broad range of offenders but also writes about pedophiles as a broad category. It is unclear whether or not child molester and pedophile hold the same meaning for these authors. Araji and Finkelhor (1988, 90) choose to use pedophilia in the broad sense to take into account the behaviour of any individual who has had sexual contact with children, including incest offenders. The choice of that particular term by these authors is unusual since many authors, researchers and therapists define pedophilia in more exclusive terms. The current trend is toward general terms, such as child molester or sex offender, broad terms that are intended to include the complete range of offenders. Divisions, or the application of more narrow terms, such as pedophile, exhibitionist, violent rapist, are then made based upon attempts to isolate distinguishing characteristics.

The term of reference for perpetrators in this review is sex offender. Reasons for this choice are:

1. Sex offender is a term that allows for primary consideration of the similarities among offenders rather than the differences.

2. Pedophilia denotes an exclusive category of offenders and, although it is almost a general slang term used by law enforcers and the public, it still reflects a narrow psychiatric view of child sexual abuse. Overuse of the term can contribute to a denial process that views offenders as sick, untreatable and "not like the rest of us".

3. Child molester encourages the inaccurate image of the stereotypical abuser — the old man in a dirty coat who fondles children.

4. Sex offender is more frequently used in the current literature (Marshall, 1987; Mayer, 1988; Badgley, 1984; Glaser and Frosh, 1988).

5. Sex offender also implies viewing the act as an offense with legal consequences.

2.2.3 Victims

There is some debate regarding the appropriate term for people who have been sexually abused. The debate centres on two terms — victim and survivor. According to the Webster dictionary, victims are people who, through no fault of their own, have been acted on and usually adversely affected by a force or agent beyond their control; or who have been subjected to oppression, hardship or mistreatment. A survivor is someone who continues to exist or live after the event and who continues to function and/or prosper.

While the term victim is predominant in the literature, the term survivor is preferred by some individuals who have been abused and by those helping them deal with the abuse. They feel that survivor is a positive term which implies the strength of the abused person, not only to have dealt with the abuse, but to have moved beyond the abusive situation.

Although survivor is applicable to many individuals who have experienced child sexual abuse, we have chosen the term victim for the present review for the following reasons: It reflects more clearly the experience and impact of child sexual abuse, particularly for those victims currently dealing with the effects of the abuse and experiencing the isolation and stigmatization of secondary or institutionalized victimization. It also clearly conveys that the responsibility for the abuse lies outside the victim. Finally, sexual abuse victim is the term with widest local use.

2.3 DEFINITIONS

2.3.1 Child Sexual Abuse

If the terms themselves influence our reaction to child sexual abuse, the specific definitions that have been attached to them will be even more important. It is necessary to realize that not all people are talking about the same behaviour or event, even when they do use the same term, such as child sexual abuse. Throughout the literature — and society in general — various definitions have been developed to accommodate the different needs of such diverse groups as official agencies that deal with statistics on child sexual abuse, applied researchers, health care professionals, academics, legal professionals, law enforcement personnel and theoreticians. Another user
of such terminology, although usually less explicit and formal in its definitions, is the general public. Again, as with the term used, public definitions are important because how the community defines the term will in part determine how the community responds to the disclosures of the victims. The issue of how the public defines sexual abuse will be discussed later in this section.

The creation of definitions involves consideration of a number of factors that are important in order to convey an understanding of child sexual abuse. Glaser and Frosh (1988, 5-7) outline a number of these factors. First, the intention of the abuser is an important component; the definition should indicate that sexual abuse is something carried out by adults seeking their own gratification and using the child as the means to an end. Second, the age and developmental level of the child and the abuser are factors. While some definitions, especially legal and research definitions, delineate a specific age difference between the victim and the abuser; a separation that exists because of a developmental imbalance is often more crucial than an age difference in the determination of abuse. Children are simply unaware of the social, psychological and often physical consequences of sexual encounters with adults. Third, there is the factor of the power differential that exists between the adult and the child, whether it be physical and/or linked to dependency or authority.

The last two factors are central to the child's inability to give "informed consent" — a factor considered essential to a definition of child sexual abuse. Finkelhor (1984, 17-19) maintains that an act is abusive if not consented to and children, because of their inexperience in sexual matters and their position relative to adult authority, are not able to give informed consent to sex with an adult. Glaser and Frosh's (1984, 7) description of the dependency relationship between children and adults clearly points out that informed consent is impossible within the context of adult-child sexual encounters:

... children are structurally dependent on adults; that is, their dependence is one of the factors that defines them as children. Sexual activity between an adult and a child thus always designates an exploitation of power; in this respect, it differs from other forms of sexual encounter and can never be anything but abuse. Thus, there is no need to name the power relationship in definitions of child sexual abuse, as it is already implicit in the status of the child qua child. This is an important argument, as it draws attention to some of the prime ethical justifications for intervening to prevent adult-child sexual contacts: dependency is a defining, necessary element of childhood, and children have a right to enter into it with trust. Contravention of this special right is always abuse. There is no other relationship in which the power-dependency structure is so clear and so universal, and in which trust is so integral to dependency; in addition, the degree of difference in physical and emotional maturity between (especially pre-puberty) children and their abusers is unique to child sexual abuse.

Educational Definitions. Writers trying to establish a general understanding of child abuse and its related issues have developed relatively broad definitions. Those that follow are typical:

Sexual abuse is defined as the involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not truly comprehend, to which they are unable to give informed consent, or that violate the social taboos of family roles. (Schechter and Roberage, 1976, cited in Kempe and Kempe, 1984, 9)

Sexual abuse can be defined as contacts or interactions between a child and an adult when the child is being used as an object of gratification for adult sexual needs or desires. It is an experience that interferes with, or has the potential for interfering with, a child's normal, healthy development. It is an experience with which the child may or may not be able to cope physically, intellectually or emotionally. (DeVine, 1977, 3)
Contacts or interactions between a child and an adult when the child is being used for the sexual stimulation of that adult or another person. (Sexual abuse may also be committed by a person under age 18.) (National Centre on Child Abuse and Neglect, United States, 1981, cited in Kempe and Kempe, 1984, 10)

A more detailed working definition was developed by the British Standing Committee On Sexual Abuse of Children (1984, cited in Glaser and Frosh, 1988, 5):

Any child below the age of consent may be deemed to have been sexually abused when a sexually mature person has, by design or by neglect of their usual societal or specific responsibilities in relation to the child, engaged or permitted the engagement of that child in any activity of a sexual nature which is intended to lead to the sexual gratification of the sexually mature person. This definition pertains whether or not this activity involves explicit coercion by any means, whether or not it involves genital or physical contact, whether or not initiated by the child, and whether or not there is discernible harmful outcome in the short term.

Legal Definitions. The definitions of child sexual abuse found in legal statutes are more specific. The criteria most often used are the ages of the child and perpetrator and the type of act. While there is no legal definition of child sexual abuse per se there are sexual offenses in the Criminal Code of Canada that could apply to child sexual abuse. Some of these are

1. Sexual assault
2. Sexual interference
3. Invitation to sexual touching
4. Sexual exploitation
5. Indecent acts and indecent exposure
6. Incest
7. Buggery
8. Bestiality and associated offenses
9. Parent or guardian procuring sexual activity
10. Householder permitting sexual activity
11. Anal intercourse
12. Corrupting morals.

Sexual exploitation, as defined in Section 153.(1) and 153.(2) of the Criminal Code, is presented as an example of a legal definition of a type of child sexual abuse:

153.(1) Every person who is in a position of trust or authority towards a young person or is a person with whom the young person is in a relationship of dependency and who (a) for a sexual purpose, touches, directly or indirectly...any part of the body of the young person or (b) for a sexual purpose, invites, counsels or incites a young person to touch, directly or indirectly, with a part of the body or with an object, the body of any person, including the body of the person who so invites, counsels or incites and the body of the young person, is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.
153.(2) In this section, "young person" means a person fourteen years of age or more but under the age of eighteen years. (cited in Criminal Code of Canada, 135)

While this legal definition is specific about the age of the victim and the type of act, it also considers the relationship between the abuser and the victim, again referring to the existence of a power imbalance. The definition recognizes that adolescents can be in a position where they are vulnerable and can be psychologically exploited and/or coerced by people in authority, such as high school teachers, coaches or employers. Moreover, this section of the Criminal Code allows for the law to deal with sexual exploitation of males by males, whereas the former sections referred only to females between fourteen and sixteen. Although parts of the legal definitions (eg "for a sexual purpose") can invite debate, there is no doubt that legal definitions have an immediate and concrete impact upon both victims and abusers.

Research Definitions. Research definitions play an important role in determining the incidence and prevalence of child sexual abuse and in identifying other parameters, such as the most frequent type of
abuse, the sex and age of victims and of offenders, and how likely it is that the abuse will be reported. The reader should be aware, however, that the statistical data on child sexual abuse are affected by the different definitions employed by the researchers. For example, some studies combine contact abuse with non-contact abuse while others consider only the former; one study might include only incidents where adults are the perpetrators while another includes abuse by peers as well. Wyatt and Peters (1986) reviewed four of the most cited large-scale survey studies in order to assess the impact of differences in definition on the reported prevalence of child sexual abuse. They concluded that differences in prevalence figures can occur as a result of differences in definition.

Public Definitions. When the general public thinks of child sexual abuse, the range of definition is far wider than what is represented within the body of research studies. Nevertheless, people's understanding of the concept is vitally important because it will directly affect how seriously they take it and the kinds of sexual behaviour that they decide to report to authorities. Thus, while there is no one definition that is the "official definition", the general public does employ one. Their conclusion about when child sexual abuse has or has not occurred reflects their definition, and their opinions may also affect how society in general reacts to offenders and victims.

A study by Finkelhor and Redfield (1984, cited in Hammond and Reppucci, 1988, 24) using a series of vignettes provides some insight into how the public defines child sexual abuse:

Across vignettes, the investigators varied nine factors selected as sources of controversy in definitions: the age and sex of the victim, the age and sex of the perpetrator, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, the sexual act, consent, the consequence of the abuse, and the sex of the respondent. Using multiple regression analysis, they analyzed 9,839 vignettes from 521 adult respondents living in the Boston area and found that the age of the perpetrator, if under twenty, and the type of act committed were the most significant components of the definitions. If the perpetrator was over twenty, there was virtually no distinction by age, but teen perpetrators were viewed as less abusive than adults and more abusive than younger children. In terms of acts committed, intercourse, attempted intercourse, and genital fondling were all rated as highly abusive. Verbal abuse with a sexual theme was rated as the least abusive act. Other findings included less abusive ratings when the perpetrators were women, with male respondents rating situations with women perpetrators less serious than did the women respondents. The age of the victim had some influence, with less abusive ratings when the victims were either younger or older than pre¬ or early adolescence. The consequence of the abuse was the least important variable.

The matter of consent was explored in the above study and deserves special mention. It was evident that respondents took the child's behaviour into account when they assessed the degree of abuse. For example, when a child objected strenuously, respondents rated the vignette significantly higher than if the child acted in passive compliance. Consent conditions were taken into account even for children under age six — the youngest, the most naive, and the least able to consent. It is noteworthy that despite laws that define consent, and in spite of current knowledge that many children passively comply or accept sexual advances because they are intimidated by the adult's authority, the public apparently does feel that children bear substantial responsibility in matters of sexual contact with older persons. Given the influence of consent in the public definition, the recent response of a Vancouver judge to a case involving sexual abuse of a three year-old girl is not a surprise (Evening Telegram, November 27, 1989). In that case, the offender, a 33 year-old male, was found guilty but was given a suspended sentence and placed on probation for eighteen months. In his reasons cited for the suspended sentence, the judge said that the child had been sexually aggressive and that the offender was under the influence of alcohol and tired at the time of the offense. Thus, the perpetrator was found guilty because of legal definitions but the victim
was implicated because the judge lacked understanding of an issue central to sexual abuse, the inability of children to give informed consent.

In summary, definitions provide a starting point for research, legal intervention, prevention and education. The term child sexual abuse does not convey identical meaning for different interest groups because the implications of the label are different for each group. A review of the literature on definitions reflects the difficulties that writers and researchers have in isolating the essential nature of child sexual abuse. Haugaard and Reppucci (1985, 30) conclude their assessment of the status of definitions by questioning the efforts to do so:

We do not believe it is appropriate to develop a specific definition of child sexual abuse for use throughout the field (even if this were possible, which is doubtful). We do, however, need careful descriptions of specifically which types of child sexual abuse are being intervened with. Terms like child sexual abuse should be used sparingly and only in the most general sense, with detailed descriptions used whenever possible. For instance, phrases that are relatively specific, such as children molested by their parents, or even more specific, such as adolescents who have had intercourse with their fathers, provide much more meaningful information than does child sexual abuse victims. Keeping in mind how both our cultural values and our mores affect our definitions of child sexual abuse, we can understand why clear definitions are critical to developing a reasonable research, clinical, legal, and social agenda for the future.

2.3.2 Categories of Child Sexual Abuse

The categories of child sexual abuse which will be described include incest, pedophilia, pederasty, exhibitionism, molestation, sexual sadism, sex rings, child pornography and child prostitution. These categories are not legal classifications. Rather, they form a composite list based upon the numerous types of child sexual abuse discussed in the literature.

Incest. Incest is any physical sexual activity between family members. The term family is not confined to blood relations. It can also be used in the broad sense to include step-parent, non-biological siblings and other relatives who do not permanently live with the victim, such as uncles, aunts and grandparents. Incest can occur from infancy to adulthood and between age mates as well as between adults and children. The present review attends only to the latter.

Incest often begins with fondling when the victim is five to seven years of age. Victims are usually the eldest females. Fondling can progress to full intercourse by the time the victim is pubescent. Incestuous families can be multi-problem families such as those found in study by Bagley (1969, cited in Mayer, 1985, 12):

He analyzed a sample of cases of intrafamilial molestation and found five distinct family types: 1) families with emotionally weak mothers where the daughters assume spousal roles, 2) families where roles and boundaries are confused and blurred, 3) families with the presence of severe pathology in one or more parents, 4) families with a fixed, compulsive pedophile as parent, and 5) families where the perpetrator is diagnosed as an antisocial personality.

While it is useful to acknowledge some of the social and situational factors that mitigate the onset of incest, it is also noteworthy that many incestuous families appear to be normal to outside viewers. It is also important to acknowledge clearly the responsibility of offenders for their behaviour. Adele Mayer (1965, 12-13) provides this illustration:

In one group therapy session involving ten incestuous offenders, participants were asked why they had molested their daughters and stepdaughters. One offender replied, "It's a disease. It's been in my family for over 50 years". Among the other offenders, other rationalizations abounded. However, once the impasse of denial was broken, most of the participants believed that their behaviour was motivated by three factors: anger, power and desire. Several of the men admitted that they molested their daughters simply because they
wanted to and chose to act on their desires. Others said they felt angry and powerless. These men unconsciously chose to displace that anger on helpless children over whom they felt control.

It is also important not to view incest in isolation from other types of child sexual abuse. Mayer (1988, 12) also comments on this separation:

A deeper understanding of incest offenders, may reveal that they share many of the characteristics of other sexual offenders and that too heavy a focus in their therapy has been placed on the understanding of family dynamics. In recent years, for example, research has shown that incestuous offenses often begin when the victims are toddlers or younger and that the children frequently are physically hurt or seriously frightened by the victimization. Furthermore, incest offenders have histories of undetected sexual offenses besides incest, and some of the offenders are, in fact, pedophiles with a decided sexual preference for children.

Pedophilia. Pedophilia and pedophile are two terms that are generally overused, both in the literature and by the public and professionals, to refer to child sexual abuse. Pedophilia literally means "love of child". The German psychiatrist von Krafft-Ebing coined the term in the late Nineteenth Century to describe a psychosexual perversion in which an adult is erotically attracted to children. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM 111) of the American Psychiatric Association defines pedophilia as "the act or fantasy of engaging in sexual activity with prepubertal children as a repeatedly preferred or exclusive method of achieving sexual excitement" (cited in Goldstein, 1987, 20).

The term pedophilia does not indicate a kind of activity, rather it denotes that a child, usually of prepubescent age, must be the participant-object in the activity. Pedophilia can involve any of the acts listed in the following section of this report, although pedophiles usually engage in the more immature forms of sexual gratification, such as genital fondling and masturbation.

Pedophiles are classified as heterosexual if they are interested in girls, homosexual if they are interested in boys or bisexual if they interact with both. This does not mean they have the same orientation towards adults. The belief that, among sexual abusers, it is homosexuals who are particularly attracted to children is not substantiated in the literature. For example, Nicholas Groth (1978, 4) screened a random sample of 175 males convicted of sexual assault against children. He found that the child offenders who engaged in adult sexual relationships were heterosexual. Those offenders who selected underage male victims either had always done so exclusively, or had regressed from adult heterosexual relationships. There were no adult-oriented homosexual offenders in his sample. West (1987, 66-67) also reports that homosexually oriented offenders against boys are usually true pedophiles, interested only in the young. Men who have enjoyed sexual contacts with other adult males are rare among offenders against boys.

A pedophile may molest a child only once. Others seek a long-term relationship with a child or a number of children. Many pedophiles victimize many children over a number of years. Abel (1982) found that the group of child molesters he studied were responsible for molesting an average of 68.3 victims. Walson (1984) found that heterosexual pedophiles had an average of 73 victims each and homosexual pedophiles, an average of 30 (cited in Goldstein, 1988, 32).

The literature suggests that, other than being primarily males, there are no other outstanding demographic characteristics of pedophiles. Socioeconomic status varies and they may be divorced, married, separated or single. The majority are over 18, although many pedophiles do report that their first pedophilic acts occurred in adolescence.

In addition, the literature indicates that a significant number of pedophiles may have been sexually abused as children. Groth (1979) reports that 47% of the sexual offenders who showed a persistent and exclusive preference for children reported being sexually victimized as children; this is double the percentage (23%) of those whose involvement with a child was a clear stress-precipitated departure from their preferred sexual relationships with adult women (Russell, 1984, 83).
As well, Keller (1986, 31) reports that there are age peaks for pedophilic activity: 1) late adolescence and early 20s, 2) in the 30s, which is the largest group and 3) the elderly person group, which is the smallest, contrary to the popular notion of a sexual offender as a "dirty old man".

**Pederasty.** Pederasty, defined as sexual activity between mature and immature males, has its roots in ancient Greek society. Pederastic relationships supposedly involved more than sexual activity and were considered a form of education for life in general. The pederast was expected to be a counsellor, teacher and confidant. Sex was to be non-coercive and boys were expected to engage in heterosexual encounters outside of the pederastic relationship.

Pederasty still exists today and forms the base of a distinct underground and subculture of sex offenders who promote the philosophy that sex between adults and children is both desirable and advantageous. They say they believe that what they are doing is right for the child, that sexual relationships between adults and children can promote healthy sexual and emotional development.

West (1987, 61-68) describes modern-day pederasts who have spent their lifetimes engaging young boys in sexual activity and promoting the freedom to do so. He mentions one offender who before his arrest at age 49 had contact with 781 boys. Some pederasts live undetected in the community and are professionally successful and respected; their lives are secretive and their approaches to boys are subtle and manipulative.

Goldstein (1988, 23-27) describes the aims and activities of present day pedophile groups who promote a pederastic philosophy. Some well-known groups include:

1. the North American Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), founded in Boston in 1978, is a lobbying organization which argues that adult society has no right to limit a child's right to a sexual partner;
2. the Los Angeles-based Rene Guyon Society has the motto "sex by 8 is too late"; and
3. the British Pedophilic Information Exchange wants to lower the age of consent to four.

These groups have banded together to advocate sex with children of both genders and to abolish laws prohibiting such conduct. Goldstein (1988, 26) states that the greatest harm to society from these groups comes from the fact that they are a source of support and validation for child molesters and pedophiles. These groups and the material they publish help child molesters to justify their behaviour and feel better about themselves.

**Exhibitionism.** Exhibitionism is the repeated exposure of the genitals or the entire nude body. Masturbation sometimes accompanies exposure. Exhibitionism is largely limited to male offenders and, when the victims are children, the behaviour can be a prelude to more serious abusive acts. The age of onset for exhibitionistic behaviour is usually at puberty, with peak incidences occurring between the ages of fifteen and thirty (Leser, 1975, cited in Mayer, 1988, 13). It is believed that the act of exposure is intended to induce fear in victims and this is the means by which the exhibitionist is sexually aroused. Although exhibitionism has traditionally been viewed as a benign and isolated act, researchers are now finding the behaviour in the histories of more serious offenders, such as rapists. Exhibitionistic behaviours can also be the beginning of a seduction process used by offenders who have known their victims; such behaviours could be inappropriate nudity, disrobing in front of the victim, or exposure with explicit attention being directed to the genitals.

**Molestation.** Molestation is a rather vague term which usually includes a range of acts, such as kissing, fondling, masturbation and/or oral-genital contact. Use of the term child molester can denote the dishevelled stranger who fondles children in a playground, or it can refer to the total range of perpetrators of child sexual abuse.

**Violent Rape.** Rape can include genital, anal and oral sex. In violent rape, the rapist forces the child to engage in sexual activity by using threats and/or physical force; victims experience the rape as a life-threatening situation. The key element is the combination of physical aggression and the sex act. Groth (1982, cited in Goldstein, 1987, 19) differentiates between non-violent child molesters who coax or
pressure the child into sexual activity and violent child rapists who overpower and threaten to harm their victims.

**Sexual Sadism.** This type of abuse is the inflicting of bodily injury on the child as a means of obtaining sexual excitement. It is the violence that arouses the offender. Violent rape can be part of sadistic victimization. This type of sexual abuse of children is rare in comparison to other types, but it is the category that quickly captures the attention of the media and the concern of the public.

**Sex Rings.** A child sex ring includes an adult perpetrator or perpetrators and several children who are simultaneously involved in repeated sexual activity and are aware of each other’s participation. Reports from the U.S. and the United Kingdom (Belanger et al., 1984; Wild and Wynne, 1986 — cited in Wild, 1989, 553) have suggested that child sex rings may be common and result in the abuse of large numbers of children. Kempe and Kempe (1984, 43) point out that the adult offenders who establish sex rings often have some plausible reason for contacts with a group of children, such as leading a sports activity. Children are initially persuaded to join in sexual activities by the offer of money, gifts or special activities; they may be persuaded while under the influence of drugs or alcohol provided to them by the offender(s). Peer group pressure as well as threats and the children’s own fear can keep them involved in the secret activity. In the case of children who have run away from home, money is an important factor.

A study of sex rings by Wild (1989, 556) showed that the offenses included fondling and masturbation, oral, anal and vaginal intercourse, and production of pornography. Burgess (1984, cited in Wild, 1989, 557) studied 55 rings identified by several agencies throughout the U.S. between 1976 and 1984. She categorized three types of rings according to the degree of organization and commercialization: solo, transitional or syndicated. Solo rings usually comprised one adult and fewer than ten children. Transitional types involved several adult perpetrators in activities that were becoming organized and in some cases developing into commercial enterprises. Syndicated rings were truly commercialized and supplied a network of customers with child pornography and/or sexual services.

**Child Pornography and Child Prostitution.** Child pornography and child prostitution are part of the larger picture of child sexual abuse. Child pornography is the depiction in photography, video or film of any material involving minors in sexual acts alone, or with other children, adults or animals. The distribution or exhibition of such material does not have to entail profit.

Child prostitution involves children participating in sex acts for profit and with frequently changing partners. The practice involves boys and girls. Sometimes children are acting on their own or often adults manage their activities and receive the profits. Child pornography and child prostitution are discussed in more detail in the section on current socio-cultural issues.

The types of abuse listed in the above categories are not exclusive. Abusive activities, such as molestation, prostitution, and pornography, can occur concurrently and often do. As well, some offenders exhibit a singular pattern of abuse, while others may commit a number of offenses. Marshall and Barbaree (1988, 3) state,

Clinical experience indicates that most sex offenders, although only apprehended for a particular offense (e.g. rape, exhibitionist or child molestation), have often committed several other types of offenses. Abel, Mittleman and Becker (1985) have documented this multiple paraphilia feature of sexual offenders showing that, of rapists, 50.6% had molested children, 29.2% had exposed themselves, 20.2% had engaged in voyeurism and 12.4% were also frotteurs [those who obtain sexual satisfaction by rubbing up against another person]. Similarly, of the child molesters, 16.8% had also raped an adult female, 29.7% had exposed themselves, 13.8% were voyeurs and 8.6% were frotteurs.
2.3.3 Types of Abusive Acts

The abusive acts to which victims can be subjected fall into two general categories: non-contact abuse and contact abuse.

**Non-contact Abuse.** Non-contact abuse refers to encounters that do not involve physical interaction, such as exhibitionism, voyeurism and solicitations. In either a familial context or a known-person context, these activities can be part of the seduction process, although exhibitionism frequently stands alone as an abusive act.

**Exhibitionism** is the repeated exposure of the genitals or the entire nude body to achieve sexual arousal. (See previous section.)

**Voyeurism** is the act of looking or "peeping", without being seen, at people who are naked, disrobing, urinating, defecating or engaging in sexual activities. The intent is to derive sexual excitement, often accompanied by masturbation. Offenders appear to be limited to males. It can be either a singular act of abuse or part of a progression to other forms of abuse. (Both exhibitionism and voyeurism are found in the background of rapists.)

**Solicitations** involve propositioning a child to become involved in sexual acts. The approach can vary from repeated requests, urgent pleas, use of enticements or bribes, verbal threats or misrepresenting moral standards — all in an effort to get the child to submit to the sexual demands of the adult.

**Contact Abuse.** Contact abuse includes all activities that involve physical interaction between the offender and the victim. Again, all activities can occur singularly, in conjunction with other activities, or as part of a progression. The perpetrator is usually male and can be either familial, a relative, a friend, a neighbour, or a stranger. Specific types of contact abuse include:

- **kissing:** the adult kisses the child in a way reserved for adults — lingering, intimate, such as French kissing;
- **fondling:** the adult fondles the child's breasts, abdomen, genital area, inner thighs or buttocks and the child may reciprocate at the request of the adult;
- **masturbation:** the adult masturbates while the child observes, or vice versa; the adult and the child observe each other while masturbate themselves; or the adult and child masturbate each other;
- **oral-genital contact:** adult-to-child or child-to-adult fellatio or cunnilingus, that is, licking or sucking the genitals;
- **anal penetration:** object, digital and/or penile penetration of the anus or rectal opening; commonly known as sodomy or buggery; physical force utilized in the act varies with offenders;
- **vaginal penetration:** object, digital and/or penile penetration of the vagina. The degree of physical force varies.

2.4 THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

2.4.1 Incidence and Prevalence

Both incidence and prevalence data are used to inform professionals and the public about the extent of child sexual abuse.

**Incidence** is defined as the number of new cases of child sexual abuse in a given period of time, usually one year. Attempts to arrive at incidence are usually based on a count of cases reported to various agencies, such as police, hospitals, or child protection agencies.

Incidence figures, for the most part, reflect the incidence of reporting and recording. The difficulty in estimating the incidence of child sexual abuse is related to the small number of disclosures by victims (under-reporting will be addressed later) and to problems of definition and identification. (For example, police may not record a report as sexual abuse when, in fact, it is.)

The U.S.-based National Incidence Study (NCCAN, 1981, cited in Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor, 1986, 18) attempted to count all the cases that came to the attention of professionals and child protection agencies in 26 counties. The study estimated that 44,700 children were sexually abused in the year starting May 1979.

**Prevalence** is defined as the proportion of the population that has been sexually abused in the course of their childhood. Prevalence data is obtained by conducting random sample surveys of the general
population, or of sub-samples of the general population, such as college students. Some prevalence data has also been obtained from volunteer samples. Survey respondents are asked to recollect any experiences of sexual abuse in their childhood. Definitions of abuse and age restrictions are established by the researchers.

Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor (1986, 20-21) list eleven prevalence studies (including two Canadian studies) that are random population samples, ten of which were conducted in the 80s. Reported rates of child sexual abuse ranged from 6% to 62% for females and from 3% to 31% for males. Certainly, even the lowest rates indicate that child sexual abuse is far from an uncommon experience, but quoting such a range in estimating child sexual abuse does raise questions about the real extent of the problem. There are, of course, a number of factors that possibly account for such variation: 1) true differences in various segments of the population, 2) differences in definitions of sexual abuse (some studies used more restrictive definitions in terms of acts and ages, while others were quite broad, including all unwanted non-contact and contact abuse) and 3) methodological differences, such as how respondents were recruited, how they were interviewed, who interviewed them and how the questions were worded.

Two of the prevalence studies mentioned above were national surveys; one of these was Canadian. The U.S. survey by Lewis (1985, cited in Peters et al., 1988, 21) found a rate of 27% for females and 16% for males, based on a random sample of 1,374 females and 1,252 males. The Canadian National Population Survey (Badgley, 1984, 180) reported 53.5% for females and 22.3% for males, based on a random sample of 1,006 females and 1,002 males from 210 Canadian communities. Both researchers considered all types of contact and non-contact abuse; Lewis's age limit was 17, but Badgley did not restrict respondents to any age limit. Another Canadian study by Bagley and Ramsey (cited in Peters et al., 1986, 20), based on a random sample of 401 women in Calgary, investigated serious abuse prior to age 16 and found a rate of 22%.

A further explanation of Badgley's findings is warranted, given the high rate of reported abuse. While his data estimated the occurrence in the general population of a broad range of unwanted sexual acts, he also provided a breakdown of the acts into four categories. The category of "exposed to" was indicated by 19.7% of females and 8.9% of males; being "threatened" was reported by 10.5% of females and 5% of males; "unwanted touching of a sex part" of their bodies was experienced by 23.5% of females and 12.5% of males; and 22.1% of females and 10.6% of males indicated that someone had "tried to have sex with them or had forcibly sexually assaulted them". It is important to note that these categories are not exclusive; one victim could have experienced more than one type of abuse within a given incident or abusive relationship and thus be included in more than one category.

As well, Badgley's figures of 53.5% for females and 22.3% for males, are based on the number of respondents who indicated that they were victims of offenses at some point in their lives. For example, one in five persons reported being victimized for the first time as an adult. Still, children and youths did constitute a majority of the victims; 4 in 5 of the victims were under age 21 when the offenses occurred. While Badgley's figures reflect a high level of sexual violation in Canadian society, it is important to keep in mind that he is not only reporting abuse of children by adults, but also abuse by peers at any age. A further analysis of Badgley's data was done by Bagley in 1989. Using only the most serious category of abuse (unwanted touching of sexual areas, or attempted or achieved intercourse) Bagley found that 17.6% of the females and 8.2% of the males experienced such assault before their 17th birthday.

Peters et al (1988, 20) also list studies based on two other types of samples: volunteer samples and college student samples. The studies with volunteers were conducted between 1929 and 1953 and found rates between 20% - 24% for females and 5% - 9% for males. One of the college student surveys by Finkelhor (1979, cited in Peters et al., 1988, 20) is frequently quoted in the literature; he reported a rate of 19% and 9% for females and males respectively. Many researchers, including Finkelhor, speculate that the victimization rates are lower in studies involving college students because information about the long-term
effects of sexual abuse suggests that victims would have difficulty reaching college-level studies.

Reliance on prevalence figures obtained from random sample surveys, as opposed to reliance on incidence figures, is the better approach to making a general statement about the extent of sexual abuse. Even when incidence figures are extrapolated to the general population, the figure obtained is still lower than the lowest rates obtained in prevalence studies that employed samples from the general population.

2.4.2 Descriptive Data
(Features of Child Sexual Abuse)

Prevalence studies have also reported on other aspects of child sexual abuse, such as the sex and age of victims and offenders and/or the types of abusive sexual activity. A number of these findings are listed below in order to provide a brief description of some of the features of child sexual abuse.

- **Relationship between the Victim and the Offender**

  Child sexual abuse is usually carried out by someone known to the child. Lang and Frenzel (1988, 305) report that virtually all studies suggest that 75% to 80% of child sexual abuse occurs within the context of affinity systems — fathers, step-relatives, family friends, neighbours or authority figures. Badgley (1984, Summary, 2) found that one in four offenders is a family member or a person in a position of trust; about half are friends or acquaintances; and about one in six is a stranger.

- **Sex of Victims**

  Both girls and boys are victims of child sexual abuse. Most research shows a higher percentage of abuse of girls, as is indicated in the previous section. Badgley (1984, 197) found that for victims 15 years old and younger who had been sexually assaulted, 71.8% were females and 28.2% were males.

- **Age of Victims**

  Although a large number of child sexual abuse victims are young children. Most studies indicate that the average age of abuse victims is below puberty.

- **Age of offenders**

  Generally, sex offenders can be any age. Most are between the ages of 20 and 40, although offenders can be younger or older than this. Groth (1984, 4) found that all convicted offenders had committed their first known offense before the age of 40; over 80% were first offenders by the age of 30 and almost 5% had committed their first sexual assault before they reached adolescence. It is increasingly recognized that there are many adolescents who abuse children both inside and outside their families (Finkelhor, 1986, 201). Bagley (1988, 295) re-examined data from the Canadian National Population Survey (1984) and found juveniles under 18 were the assailants for 31% of females and 30% of males. While Bagley recognized that a common form of assault in adolescence was by other adolescents, he also reported that a substantial portion of the victims were less than 12 years old when they were first assaulted.
Where the Offenses Occur

Sexual abuse is most often committed in the home of the victim or the offender. Badgley (1984, 202); Lang and Frenzel (1988, 309).

Threats and Use of Force

A sizable number of sexually abused children are threatened, and/or physically assaulted before or during incidents of abuse. The three national surveys of public services compiled by Badgley (1984, 209) indicate that, on average, three in five sexually assaulted children under age 16 had either been threatened or physically coerced by assailants. Badgley and Frenzel (1988, 311) also reported two-thirds of convicted offenders frighten children in some way and approximately one-third punched, grabbed, shoved or spanked the children they abused.

Types of Sexual Acts

Child sexual abuse victims are subjected to a variety of abusive acts. The most common type of sexual activity, involving contact, reported in most surveys is nongenital or genital fondling (Haugaard and Reppucci, 1988, 49). Badgley (1984, Summary, 2) provides a listing of other types of abusive acts inflicted upon victims:

- Four in 100 young females had been raped.
- Two in 100 young persons had experienced attempts or actual acts of unwanted anal penetration by a penis, objects or fingers.
- Acts of exposure constituted the largest single category of sexual offenses committed against children. Cases were documented where such acts were followed by sexual assault.
- More than 40% of all sexual assault homicides are committed against children aged 15 and younger. Children are victims of three in four convicted sexual offenders found to be dangerous on sentencing by courts.
- Assaults by groups do occur. A total of 343 incidents involving two or more assailants were documented in the three national surveys in Badgley's report (1984); girls were victims in 89.5% of the cases and boys in 10.5%.

2.4.3 Under-reporting

Data provided by the Badgley Commission reveals that as many as three in four female victims and nine in ten male victims keep their abuse secret (cited in Dube et al., 1988, 6-7). According to Badgley (1984, 195):

The personal accounts received by the Committee and the findings of the National Population Survey show that a majority of the victims of sexual offenses either do not contact or are unknown to those public services whose responsibilities include the provision of assistance and protection for them. When victims seek help, they typically turn to only one of two or three services, most often to physicians or hospitals, the police, and less frequently to social services, including child protection agencies. As a result, the experience of sexually assaulted children known to these services only partially reflects the dimensions of the actual occurrence of these offenses committed against children and youths.

In 1956, a study by Landis (cited in DeVine, 1978, 4) which reported some form of childhood or adolescent sexual abuse in one third of the college students surveyed, also found that only half of the females disclosed the abuse to their parents, and only a tenth of the incidents were reported to the police. Of the males in the study, only one in six reported the incident to their parents. A study by Russell (1986, 85) reflects that as recently as 1984, under-reporting was still a problem; only 2% of the cases of intra-familial sexual abuse and 6% of the cases of extra-familial abuse in her study were ever reported to the police. As well, a comparison of incidence figures with the most conservative prevalence figures confirms that under-reporting is a consistent problem.

Reasons for under-reporting both by victims and their parents are varied:

Children may keep an assault secret from their families for many reasons. They may fear rejection, blame, punishment, or abandonment; they may feel their parents will not believe them. Even when the abuse is
disclosed, parents may be reluctant to report the incident to the police or social service agencies. This reluctance may stem from cultural taboos; fear of social censure, blame, or punishment; lack of physical injury to the child; or apprehension about involving the child in legal proceedings. The identity of the offender may also affect the parents' decision to report. They may fear retaliation by the offender, or they may feel a need to protect an offender who is a family member or friend, especially if reporting the offense could precipitate the loss of economic or emotional support. (DeVine, 1978, 4)

2.4.4 Is Child Sexual Abuse Increasing?

This question is frequently asked by researchers, professionals and especially by the public, when the issue affects them directly and receives heightened media interest as is presently the case in Newfoundland.

Increase in incidence of child sexual abuse is difficult to ascertain, for reasons mentioned previously. There is clearly an increase in the incidence of reporting of child sexual abuse. According to Badgley (1984, 127):

Prior to 1977, there were few references to child sexual abuse in the annual reports of provincial child protection services and few statistics listing these incidents. This situation changed in 1977 when 300 sexually abused children were identified. There was an increase of 431 per cent by 1980 when 1593 cases were reported. The rate of annual increase since 1977 has fluctuated sharply, rising by 6.3 per cent between 1977-78, 275.2 per cent between 1978-79, 33.0 per cent between 1979-80.

There is widespread agreement that the increase in reporting is due to growing public awareness of the problem, reporting laws and professional attention to the problem. Finkelhor (1979, 132) describes the social climate on reporting as follows: "what we are witnessing is a revolution in consciousness, a situation where, because of changed mores, professionals are more sensitive to identifying instances of sexual abuse, and victims and their families are more willing than before to seek help".

However, some authors caution against the assumption that the increases are due solely to reporting. Some arguments used to support the possibility of real increases include: increased availability of child pornography, increased socialization of children in advertising, a proliferation of all-sex-is-okay groups, a backlash against the equality struggles of women, untreated sexual abuse of male children, and increased step-families.

Russell (1986, 77-79) found that there has been an increase in incestuous and extra-familial abuse since the beginning of this century. Bagley (1989, 73-74) lists five prevalence studies, three of which indicate higher rates of abuse in the younger age categories of 18 to 30. Bagley does emphasize, however, the need for large random samples of specific age groups before prevalence studies can produce a more definitive answer to the question of whether or not child sexual abuse is increasing. The general opinion in the literature is that child sexual abuse is most likely not increasing, but the results of studies are not consistent.

2.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Child sexual abuse can be defined as contacts or interactions between a child and an adult when the child is being used as an object of sexual gratification for the adult. A child is abused whether or not this activity involves explicit force, whether or not it involves genital or physical contact, whether or not it is initiated by the child, and whether or not there is discernable harmful outcome.

Both girls and boys can be victims of child sexual abuse, and a large number of victims are young children below puberty. Sex offenders are usually men and can be of any age, although most are between the ages of 20 and 40. Child sexual abuse is usually carried out by someone known to the child, and offenses are most often committed in the home of the victim or the offender. Many children are threatened and/or physically assaulted before or during abusive incidents and can be subjected to a variety of abusive acts.
In 1984, the Canadian National Population Survey reported that 53.5% of females and 22.3% of males reported being abused at some time in their lives. Four-fifths of the victims were children and youths. The reported abuses included all types of contact and non-contact abuse, from exposure to sexual assault.

Knowing what child sexual abuse is must be the first step in understanding the problem. The following section attempts to broaden the reader's understanding of child sexual abuse by placing the problem in a broad socio-cultural framework that also encompasses the influence of history and long-standing attitudes and behaviours.
Section Three: The Child – Socio-cultural Issues

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous section defined child sexual abuse in a somewhat narrow technical framework based on a definition of the problem and a description of some of its features. The next step is to place the problem in a broader socio-cultural framework which recognizes child sexual abuse as a societal as well as an individual problem. Increasingly, theorists and clinicians are approaching child sexual abuse with a comprehensive analysis that incorporates both psychological and sociological factors.

It is useful to begin a broad analysis from an historical perspective. At first glance, historical examples of child sexual abuse may appear unrelated to a discussion of current socio-cultural issues. However, placing them together demonstrates that abusive practices and attitudes have existed throughout history and, while the status of children has certainly improved over time, our modern society still maintains attitudes and practices that promote the continuation of child sexual abuse. This demonstration of historical continuity is an important method of raising awareness about the pervasiveness of child sexual abuse and the underlying roots of the problem.

3.2 A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

The historical highlights which follow illustrate three important themes. First, denial of the existence and/or significance of child sexual abuse has persisted throughout time. It was not until the 1970s that recognition of the problem was permanently established. Still, denial is the response of many people who have to confront the problem personally or professionally.

Second, throughout history, abusive practices related to children have existed in varying degrees within normative societal behaviours. Pederasty and the Inquisition are outstanding historical examples of times when abusive practices were closely linked to normative or acceptable behaviours. The success of the pornography industry is a current illustration. Third, the dominance of patriarchal values, as evidenced in the power and control experienced by men, particularly fathers, has influenced child sexual abuse and society's response, or rather lack of response, to the problem. Patriarchy, generally defined as male domination, is a form of social order based on inequality, subordination and dependence. The persistence of incest, violence and rape in modern society bears witness to the persistence of patriarchy.

The sources for this historical outline are books or articles by authors who are researching or writing about child sexual abuse. With the exception of Rush (1980), whose complete book is devoted to the history of society in relation to child sexual abuse, the other sources (Kempe, 1984; Russell, 1988; De Young, 1982; Crewdson, 1988) are histories encapsulated as introductions to books or articles about other aspects of child sexual abuse.

Early Times. Writings as old as five thousand years indicate the existence of child sexual abuse. The more recent records of the Bible and the Talmud discuss sex between men and little girls in marriage, prostitution, rape and slavery. The ownership of women and children by men is reflected in the familiar commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife nor his ox, nor his maidservant or anything that is thy neighbour's" (Exodus 20:17, quoted in Rush, 1980, 18). Females were sexual property, a perception which caused all heterosexual relationships to be defined in
financial terms. For example, marriage involved the purchase of the daughter from her father for fifty pieces of silver; rape was the theft of her virginity for which the father could be financially compensated; and prostitution was the sale of sex for profit by her master.

What is outstanding about the marital arrangements of early times is that usually the daughter was very young, aged three to twelve, and sex with these children was normative behavior, under the control of fathers.

There is evidence that the concept of the female as sexual property has persisted, relatively undisturbed, until recent times. In Canada up until 1982, it was not illegal for a man to rape his wife. As well, countries such as Israel and India have only begun to challenge the custom of child marriages within the past three or four decades.

Early Greeks. Ancient Greek civilization provides an outstanding example of the existence of an abusive practice within normative structures: the state-advocated custom of sexual relationships between mature and immature males — pederasty. It was not homosexuality that was held in esteem, it was sex between men and boys. Once a boy matured, custom demanded that the lovers part, and the boy now entering manhood was expected, in turn, to pursue women and other young boys. Pederasty had other functions, such as raising Greek soldiers in accordance with government specifications. It was also the prime method of education, with each adult male expected to act as teacher and counselor to a boy and each boy to be paired off with an adult at age twelve. While the custom appeared to have certain altruistic motives (often emphasized by pederasts or pedophilic groups today), literature from that time reflects sexual corruption. Young boys were valued for charm and sexual appeal, raped and forced into sexual slavery, and often castrated to maintain femininity. "Greek men wanted in their boys what they wanted in women: hairless, soft, powerless immaturity" (Rush, 1980, 53).

The Romans. The concept of patriae potestas, or the power of the father, dominated civil and criminal law in early Roman society. It gave the father of the household unlimited power and granted him the role of punisher within the family. It was a truly patriarchal family system in which wives, slaves and children were the possessions of fathers who demanded complete obedience and conformity.

The Middle Ages To The Eighteen Century. During the Middle Ages, children were increasingly seen as separate human beings, albeit miniature adults. The first pediatric textbook was written during the Middle Ages, and children were also accorded some protection under the law. Still, abusive practices prevailed. Although the possibility of child rape was acknowledged in the 16th century, 10 was the legal age at which a child could consent to sex, and history records offenders being freed because rape had taken place shortly after the victim's 10th birthday. Sex with a child under three in the Hebrew tradition and under seven for Christianity still was considered "invalid", which meant it was legally ignored (Rush, 1980, 27).

The latter part of the Middle Ages saw the beginning of the witch hunts which took place from the 15th to the 18th centuries. In 1484, Pope Innocent VIII issued orders empowering the judicial arm of the Church, known as the Inquisition, to find, imprison, torture and execute witches. The Malleus Maleficarium, a guideline that named the reasons for which women and children could be found guilty of witchcraft, was created. Among the reasons for condemnation as a witch was copulation with the devil. There was a pervasive belief in evil spirits and in the ability of women and children to have sexual relations with them.

History recounts the atrocities of the witch hunts, not in statistical terms but in anecdotes, the reporting of which is useful to bring home the suffering experienced by individuals:

In England, Jennie Device, age eight, after incriminating her mother, burned with her as a witch. In the same country both Mary Hicks, age nine, and her mother, Elizabeth, were burned at the stake. In America, five-year-old Sara Good was found capable of "casting an eye" and was imprisoned in chains with her mother. In Luther's Germany, in 1628, Anna Rausch, age twelve, Sybille Lutz, eleven, and little Murchin, eight and a half, all confessed to having sexual relations with
the incubus (male devil). Sybille and Anna were put to death, but Murchin and some other children were remanded to their fathers for reformation. In a letter to an unidentified friend in 1624, the chancellor to the Prince-Bishop of Wurtzburg stated that "there have been 800 children of three and four who are said to have intercourse with the devil. I have seen children of seven put to death". (Rush, 1980, 39-39)

Sex offenders utilized the cover of the male demon, and victims found it simpler to believe, or necessary to believe, that demon spirits rather than flesh-and-blood human beings had abused them. Victims were doubly victimized by abusive acts and the Church’s response. Unfortunately, the time of the Inquisition is a terrible example of the co-existence of child sexual abuse within a normative code of ethics and behaviour.

The Industrial Revolution and the Victorian Era. The Nineteenth Century saw unprecedented industrial advance and scientific achievement. There was also disruption to families, crowding of cities, the abuse of workers (including child workers), and the proliferation of commercial sex in the form of prostitution and pornography. The Lancet, an English medical journal, estimated that in London alone, there were 6,000 brothels and 80,000 prostitutes. Prostitution was seen as a necessary evil — a method of servicing the male sex drive. Dr. William Acton, a renowned Nineteenth-Century British physician, authority on venereal diseases, prostitution and human sexuality, declared that women were happily sexless but it was impossible to exaggerate the force of the male sex drive; any suppression of this drive would reduce a man to a pitiable condition (Rush, 1980, 61). Thus the use of prostitutes as well as the sexual violation of children was tolerated. Records of the time, although considered inadequate, indicated an alarming increase in sexual assaults upon children.

The Victorians have become notorious for preaching one thing and doing another where sex was concerned. In spite of the moral and religious reformation, the growing predominance of manners, the child-labour laws and the gradual recognition that having sex with an adult was probably not in the child's best interests, a gap remained between word and deed. Crewdson (1988, 36) provides an example of the consequences of Victorians' "less progressive" activities:

In 1835, the Society for the Prevention of Juvenile Prostitution reckoned that 400 Londoners depended for their livelihoods on the earnings of child prostitutes. London hospitals, it was said, had recorded twenty-seven hundred cases of venereal disease among children during the preceding eight years.

Child prostitution was one of the methods of survival for poverty-stricken children, especially young orphans. In the United States, there was a corresponding use of slaves and servants by owners and in brothels. International trade in selling children and obtaining involuntary adult prostitutes flourished. As well, technological advances in printing and photography spurred the production and distribution of pornography; a great number of Victorian males had a decided interest in pictures of naked female children. Poetry and other writings of the time are replete with obsessional tributes to young females.

As well as the development of organized commercial sex, the Victorian era saw the beginning of organized public protest by women such as Josephine Butler, who campaigned against sexual slavery and wanted the age of consent raised from twelve. Her campaigns spread to the United States, where others struggled for the abolition of slave trade. Some parliamentarians joined the protests, but overall, the women’s revolt was met with harassment and violence. Approximately forty years after the beginning of the protests, the Mann Act was passed in America in 1912; this act established penalties for the interstate transportation of women and children for immoral purposes.

The Legacy of Freud. Within the late Nineteenth-Century milieu, psychiatrist Sigmund Freud began to lay the foundation for what would become modern psychoanalysis. His patients, who were predominantly women, consistently reported childhood instances of sexual abuse, most often naming their fathers as the abusers. Many of them suffered from "hysteria"; the symptoms included loss of voice or appetite, compulsive
vomiting, coughing, temporary blindness, deafness, paralysis or epilepsy. The symptoms had no discernable organic base and were resistant to medical treatment.

Early in his career Freud believed his patients were telling him the truth about being sexually abused and in 1896 he published his conclusion in a paper entitled "The Aetiology of Hysteria". He presented the "seduction theory" which maintained that sexual experiences in childhood were the principal cause of hysterical illness in adults. The response from his colleagues was negative and this, coupled with the fact that Freud himself felt uncomfortable with the incrimination of fathers, resulted in his abandonment of the seduction theory and formulation of a new theory. It was called the "Oedipal Theory" and it proposed that every child between three and six years of age goes through a stage during which she or he sexually desires the parent of the opposite sex. According to this theory, hysteria in adults wasn't caused by childhood sexual experiences after all, but by the failure to give up fantasies of these experiences — a failure to resolve the Oedipal situation.

Jeffrey Masson, a psychoanalyst and former secretary of the Freud Archives, attributes Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory to his desire to restore his credibility among his colleagues, a decision Masson feels affected the lives of countless patients in psychotherapy from 1900 to the present. Freud's revised theory helped to rationalize two negative responses to the experiences of sexually abused children. First, it provided an ideology or structure that discounted people's reports of childhood sexual abuse; the reports were a fantasy. Second, if sexual abuse actually did occur, the blame was placed on the child, not the adult; the sexual abuse was the result of the child's seduction (acting on the Oedipal impulses), not the adult's predatory impulses. Denying the victim's abuse or blaming the victim for the abuse continues to be part of the response to child sexual abuse, even outside the confines of psychotherapy.

The Mid-Twentieth Century. In the 1940s, in the United States, public attention became focused on sexual abuse because of a number of sensational sex murders. However, the issue was promoted by moralists who felt that children were being sexually abused as a result of the liberalization of sexual values. They used the issue as a way of campaigning against other kinds of progressive reforms that most social welfare professionals supported (such as sex education, humane treatment of sex offenders and an end of censorship). Professionals thus tended to discount the concerns of the moralists. As well as pointing the finger at liberalism, moralists also portrayed the greatest danger to children as coming from strangers and depraved individuals outside the family. As we now know, they were denying, or at least ignoring, the abusive experiences of the majority of victims — those who know their abuser. At this time in history, attention to child sexual abuse was clouded by other issues and buried in the agendas of opposing groups.

Around this same time, from 1938 to 1949, biologist Alfred Kinsey conducted a national study regarding sexual behaviours of women in the United States. Kinsey found that 24% of the 4,444 women interviewed reported at least one episode of prepubertal sexual abuse and in 49% of the episodes, the perpetrator was known to the child. Unfortunately, Jeffrey Masson, a psychoanalyst and former secretary of the Freud Archives, attributes Freud's receiving the singular attention it so badly needed. Bandonment of the seduction theory to his desire to restore his credibility among his colleagues, a decision Masson feels affected the lives of countless patients in psychotherapy from 1900 to the present. Freud's revised theory helped to rationalize two negative responses to the experiences of sexually abused children. First, it provided an ideology or structure that discounted people's reports of childhood sexual abuse; the reports were a fantasy. Second, if sexual abuse actually did occur, the blame was placed on the child, not the adult; the sexual abuse was the result of the child's seduction (acting on the Oedipal impulses), not the adult's predatory impulses. Denying the victim's abuse or blaming the victim for the abuse continues to be part of the response to child sexual abuse, even outside the confines of psychotherapy.

The recognition of physical abuse of children was also affected by the reluctance of society to place
ibility for behaviour on adults, especially adults new to the child (such as parents, relatives and authority figures). Physicians struggled to find other sources of physical trauma to children and began to delineate parental abuse only in the 1950s. Henry Kempe gave his historic paper on the "battered child syndrome" to the American Academy of Pediatrics in 1961, and physicians began to accept child physical abuse as a serious and pervasive problem. The term child abuse eventually broadened to include neglect and emotional and sexual abuse, both within families and society in general.

The Present. In the 1970s, the problem of child sexual abuse had the attention of two groups who were experienced in promoting social problems and who already had the attention of both the public and the policy makers. These groups were child protection workers and the women's movement. The child protection movement, which consisted mainly of social workers and physicians, had in the past focused on physical abuse and neglect of children. The women's movement had drawn attention to the crime of rape, as well as to wife abuse and the woman-hating nature of pornography. Women's groups provided validation and support for victims who had the courage to speak out about their sexual abuse as children. It was the beginning of a more victim-oriented perspective.

Although each group approached the analysis and treatment of child sexual abuse differently, the coalition of the two had a powerful impact on the prominence of the problem of child sexual abuse. Although the 1970s and 1980s have seen a tremendous increase in attention to the problem by professionals, researchers, policy makers, the police, educators and the media, each interest group still has many problems to confront, as shown in this report.

3.3 CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Society's view of children's worth, status and rights has changed considerably throughout history. In general, attitudes toward children have become more humane over time; practices such as infanticide, child sacrifice, abandonment and child labour have been reduced or eliminated in certain cultures. Sexual abuse, however, retains the status of a widespread social problem. Kempe and Kempe (1984) caution:

Social changes over the last one hundred years have increasingly accorded children rights as individuals. Children are no longer regarded as chattels, wholly owned by their fathers as property. Although much is now made of the gradually improving changes in regard to sexual practices involving children, there is a failure to appreciate the remaining widespread and pervasive continuance of childhood sexual abuse over large parts of the world. The recent growth in child pornography and child prostitution suggests that little has changed over the centuries except the degree of social recognition of the problem by the public at large and gradual development of laws which reflect these communal concerns.

Child sexual abuse received scant attention until the late 1970s. Undoubtedly, this lack of recognition is a crucial factor in the continued pervasiveness of the problem. However, more than acknowledgement is required to produce change. Allocation of resources to all levels of prevention and treatment is essential. It is also important to question whether or not we have truly moved forward, away from the societal atmosphere so conducive to abuse and neglect of children in the past. This section of the review discusses a number of questions that examine the potential in modern society for the continuation of child sexual abuse.

These questions, listed below, do not constitute an exhaustive inquiry, but they do highlight specific attitudes or conditions that impinge upon the current problem of child sexual abuse.

1. Are there normative structures in our society today that perpetuate child sexual abuse?
2. Is there a relationship between tolerance of violence in society and child sexual abuse?
3. Is our society truly child-oriented?

3.3.1 Are there normative structures in our society today that perpetuate child sexual abuse?

A number of current theories about child sexual abuse incorporate the influence of normative factors,
such as, Marshall and Barbaree's (1988, 14) comprehensive behavioural perspective and Finkelhor's (1984, 56-57) four factor theory. Glaser and Frosh (1988, 19) also discuss an explanatory model based upon the premise that "child sexual abuse is a social phenomenon, linked to general attitudes and practices towards children and also to the ways sexual relationships are organized and regulated in any particular society". Finkelhor (1984, 35) points out that "the widespread existence of child sexual abuse forces one away from an exclusive focus on theories of psychopathology and toward the possibility that normative factors are at work".

Discussion of the above question will focus on the influence of socialization, a process by which an individual learns to perform various roles adequately and also learns about group standards, attitudes and acceptable behaviours or norms. Some of the "acceptable" behaviours and attitudes that are learned within the context of four socializing agents — the family, the school system, religion and the media — will be highlighted. The observations that follow are not intended as a full critique of these agents; instead, remarks will focus on socialization patterns that can contribute to the initiation and maintenance of abusive relationships, in this case, sexual abuse of children by adults.

The Family. Families are the primary socializing agents in our culture. Any positive or negative ideas about males and females usually begin here. Rogers (1989, 28) comments on the Canadian family:

The family is society's major vehicle for socializing children and has long been considered a safe haven for children. In my discussions across Canada, the notion was reinforced that about 60% to 80% of Canada's families have done and are doing a credible job in educating and nurturing children despite the stresses of a turbulent social and economic environment. On the other hand, those I consulted perceive that 20% to 40% of families are having a range of difficulties.

Although many writers and professionals stand by the premise that families can be the most satisfactory environment for children, they also question the assumption that it is a safe haven, that families know best when it comes to children, or that families can "do it all" on their own. It is apparent that families need to question their role in the socialization of children by examining values and attitudes transmitted in "acceptable" approaches to child rearing. Approaches to child rearing often incorporate some or all of:

1. the reliance on corporal punishment
2. stereotyping or the division of male and female behaviours
3. the idea of ownership of children, and the importance of obedience and deference to authority because of position
4. avoidance of issues related to sexuality.

Corporal Punishment in Childrearing. Corporal punishment is very often part of the normal experience of childhood. According to Glaser and Frosh (1988, 23) "over 84% of American parents use physical punishment as a means of disciplining their children (Straus et al, 1981); in Britain, corporal punishment is regarded by many as acceptable within the home and legitimate at school".

The Church Council of Justice and Corrections and the Canadian Council on Social Development (1988, 63) developed a kit which facilitates examination of the cultural interconnections involved in family violence. In a section entitled "Child rearing and the roots of violence", users are asked if it is appropriate to hit or spank children in order to discipline them. The following discussion is presented in the manual:

Many parents in families that would not be described as abusive, use corporal punishment on their children. Although corporal punishment is not necessarily considered child abuse, such punishment is nevertheless violence. When a parent chooses to respond in this way, several messages are conveyed. When punishing a child by hitting or spanking him/her, the parent is indicating disapproval of the child's behaviour.

There are, however, several more subtle messages that are also being learned by the child:
- It is all right to hit (and hurt) someone you love.
- Hitting someone is a legitimate way to express anger.
- If people do things you don't like, hitting them is a good way to make them stop.
- When you disagree with someone and you believe you are right, you should use violence.
- Being hit is good for the victim. It helps to build character.

These learned messages can become associated with abusive behaviour when the child becomes an adult. That is not to say that spanking or hitting a child will necessarily cause him/her to grow up to be abusive. What it does say is that we have to think through the possible consequences of disciplining our children with corporal punishment (Evangelical Lutheran Wife Abuse Kit cited in Family Violence in a Patriarchal Culture, 1988, 63).

**Sexual Stereotyping in Families** As mentioned previously, ideas about males and females and their appropriate behaviours and attitudes usually begin in the family. Parents, either knowingly or unknowingly, send messages to their children about specific behaviours. The table below illustrates the behavioural differences between boys and girls.

### Table 1: Sex-Typed Behaviours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Allowed/Encouraged Behaviour:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Allowed/Encouraged Behaviour:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• greater freedom of movement which helps to develop autonomy</td>
<td>• quiet play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• expression of anger</td>
<td>• gentle, co-operative, compliant activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• assertiveness</td>
<td>• physical closeness to mother/care-giver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• greater interaction with the environment</td>
<td>• verbal exchanges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• activities requiring strength and fearlessness such as contact sports</td>
<td><strong>Discouraged Behaviour:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• aggressiveness or assertiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• expressions of anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• independent behaviour, autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents' Behaviour:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Parents' Behaviour:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• roughness in play</td>
<td>• gentleness in play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• comfort withheld from older boys over physical and emotional hurts</td>
<td>• more verbal interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• less help in learning tasks to teach mastery and competence</td>
<td>• more lenient, non-physical punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• more help in learning tasks with less competence expected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothing:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Clothing:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• specific &quot;male&quot; colours and designs such as imitation military and sports uniforms</td>
<td>• specific feminine colours and designs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• less emphasis on decoration</td>
<td>• more restrictive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• utilitarian</td>
<td>• freedom to wear &quot;boy&quot; styles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• less emphasis on staying clean and neat</td>
<td>• more value placed on clothing and more emphasis by parents on appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toys:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Toys:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• greater variety than for girls</td>
<td>• stereotyped miniature &quot;mom&quot; toys emphasized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• outdoor activity encouraged</td>
<td>• little skill and creativity required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• inventiveness and manipulation fostered</td>
<td>• indoor activity encouraged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• action and science orientation</td>
<td>• quiet, solitary play predominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• aggressive toys linked to TV shows with male heroes</td>
<td><strong>Leisure and Picture Books:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• female characters are secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• female characters are less numerous in illustrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leisure and Picture Books:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Leisure and Picture Books:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• boys are central characters</td>
<td>• female characters confirm stereotypic traits — helplessness, fear and lower competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• boys are depicted as instrumental and fearless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Jobs:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Family Jobs:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• outdoor jobs</td>
<td>• indoor jobs reflecting traditional female roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• physical jobs</td>
<td><strong>Hobbies:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• non-domestic jobs</td>
<td>• &quot;feminine&quot; pursuits — fine arts, non-contact individualized sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hobbies:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source:</strong> Ontario Teachers' Federation. Little Images: A Review of the Literature on Role Models and Socialization Patterns for Children. Toronto: Ontario Teachers Federation, 1987, 6-8.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is clearly a division in our society between males and females in terms of behaviour and attitudes. This restriction is detrimental to both sexes. Boys are not allowed to display feelings and emotions; they turn away from intimacy. Girls, on the other hand, are supposed to be emotional, understanding and forgiving. They learn to desire romantic, sentimental love relationships, and also to expect a sexually aggressive male who is in control of the social-sexual interaction. Children grow up with the adages "boys will be boys" and "men are just like that" as significant concepts in their sexual socialization. Males are expected to be more powerful, more decisive and logical, and more in control of their emotions. Glaser and Frosh (1988, 24) describe the link between traditional masculine socialization and sexual abuse:

Traditional ‘masculinity’ focuses on dominance and independence, an orientation to the world which is active and assertive, which valorises competitiveness and turns its face from intimacy, achieving esteem in the glorification of force. The fear at the heart of this image is of emotion — that which makes us vulnerable and ‘womanly’; emotion is dangerous not only because it implies dependence, but also because it is alien, a representation of all that masculinity rejects. This fear of emotion in turn makes sex both over- and under-invested in by men. Sex is one of the few socially acceptable ways in which men can aspire to closeness with others, and as such it becomes the carrier of all the unexpressed desires that men’s emotional illiteracy produces. However, this same power of sex to produce emotionality makes it dangerous to men whose identity is built upon the rejection of emotion; sex then becomes split off, limited to the activity of the penis, an act rather than an encounter. It is also a means of taking up a particular place in the world of men: sexual ‘conquest’ as a symbol of male prowess. The link between such a form of masculinity and sexual abuse is apparent: it is not just present, but inherent in a mode of personality organisation that rejects intimacy. Sex as triumph and achievement slides naturally into sex as rejection and degradation of the other.

Finkelhor (1984, 120) supports the notion of dual cultures, one male and one female, and speculates that this duality may be contributing to the higher rate of abuse by males, and to the fact that in his studies he found men as a group do not view sexual abuse as seriously as do women. (This would have implications for policy-making, given that more men occupy powerful policy-making positions.)

Finkelhor (13) outlines several differences between men and women, which he thinks help explain why women are much less likely to abuse children sexually. The differences lie in masculine-feminine socialization and are a continuation of the divisions learned as young children in the family setting:

1. Women learn earlier and much more completely to distinguish between sexual and nonsexual forms of affection. Women are sensitized to appreciate affection without a sexual component while men, from the time they are young, are not given many opportunities to practice nurturing and express affection.

2. Men grow up seeing heterosexual success as much more important to their gender identities than women do. Sex is often used by men as a way of reconfirming their adequacy on other issues.

3. Men are socialized to be able to focus their sexual interest around sexual acts isolated from the context of a relationship. Women are taught to focus on whole relationships. The ability of men to relate concretely to sexual acts is illustrated in their greater interest in pornography as well as their ability to be aroused by children.

4. Men are socialized to see as their appropriate sexual partners persons who are younger and smaller than themselves, while women are socialized to see as their appropriate sexual partners persons older and larger. It is less of a contortion for a man to find a child sexually attractive because children are merely an extension of the gradient along which men are already focused.
Not all of these attitudes are developed in the context of the family, but certainly the separation between male and female socialization begins in the family and is confirmed as the child's horizons broaden to include peers, school and television.

Ownership, Obedience and Authority Roy Bonisteel has been involved in several TV and radio programs dealing with the way we treat children in our society. In a recent commentary (CBC Radio, January 18, 1990) he offered the following assessment of society's treatment of children: "I think we should take a long look at ourselves and ask if it is not our misguided feelings of ownership and our own selfishness that is the root of the mistreatment, exploitation and neglect of children". He noted that throughout history, children, like women, were never considered the equal of men. While the rights of women are being recognized, this has not happened with children, who are still treated as chattels and deprived in law of the civil rights and liberties accorded to adults. The ownership of children is one reason why we are inhibited from intervening when we are aware of verbal, physical or sexual abuse of a young person by a parent or guardian. We feel that we would be interfering because we fail to see children as individuals with rights of their own.

Our culture places a positive value on obedience and, as mentioned previously, condones the use of physical punishment to elicit it. We teach our children to respect adults and their authority simply because they are adults who supposedly know what is best. Often a child hears, "Be a good girl and do what Aunt Mary says", or "You'll do what you're told because I said so". Children who question the authority of adults are viewed with disapproval or outright condemnation.

Placing emphasis on obedience and deference to authority simply because of position has implications for child sexual abuse. Children are vulnerable if they are unable to question the behaviour of an adult because they feel they have no right to question the authority of adults. Certainly, there are many other factors to consider but the intimidation of authority and the inequality it breeds are frequently mentioned by both victims and therapists:

Many women noted that their sexually abusive fathers were particularly concerned about upholding a positive public image. They sought to be perceived as good neighbours, family men, good with children. In some cases these men held positions of leadership in the community such as city councilman, chaplain for a professional sports team, member of the chamber of commerce, or chief of the auxiliary police. Others were active in their churches. An abuser's public image as an upstanding, respected citizen made it especially difficult for his child to disclose the abuse for fear that her word would not carry as much weight as his. Furthermore, many abusive fathers preached what survivors referred to as "moralistic, conservative values, strict religious beliefs, and respect for adults' authority". (Women's Research Centre, 1988, 30)

Dr. William Marshall, a well-known clinical psychologist who treats sex offenders, views "authority context" as a significant factor in sexual abuse cases (1989). He points out that authority figures in any community, such as priests, teachers, scout leaders and parents, all have at their disposal any number of levers that they can and do use to silence those they abuse. A teacher can threaten to fail a child for not cooperating, or can improve the grades of a child who does. If an authority figure from the community abuses children, they fear telling because of shame, the sense that they are responsible and the fear that their parents will not believe them.

Issues Related to Sexuality Sexuality is central to who we are as persons. Every human being is a sexual person — young, old, single, celibate, divorced, widowed or disabled:

Sexuality, while not the whole of our personhood, is very basic and permeates and affects our feelings, thoughts and actions. Sexuality is our self-understanding and our way of being in the world as male and female. It includes attitudes about our bodies and those of others ... sexuality reminds us of our uniqueness ... we look different and feel differently from any other person. Sexuality also is a sign and a symbol of our call to
communication and communion with others
... to reach out and embrace others physically and spiritually. (Reed, 1985, 44-45)

Seen in this light, sexuality is much more than what we do with our genitals.

Somehow the expression of sexuality has, in many respects, become distorted and destructive. People equate intimacy and sex, confuse sexual activity with sexual violence, establish unequal relationships and then abuse the resultant power imbalance through emotional and physical violence. Sexual abuse of children is an extreme example of this distortion and confusion.

People begin to learn about sexuality in the family setting. However, recent studies suggest that family communication about sexuality is most often characterized by the exercise of authority and rule-making instead of verbal exploration of values in an atmosphere of co-operative disagreement (Butler, 1985, 134) Negative attitudes about sexuality fostered within a family can create a climate of such repression and denial of sexual feelings that even a child's innocent question about body function or casual exploration of his or her genitals can lead to over-reaction by other family members.

Butler (1985, 137-138) describes the implications of these attitudes for the problem of child sexual abuse:

Many times children are unable to tell us what they experience precisely because they are considered to be our property and, as such, have no option in the family to be heard, particularly when they want to tell us things we do not want to hear. They might know, for instance, what sort of touching is nurturing and what kinds are exploitive, but may not feel they have permission to tell us when grown-up family members touch them in ways that make them feel uncomfortable. We do not teach our children the freedom to express what they feel and know, and we often fail to respect their place among us.

Children learn that touching, fondling, and curiosity about their own genitalia are forbidden shameful activities and that they are governed by a silent and yet powerful set of rules that nobody quite explains.

Even today, in our supposedly open-minded society, young people still obtain most of their information about sex and sexuality from magazines, movies and their friends rather than from their parents. They find it difficult to ask intimate and troubling questions because they sense, and are put off by, the discomfort their parents are feeling. The difficulty parents and children share in communicating about sexuality stems from a number of sources. One reason is that parents don’t feel they know enough, and do not wish to display their own uncertainties and confusion. Another reason is mutual denial and discomfort with each other’s sexuality. Young people find it difficult to see their parents as sexual beings like themselves while parents find it difficult to see their adolescent offspring as anything but sexual. Adults fall into the trap of thinking that there are only two postures that can be taken with regard to sexuality — the permissive or the repressive. Many parents choose what they think is the safer approach — repression. They simply say nothing, while not recognising that they are still providing messages. According to Butler (1985, 137), “many of us fall into uneasy silence when it comes to discussing sexual matters with our children. And with our silence we guarantee that another generation will share our awkwardness and failure to achieve a deep and caring intimacy with loved ones”.

The School. For a number of reasons, the Ontario Teacher's Federation (1987, 8), in its review of the literature on role models and socialization patterns for children, is confident in its assumption that schools continue the traditional socialization process often begun in the family:

1. Personnel in the school system, such as teachers and principals, have all been socialized more or less into traditional sex roles.
2. The administrative structure contains more males than females in leadership and managerial roles.
3. Research indicates that teachers feel that male and female students expect to be treated differently.
4. Students also bring with them well-established
ideas of gender-appropriate behaviour and interact with teachers and peers accordingly.

Many studies show the bias in teachers' interactions with children. They indicate favour of the feminine mode of conduct (obedience, quietness, neatness and reading) while at the same time maintaining an overriding preference for teaching boys. The rationale given for this preference is that males are more active, open and honest, males are easier to talk to and males are more outspoken and willing to exchange ideas (Ricks and Pyke, 1973; Jack and Fitzsimmons, 1979; Schneider and Coutts, 1979 cited in Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1987, 8-10).

The problem of stereotyping in the school system also extends to textbooks. According to the brief by the Ontario Teachers Federation (1987, 10), seven studies of English and French textbooks in Canada all found stereotyping: "The subtle, almost subliminal, message of these texts was that women are secondary and perhaps less effective participants in life's important events, while men must always be competent, knowledgeable and strong". Fortunately, awareness of stereotyping and male bias in curriculum materials is growing.

The following excerpt from the 1987 Bolton Report provides a focus for reflection on the status of education as an important socializing agent:

Our classrooms and teaching methods, characterized by large student-teacher ratios, competition, use of power and control, can condone violence. The education system is still guilty of stereotyping and academic streaming of skills. Little opportunity is provided for teachers to evaluate their own beliefs and value systems. Teachers need to be screened and monitored more carefully: children and youth are socialized to conform to the norms they perceive.

The educational system can implement new policies and programs to prevent or challenge violence. School curriculum could address anger management, child abuse, streetproofing, sex roles. Teachers should have opportunity for educational upgrading on key issues dealing with cultural uniqueness, sexual harassment, family violence, etc. (The Church Council on Justice and Corrections and the Canadian Council on Social Development, 1987 cited in Family Violence in a Patriarchal Culture, 1988)

The issue of self-examination, both by individuals and systems, is an important one. Schools and teachers can engage in this process by reflecting on their own personal power and authority over children; examining their own beliefs, attitudes and behaviours to see if they are reinforcing sex stereotypes; and using non-sexist teaching principles and materials in the classroom.

Religion. The contribution to socialization by organized religion parallels or, for some people, supersedes that provided by families and schools. While many individuals experience the positive aspects of belonging to a religious community, there are values and attitudes transmitted by the organization and teachings of churches that create and influence abusive relationships.

Greenglas (1982, cited in Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1987, 2) points out the tremendous gender power-differential which was given religious sanction in religious doctrines written and interpreted by men. She says this is true of Judaean-Christian-Islamic tradition and has parallels in Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Men were designated as "ruler, leader, law-giver, and protector, having divinely ordained dominion over women, children, animals and plants". Harpur (The Sunday Express, Feb. 4, 1990, 24) points out that the social affairs committee of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, in its recent document entitled Heritage of Violence, acknowledges the contribution of male dominance (institutionalized patriarchy), in society and in the Church, to domestic violence. As well, the emphasis on unlimited and unconditional forgiveness and keeping the family intact no matter what the cost - further examples of values espoused by the Church - often had a detrimental influence on women and children victimized within the family.

Religious systems have also imparted negative attitudes towards sexuality issues. Gittens (1985, 39) points out that "Judaean-Christianity has never defined sexuality as pleasurable or desirable. It is either seen as sinful lust, or an unfortunate means to the necessary
end of reproduction". Patton (1988, 129) describes the atmosphere surrounding sex in Roman Catholicism:

Traditional Catholic education, obsessed with how sinful Catholics were as human beings, taught the ordinary Catholic to distrust his or her sexual feelings and all erotic behaviour .... Catholicism tended to keep people passive and receptive. It did little to help people think for themselves. Catholics became conditioned because of the massive use of fear. It was in this context that sex became such a corrosive element in Catholic life. It was also in the atmosphere that so much obsessive-compulsive behaviour developed in the name of religion and sex. Catholics were not encouraged to love themselves when all their energy was enjoined so rigorously to chain the "evil beast" of sex within themselves. That this methodology was unhealthy is now unquestionable, but that it was used extensively is undeniable. The consequences for people who were given a distorted sense of themselves and their humanity over sex and religion are difficult if not impossible to measure fully.

These values and attitudes along with others — such as unquestioning obedience to authority figures, viewing suffering as punishment from God, and emphasis on inherent sinfulness — can also have a negative impact on the sexual abuse victim because they reinforce personal guilt and responsibility (Redmon, 1986, cited in Canadian Council on Justice and Corrections and the Canadian Council on Social Development, 1988, 85).

The Media. Television, music videos and advertising are powerful and often insidious contributors to social learning and socialization. "Television confirms, if not exaggerates, the bias of sex-role stereotyping by portraying markedly more males than females in programs, by having more males in dominant roles, by showing more women as victims of violence, and with few exceptions, by showing that the career world is a male one" (Williams, 1981, cited in Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1987, 11).

Sunday Express columnist Martha Muzychka has written about the persistent number of videos that make the link between violence and sex, creating the impression that one cannot exist without the other, and that it is appropriate, if not desirable, to combine sexuality and aggressive behaviour. She refers to two studies that have conducted surveys of music videos. The first, conducted in Quebec in 1984, revealed that 27% of rock videos surveyed contained explicit depictions of violence. The second, from the University of Georgia, reported that more than half of the videos surveyed contained violent images and 81% contained sexual imagery. Both studies report similar conclusions about the portrayal of women: women were presented in stereotypical roles which reinforced the images of women as submissive to men. When women and men were shown together in relationships, women were often presented as victims of violence or as seducers of men, but in either situation, women were assumed to be objects that would be ultimately possessed and controlled by men. (The Sunday Express, February 4, 1990, 14)

The brief by the Ontario Teachers' Federation (1987, 11) supports the above studies:

The women are often depicted in pornographic videos as sexual addicts, which creates false versions of women's needs and desires and, the perception that females invite harassment. Rock videos with leather-and-bondage on female adolescent victims are daily fare and readily accessible to children. A recent study by Toronto psychologist, James Check, suggests that young people between the ages of 12 and 17 are the primary consumers of pornography in Canada and that 37% watch sexually-explicit videos at least once a month.

Advertising is a powerful communication tool that can influence values and standards. Jean Kilbourne, in her film Still Killing Us Softly, points out why consideration of advertising is important:

Ads sell a great deal more than products. They sell values; images; concepts of love, of sexuality, of romance, of success, of popularity and, most important, of normalcy. They tell us who we are or who we should be.
The sexualization of children in fashion promotion is an example of the sexually exploitive role that advertising can assume. Images of children dressed as adults, assuming sexual poses and having apparently seductive facial expressions, are becoming more prevalent. This trend to make children sexual objects may have serious effects on the incidence of child sexual abuse since it appears to legitimize the objectification. As well, children are encouraged to become prematurely sophisticated and this is often used as an excuse by abusers. The Ontario Teachers' Federation (1987, 12) states:

We cannot ignore the significance of these media trends which promote sexual stereotypes of men, women and children, male domination of women through violence, and the perpetuation of women's helplessness and incompetence. Images which children see again and again have a cumulative effect which, when combined with the socialization process in the home, school and society at large, may impact directly on child abuse in the following ways:

1. Experts in the treatment of child sexual abusers maintain that one of the characteristics of these men (over 90% of such abusers are male) is a rigid, stereotypical attitude toward male and female roles. Therefore, if society continues to foster rigid stereotypes in its socialization of children, it may contribute to the continued victimization of children.

2. "Learned helplessness" and self-derogatory attitudes learned through family and school experiences make girls less assertive and less able to protect themselves. In addition, girls are more willing than boys to blame themselves for the abuse.

3. Coercion and male dominance, as depicted in the media, may encourage "acting out" by the population that has deviant sexual preferences or psychological problems, and may create models for conflict resolution through violence.

4. The male stereotype which requires repression of feelings may create dysfunction in males who need to be expressive and need to develop communication and empathy skills to reduce stress, frustration and anger, so that it will not be expressed in abuse of children.

5. Stereotypes affect the willingness of boys to report abuse and the response of adults to disclosure. Society does not see boys as victims, yet they comprise 10% of the sexual abuse victims. Boys are supposed to have personal power and be able to fight back.

3.3.2 Is there a relationship between tolerance of violence in society and child sexual abuse?

Society is fundamentally committed to the use of violence to maintain the status quo or to achieve desired change. Examples of this commitment are reflected in some commonly accepted models of violence, such as defending and condoning the arms race, sports violence, capital punishment, thriving pornography industries, prostitution, movie and TV violence, and violence against animals and the environment. It does seem that society on a large scale tolerates violence as an acceptable part of the continuum of ways in which people relate. According to Marshall and Barbaree (1987, 18):

Cross-cultural studies reveal that those societies which accept and encourage interpersonal violence, which are male-dominated, and whose members hold negative views of women, all have far higher rates of forceful sexuality than do societies which do not have these features (Chagnon, 1977; Otterbein, 1979; Sanday, 1981). In such societies children are likewise seen as the property of males to do with as they wish. The United States, which has the highest per capita rates of rape and child molestation among Western societies, also appears to accept and even admire violence (Leyton, 1986; Marshall, 1986) and certainly a large proportion of its adult males hold negative views of women (Briere, Malamuth and Check, 1981; Burt, 1980).
There is also the overwhelming issue of relationship violence. Many authors and professionals believe there are commonalities in family violence, wife battering, dating violence and child physical and sexual abuse. Outstanding is the use of violence and intimidation to solve problems. Rogers (1988, 34), Special Advisor on Child Sexual Abuse to the Minister of National Health and Welfare, found that the interrelatedness of issues surrounding violence in the lives of individuals and their families was confirmed during his cross-country consultations. He found that centres for battered women often see children who have suffered sexual and other forms of abuse. Many runaway children are facing abusive family situations. Juvenile prostitutes cite extensive incidents of sexual abuse in their backgrounds. Straus (1980, cited in Gelles, 1987, 231) reports that societies, cultures and subcultures that approve the use of violence are thought to have the highest rates of domestic violence and abuse of children.

Researchers and writers who are examining the effects of child sexual abuse recognize the interrelatedness of different types of relationship abuse; the perpetrators of child sexual abuse victims often include other types of abuse and violence — a fact that can complicate their assessment of the effects of sexual abuse.

"Violence leading to more violence" is often the outcome observed in victims of child sexual abuse. Clinicians working with victims can attest to the often violent patterns of reaction to and coping with sexual abuse among adolescents in particular. Alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution, suicide and self-mutilation, as well as other high-risk behaviour as impaired driving, and youthful crime are just some of the violent behaviour patterns that are part of victims' lives.

There is also the violent nature of child sexual abuse itself. One of the most common stereotypes of sexual offenders is that they are weak passive men who expose themselves to children or coerce children into harmless acts, such as genital fondling or masturbation. However, there is evidence that violence is commonly used by offenders, especially offenders who have been imprisoned. Marshall and Christie (1981, cited in Marshall and Barabaree, 1988, 2) found that 58% of child molesters and 71% of rapists used more physical force than was necessary. Marshall states that it is reasonable to consider all child molesters as either presently or potentially violent. He dismisses the myth of "harmless fondlers" and emphasizes the physical, psychological and emotional violence of child sexual abuse.

Child Prostitution. The Badgley report (1984, 1061) labels the relationship between young pimps and prostitutes as "one of the most severe forms of abuse of children and youths, sexual or otherwise, that currently occurs in Canadian society". A concurrent danger is from their customers who have strangled, stabbed or clubbed them unconscious. Pimps and customers exploit runaways and neglected children by pressuring them, emotionally and/or physically, into "sex for pay" activities. They lure and entrap their victims with false friendship, money, abduction, drugs, or simply by preying upon the child's need for affection or ingrained respect and/or fear of adult authority. The majority of children recruited range in age from 9 to 16 years; they can be boys or girls. The pimps are usually in their early twenties and are almost always male (Babin, 1985, 2-4).

Badgley (cited in Babin, 1985, 3) found that almost all young prostitutes ran away from home at an early age to escape family problems. Continuous fighting was cited most frequently as the reason for leaving, followed by coldness, physical abuse and family illness. Some had sexual experiences starting at the age of 7; by 13, almost none was a virgin. Nearly all prostitutes were early drop-outs from school; few had job experiences or work skills.

Research that confirms the frequent co-existence of childhood sexual abuse and child prostitution also shows that the sexual abuse figures prominently in the decision by children to engage in prostitution. "If you're giving it away, why not get paid for it?" is the rationale used when children leave home with no place to go, no job skills and only one valuable commodity—their bodies and youth. When teenagers can earn $200 a night working the streets of one of our cities, they feel little incentive to work at a low-paying job, if they could find work at all.
Pornography. In the Badgley Report (1984, 1080) the word pornography refers to "the depiction of licentiousness or lewdness; a portrayal of erotic behaviour designed to cause sexual excitement." The depiction can be in the form of pictures, books and films. Pornography is not a legal term; legal judgments are based on the "obscenity" of the pornographic material. Whether or not a publication is obscene under Canadian law depends on whether a court considers that a dominant characteristic of the publication is the undue exploitation of sex, or sex and crime, horror, cruelty or violence. Some sexually explicit material, viewed by one person as having scientific or educational merit, may be seen by another as having no quality other than sheer sexual stimulation. Thus, designating material as pornographic or otherwise can be difficult.

However, in child pornography, there is little content that might contribute to science or education. Child pornography - "kiddie porn" or "chicken porn" - is a segment of the pornographic industry in which children, instead of adults, are the subject in obscene pictorial or written materials. Professionals dealing with child pornography and its victims state that the main purposes of the material are sexual gratification of the adult and the lowering of inhibitions of children.

Child pornography has been identified as a multimillion dollar international business. Although many nations, including Canada, have prohibitions against the production and distribution of child pornography, it continues to flourish as a somewhat secretive business with producers distributing their material throughout the world (Tyler and Stone, 1985, 314).

In Canada, the main source of commercially produced child pornography is through illegal importation from the United States. Badgley (1984) found that compared to the total detected volume of pornography being imported illegally, there is little child pornography. He maintains, however, that any child porn entering the country is cause for concern. His findings also reveal the existence of an informal and fragmented system of non-commercial private production of child pornography, undertaken primarily to serve the sexual gratification of persons taking these pictures.

The majority of children involved in child pornography are runaways (Pierce, 1984, 485). Pornographers will also use their own children or children from their neighbourhoods. There have also been incidents of this activity existing in foster homes, group homes, halfway houses and nursery schools. A sex offender involved with a child might also record the acts of abuse with whatever tools are available — a computerized diary, photographs, motion pictures and, most recently, videotapes. Sex offenders record their activities because they realize their victims will grow older, they have a compulsive need to record their behaviour, or they wish to trade copies of their collection with other sex offenders and/or pornographers. Tyler and Stone (1985, 316) report that commercial child pornography could not be produced without the many child molesters/pornographers supplying original material for publication and/or duplication. Goldstein (1987, 68) makes a strong case for the relatedness of pedophilia (in this instance defined broadly as the sexual/physical molestation of children), child prostitution and child pornography. Pedophilia, he believes, is the basis of the latter two. It is the pedophile who creates the demand for both child pornography and child prostitution.

The contribution of child pornography to the maintenance of child sexual abuse not only lies in the abusive nature of the very activities but also in the messages it sends to society in general and to sex offenders in particular. Although the evidence for a link between pornography and sexual offenses is equivocal, more theorists and researchers are including it within the framework of their analysis. Marshall (1988, 18) believes there is a case against pornography:

Pornography ... is essentially negative toward women and implies, if not clearly states, that a woman's role in sex is to serve male needs and that women really enjoy being raped even if they appear to resist. The research literature is replete with the harmful effects of exposure to violent pornography in the sense that it changes the attitudes and sexual responses of nonrapist males in the direction of those of rapists (Donnerstein, 1984; Malamuth, 1981).... Since rape pornography
is sold as entertainment, this may be construed by some consumers to indicate that arousal to such scenes is acceptable. Also, there is evidence that some rapists and child molesters use pornography to incite themselves to commit offenses.

The messages in child pornography are similar. As Diana Russell (1984, 82) points out, because child pornography commonly portrays children as enjoying sexual contact with adults, it seems even more likely that it may undermine some viewers' internal inhibitions against acting out their desires to have sex with children. And when pornography makes it appear that child sexual abuse is something that adults can do without much risk of being caught and punished -- a message pornography commonly conveys -- it likely undermines viewers' social inhibitions against acting out their desires.

A trend in modern society, one that is more socially acceptable than child pornography, is the sexualization of children in advertising. These ads appear in mainstream magazines and portray children in sexual or adult poses displaying adult products. An example is an ad for perfume called Innocence in which a young girl is dressed seductively, lying on a table. The caption reads 'Innocence is sexy after all'. Ads such as this one send out the message that children desire sex with adults, are capable of consenting to sex and that sex with children is acceptable.

3.3.3 Is Our Society Truly Child-Oriented?

Many people would quickly answer "yes" to this question. After all, the birth rate is lower so parents can better provide, financially and emotionally, for fewer children; education and health care are available to all children; recreation and entertainment are plentiful; the toy industry is booming. "Children have so much these days" is a comment repeated by many adults. But is this an accurate picture? Are parents really able to provide financially and emotionally for their children? Is commerce truly concerned about the development of children, or is this segment of the population just another market? Specifically, does society publicly abhor the crime of child sexual abuse but at the same time turn away from the child victim by covertly tolerating the behaviour of individual sexual offenders?

The original question can be answered, not only by examining the status of children in Canada, but also by assessing the support for their families. Although questions are being raised about the assumption that the traditional family is a positive and healthy environment for children, the family is still society's primary socialization agent. Very few people advocate a radical shift in the status of the family, although recognition is being given to the roles of schools, churches and the law as contributors to the welfare of children.

Family patterns are quite varied in modern society. Female-headed families have increased by 23% in Canada over the last 10 years. Generally the female heads are young, with children under six. Statistics on poverty indicate that 46% of female single parents live below the poverty line. In 1984, an estimated 1.2 million children were living in poverty in Canada — an increase of more than one-third since 1980. Particularly vulnerable were single parent families headed by women and families with young parents under 25. Research has shown that children in families stressed by poverty and poor housing are at an increased risk for sexual abuse.

Rogers (1988, 18, 29) recognizes that some families are struggling in their efforts with children. Families today cannot bear the burden of providing for their children in isolation. Family problems cannot be solved in the family alone, as is evidenced by the intervention necessary in problems of domestic violence, wife battering, child neglect and abuse.

While the focus in the past has rested largely upon individuals who neglect children, attention should also be paid to the neglect of children by organized society — neglect inherent in poverty, inadequate daycare, lack of housing, minimal family support systems and underfunded schools. It does seem questionable whether or not there is adequate support for families in their varied forms. Work environments, for example, are for the most part geared to families with one parent at home to handle the unpredictable events of family life. This expectation is unrealistic, given the diversity of
family patterns. The Ontario Teachers’ Federation (1987, 10) reports that sick children and unsatisfactory child-care situations are major sources of stress for today’s working parents.

The true test of our society’s child-orientedness is found in the assessment of our response to children in trouble, in this instance, children who have been sexually abused. Rogers (1988, 25-26) questions the will of the public to lend strong support to the allocation of more resources to the problem of child sexual abuse:

Recent patterns of backlash in some quarters are compounding the issue; a strong pattern of denial is evident in some who feel that the problem of child sexual abuse is being overstated and that children are prone to lying and fantasizing. Scratch the surface a little, and societal hostility towards children abounds, especially if children exhibit deviant behaviour.

Children growing up often find that the amenities of modern society are there for those who are successful and meet the expectations of parents and professionals. However, those who are not successful because they are disadvantaged through poverty or abusive and deprived childhoods find themselves confronted by a cold and uncaring adult world. In particular, society has difficulty accepting or understanding that adolescent hostility and acting out, often in the form of vandalism, are, in part, a reaction to being put down or discounted as individuals. Children traumatized by sexual abuse become an extremely disadvantaged group, often ending up in official care, ravaged by hostility, guilt and despair. Disadvantaged young people become alienated, anti-social and self-destructive.

Thus, while the public displays abhorrence of the crime of child sexual abuse, it has difficulty responding in a personal and concrete manner. Rogers (1988, 8) points out that despite a significant increase in the number of reported cases of child sexual abuse in the last five years, the number of personnel devoted to dealing with the problem has not increased significantly. In some provinces there has been a decrease in frontline personnel.

Goldstein (1987, 14) writes that "the bottom line is that society condemns child molestation in the abstract, but the way it responds to individual cases depends on the circumstances and who the accused is. Sometimes it is easier to deny it happened or to implicate the victim". Sgroi (cited in Burgess et al., 1978, xv) also supports that analysis in the following statement:

We tolerate sexual abuse of children because it is the last remaining component of the maltreatment syndrome in children that has yet to be faced head-on. Even now, protecting children from sexual assault receives far less community sanction than prevention of, and protection from, physical abuse or neglect. It seems to be too dirty", "too Freudian", or perhaps "too close to home". Those who try to assist sexually abused children must be prepared to battle against incredulity, hostility, innuendo, and outright harassment. Worst of all, the advocate for the sexually abused child runs the risk of being smothered by indifference and a conspiracy of silence. The pressure from one’s peer group, as well as the community, to ignore, minimize, or cover up the situation may be extreme.

Rogers (1988, 7) condemns the inaction of governments to deal with child sexual abuse in spite of the thorough education provided by the Badgley Report which, in 1984, detailed the problem and its impact on children. Rogers states, "My overall impression is that we have not moved forward in any significant sense since the Badgley Report was tabled .... Issues related to children are still low on the priority list for most ministries".

Untreated Child Sexual Abuse. It is likely that there is a high proportion of sexually abused children who never receive treatment either as children or as adults. Although the numbers are unknown one can make this assumption because a high proportion of victims never report their abuse and there is a lack of treatment services to children, adolescents and adult survivors. According to Rogers (1988, 10), a shortage of expertise and treatment models is not the problem. In his opinion, professionals in Canada know a good deal
about what needs to be done and how to do it. The problem is they are not getting the resources they need to do the job.

Most experts agree that sexual abuse in the childhood of sex offenders is a significant factor influencing whether or not they will subsequently abuse others. As mentioned previously, Groth (1979, cited in Russell, 1984, 83) reported that 46% of the fixated sex offenders he studied, reported being sexually abused as children. This was double the percentage (23%) of regressed sex offenders who were abused as children.

An even more disturbing finding that is receiving increased support is that sexual abuse by victims can begin in adolescence. Rogers (1988, 10-11) emphasises the urgency of treatment for adolescent offenders by describing a videotaped interview with three male offenders aged 14, 15 and 16:

Each said that he had first been abused at about four years of age and had been sexually molested by both men and women repeatedly until about nine years of age. The offenders were family members and friends. At about age nine, the boys began molesting other children - some they knew, some were strangers. Each guessed that he had molested about fifty children although they had been charged with only one offense.

Many therapists are beginning to identify child sexual abuse as a root cause of many personality and behaviour disorders in a growing number of traumatized adolescents and adults. Left untreated, patterns of hostile anti-social behaviour, including the sexual assault of other children and adolescents, often occur.

Since effective intervention, in particular early intervention, is rare in cases of child sexual abuse, and since many offenders sexually abuse a large number of children, theoretically child sexual abuse could increase drastically simply on the basis of these two factors.

While clinicians and researchers acknowledge that not all victims become victimizers, recognition is given to the implications of untreated child sexual abuse. Rogers (1989, 25) concluded as follows:

The long-term costs to society in both human and financial terms are staggering. During the consultations, estimates were identified suggesting that an adolescent victim/offender who continues anti-social behaviour over a lifetime will cost welfare, police, court, medical and correctional systems an excess of $1 million per case. The number of additional victims stemming from a single case can be in the hundreds.

3.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This section has presented an overview of child sexual abuse that includes information about the past and present status of the problem. A true understanding of child sexual abuse requires an appreciation of historical and socio-cultural factors as well as individual family and community factors. (See Figure 6, page 108.) An important product of this broad analysis is an awareness of child sexual abuse, not as isolated incidents, but as a pervasive pattern of behaviour with antecedents of social acceptance that reach far back into history.

The following sections narrow the focus by providing information on the offenders and the victims of child sexual abuse.
Part III

The Dynamics of Child Sexual Abuse
An analysis of why child sexual abuse occurs includes consideration of the history and current status of children in society, the socialization of men and women, the expression of sexuality, the tolerance of violence in our culture, and the role of institutions, particularly, the family. The previous section provided a brief review of these critical issues as a framework for presenting this section on the dynamics of sexual abuse. Here, we will detail the more specific factors pertaining to the offender and the victim. Section Four, which presents information on offenders, begins Part Three because the offenders are responsible for the abuse.

Section Five then explains the issues surrounding the victimization of children.

The intent of Part Three is to explain how and why abusive acts occur and often continue undetected. There are many theories in the literature which offer explanations. We have focused on the factors that provide insight into who the offenders are and why children are the chosen victims. Issues that people commonly ask questions about and appear to have difficulty understanding are addressed in this part of the report.
Section Four: The Offender

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There are numerous theories about the sex offender. Understanding who he is, why he offends and where his life should and will proceed is a complicated and challenging task. There are also many different categories of sex offenders; various approaches are taken in the literature to define and describe the offender by type. Debate exists about whether incest offenders can be distinguished from other sex offenders:

In a great deal of the literature, incest offenders have been analyzed as an entirely distinct group from other kinds of sex offenders against children (de Young, 1982; Gebhard et al., 1965; Langevin, 1953) and separate theories have been used to explain them. In another segment of the literature and in the approach advocated here, general theories about child molesters are developed and incest offenders are integrated into those theories (Groth, 1979; Howells, 1981). These two might be called the separate theory versus the unified theory approach. (Finkelhor, 1984, 51)

Both groups of theorists agree that there are differences between extra-familial child abusers and incest offenders. However, Finkelhor explains that the disagreement would appear to revolve around the question of how much similarity there is. He also questions the value of establishing separate theories:

There are many different types of child molesters: those attracted to boys, those attracted to girls; those who molest aggressively, those who molest nonaggressively; those with relatively exclusive sexual interest in children, those with sexual interest in other types of partners; those who molest their own children, those who molest other people’s children. There is no advantage to or clear empirical imperative for taking one of these dichotomies — incest versus nonincest — and creating a wholly separate framework for each side. (52)

We will begin with a discussion of the general characteristics of sex offenders in order to establish an understanding of who they are. A presentation of the approaches they use will demonstrate how they lure and pressure their victims. Some of the distinguishing characteristics will be presented through an examination of classifications of sex offenders. A summary of theories on why men sexually abuse, with particular focus on Marshall and Barbaree’s Comprehensive Behavioural Perspective and Finkelhor’s Four Preconditions Model, will be given. Finally, issues regarding assessment, risk evaluation and treatment approaches will be highlighted.

It is important to note that there are a number of weaknesses in the development of current theories. Most of the research has been carried out on multiple offenders who have been incarcerated. Also, as Finkelhor points out, current theories have been developed mostly from clinical work aimed at therapeutic intervention, and in the process sociological factors have been neglected. The importance of sociocultural factors has been addressed in Section Three and they will also be referred to in this section.

4.2 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEX OFFENDER

The literature cautions against the development of an offender profile or the description of a "typical" sex offender. For too long, people have believed that the
This cognition assumes that children have learned how to resist negative distortions of their body. Marshall believes that sex offenders are a very heterogeneous group and "while there is a disproportionate number from low-income families, there are more and more people coming from the middle and upper classes needing treatment" (Cited in N.B. Child Welfare Assoc. Conference Report, June 1988, 13).

Researchers and clinicians working with sex offenders have determined some common personality traits, coping skills and defense mechanisms. These are often used to provide a basic understanding of what to look for when assessing and treating the sex offender. Section 2.4.2 provided some general findings about the sex and age of offenders and their relationship to the victims. We will now address what has generally been found with regard to the offenders' attitudes (their acceptance of responsibility and cognitive distortions), their sexual behavior, emotional make-up, social skills and self-control.

4.2.1 Attitudes

Acceptance of responsibility is the first aspect of the character of sex offenders that is assessed by clinicians. According to Marshall and Barbee, approximately 80% of sex offenders initially deny their behavior. There is both a denial of guilt and a denial of responsibility, both of which can be viewed as a matter of degree, not categorically. They tend to blame others for their behavior. They often reveal a number of inappropriate attitudes or cognitive distortions. Abel et al., 1984 have studied cognitions in sex between children and adults and noted patterns in those held by adults who involve themselves with children. The following seven cognitive distortions are an edited version of those listed in the 1984 article "Complications, Consent and Cognitions in Sex Between Children and Adults" (Abel et al., 98-101).

Cognitive Distortion 1. A child who does not physically resist my sexual advances really wants to have sex with me. This cognition assumes that children have learned how to express themselves effectively with adults about things they do not want. It also assumes that harm can result only when physical force is used to commit such acts.

Cognitive Distortion 2. Having sex with a child is a good way for an adult to teach the child about sex. Some adults who are attracted to children attempt to justify their behavior with children as positive and advantageous for the child. A frequent misperception is that sexual activity with the child will teach the child to be a better sexual partner when he or she becomes an adult. The offender, acting on this fallacious belief, will attempt to conceal this "sex education" from other adults.

Cognitive Distortion 3. Children do not tell others about having sex with a parent because they really enjoy the sexual activity and want it to continue. Adults involved with children, especially over time, actually go to great extremes to conceal the activity from others, usually by telling the child about the catastrophes that would befall him should others find out, e.g., his mother will be harmed, or the offender will go to jail. When the child complies, the adult misinterprets it as evidence that the child wants the sexual activity to continue.

Cognitive Distortion 4. Sometimes in the future our society will realize that sex between a child and an adult is all right (a corollary is that previous cultures have found sex between children and adults acceptable). Adults who are involved with children frequently do not want to discuss present realities. To avoid talking about them, they focus on something else—the future or the past. It is true that in the past, sexual activity between children and adults was very acceptable in some cultures; however, the offender is not living in those cultures and he must abide by current law.

Cognitive Distortion 5. An adult who only feels a child's body or feels the child's genitals is not really being sexual with the child so no harm is being done. This cognition assumes that the child will not perceive a sexual assault of his or her body unless penetration has occurred and so will ignore the violation of these acts.

Cognitive Distortion 6. When a child asks an adult a question about sex it means that the child wants to see the adult's sex organs or have sex with the adult (a similar distortion is that children are sexual beings, and therefore they should have sex with adults). A number of adults attracted to children report that they would
ever have participated in the sexual encounter had the child not initiated the activity by asking questions about sex. It is true that children are sexual beings and are curious about sexuality; however, the issues surrounding informed consent remain. In the process of attempting to learn about sexuality, children will ask those around them about sex. The adult aroused to children, however, assumes that to inform the child means having sex with the child. This is not the accepted standard of education of children in our society, and is simply a cognitive distortion used by adults to justify their sexual behaviour with children.

Cognitive Distortion 7. My relationship with my daughter, son or other child is enhanced by my having sex with them. Closeness and intimacy with others is a goal sought by most of us, and sexual intimacy is one of the greatest opportunities to experience that closeness. The intimacy sought by one member of a pair, however, may not be sought or felt by the other member. When an adult male attracted sexually to children is able to hold, fondle and have intercourse with a child, the adult feels sense of intimacy and closeness. The problem is to determine objectively what is felt by the child. It is not surprising that an adult involved with a child reports that the child experiences the same feelings, since to say otherwise would mean that he is involved with the child against the child's will. The offender is making decisions for the child regarding the adult's feelings and the child's desire to participate.

These seven cognitive distortions are only a sample of the various beliefs or attitudes held by adults who involve themselves with children. A common and very important factor with all of these distortions is that the offender never attempts to validate his beliefs by asking about them or discussing them with other adults. His failure to do so suggests that he does not want feedback from others and does, in fact, recognize the inappropriateness of his behaviour. Rather, he tries to rationalize his behaviour through a distorted set of beliefs.

Offenders also tend to blame their behaviour on alcohol because it provides a socially acceptable explanation. At times, in the literature, it has been reported as a causal factor in sexual abuse. Marshall and Barbaree and other authors feel that alcohol does play a role, but it is not responsible for offenders' behaviour. They note two important points. First, alcohol acts as a stimulant in the beginning, but will interfere with sexual arousal if the offender has drunk too much. Second, decisions are usually made in a non-intoxicated state and the alcohol gives the offender the courage to act.

4.2.2 Sexual Behaviour

Marshall and Barbaree assess four different categories of sexual behaviour in their work with offenders: preference, functioning, knowledge and needs. They report the following findings:

Preference

A number of researchers have tried to develop assessment procedures for indicating the sexual preference of sex offenders. Devices, such as the penile phallometers and strain gauges, have been used to measure sexual arousal in a laboratory setting. They look at preferences relating to age, sexual orientation and type of sex acts (eg fetishist, exhibitionist, rapist).

Age. Marshall and Barbaree (1988, 25) have analysed five types of sex offenders with regard to age preference, those who have

1. a clear preference for children with little arousal by adults (the "child" profile);
2. a preference for children and adults with low arousal by pubescent females (the "child-adult" profile);
3. a non-discriminating pattern displaying moderate arousal by females of all ages;
4. a clear preference for teenage and adult females with little arousal by children (the "Teen-Adult" profile); and
5. a clear preference for adults (the "adult" profile).

Marshall and Barbaree have observed that the offenders with a "child" profile displayed greater arousal to descriptions of intercourse with a child than they did to fondling or oral-genital sex" (1988, 24). Also, they have found that offenders have generally not been inhibited by the child's resistance and visible distress. They tend to have far more victims and use more force and intrusive sexual acts: "These men are clearly the
most dangerous child molesters and they also appear to be the ones most likely to recidivate if untreated" (1988, 24).

Sexual Orientation. In their studies of men who had molested boys, Marshall and Barbaree looked at their sexual orientation to adults. Only one-third of the men were classified as homosexual and most of these men were married, but reported that their sexual relations with their wives were unsatisfactory. These men hid their sexual orientation from family and friends and targeted boys who were older (12.4 years) than those targeted by the heterosexuals (7.3 years).

Functioning

Marshall and Barbaree have found that many men who sexually abuse children have continuing sexual relations with an adult female partner, though the sexual part of these relationships is often deemed to be unsatisfactory by the offender. They state that the frequency of sexual relations is too low, they feel unfulfilled or they experience sexual dysfunction.

Knowledge

Sex offenders generally have a very limited knowledge of sexuality. In describing their sexual relations with consenting partners, Marshall and Barbaree have found that offenders aim to "attain orgasm as quickly as possible, with little in the way of affectionate interactions and with little concern for mutual satisfaction" (1988, 30). As well, they are quite naive about sex in general and express prudish attitudes. Clinicians have also observed that sex offenders are very afraid to acknowledge their ignorance and are reluctant to openly talk about sexuality (Greene, interview, January 1990).

Needs

It is clear that sexual behaviour satisfies a range of needs, not simply physical gratification. However, sex offenders are often unaware of their needs and why they are motivated to have sex. Marshall and Barbaree believe that this is probably why they experience so much dissatisfaction with their sexual relations.

As we explain later, offenders often have difficulty forming genuine, intimate relationships. They often don't understand or recognize their feelings and have difficulty expressing them. Without knowing it, they rely on sexual activity to express a whole range of emotions and expect to find the affection and closeness they are seeking through the sex act.

A clear example of how sex offenders channel their needs and emotions through sexual activity is shown in a list below. This list was compiled through a series of group therapy sessions with 8 to 10 sex offenders. The group was led by a counsellor from Emmanuel House and a Classification Officer from Her Majesty’s Penitentiary.

The needs these men identified as being expressed through their sexual abuse were

- need to have control and power over some area of their lives
- need to release stress/tension
- need to express anger at women in their lives
- need to be a strong male
- need to communicate feelings to wife (anger, hurt, resentment)
- need to feel adequate in all areas of their life
- need to unload and get support for their feelings — to sort them out
- need for more equal marriage
- need to receive affection
- need to have more confidence
- need to feel you are a good father
- need to learn how to trust
- need to meet sexual needs as well as desire for close relationship
- need to deal with loneliness
- need to feel O.K. about their sexual identity.

4.2.3 Emotions

It is apparent from the preceding list of needs that these sex offenders have difficulty finding appropriate ways of expressing their emotions. The emotional problems of sex offenders can often be traced to their childhood backgrounds. Although there were frequently problems of physical and sexual abuse in the past of many of these men, Mayer (1988, 20) believes that other factors contribute as well. She has observed
at many offenders grow up with "double-bind parenting" in which "conflicting or opposing messages are given to a child regarding the appropriateness of certain behaviours and the acceptance of certain emotions". She cites as an example "a mother who simultaneously shows physical affection toward her child while verbally berating him for some infraction".

Marshall and Barbaree believe that offenders often grow up without a strong bond of attachment to their parents and therefore lack the capacity to form satisfying relationships. Such offenders often talk about their relationship with their parents without emotion or with desperation — "I wish they loved me".

Mayer (1988, 20) also points out that offenders tend to come from homes where an authoritarian style of parenting is used, and she believes that "Authoritarianism contributes to repressed/suppressed aggression". In these homes, emotions are closely monitored and suppressed and behaviour is rigidly controlled.

It is important to elaborate on some of the emotions sex offenders have difficulty expressing. Anger, a very complicated emotion that is frequently not recognized and understood, often plays a key role in the committing of sexual offenses. As Mayer states, it can be viewed on a continuum with feelings such as annoyance, mild irritation, impatience and resentment on one end, and explosive rage and uncontrolled violence at the other. When anger is suppressed, it can build to a boiling point, hiding and distorting other feelings:

Anger is an emotion that can give its possessor the illusion of having power and control. However, it often masks fear, hurt, depression, guilt and frustration. For the sex offender with feelings of inadequacy and conflicts which centre around dependency-autonomy, anger can be a comfortable emotion, providing temporary relief from the more painful feelings of vulnerability, fear and rejection which lower self-esteem. The projection of responsibility, displacement of feelings and provocation of conflicts may help the sex offender experience anger and avoid close self-examination. (Mayer, 1988, 21)

Mayer discusses three ways in which anger can be manifested: passive-aggressiveness, regression and defensive reactions.

The passive-aggressive personality fears anger and avoids direct encounters through denial, projection and displacement. These persons usually appear passive, withdrawn and detached. They objectify others and seek satisfaction through impersonal material gains. They fear rejection and avoid expressing anger in an appropriate way. The roots of the original anger often relate to feelings of powerlessness during childhood abuse and mask inner feelings of insecurity, hurt and fear.

The lack of empathy described in the passive-aggressive personality is another key factor in the characteristics of sex offenders. Because offenders are often self-centred, insecure and emotionally immature, they cannot see past their own needs or relate to the needs of others. Therefore, they easily exploit and use others to satisfy themselves, with little or no regard for the feelings of their victims.

The regressed personality expresses characteristics similar to those of young children. As Mayer states:

These men often have primitive or under-developed moral consciences, poor impulse control and low frustration tolerance. They engage in expedient and self-serving behaviours and do not experience empathy for others. Like the toddler whose needs and wants are thwarted, the incestuous adult often is demanding, volatile and explosive. (1988, 23)

These men tend to hold in feelings such as guilt and shame, and often experience depression and anxiety. The stored anger eventually gets expressed, often in the form of aggression. This aggression is often displaced and directed towards their wives or children.

Defensive reactions, conscious and unconscious, play a part in the passive-aggressiveness and the regression. Mayer discusses two forms of psychological defenses that are common characteristics of sex offenders: identification with the aggressor and displacement.

Identification takes place when the offender who has been traumatized in childhood — through
psychological, physical, emotional or sexual abuse — identifies with his perpetrator: "Later in life he re-enacts the trauma experienced as a child, but, this time, his role invests him with the power and control he lacked as a child victim" (Mayer, 1988, 26). Displacement occurs when offenders direct at child victims the anger they have harboured against their own perpetrators.

Fear of rejection is another trait often observed in sex offenders. Their feelings of insecurity and low self-worth are a part of this fear. Any hint of rejection on the part of others may be met with strong feelings of hurt, self-hate and blame. These feelings often get expressed aggressively and inappropriately displaced onto others who are in more vulnerable or powerless positions.

4.2.4 Social Skills

Sex offenders often possess a range of social behaviours that may contribute to their problems. Marshall (1988) believes that sex offenders are not unlike many men in their social functioning. He identifies a number of common deficiencies:

- poor conversation skills
- lack of assertiveness and frequent aggression
- lack of empathy — no understanding of the emotional states of others and inability to express their own emotions
- poor relationship skills
- lack of problem solving skills
- poor stress-coping strategies
- adherence to rigid stereotypes regarding others
- lack of capacity for healthy conflict resolution.

Mayer, (1988, 43) also points out another deficiency:

- tendency to compensate for low self-worth by presenting selves as controlling, powerful and potent; tendency to see selves as failures who need to over-power others.

Many of these factors relate to the emotional development of sex offenders. Their inability to relate to others in a healthy, intimate way further compounds their feelings of isolation, hurt and rejection. Developing their social skills is an important part of helping offenders change their sexually abusive behaviour.

4.2.5 Control over Behaviour

Marshall has observed that many of the sex offenders discuss their sexual behaviour as if it wasn't planned: they say, "I couldn't stop myself". They do not recognize that they actively or passively planned to act. Active planning means actually reasoning out where to go and what to do. Passive planning is allowing things to happen, which is often what offenders do. They neither take the steps necessary to avoid certain situations nor place active controls on their behaviour, such as abstaining from alcohol if liquor disinhibits their sexual behaviour.

Some authors refer to the behaviour of sex offenders as addictive behaviour. Anne Wilson Schaef has examined how sexual behaviour can be a form of addiction. She states, "Sexual addiction, like any other addiction, is mood-altering. It affects the individual like any mood-altering drug. Sexual obsession becomes a 'fix' and addicts get their 'high' from the sexual fix" (1989, 10).

Wilson describes several levels of sexual addiction that begin with obsessively repressing sexuality and include such characteristics as "frigidity, impotence, sexual righteousness, obsessive sexual purity, non-integrated celibacy, religious sexual obsession, sexual anorexia, and the treating of others as sexual objects" (1989, 10). At the last level is rape, incest, child molesting and other forms of sexual violence.

Like any form of addiction (offenders often experience problems with substance abuse as well), the root cause can usually be traced to a person's inability to understand his own needs, to find healthy ways to express feelings and form intimate relationships with others. Determining that the sex offender's behaviour is addictive should not excuse his behaviour; rather, it should provide a means of understanding it and helping to find ways of controlling it.
4.2.6 Concluding Remarks

In concluding this discussion on the characteristics of sex offenders, it is important to note that some clinicians believe that many male sex offenders are not really very distinguishable from the general male population. Fortune (1983, 20) believes that many of the elements of acceptable male sexuality in our society are also the characteristics of sex offenders. She lists some of these characteristics:

- a desire that its object be innocent — i.e. powerless, passive, subordinate;
- a need to objectify the other in order to avoid intimacy;
- a desire to use another person exclusively to meet one's own needs;
- an ability to rationalize the experience: "she likes it, wants it, needs it; it's good for the kids";
- a lack of regard for the other as an autonomous person;
- a lack of responsibility for one's acts; no one makes any demands or requires any form of accountability;
- an inability to find erotic/emotional pleasure with an equal — male or female — or with someone who takes the initiative sexually;
- a sexual orientation which is predatory and dependent on the subordination of the partner; and
- an avoidance of rejection by always being in control.

Although the behaviour of the offenders certainly is extreme, it is possible to see how it is rooted in the social and cultural milieu of our society.

4.3 APPROACHES OF SEX OFFENDERS

Groth (1978, 11-15) classifies behaviour patterns of sex offenders into two basic categories: pressured sex contacts and forced sex contacts.

The pressured approach is characterized by a relative lack of physical force. The offender uses either "enticement, in which he attempts to indoctrinate the child into sexuality through persuasion or cajolament" or "entrapment in which he takes advantage of having put the child in a situation in which he or she feels indebted or obligated". In general, the offender makes efforts to persuade the intended victim by bribery — rewarding the child with attention, affection, approval, money, gifts, treats and good times. Very often the victim and offender know each other before their sexual involvement and sometimes they are related. Involvement can be continuous and fairly consistent over time.

The forced approach, on the other hand, is characterized by the threat of harm or the use of physical force. The offender uses "intimidation, in which he exploits the child's relative helplessness, naivete, and awe of adults", or "physical aggression, in which he attacks or physically overpowers his victim". The attacks may be exploitive in that the offender uses threat or force to overcome the victim's resistance, or they may be sadistic, in which the force becomes erotic for the offender. It is this latter type that captures the attention of the public through the media. The sex force offender does not usually have an emotional investment in the victim, but instead views the child as an object solely for gratification — the child is used and then discarded. Most exploitative offenders do not intend to harm the child but they have no strong resistance against using violence. The sadistic offender intends to attack and assault the victim; physical and psychological abuse and/or degradation of the child is necessary for gratification.

4.3.1 A Detailed Description of an Approach Used by Sex Offenders

Sgroi et al (1982, 13-17) provide a detailed description of the approach used by offenders who are related or known to the child. Presentation of that description in a slightly edited form is valuable for two reasons: first, virtually all studies indicate that most child sexual abuse, perhaps as much as 75% — 80%, occurs within the context of affinity systems — fathers, step-relatives, family friends, neighbours or authority figures (Lang and Frenzel, 1988, 305); second, it offers insight into the behaviour of the child victim, addressing such concerns as how the child could engage
in such activities or why she/he didn't tell anyone about the abuse.

Sgroi describes five separate stages of child sexual abuse: 1. the engagement phase, 2. the sexual interaction phase, 3. the secrecy phase, 4. the disclosure phase, and often 5. a suppression phase following disclosure. In this section of the report the first three phases will be described.

Engagement Phase

Access and Opportunity. Child sexual abuse is not a capricious, unplanned, unpredictable phenomenon. For the most part, the perpetrator is someone who is known to the child and who has ready access to the child. Opportunity to engage in sexual activity is essential and can usually be achieved with privacy. The perpetrator and the child need to be alone with each other — in a room, in a house, or in some secluded place outdoors. Although these circumstances of access and opportunity may be accidental on their first encounter, the perpetrator can be expected to watch for, or to create, opportunities for private interaction with the child thereafter.

Relationship to Participants. The perpetrator is almost always someone in the child's own family who has access and opportunity by residing in the home or within the family circle. If not a relative, the perpetrator may be someone given access to the child by the parents or guardian — again someone within the child's daily sphere of activities. This access may be gained through the places where children are freely allowed: at home or in the homes of relatives, friends and neighbours; at school where they also engage in age-appropriate group activities — boy scouts, girl scouts, clubs, church-related functions. Children outside their own homes are usually under the authority of adults who temporarily occupy caretaking or guardianship roles. Thus the dynamics of child sexual abuse most often involve a known adult who is in a legitimate power position over a child and who exploits accepted societal patterns of dominance and authority to engage the child in sexual activity.

Inducements. Engaging the child in the sexual behaviour is usually done in a low-key, non-forcible fashion, possibly by presenting the activity as a game or something that is "special" and fun. This always entails misrepresentation of moral standards, either verbally or implicitly. The power and authority of adulthood conveys to the child that the proposed behaviour is acceptable and sanctioned. The perpetrator usually knows something about what children like and how to get children to fall in with some activity. Rewards and bribes are sometimes offered. More often than not, the opportunity to engage in activity with a known and favoured adult is sufficient incentive for the child to participate.

The successful perpetrator will manage to be coercive in a subtle fashion. The more adept the perpetrator, the less the likelihood that threats will be used to induce compliance, at least during this phase. However, force or threats may be used later on, especially to maintain the "secret”.

Sexual Interaction Phase

At this phase, the perpetrator exposes himself or herself, wholly or in part. The perpetrator then persuades the child to undress partially or completely and to expose his or her genitals. On the first encounter, perhaps nothing more will happen. They may look at each other and stop there.

After exposure, the activity may progress to auto-stimulation or masturbation. The perpetrator masturbates himself or herself and encourages the child to imitate the behaviour. They may masturbate themselves at the same time or at different times in each other's presence. They may still not touch each other.

The activity may, however, progress to fondling. The perpetrator may fondle the child, touching him or her in a gentle stroking fashion. The fondling initially may involve the entire body but eventually focuses on body parts with erotic significance — breasts, buttocks, genitals, lower abdomen, inner thighs. The perpetrator may persuade the child to mimic this activity and fondle him or her.

Fondling is often accompanied by kissing, either generalized or limited to kissing on the mouth. The activity may also progress to penetration of the mouth. The activity may also progress to penetration of the child's body in a variety of ways. Oral penetration occurs frequently since the child's mouth is the opening most amenable to penetration.
If another area of the child's body is to be treated, the next most likely opening is the anus. Penetration of the anal or rectal opening usually begins with finger penetration. It may progress to penile penetration if the perpetrator is a male, or there may be penetration of the anus by an object.

All of the previous sexual behaviours could occur readily with male or female victims. In vaginal penetration, the perpetrator usually begins by penetrating the vulvo-vaginal opening with a finger tip. Progressive dilatation will then permit penile penetration by the male perpetrator. Sometimes the male perpetrator will not attempt vulvo-vaginal penetration but instead will put his penis against the anal-rectal region of the female child. This behaviour sometimes called "dry intercourse".

Any of these sexual behaviours may be accompanied by ejaculation, sometimes into a body opening.

Although one would not necessarily expect a complete adherence to this list of sexual behaviours in an exact order described, the engagement phase does require a progression of sexual activity. The progression from exposure, to fondling, to some form of penetration is very predictable.

Secrecy Phase

After engaging the child in some form of sexual behaviour, the activity then enters a secrecy phase. The primary task for the perpetrator after the sexual behaviour has taken place is to impose secrecy. This is important because the secrecy eliminates accountability; the perpetrator is unlikely to wish to be caught and held responsible for the sexual abuse. Secrecy also enables repetition of the behaviour. The perpetrator must persuade or pressure the child to keep their activity a secret over time.

The child usually does keep the secret. Some children never tell anyone. Others keep the secret throughout their childhood and only disclose the sexual behaviour many years later. There are many reasons for this. Rewards have probably been offered and given. The child may keep the secret because he or she experiences some pleasurable feelings associated with the abuse. This premature introduction to sexuality by a known and valued perpetrator, a person who is a "significant other" for the child, may be accompanied by some good feelings such as, pleasurable sexual stimulation, enhancement of self-esteem, or feeling important to another person in a special grown-up fashion. Although not especially pleasing to contemplate, to deny that some aspects of the sexual behaviour may be self-reinforcing for the child is to ignore the obvious and to neglect consideration of one of the most important dynamics.

Threats may have been used to reinforce secrecy — in general, the less adept the perpetrator, the more likely he or she is to threaten the child. Of course, many compelling threats made to a child do not include physical violence; for example, the threat of anger by a third party — "If you tell Mommy, she'll be awfully mad!" Separation is a potent threat, especially for a young child. A perpetrator might say to the child, "If you tell anyone, Mommy may divorce me or I may be sent to jail". A threat of personal separation for the child may be particularly anxiety provoking - for example, "If you tell anyone, they'll send you away". Or the threat may involve self-harm by the perpetrator — "If you tell anybody, I'll kill myself". A variation might involve threat of harm to someone else — "if you tell anybody, I'll hurt your sister". The threat may entail violence against the child — "If you tell anybody, I'll hurt or kill you". Offenders might also say, "If you tell, no one will believe you; they'll think you're sick or bad".

The secrecy phase often lasts for months and years. The sexual behaviour progresses over time, usually in the direction of greater physical contact and an increase in sexual activity. It is helpful to think of child sexual abuse on a continuum over time. The chances are very great that the incident of sexual behaviour that occurred at the time of disclosure and discovery is unlikely to be the first incident of sexual activity for that child. Many situations of child sexual abuse remain secret forever. By definition, for the case to be reported, someone or something must interrupt the secrecy phase.
4.4 CLASSIFICATIONS OF TYPES OF SEX OFFENDERS

A number of researchers and clinicians have attempted to develop a classification system for sex offenders. Although the general characteristics described earlier apply to most offenders, some distinguishing features have been outlined in the literature, as indicated in the following classification schemes.

Intra-familial versus Extra-familial. This distinction tells whether the abuse was directed towards the offender's own children (intra-familial or incestuous), or towards children outside of the family (extra-familial).

Regressed versus Fixated. Another distinction that is frequently made in the literature is between regressed and fixated offenders (Groth, 1978, 6-10). Regressed offenders exhibit a sexual interest in both children and adults, while fixated offenders express an exclusive interest in children. According to Groth, regressed offenders prefer peers or adult partners for sexual gratification, but because of precipitating stress (e.g., marriage breakdown, loss of job) they turn to children for sexual pleasure. The abuse is often more impulsive than premeditated. These offenders are generally more amenable to therapeutic intervention than the fixated offender.

A fixated offender will have been primarily or exclusively attracted to children from adolescence. The attraction persists regardless of other sexual experiences: it is a preferred sexual lifestyle. Rather than a reaction to an acute crisis situation, the offender displays a pattern of repeated sexual contacts with children or adolescents.

Finkelhor (1984, 49-50) applies a different approach to the classification of offenders. He replaces categories with two continuums or dimensions, called strength and exclusivity. The first dimension, the strength of a person's sexual interest in children, indicates how strongly motivated he is to have sex with children, as evidenced by the number of contacts he has and the persistence of this interest over time. The second dimension, the exclusivity of a person's interest, reflects what percentage of his total sexual experiences and fantasies involves children rather than other partners. In Groth's terms, fixated offenders would be at the high end of both continuums because they have a strong and relatively exclusive sexual interest in children, whereas regressed offenders would be at the other end of the continuums if their interest is weak and nonexclusive. Finkelhor, however, believes that two continuous dimensions can account for a greater variety of behaviors in sexual offenders than can the discrete classification system used by Groth.

Situational versus Preferential. Goldstein (1988, 76-81) has developed a very extensive classification of sexual offenders based upon a typology developed by Dietz (1983, cited in Goldstein, 1988, 75), who divides all sex offenders into two broad categories: situational or preferential. Within these two categories Goldstein develops further divisions to help law enforcers recognize the wide variety of sexual offenders they might encounter. His classification will be presented in detail because it is the most thorough one reviewed in the literature. It describes the wide range of offenders in the above categories and reflects both the differences and similarities of offenders. (See Tables 2 and 3.) Goldstein's scheme can also apply to offenders in a variety of relationships with victims, whether sexual abuse by relatives, acquaintances or strangers. Within his classification typology (which follows), child molester is similar to our term sex offender because he is referring to the broad, inclusive group of child sexual abusers.

The Situational Child Molester. This type of offender does not have a true sexual preference for children but engages in sex with children for varied and sometimes complex reasons. Abuse may range from a once-in-a-lifetime act to a long-term pattern of behavior. The situational offender might also abuse the old, the sick, the disabled or the handicapped. Goldstein believes that situational child molesters are larger in number and increasing faster than preferential child molesters. Within this category, Goldstein identifies four major patterns of behavior:

Regressed - a reasonably "normal" individual who turns to children as a sexual substitute for preferred peer sex partners. He usually has low self-esteem and poor coping skills, low impulse control and low frustration tolerance. The main criterion for victim
### Table 2: Situational Child Molester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressed</th>
<th>Morally Indiscriminate</th>
<th>Sexually Indiscriminate</th>
<th>Inadequate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basic characteristics</strong></td>
<td>Poor coping skills</td>
<td>User of people</td>
<td>Sexual experimentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motivation</strong></td>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>Why not?</td>
<td>Boredom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victim criteria</strong></td>
<td>Availability</td>
<td>Vulnerability and opportunity</td>
<td>New and different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method of operation</strong></td>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td>Lure, force, or manipulation</td>
<td>Involve in existing activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pornography collection</strong></td>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>Sadomasochistic; detective magazines</td>
<td>Highly likely; varied nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3: Preferential Child Molester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seduction</th>
<th>Introverted</th>
<th>Sadistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basic characteristics</strong></td>
<td>Sexual preference for children</td>
<td>Collects child pornography and/or erotica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motivation</strong></td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Fear of communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victim criteria</strong></td>
<td>Age and gender preferences</td>
<td>Strangers or very young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method of operation</strong></td>
<td>Seduction process</td>
<td>Non-verbal sexual contact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

selection seems to be availability (which is why many of these offenders seem to molest their own children). He typically coerces the child into having sex.

**Morally indiscriminate** - an individual to whom sexual abuse of children is simply part of a general pattern of abuse; he uses and abuses other people, such as his wife, friends, employer and co-workers; he molest children for a simple reason — "Why not?" His primary victim criteria are vulnerability and opportunity — he has the urge, the child is there, so he acts. He uses force, he lures and he manipulates. The offender's victims can be strangers, acquaintances or his own children.

**Sexually indiscriminate** - an individual who appears to be discriminating in his behaviour except when it comes to sex — then he is willing to try anything sexual; he may have clearly defined sexual behaviours but has no real sexual preference for children. He likes to experiment sexually and is motivated out of boredom to seek sex with children. His main criterion is that children are new and different. He may abuse his own children or share them with others.

**Inadequate** - an individual who is a "social misfit"; this individual is usually withdrawn and/or suffers from psychiatric or personality disorders, mental retardation or senility. He becomes sexually involved with children out of curiosity or insecurity, because he finds children to be non-threatening objects. He might choose a vulnerable adult for the same reason. He tends to be frustrated, and is sometimes unpredictable, with a potential for violence.

**The Preferential Child Molester** The preferential child molester has a definite sexual preference for children. His sexual fantasies and erotic imagery focus on children. Such an offender has sex with a child not because of some situational stress or insecurity but because he is sexually attracted to and prefers children. Although these offenders may be fewer in number than situational child molesters, they have the potential to molest large numbers of victims. Within this category Goldstein lists the following three major patterns of behaviour:

**Seduction** - The offender engages children in sexual activity by seducing them in much the same way adults seduce each other — with attention, affection and gifts; he also works toward lowering the child's sexual inhibitions over time. The offender has the ability to identify with children and knows how to talk and listen to them. Frequently, victims reach a point where they will trade sex for the attention, affection and other benefits they receive from the offender. Many of these offenders are simultaneously involved with a number of victims, operating what has come to be called a child sex ring, which may include a group of children in the same neighbourhood, in the same Boy Scout troop or in the same school class. Adult status and authority are also important parts of the seduction process, and the offender frequently targets children he knows or perceives to be vulnerable.

**Introverted** - The offender has a preference for children but lacks the interpersonal skills necessary to seduce them, so he usually molest strangers or very young children. He engages in a minimal amount of verbal communication with victims and his approach is like the stereotypical child molester; he is likely to hang around places where children gather, such as playgrounds, to watch them or engage them in brief sexual encounters. He may also expose himself to a child, make obscene phone calls to children or use the services of a child prostitute. He might even marry, have his own children and molest them from the time they are infants.

**Sadistic** - The offender has a sexual preference for children but, in order to be aroused or gratified, he must inflict pain or suffering on the child victim. He uses lures or force to gain access to victims and is more likely than other molesters to abduct and even murder them. Goldstein reports that there have been some cases where molesters of the "seduction" type have become sadistic molesters. Compared to the numbers of other molesters, the number of sadistic offenders is small.

Although offenses and offenders can often be categorized, the divisions should not be considered distinct. There is considerable overlap in many instances of child sexual abuse.
Theories of child sexual abuse have undergone changes. More current theories (Finkelhor, 1984; Marshall, 1987), have tried to provide a more comprehensive view of why men sexually abuse children. As Finkelhor states, most approaches have tended to focus on a few factors, such as deviant terms of sexual arousal or psychosexual immaturity, there is a larger range of behaviors that still need explanation. Generally, theories have moved from a purely psychopathological model to include social and cultural factors.

The following presentation provides a brief review of the various theories of causation, with some analysis of their usefulness. These will include physiological theories, situational theories, feminist analyses, archaetypal perspectives and behavioural theories. I will also discuss Marshall and Barbaree's elaborated behavioural perspective ("Sexual Violence", 1987), which we have relied as the basis for much of this section.

**Physiological Theories.** Theories suggesting that biological factors, such as hormone levels, chromosomal make-up and pituitary functioning contribute to sexually abusive behavior are presently underdeveloped and controversial. However, they are not to be ruled out completely. Finkelhor (1984) believes that:

At the current level of conceptualization, biological factors are seen as a source of instability which may predispose a person to develop deviant patterns of arousal (Money, 1981a). Or they are seen as having a generalized effect on levels of sexual interest and sexual arousability. At this level of generality, however, such theories, useful as they may be for treatment, are not really specific explanations of how a person comes to find children arousing. (42)

A recent study by Bain et al, "Sex Hormones in children" (1988), shows further evidence of physiological link:

Wherever the basic pathology lies, it is possible that pedophiles have a disordered LH response mechanism that may be related to their child-directed sexual behavior. This phenomenon has been previously described in a small group of pedophiles (Gaffrey, Berlin, 1984). Our results confirm these findings in a larger number of pedophiles (N=26), yet these should be considered preliminary data since even greater numbers have to be examined in carefully controlled studies. These results present compelling evidence that at least one form of sexually-aberrant behavior in males, pedophilia, may be associated with a pathological endocrine phenomenon. Further studies must be done to corroborate these data since there are important implications for both the diagnosis and treatment of pedophilic men. (453)

Caution must be applied when using these theories. Marshall and Barbaree (1987, 14) make this point in their discussion of biological endowment in their comprehensive behavioural model:

This does not, however, align our theory with socio-biological accounts of aggression which all too often read like justifications for assaultive behavior (Hamburg, 1973; Popp and DeVore, 1979) and do not encourage attempts to prevent such offensive acts.

**Situational Theories.** Situational theories "focus on different temporal points in the emergence of the behavior and may hold the offender or the victim to be wholly or partly responsible" (Marshall and Barbaree, 1987, 5). These theories examine aspects of the victim's behavior that may have contributed to the abuse (seductiveness), and the circumstances of the offense (misinterpretation of the victim's behavior, influence of alcohol or drugs, anger, temporary insanity or overwhelming sexual arousal). These theories view the abuse mainly as an unplanned, circumstantial occurrence.

Marshall and Barbaree see relevance in these theories but believe that, in isolation, they cannot explain why men offend. They also point out some serious problems with these theories. With regard to the seductiveness of the child they state:
In a detailed analysis of our case records on 109 child molesters, we could find very little to support the idea that the children had invited sexual contact by the adult, at least on the initial occasion of sexual interaction (Marshall and Barbaree, 1986). Many of the offenders told us that the children were provocative or actually seductive, but the available evidence contradicted this and after treatment most of these men had changed their minds about their interpretation of the children's behaviour. (1987, 6)

The danger of such theories is the contribution they make to blaming the victim and minimizing sexual abuse as a serious social problem:

In most recent critiques, Sigmund Freud is identified as prime culprit and originator of the professional tendency to discount sexual abuse or blame it on the victim. His fall from grace is held to have resided in the famous transition from a seduction theory or neurosis, which explained hysteria as the result of real childhood sexual victimization, to the theory of fantasy, which reinterpreted patients' memories as wishes. ... But it also merged with cultural prescriptions to support the tendency among therapists to write off the accounts of sexual abuse given by victims. (Glaser and Frosh, 1988, 27)

Unfortunately, even our current history (see British Columbia's Judge Vander Hoop's reference to a three-year-old female victim of sexual abuse as a "sexually aggressive" child) reflects the misuse of such theories. Whether a child is or isn't "seductive" (according to anyone's definition) is not the issue. The adult is legally and morally responsible for his actions and should not engage in sexual activity with the child.

Theories attributing cause to alcohol, anger, temporary insanity or overwhelming sexual arousal have also been criticized. These factors will be discussed in more depth later on but, generally, Marshall and Barbaree hold the belief that any of these "situational factors need to be accommodated within a more comprehensive account which will illustrate why some men respond to such transitory experiences by acting in a sexually aggressive way" (1987, 7).

Feminist Analyses. Marshall and Barbaree believe that critics of feminist theories have taken them out of context and failed "to come to grips with the valuable contributions which feminist writers have made to the public's awareness of the extent of these problems and to the awareness of researchers to neglected but important features of sexual abuse" (1987, 7).

Although diverse, the feminist approach to child sexual abuse has looked at the problem in broad socio-cultural terms:

They emphasize that the scope of the problem is larger than incest and includes much abuse from non-family members and even strangers. Stressing the fact that most abuse is committed by men against girls (DeFrancis, 1961; Finkelhor, 1979), the feminists have chosen to explain sexual abuse as a function of the inferior status of women and children and of predatory attitudes directed toward them by the media and pornography (Herman and Hirschman, 1977; Rush, 1980). Rather than blaming dysfunctional families, feminists tend to blame patriarchal social structure and male socialization (Nelson, 1982), taking particular umbrage at theories that focus on the mother's role or the victim's complicity (McIntyre, 1981). (Finkelhor, 1984, 4)

As well as contributing an analysis of power and social structure, some feminists refer to psychoanalytic theories and addictive behaviour theories, but, whatever the approach, the women's movement has been instrumental in promoting awareness of the problem of sexual abuse:

Certainly, it has been almost entirely due to feminist analyses of socio-cultural structures and socialization processes, that we now recognize these influences as important to any comprehensive theory of rape or child molestation. (Marshall and Barbaree, 1987, 9)

Psychoanalytic Perspectives. There are many psychoanalytic theories that examine the offender's motivation to sexually abuse children. They generally focus on unresolved childhood trauma which may have
produced such manifestations as hatred towards women, strong feelings of anger and fixated psychosexual development. Although repressed emotion, such as anger (possibly from a childhood sexual assault on the offender), is an important factor to explore in treating sex offenders, it alone does not explain why some men express their anger by engaging in sexually violent acts, while others do not.

Marshall and Barbaree express concerns with the claim of some authors that sexual abuse is a "pseudo-sexual" act and is the expression of exclusively non-sexual needs, such as power and control. They believe that describing child sexual abuse as "pseudo-sexual" denies the sexual motivation of the act, and even though it may be motivated by nonsexual needs, there are clearly sexual components. More generally Meyer (1988, 16) concludes that,

At the present time, the literature presents a mixture of theories of which many are psychoanalytically-based and generally lacking in credibility. These theories are reworked and rehashed, and offer little justification for serving as a foundation upon which to base treatment modalities.

Another psychoanalytic approach (adopted by some feminists) that has received some criticism is derived from the object-relations school of psychoanalysis. This approach, as Glaser and Frosh (1988) explain, emphasizes

the negative impact of gender-differentiated child care on the ability of boy children to experience themselves as dependent and emotionally connected with others. As a defensive manoeuvre against his own emotional needs, reinforced by the cultural derogation of womanhood and the opposition between "feminine" and "masculine" qualities, the boy's ability to form intimate relationships is suppressed while his assertive, aggressive and spoiling elements are supported. Hence "successful" masculine socialization involves effective action in the external world at the price of a fragile and underdeveloped emotional capacity, which fuels both an urgent demand for more closeness with the mother and a destructive rejection of her. (25)

The problem Glaser and Frosh find with the theory is that

it makes it unclear how some people come to rebel against their traditional gender role, and it concentrates so strongly on the mother-child bond that it neglects consideration of wider social processes. (Frosh, 1987a, 25)

Glaser and Frosh do, however, see its value in broadening the causes of sexual abuse from specific traumatic events to those normative processes in socialization that make sexual abuse possible. Despite these criticisms, then, most researchers and clinicians would argue that psychoanalytic theories have an important place in understanding the psychology of the abuser and in treatment approaches.

Behavioural Theories. Behavioural theories have developed and changed over the years and now rely more heavily on cognitive theory. The main focus of these theories is that sexual attractions underlie the abusive behaviour and that these sexual attractions have been acquired via classical conditioning processes. McGuire, Carlisle and Young (1965) were the first to articulate such a theory. They proposed that all sexual preferences are entrenched by pairing fantasies depicting particular acts or partners, with sexual arousal induced by masturbation. According to classical conditioning theory, such pairing will endow previously neutral stimuli with strong sexual violence. (Marshall and Barbaree, 1987, 11)

However, the findings of laboratory experiments which repeatedly paired masturbation and fantasies, including pairing deviant acts with arousal, have not been confirmed. As well, Marshall and Barbaree point out that measures of arousal, indicated by the degree of penile erection, have shown that the majority of incest offenders and a significant number of non-familial child molesters have quite normal sexual preferences.

Finally, these theories do not explain why the men became involved in the deviant behaviour, though for offenders who were sexually victimized as children the
theory does raise some considerations, which will be looked at further on.

It is important to add that some authors view cognitive studies as promising some valuable future theory development:

An area of potential relevance, though virtually unstudied, is the nature of molesters' cognitions about children. An interesting study by Howells (1978) using the Kelly Repertory Grid showed that for child sexual abusers, the differences between cognitions of adults and children were not the same as for normals. Because molesters (and preference molesters, in particular) report atypical cognitions about children, it would seem important to document systematically these differences in cognitions, both sexual and nonsexual, and to investigate possible causal relations. (Lanyon, 1986, 179)

A Comprehensive Behavioural Perspective. This theory, developed by Marshall and Barbaree, "attempts to integrate biological endowment, childhood experiences and the influence of the socio-cultural environment, with both situational factors such as transitory states (eg anger, intoxication, etc.) and particular circumstances (eg easy access to a victim or temporary lack of constraints as in the case of a soldier during war)" (1984, 14). A description of its principal elements follows.

Biological Endowment. Here two properties are raised: "First, the neural and hormonal mediators subserving sex and aggression are near enough identical to make their distinct expression and self-perceived independence, a difficult task for the developing male" (15). Although some authors (such as Quinsey, 1984) interpret this relationship to mean that males will readily learn to be aggressive in a sexual way, Marshall and Barbaree claim that "human males are faced with the task of learning to inhibit aggression in a sexual context, a task which is very likely maximally difficult at puberty when the sex steroid system increases its functioning four-fold (Sizonenko, 1978)" (cited in Marshall & Barbaree, 1987, 15).

Second is what Marshall & Barbaree (1987, 15) describe as the "relatively unspecified direction of the unborn sexual drive". When given the opportunity, children frequently engage in sex play with other children of either gender.

If these early experiences serve as the basis for subsequent masturbatory fantasies which entrench sexual preferences as McGuire et al., (1965) would have us believe, then the miracle is that the majority of men prefer adult females. The flaws in McGuire's view notwithstanding, it is clear that the shift in the age of partners, which must occur throughout development for an appropriate adult orientation to finally emerge, appears to be quite a remarkable feat particularly when rather sudden intense desires are provoked during puberty. (Marshall and Barbaree, 1987, 15-16)

Clearly males do learn inhibitory controls. Studies have shown that typically normal males are inhibited by cues which show a lack of consent and a display of force (though alcohol and anger have been shown to be disinhibitors of the cues). Still, "Given that males are faced with the difficult task of learning inhibitory controls, we must consider why it is that some do and some do not" (Marshall and Barbaree, 1987, 17).

Childhood Experiences. Although Marshall and Barbaree do not agree that family upbringing alone will explain why some men sexually assault, they do recognize the significant impact it can have. Childhood experiences for rapists and child molesters appear very similar to those of other criminals: aggressive, alcoholic fathers; harsh inconsistent parenting and often sexual abuse. Although many characteristics may arise from this kind of family life (aggressiveness, self-centredness, little regard for others), the isolation of such boys because of their behaviour would contribute to their poor social skills and make it difficult for them to form appropriate, healthy adult relationships. Such social deficiencies have been linked to sexually deviant behaviour.

Seghorn, Prentky and Boucher in their study of 97 rapists and 54 child molesters (1966, 265) found important differences in the home environments of sexually assaulted and non-sexually assaulted child molesters:
Of the child molesters who were assaulted as children, more than half had criminal fathers (compared with none of the nonsexually abused group), three quarters had drug/alcohol abusing fathers (compared with one third of the comparison group), more than one third had mothers and fathers with a psychiatric history (compared with none of the comparison group), more than one third were neglected (compared with less than one third of the comparison group), and about 5 times as many came from homes in which other family members were sexually abused.

The issue of childhood sexual abuse in the sex offender's life is important to raise. Although the link has been debated in the literature, Seghorn, Frenkly and Boucher (1986, 265) reported that

a) the incidence of sexual abuse in childhood among child molesters was higher than the incidence of such abuse reported in both clinical and nonclinical samples in the literature; b) the incidence of sexual assault in childhood among child molesters was more than twice as high as the incidence among rapists; and c) nine of the 22 sexually abused rapists (41%) were victimized by family members, in contrast to only 4 of the 31 sexually abused child molesters (13%) (thus, rapists were 3 times more likely to be victimized by a family member than were child molesters); and d) when a sexual assault did occur, among child molesters as well as rapists, it was associated with many other indices of familial turmoil and instability.

Seghorn et al (1986, 266) emphasize that the impact of sexual abuse will be increasingly magnified if the child is left vulnerable by a deprived and abusive home environment.

Socio-cultural Environment Poor social skills are perhaps particularly significant when socio-cultural attitudes do not strongly inhibit sexual violence either. As stated in Section 3.3.3, studies have shown that societies which are male-dominated accept and encourage interpersonal violence, and societies which have negative views of

women have higher rates of forceful sexuality than societies without these features. The widespread rise of pornography in our culture (discussed earlier) also has implications for sexual violence. All these factors might have an affect on a male's development and contribute to his sexually offenses: as Marshall and Barbaree (1987, 20) remark,

No doubt the combination of exposure to pornography, an adult modelling molestation, and the boy's own sexual arousal in this context, provide a basis for future sexual fantasies which may entrench an attraction to deviant sexual behaviour.

Situational Factors Situational factors are also examined in Marshall and Barbaree's expanded behavioural approach. They have found that alcohol intoxication, anger, perceived anonymity and knowing they can get away with the offense all act as disinhibitors for sex offenders. As well, the men often misconstrue the child's behaviour (by seeing the child as seductive) or eliminate any developed controls (by believing the assault will do no harm). These cognitive distortions will be discussed in more detail further on.

Opportune Circumstance The final component of the making of the sexual offense is the opportune circumstance:

Since the majority of rapes and child molestations are planned (Amir, 1974, Geller, 1977; Quinsey, 1986) it is clear that offenders frequently set up the circumstances which facilitate abuse including deliberately intoxicating themselves and priming themselves by viewing pornography (Marshall, in press, 22).

Finkelhor's Model (Four Preconditions). David Finkelhor's "Four Preconditions: A Model" (1984, 53-68) offers an excellent framework for understanding why men sexually abuse. Although this model repeats some of what has already been presented, it illustrates well the combination of individual and social cultural factors that contribute to the offender's behaviour. (See Table 4.) Finkelhor believes that there are four preconditions that must be met before sexual abuse occurs. A summary of the four preconditions follows.
Table 4: Preconditions for Sexual Abuse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precondition I: Factors Related to Motivation to Sexually Abuse</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Social/Cultural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emotional congruence</td>
<td>Arrested emotional development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need to feel powerful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and controlling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re-enactment of childhood</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trauma to undo the hurt</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narcissistic identification</td>
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<td></td>
<td>with self as a young child</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual arousal</th>
<th>Childhood sexual experience that was traumatic or strongly conditioning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modeling of sexual interest in children by someone else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misattribution of arousal cues</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Biologic abnormality</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blockage</th>
<th>Oedipal conflict</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Castration anxiety</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fear of adult females</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Traumatic sexual experience with adult</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inadequate social skills</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marital problems</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precondition II: Factors Predisposing to Overcoming Internal Inhibitors</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Social/Cultural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social toleration of sexual interest in children</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weak criminal sanctions against offenders</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ideology of patriarchal prerogatives for fathers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social toleration for deviance committed while intoxicated</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Precondition III: Factors Predisposing to Overcoming External Inhibitors</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Social/Cultural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother who is absent or ill</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of social supports for mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother who is not close to or protective of child</td>
<td></td>
<td>Barriers to women's equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother who is dominated or abused by father</td>
<td></td>
<td>Erosion of social networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social isolation of family</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ideology of family sanctity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unusual opportunities to be alone with child</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of supervision of child</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unusual sleeping or rooming conditions</td>
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<tr>
<th>Precondition IV: Factors Predisposing to Overcoming Child's Resistance</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Social/Cultural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child who is emotionally insecure or deprived</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unavailability of sex education for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child who lacks knowledge about sexual abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social powerlessness of children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Situation of unusual trust</td>
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Motivation The sex offender must have some motivation to sexually abuse a child. There are three components to the source of this motivation:

**Emotional Congruence** - The offender may not see himself as different from the child. He is operating from one or many of the cognitive distortions listed earlier. His immaturity and low self-esteem make it difficult for him to relate to adults and he may feel that he can get children to do what an adult would not do. Relating to the child may give him a sense of power and control. He is trying to meet emotional needs.

**Sexual Arousal** - This is a controversial area, but generally refers to the physiological response of the offender. As discussed, early sexual experiences may have caused him to find children arousing. He may identify with his own offender in the process of trying to come to terms with the shame and powerlessness of the assault on him. He may have difficulty distinguishing sex from affection and confuse the cues. He may use child pornography as a means of eliciting arousal.

**Blockage** - The offender is blocked in his ability to have his sexual and emotional needs met in adult relationships. There could be a number of sources of the blockage — perhaps he cannot relate socially to adults, fears rejection, or has repressed sexual norms, such as viewing masturbation as "dirty" or "evil" and not seeing it as a sexual outlet.

**Internal Inhibitions** Along with the motivation to sexually abuse, offenders must overcome internal inhibitions. Alcohol is frequently used as a disinhibitor. They may rely on a number of social-cultural factors to rationalize their behaviour. For example, the existence of child pornography, weak criminal sanctions and the power of the father to get what he wants and needs, may support the offender’s view that he isn’t really doing anything wrong.

**External Inhibitions** Once the offender is motivated and has overcome internal inhibitions he must then eliminate certain external forces before he sexually abuses. The most important of these is the supervision of the child by other people. Abuse is more likely to occur in situations where access to the child is readily available. Offenders are very good at setting up situations that allow this access. Offenders often choose jobs where access to children is guaranteed (e.g., teaching).

**Overcome the Child’s Resistance** This is a very important part of the chain of events. The approaches used by the offenders have already been discussed and obviously play a key role in the enticement and entrapment of the child. The other key is the vulnerability of the child, and the offender is very good at picking and setting up his victims. This will be discussed at length in the following section, About the Victim.

Concluding Remarks The model offers a good explanation of how a man can sexually abuse a child. Obviously there are times when not all four preconditions coincide and the act may not take place. For example, the motivation and access to the child may exist but the man is too inhibited to act. In other cases, the man may be motivated and have overcome his internal inhibitions but the child to whom he has access may successfully resist abuse, perhaps by running away.

4.6 THE CONVICTED SEX OFFENDER: ISSUES AND DILEMMAS

In our society we are faced with a whole range of issues and dilemmas as we try to determine what to do with the convicted sex offender. Knowledge that a child has been sexually abused elicits strong emotions of anger, fear and often vengeance toward the perpetrator of the crime. If we know the sex offender or work with him in a therapeutic role, we will need to examine our reactions and look at how we will relate to this man, knowing what he has done.

Sex offenders are not a small, isolated group of men "out there". The reality is that they are everywhere and, if not actually in jail, "fit into several categories: never apprehended, apprehended but never charged, charged but never convicted, on probation, incarcerated in jail while on work release/probation, and on parole subsequent to incarceration in prison" (Mayer, 1988, 15).

Another part of the reality is that there exists a
lack of research, treatment and outcome evaluation of programs for sex offenders in our communities. Finkelhor writes, "Offenders generally deny their offense; they are hard to bring to justice or to treatment; and therapists and criminal justice officials do not relish working with them. Unfortunately, techniques for working with offenders have not received widespread dissemination, and many communities lack any concerted approach" (1984, 235).

There are a number of ethical and practical considerations that must be taken into account when making decisions about sex offenders. Some of these are:

1. Treatment or punishment — what is the right approach to allow for the protection of children and the rights of the offender?
2. What treatment approaches are best suited to the different types of offenders?
3. In what setting should the treatment be carried out and by whom?
4. How do we assess the risk factors associated with deciding to treat or not to treat?
5. How do we assess treatment outcome — are sex offenders ever cured?
6. What else do we need to know before we can provide accurate assessments and satisfactory treatment programs?

The answers to these and other related questions depend on whom you talk to among the general public, the professional fields, the political arena and the criminal justice system. Even from the narrower perspective of people working in the treatment field, there is much debate. Thus, it is important to discuss some of the factors associated with this debate.

4.6.1 Treatment or Punishment?

Incarceration is the primary method of punishing the sex offender and insuring community safety in our country. Treatment programs within and outside of the prison setting exist, but are disproportionate to the number of sex offenders. Because of limited financial resources and the availability of specially trained staff, individual communities lack the long-term follow-up programs necessary in providing relapse prevention/treatment approaches.

Specialists in the treatment of sex offenders view a system involving only prison punishment as being unproductive and adding to the sex-offender’s problem:

They come out with more violence, they are more angry, and often times their crimes escalate so that more harm is done to their victims. Prison is not a cure for this problem, and if we are going to use it as a cure, we had better make laws that say, "you are locked up the rest of your life until you die, because, outside of a specialized treatment program for sex offenders, that is the only way to prevent these men from reoffending" (Freeman-Longo, 1983). (Honey-Knopp, 1984, 7)

Such specialists believe that punishment through incarceration simply reinforces the deep, internal problems of shame, blame, self-hate and guilt that offenders often experience and which, many believe, are at the root of their behaviour. They believe that punishment has not proven to be effective with sex offenders and some form of treatment, in the long term, offers greater protection for society than simply locking someone up for a time. As Groth (1984) states:

The crime is a symptom; the offense may be punished, but the condition must be treated. The offender must be held responsible for his behaviour, but he also has to be helped to change that behaviour if we want our community to be a safer one. Otherwise, we are simply recycling him back into the community at the same risk he was prior to incarceration. Incarcerating him is only a temporary solution. (Honey-Knopp, 1984, 8)

Marshall also emphasizes the need for treatment programs for offenders and believes that without treatment, offenders are more likely to repeat the crime. In a statement to the press (Evening Telegram, June 21, 1989, 22) he stated:

Men who go without treatment after molesting children have a 42.9 percent chance of repeating the offense. With treatment the figure drops to 17.9 percent.
Of about 300 sex offenders who were in federal penitentiaries in Ontario last year, only 20 to 24 received treatment.

However, caution is expressed regarding the treatment side because of the pre-eminence of the medical model and the underdevelopment of evaluated treatment methods.

The concern with the use of the medical model is that "Behaviour that formerly was viewed as morally and legally wrong, ie, harmful to self, others and society, now is labelled 'sick'" (Mayer, 1988, 79). This approach can add to the rationalization of the behaviour by the offender and society and lead to his abdication of personal responsibility for his sexual abuse — "I couldn't help myself; I'm sick". It also places a tremendous amount of power in the hands of the medical "experts" who are often so "totally oriented toward humanistic service that they neglect to consider the severity of the crimes with which they are dealing" (Mayer, 1988, 80).

With regard to the state of treatment methods yer believes that

by 1980, there were few definitive studies on sex offenders and still fewer that could withstand the careful scrutiny of data analysis. Many of the studies have been anecdotal, and while they provide valuable insights into the causes of sexually aggressive behaviour, few provide useful information regarding therapeutic approaches that result in a measurable change in behaviour over time. Even fewer of these studies contain quantitative data, with adequate samples, on success rates for controlling deviant behaviour over time. (1988, 78)

In summary, punishing and treating sex offenders is not an either/or decision. What is needed is an approach that will cautiously and ethically examine the problem of sexual abuse giving consideration to the lives of the victims and the offenders. It must 1. place strong legal, moral and social sanctions against the sexual abuse of children, holding offenders responsible through the criminal justice system, for their behaviour; 2. give priority to the provision of support and services for victims and their families; 3. offer treatment approaches to offenders willing to take responsibility for changing their behaviour; and 4. actively pursue preventative methods.

Treatment: Control, Not Cure. When we talk about treatment methods for sex offenders we imply the notion of "cure" because of the influence of the medical model. However, people working in the treatment field do not claim that their programs will end the problem, but rather they seek to control, reduce and, over time, eliminate the sex offender's behaviour. They draw parallels to other habitual behaviours, like alcohol abuse, and recognize that offenders will probably always be susceptible and must work at restructuring their lives so they can maintain control over their deviant sexual behaviour:

One must view the offender as vulnerable to his deviant sexual preference indefinitely; he will fail prey to reoffense if he does not respect this vulnerability and ceases to manage his life in the ways necessary to prevent reoffense. Such a vulnerability model emphasizes that there is no cure but rather relative mastery of a serious behavioural problem. It also focuses on the problem inherent in long-term maintenance and the risk of later relapse (Dreiblatt, 1982, quoted in Honey-Knopp, 1984).

A shift in thinking is required when we approach treatment in this way. Treatment specialists must be clear on the expected outcome and carefully communicate this to the offender. We are all accustomed to a system that approaches problems with a "quick fix". A trip to a physician usually leads to medication to eliminate the disorder. Treatment is viewed as something done to you not something you actively take part in:

Unfortunately, treatment programs promote the offender's belief in the possibility of 'cure' by failing to prepare clients for the likelihood of lapses (ie, a return to the moods, fantasies, and thoughts associated with the relapse process). Similarly, institutionally based treatment programs, functioning without associated outpatient follow-up groups, promote the deceptive assurance that

treatment ends upon discharge. Clients who leave therapy with such misconceptions are primed for relapse (Pithers et al, 1989, 247)

4.6.2 Assessment Issues

Assessing the sex offender is a very complicated and lengthy task and differs from the assessment of clients with other problems. Extensive knowledge and skills are necessary prerequisites for the professionals doing the assessments. They must be attuned to the probable lying and other deception of the offender and be able to assess what happened. This means extensive, broad-based data collection from police and victim reports, from the family and from lengthy, detailed interviews with the offenders.

Determining the offenders' risk to the community is the most difficult part of the assessment process and places tremendous responsibility on the professional and agency trying to make an accurate assessment. As Groth (1978, 25) says,

Although no precise set of predictor variables are yet available in terms of repetition and dangerousness, and although clinicians have yet to demonstrate that predictive accuracy can be achieved in these areas, we nevertheless have no viable alternative at this time. Equally, however, it is premature to assume that such accuracy cannot be achieved.

The question of repetition of behaviour -- recidivism -- involves a thorough, individualized exploration of the offender's "life history, his biopsychosocial development, the social and cultural environment in which he grew up, his current life situation, and the circumstances surrounding the offense" (Groth, 1978, 26). To accomplish this, the offender is assessed (through self-report methods -- interviews, and formal testing) on his cognitive distortions, motivational needs, values, degree of moral development, sexual behaviour, social behaviour, substance abuse, coping skills, problem-solving methods, defense mechanisms, emotional adjustment, aptitudes and abilities.

The offender's willingness to accept responsibility or to perceive that his behaviour is a problem is closely looked at in the assessment, as is his previous criminal history and his ability to manage and control his behaviour. Situational factors, such as the offender's access to children, legal controls (supervision by probation officers), and family and community ties are also explored. Issues regarding victim selection and vulnerability are critically analyzed, determining the sex, age range and relationship of the victim to the offender, how specific the offender is in his selection of victims, whether the victim was physically or psychologically incapacitated, and whether the victims would be at risk if the offender remained in or returned to the community (Honey-Knopp, 1984).

The issue of danger also depends on a number of variables. Groth (1978, 28) lists the following factors used to assess the possible risk of psychological and/or emotional trauma:

- the nature of the relationship between the offender and the victim;
- the duration of the sexual relationship;
- the type of sexual activity occurring in the offense; and
- the degree of physical aggression, force, or violence directed at the child in the commission of the offense.

The issues regarding the offender's characteristics, situational factors and victim vulnerability would also have to be examined.

4.6.3 Factors Contributing to Poor-Risk Candidates for Therapy

There has been progress in the treatment field for sex offenders, though some offenders still have a negative prognosis and remain at high risk. Although specialists differ to some extent in their view of what determines whether an offender is a poor-risk candidate for therapy, Mayer (1988, 44) has devised a useful guideline. She includes the following factors:

- force or violence used during offenses (sexual and other);
- prior arrest record;
- bizarre rituals associated with offenses;
polymorphous perversion and/or progressive deterioration evident from history of offenses;
- evidence of violent, acting-out behaviours;
- chronic chemical abuse;
- chronic high stressors in the environment;
- low IQ or capacity for insight;
- history of severe childhood abuse;
- presence of persistent (paranoid, violent) fantasies;
- general criminal lifestyle evident from history, background checks or prior arrests;
- offenses of fixation-compulsiveness;
- sexual abuse of very young children;
- diagnosis of severe character disorder, paranoia, psychosis, retardation or organicity;
- persistence of defenses of denial and projection;
- history of chronic social-sexual-maladaption;
- history of chronic vocational maladaption;
- history of chronic sexual maladaption;
- community treatment providers and monitoring agents inadequate.

4.6.4 Concluding Remarks

What is clear from this discussion is how complicated the issues are regarding the convicted sex offender and how much work is needed to provide good assessments that will predict risks for the victim and the community and provide a realistic treatment outlook for the offender. Honey-Knopp (1984, 79) believes that there are two essential factors regarding recommendations for community-based treatment programs. They are the experience and insight of the treatment specialist and the resources of the sex offender and his community. Sadly, we have a long way to go to meet either of these criteria in our province.

Section 7 of this report includes a discussion of the treatment approaches for the sex offender.
Section Five: The Victim

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The fact that children are sexually abused every day, and usually by people who are entrusted with their care, is a difficult reality to live with. When the Badgley Report of 1984 disclosed that 54% of females under the age of 18 and 31% of males under the age of 21 have been sexually assaulted (ranging from exposure threats and unwanted touching to rape causing bodily harm) we realized that the problem of sexual abuse could not be viewed as a few isolated incidents. This also meant that we had to start asking different questions to understand how and why the problem occurred.

Traditionally, when children or women tried to talk about their experiences of sexual assault, they were met with disbelief, blame and censure. The historical account given earlier helps to explain the victimization and silencing of children.

This study has also presented an account of the theories that have formulated today's thinking about child sexual abuse. Unfortunately, many of the theories, like Sigmund Freud's "Oedipus-Complex" theory, created misconceptions that still exist today. The discussion that follows will address these misconceptions, as well as the many questions and concerns about how and why children become victims of sexual abuse. We will look at the vulnerability of children and adolescents and discuss the issue of a standard victim profile. Then we will discuss the problem of blaming the victim, with particular focus on the concepts of resistance, consent and disclosure.

5.2 VULNERABILITY

Assessing vulnerability or determining which children are at risk for abuse is very difficult because there are so many factors involved. As Caffaro-Rouger states:

Because children vary enormously in physical attributes, maturity and mental development, there is no standard profile of the sexually abused child. Some children may be sought out because they are physically attractive, or charming, others because they are developmentally delayed (and cannot tell), others because they lack a male father figure (especially boys), and still others because they are too trusting. (1989, 33)

The problem of child sexual abuse is so widespread that virtually all children, because they are children, are vulnerable to assault. As Goldstein (1987, 46) states, "Child Molestation has been called the 'perfect crime' because children are singularly vulnerable, are easily persuaded to co-operate, and are too ashamed to talk about it with others".

Although some patterns do emerge that show some children more vulnerable than others, the findings are not completely clear. Much of the research has been flawed by its limited sample selection - caseloads from social welfare agencies.

5.2.1 The Child as the Ideal Victim

Offenders target children because they are powerless and vulnerable. Goldstein (1987, 5-7) presents the characteristics that make children ideal victims from the offender's perspective. Presented here is an edited version of Goldstein's five characteristics:

1. Natural curiosity - Children are naturally curious about the world around them and as they grow older, sex becomes one of the things they become inquisitive about. Because the subject of sex is so
Often taboo, little open discussion and accurate information is presented to the child. The child's natural curiosity, and the lack of information to satisfy it, can easily be exploited by a sex offender to overcome a child's inhibitions and gradually seduce him/her into sexual activity.

Easily led by adults - Children are taught to respect and obey adults. Even if they are not given that direct message, they learn early in life that their survival depends on these "powerful" adults whose role it is to meet their physical and emotional needs. Many adults in a child's life (parents, teachers, clergy, police officers, etc.) are extra-powerful people with even greater influence over children. Any adult sex offender can simply use his size and adult status to influence and control a child's behaviour, but the extra-powerful adult has even more influence and control. Some parents, clergy, teachers, police officers and others do molest children. Other offenders exploit their status as stepfathers, guardians, big brothers, Scout leaders, and so on to entice children into sexual activity. Those who do not actually have this added adult authority sometimes impersonate such individuals. Children also believe that adults know what is best for them and would not ask them to do something wrong or harmful. Some children have been instilled with a fear of adults, especially those adults in extra-powerful positions, such as clergy, police officers and teachers.

Need for attention and affection - This characteristic is a very significant one in making children ideal victims. Even when they are getting attention and affection at home, children still crave and need it from significant others in their life. Although all children are at risk from such seduction techniques, it seems that the child who is the victim of emotional neglect or who has strong feelings of alienation, is most vulnerable. Added to this is the fact that children often do not know how to deal with the promises of attention, care and rewards made to them by adults.

Need to defy parents - Although viewed as the least significant characteristic some child molesters may exploit children, especially adolescents, by taking advantage of a period when they are seeking independence from their parents. This works particularly well for silencing victims. Any child who is victimized as a result of disobeying some parental guideline or instruction is going to be very reluctant to tell anyone about it. This is especially true of adolescent boys, who might feel they will lose some of their freedom if they reveal their victimization.

5. View of children as fantasizers and liars - Although the criminal justice system has changed dramatically in the way it views testimony from children, attitudes that children frequently lie or cannot distinguish reality from fantasy still prevail. From the offender's point of view this certainly helps make a child the ideal victim.

5.2.2 The Adolescent

The size and innocence of young children help us to understand and accept their vulnerability, but the vulnerability of adolescents is less considered and often questioned.

We expect that teens, particularly males, will be old enough and mature enough to protect themselves. Such an expectation, though, ignores the element of power that is part of an abusive relationship and the insecurities and difficulties that are an inherent part of the adolescent stage of development. As Kempe and Kempe (1984, 139) state:

Although the adolescent victim of sexual abuse is developmentally more mature and therefore presumably better able to cope with sexual abuse, the adolescent is also in the process of forming his/her sexual identity and is therefore very vulnerable in this aspect of development.

Clinicians concur with this view and believe that the victim's self-esteem is also a factor. For adolescents it is a period of time when they are developing their personal identity and struggling with their dependencies on and independencies from family, and hence, seek assurances from others in many aspects of their lives. Offenders targeting this age group will use tactics that
will boost the adolescents' self-esteem and make them feel honoured and privileged.

Offenders will also take advantage of their confused sexual feelings and shaky sense of what they are and are not responsible for. Because they are often in "trouble" with someone (teacher, parents, peers) and experience many changes at this time in their lives (moving from elementary to junior high school, establishing new friends) they feel particularly vulnerable. For many teens, the excitement of the sexual experimenting entices them, even though they have fears and questions about the sexual activity (McConnell, Green, interview, December 1989).

5.2.3 Self-Concept and Social Isolation

The issue of self-concept has been generally emphasized by many authors as an important factor in the vulnerability of a victim:

Child sexual abusers manipulate the self-concept of the child victim. The offender will choose a child who seems insecure and will hold out the promise of eternal love and friendship if the child will only co-operate with him. How solidly the child likes herself will determine her vulnerability to the offender's promises. (Sanford, 1980, 13)

Russell (1986, 171) discusses this issue in terms of "social vulnerability" as well. She believes that "The girl who is frequently alone, appears to have few friends, and has a poor relationship with her mother and other family members, for example, may be more attractive as a victim to a would-be perpetrator because he may surmise that she's less likely to report him". Russell emphasizes the point that perpetrators are good at picking up cues of psychological vulnerability and at detecting social vulnerability.

Finkelhor also identified social isolation as a risk factor in sexual victimization. He found that "a large percentage of children who grew up on farms were victimized" (1984, 24). He also noted that girls reporting a small number of friends were more vulnerable. He concludes that "the physical presence of friends and neighbours acts as a deterrent to potential abusers. But even more than that, lonely children may be more susceptible to offers of attention and affection in exchange for sexual activities" (1984, 24). However, a recent analysis by Bagley has found that "there is no over-representation of those living in highly rural and farm areas" (1989, 23).

5.2.4 The Relationship of the Offender to the Victim

As we have stated earlier, who the offender is may determine the vulnerability of the victim. If he is the child's father, the relationship is complicated by issues of authority, trust, loyalty, dependency, caring and love. The child's faith in this care-giver may allow the sexual exploitation to occur with apparent willingness:

In most cases the child has both positive and negative feelings for the perpetrator, both in extra-family and intra-family sexual abuse. Many incestuous fathers are the more nurturing of the two parents. Other rewards received by the child may have added to the positive feelings about the perpetrator. Eighteen-year-old Carol told the group that "I loved my stepfather. For two years I considered him my lover. He bought me beautiful things like a diamond ring and a car." She went on to explain that he had cared very much for her, but when she wanted to break away from him and be with peers, he began physically abusing her. (Sgroi, 1982, 130)

This dynamic may occur with other father-like figures as well. This will be elaborated in our discussion of consent.

5.2.5 Family Background

Factors relating to income and family composition have been looked at to determine the risks of abuse for certain groups of children. However, as stated earlier, sample selection has mainly come from child welfare cases and researchers are concerned about the bias of such work. Badgley (1984, 203) acknowledges this problem and has found a variety of conclusions amongst the few studies conducted. He states that either there were no distinctions along class and cultural lines, or the members of certain minority
oups, many of whom are poor, were found to be at
risk than people in other walks of life.

Finkelhor tried to do a more representative heterogeneous population survey by studying college students. Of the 796 students surveyed, 19% of the women and 9% of the men had experienced some kind of sexual victimization during childhood.

A lot of information was gathered about the family back-grounds of the student participants. The findings showed a relationship between income and the likelihood of abuse: "for girls from families with incomes less than $10,000, 33% were sexually victimized, compared to a rate of 19% for the sample as a whole. In other words, lower-income girls were two-thirds more likely to be victimized than the average girl" (Finkelhor, 1984, 24).

This finding should not be interpreted to mean that sexual abuse victims do not come from other socio-economic groups. As Finkelhor (1984, 24) notes, the contrary, the high prevalence in this college student group implies the opposite. For example, none of the girls from families with incomes of over 20,000, 20% encountered sexual victimization.  

Other factors reported by Finkelhor in this study are related to the parents. Having a stepfather was found to be the strongest correlate of victimization: 1 of the girls with stepfathers had been victimized by someone, although not necessarily by their stepfather. The figures did show that a stepfather was five times more likely to abuse a daughter than was a natural father; however, girls with stepfathers were also abused by other men and sometimes before having a stepfather. Finkelhor believes that this may be the result of men being brought into the home while dating the girl's mother. He also feels that the quality of the girl's relationship with her father, natural or stepfather, contributes to her vulnerability:

When a father has particularly conservative family values, for example, believing strongly in children's obedience and in the subordination of women, a daughter is more at risk. Moreover, when he gives her little physical affection, the same is true. Such daughters have a harder time refusing the intrusions of an older man, even when they suspect them to be wrong, because they have been taught to obey. Moreover, a child who is starved for physical affection from a father may be less able to discriminate between a genuine affectional interest on the part of an adult and a thinly disguised sexual one. (1984, 26)

Girls who lived without their natural mother were three times more vulnerable to abuse than other girls. Although Finkelhor did not find a higher risk among children with working mothers his study did show that girls were at higher risks of abuse if their mother was "emotionally distant, often ill, or unaffectionate" (1984, 26). Finkelhor believes that these girls may be more emotionally needy and perpetrators may take advantage of that. His study also suggests a connection between the powerless of the mother and the sexual abuse of the daughter, which Finkelhor attributes to the daughter's learning to be powerless and obedient, too.

Finally, "a girl with a sexually punitive mother was 75% more vulnerable to sexual victimization than the 'typical' girl in the sample" (Finkelhor, 1984, 27). These mothers punish their daughters for asking questions about sex and Finkelhor believes that this often promotes rebelliousness and makes it difficult for girls to satisfy their sexual curiosity in a healthy way.

5.2.6 Children in Institutions

There has been some analysis of children in institutions. Looking at children in residential treatment centres, Siskind (1986, 15) concluded that "children in institutions are often particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse, especially by those caregivers closest to them, because of their developmental lags and insecurities and their increased reliance on adults". He found that they were at even greater risk if they had been newly placed, if visits from family members or other significant people were infrequent or altogether lacking, if the child was not in custody of a parent before placement in the centre, if the parent was not involved in treatment, and if the child was, for some reason, in need of one-to-one supervision.

Siskind compares institutional abuse to incest and believes that "patterns of sexual and non-sexual maltreatment can be traced beyond the occasional
deviant staff member to the culture, values, economics and style of the institution itself" (1986, 20). Drawing on Rindfleisch's (1984) findings, Siskind (1986, 20) presents the following administrative styles that have been identified with patterns of sexual abuse in institutions:

1. There is an autocratic director, protected by a strong political and administrative network. He discourages participation by staff and residents in any shared decision-making, thus inculcating in both a feeling of helplessness and powerlessness.

2. Stress is placed on the difficulty of handling the residents, with subtle or overt permission by administrative staff to control at any cost and thus, finally, to abuse.

3. Reliance is placed on a theoretical and ideological model which tends to distance, dehumanize and devalue relationships with residents. More pragmatic and realistic approaches are undervalued as the ideology is overvalued.

4. An oppressor mentality that reflects, encourages or tolerates hostility toward females, children or minorities exists.

Weaknesses have also been observed with in program structure and staff recruitment, training and operation and staffing in these structures. Siskind notes staff "burn-out" as another factor:

"Burn-out" can also contribute to an institutional climate in which there is greater potential for sexual abuse. The general intensity of milieu work, combined with feelings of powerlessness and of being overworked and maltreated by the administration, may obscure the judgement and boundaries of child care workers to the point where they themselves feel like victims and consequently are more vulnerable to the role of victimizer. They are thus apt to attribute responsibility for their feelings (and sometimes for their actions) to the administration, other staff and the child, while denying any abusive behavior on their part. (1986, 19)

Although Badgley did not look specifically at children in residential centres, he did analyse a study conducted in Toronto between 1979 and 1981 that examined the frequency of abuse in government-subsidized housing. He concluded that "for persons who committed sexual offenses, public housing units appear to constitute an easily visible target where a large number of children live in the same location" (1984, 205).

5.2.7 Ethnic and Religious Background

Finkelhor's study of college students in New England showed a higher incidence of sexual abuse among boys from Irish-American backgrounds. When compared to the Italian, French Canadian and English, "they were almost three times as likely to have had a childhood experience with an older partner as other boys in the sample" (1979, 114). The higher rate was the result of sexual experiences with older, unrelated men. He attributes this finding to the fact that "The Irish in America as a group are characterized by a high degree of sexual repression and segregation. There is much guilt transmitted in Irish families about sex. In a pattern of life that traces back to the old country, relations between the sexes are stilted and strained (Greely, 1972)" (1979, 114).

A recent analysis of the 1983 National Survey by Bagley (1989, 28) found a slightly higher rate of sexual abuse among males growing up in a French-speaking and/or Roman Catholic environment and in urban centres. Bagley also found that female victims were more likely to come from English-speaking, Protestant, small-town or rural backgrounds (1989, 23). He emphasizes, though, that "overall there was no socio-economic, ethnic, linguistic, religious or regional group which was not at risk for sexual abuse in childhood" (1989, 2).

5.2.8 Other Factors

Other authors have examined the vulnerability of children stigmatized by a handicap or social label. "A higher rate of incest has been reported for girls who are deaf, disfigured, seizure-disordered, illegitimate or lower in mental functioning (Browning and Boatman, 1977),
suggesting that children with physical and emotional problems may be especially susceptible to abuse" (Caffaro-Rouget, 1989, 33).

There has also been much speculation about the relationship of sexual abuse to physical abuse. Finkelhor's study (1984, 27) did not find a correlation between the two.

5.2.9 Concluding Remarks

It is evident that the factors determining which children are vulnerable or at risk of abuse are numerous and many. Researchers and clinicians caution against viewing these determinants as personal flaws that make children responsible for their own victimization or burdening parents with feelings that they have failed as parents. However, the issues outlined are important to examine when planning strategies for detection, protection and prevention.

5.3 BLAMING THE VICTIM

Child sexual abuse offers a perfect set-up for "victim blaming". First of all, the offender transfers the responsibility for initiating the sexual behaviour to the victim. ("She sat on my lap." "He crawled into bed with me"). His use of denial, rationalization and manipulation succeed in convincing the victim that he or she is responsible. Others are also often persuaded by his arguments. Second, the guilt, shame and self-blame experienced by the victim prevent the disclosure and add to such misconceptions as, "she must have known what she was doing or she would have told someone". As Goldstein (1987, 48) notes,

The guilt the child feels after being seduced is often used against him as a blackmail device. Children often feel good about the offender, yet knowing the act was wrong (either knowing at first or finding out afterward), they carry a burden of knowing that if they tell, the offender will be arrested and/or go to jail. In these cases, it is the allegiance they have with the offender that helps to keep them silent. The offender will also often use against the child the guilt the child has about participating in the acts.

Third, the consequences of believing the child are often too great for people to face (a family member may go to jail; faith in a revered leader is shattered) and the easiest response is to "shoot the messenger" or blame the person for their own victimization. As Fortune (1989, 120) relates,

Shooting the messenger is a common response to the revelation of unethical conduct. When the news is not something the institution or the community wants to hear, its knee-jerk reaction is to turn on the bearer of the news, often with a vengeance. First the messenger's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Resistance Strategy</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used physical resistance, force, or violence</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fled or tried to flee</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screamed, refused assertively, or protested vigorously</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed other verbal measures (e.g. pleas, threats, requests to stop)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sought assistance from a third person</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cried or showed other distress signals to perpetrator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive resistance techniques (e.g., pretending to be asleep)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other resistance strategy</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

credibility becomes the issue, and then her or his motivation is suspect.

Victim blaming is rationalized in a number of ways, so it is important to address the major issues that often contribute to the belief that the victims were responsible for their own fate.

5.3.1 Resistance

The knowledge that someone has been sexually abused often spawns two questions: "Why did he take part in the sexual activity" and "Why didn't she resist more?" Diana Russell, in her book *The Secret Trauma: Incest in the Lives of Girls and Women*, found that incest victims used a number of strategies to try to stop the sexual abuse from continuing or escalating.

Russell found that almost three-quarters (74%) of the victims used one of the five most assertive strategies. Table 5 indicates the strategies used:

- "We stayed out of his way, so didn't give him the opportunity"
- "I never was alone with him again"
- "I jumped out the window"
- "I avoided visiting him when I could".

Another victim said, "I finally mustered enough courage to squirm out of situations". Sometimes this avoidance behavior had to be kept up for years (127).

Reasons for not resisting more or for not succeeding in their resistance are described by Russell (129-131):

- because of the perpetrator's use of physical force
- too afraid of physical force to resist more
- never had a chance to resist (they were asleep)
- economic dependence
- disarmed by nonphysical threats (would not see her mother again if she didn't co-operate)
- disarmed by deception/sexual activity was described as a game
- too naive to understand what was happening
- because of the perpetrator's authority
- afraid of her mother
- fear of being blamed
- was afraid ("This experience scared me and I froze")
- disarmed by their feelings for the perpetrator
- felt needy or craved attention
- disarmed by feelings of powerlessness
- the sexual abuse was pleasurable, wanted by them to some degree, or not stressful to them

Often the victim is forced into submission by several of these conditions working together.

5.3.2 Consent

The issue of consent has already been raised as an integral part of defining sexual abuse. It is probably the most difficult concept for people to comprehend and is most often used to misname the problem or blame the victim for the assault.

Understanding the meaning of consent is onerous because it requires more than simply looking at whether two people agreed or complied to an act. It means looking at the broader political and ethical context and includes issues of power, authority, freedom, choice, equality and justice; Finkelhor (1984, 17) writes, "For consent truly to occur, two conditions must prevail. A person must know what he or she is consenting to and must have true freedom to say yes or no".

Part of possessing this "true freedom" is having the ability to make an "informed" decision. Children do not have this ability because they are young and lack the information held by adults:

- Children lack the information necessary to make an 'informed' decision about the matter. They are ignorant about sex and sexual relationships. It is not only that they may be unfamiliar with the mechanics of sex and reproduction. More important, they are generally unaware of the social meanings of sexuality. For example they are unlikely to be aware of the rules and regulations surrounding sexual intimacy - what it is supposed to signify. They are uninformed and inexperienced about what criteria to use in judging the acceptability of a sexual
partner. They do not know much about the "natural history" of a sexual relationship — what course it will take. And finally, children have little way of knowing how other people are likely to react to the experience they are about to undertake — what likely consequences it will have for them in the future. (Finkelhor, 1984, 17)

The other component of "true freedom" or choice is power. Adults are in a position of authority over the child, which means the child cannot truly give or withhold consent to sexual activity:

Sexual contact between persons is appropriate only when both persons are fully informed and freely choose such contact. This choice is only possible when both persons have the power to choose and to have the choice respected. Children do not have this power in relation to adults, especially with adults who are parents or parental figures. Even when a child solicits sexual contact with an adult or parent, it is the adult's responsibility to protect the child from an experience which is certain to create lasting psychological problems. (Fortune, 1983, 104)

Abel et al (1984, 94) nicely summarize the concepts of informed consent by posing four major questions:

- Does the child understand what he or she consents to?
- Is the child aware of the accepted sexual standards in his or her community?
- Does the child appreciate the eventual possible consequences of the decision?
- Are the child and the adult equally powerful so that no coercion influences the child's decision?

The issue of informed consent is not only a problem between adults and children. "The requirements for informed consent will be described with reference to interactions between children and adults, but apply to any negotiating of agreement between two parties" (Abel et al, 1984).

It is the issue of power that arises in adult relationships and usually involves a misuse of role, authority, and in some cases charisma. Fortune's discussion of a parishioner and clergy relationship is a revealing example of such an issue:

When people seek help from a pastor, they are emotionally vulnerable and confused. The clergyperson is in a position of authority and is seen as having more knowledge than the one seeking help. In this counselling relationship, the pastor has greater power, and so, a professional responsibility to be of assistance and not to take advantage of that power. When a pastor or pastoral counsellor engages in sexual activity with a parishioner or client, the pastor/counsellor takes advantage of his/her role in authority, betrays the trust placed in him/her by the parishioner or client and exploits the vulnerability of that person. (1983, 106)

Morey (1988, 866) believes that "Sexual abuse by pastors exhibits the same dynamic as incestuous abuse, which takes place within the context of an intimate relationship" and victims are "bound in secrecy by a double burden of guilt and shame".

People in leadership positions, especially those in public life, often possess another form of power — charisma. Politicians, church leaders, sports stars and prominent media figures often have uncritical loyalty and positive regard bestowed upon them.

In the same way that a child may place her or his trust in and dependency upon adults, and comply with sexual activity, an adult may submit to a revered leader. Glaser and Frosh (1988, 7) note that

Power is inherent in all relations between people, expressed in different forms and varying across different domains (one person may have more power in one area, a second in another). It is linked to dependence, although usually distinguishable from it: one does not need to be dependent on another to be physically coerced by him. The existence of abuse is therefore partially defined by the use of a position of power to manipulate another for one's own gratification and against the dictates of the well-being of the other.
Fortune (1983, 107) makes another point about abuse by clergy:

What is unique for clergy (and potentially more damaging for the parishioner or client) is the additional authority role which clergy carry as "God's representative" within the religious institutions and groups which they serve. Also, unlike any other professionals, parish pastors have access to people's lives: They can initiate visits and contact with parishioners whether or not it is requested. All of this means that being approached sexually by or having sexual contact with one's pastor is even more confusing and disruptive than in a secular setting. The additional burden for the parishioner or client is a sense of being betrayed not only by the minister but also by God and the Church.

5.3.3 Disclosure

Finally, the problem of disclosure is often misunderstood, as people ask the question, "Why didn't she tell someone?" or "Why did he keep it a secret for so long?". Telling or not telling is not a simple thing but a major dilemma sexually exploited children face. Understanding this dilemma requires an examination of the inhibitions to disclosure. Glaser and Frosh (1987, 57) divide these inhibitions into two categories: those that result from anxieties or concerns felt by the people who are in a position to recognize suspicions and receive the child's disclosure (called here "professional inhibitions"), and those that arise in the child's network from the web of secrecy that always surrounds repeated sexual abuse. We will address these two groups of inhibitions and address the problems male victims encounter when they disclose their experiences.

Professional Inhibitions Glaser and Frosh (1988, 57-58) outline several issues that professionals face in dealing with the problem of child sexual abuse.

1. Professionals may hesitate to intervene when a child discloses because they may believe that the consequences of intervention will be worse than the abuse itself.
2. They may have difficulty facing the disturbing details of the sexual activity because of their own unresolved feelings or inhibitions regarding sexuality. Also, they may themselves have been victims of abuse and may not have worked through their own feelings and reactions. Also, their own feelings of anger or outrage may stand in the way of a clear professional response.
3. They may doubt the truthfulness of the child's account.
4. They may feel unsure about whether the sexual activity described to them by the child is in fact abusive. Uncertainty is sometimes felt about what constitutes acceptable touch between parents or adults and children at various ages, developmental stages and in different cultures.
5. The rights of the child may take second place to the rights of the parents and the functioning of the family.
6. The professional may experience dual and conflicting loyalties to the child and abuser, if both were previously known, or if the abuser was the patient or client.
7. They may feel uncertain about the procedure or fear losing control over the process once it has begun. They may also have a lack of trust in other agencies or feel unsupported within their own agency.

All of these issues have serious implications about the response a child may encounter when relating his or her experience for the first time. It is important to note that it is not only the behaviour of individual professionals that may inhibit a child's disclosure, but also the structures and operations of the institutions and organizations within which they work. Next we will look at the dilemma from the child's perspective.

The Child's World The reasons children do not come forward and tell anyone about their sexual victimization are varied and many. They have a lot to do with the position children hold in society, with society's attitudes toward sexuality and sexual abuse, and with the structures of our organizations and institutions, but they are also related to the feelings and fears experienced by the child who has been sexually violated. Many of the
reasons are similar to those that explain why children cannot successfully resist abuse:

1. The child may be unaware that the sexual contact is abusive or wrong. This is particularly true of small children.

2. Many children fear that no one will believe what they say. As Goldstein (1987, 35) notes: Children are often brought up to perceive themselves as insignificant, and the size disparity between children and adults doesn’t help to make them feel any more consequential. It is not uncommon for the offender to tell the child that no one would believe any accusations the child might make. This is true for all situations, but especially if the child has a discipline problem or has any history of difficulties with the authorities. In any case where the offender is a prominent member of the community or is in a position where his integrity could not be questioned, this problem will create great difficulty for the child.

As one young woman stated in Butler (1985, 33), ... nobody would have believed me. Daddy was a big executive. He is a member of the Community Chest, the Rotary Club and always had his picture in the newspaper. I never felt anyone would believe a kid saying anything like that. I didn’t feel I had any place to turn and just waited for the day I turned sixteen so I could leave all of them behind.

3. Many children are anxious and afraid of how community agencies and professionals will respond. They may have had previous contact with the police, courts or a social worker, or they may have based their fear on what others have told them or on television programs. They may have little information about police investigation or court proceedings and may be afraid of such things as a medical examination (girls often fear having an “internal”), or that the social worker will take them from their family and place them “in care”.

4. Fear of being punished is also commonly expressed by children. They may have been threatened by the offender and are afraid he may harm them or other family members. As well, they may worry that their parents will punish them for disobeying them by “going with strangers” or doing “dirty things”.

5. Children may also be concerned about what might happen to the offender if they tell. They may not want to betray the abuser, especially if he is a relative or friend. Others may fear the repercussions for the entire family:

My father told me that if I ever let anyone know what he had been doing with me, that the police would send him to jail. Living in my neighbourhood, all of us kids knew what kind of place jail was, and I knew if Daddy went there we would have to go on welfare and Mom just wouldn’t have been able to keep it all together. (Butler, 1985, 33)

Wanting to protect their mothers from such news is quite common. “They worry about their mother “falling apart” or having a “nervous breakdown”. They often fear the reaction of their father, even in cases of extra-familial abuse — “Dad might kill him”. The fear of being blamed or rejected by their family or others because they told is also often expressed.

6. Fear of what others will think of them is often expressed by victims of sexual abuse. “A child may be embarrassed about the incident. Sex is an embarrassing subject and not one that people discuss easily when it comes to personal experiences” (Goldstein, 1987, 33). They may also be concerned about labelling:

Peer-group pressure, called the most influential motivating force in a person’s lifetime, easily suppresses a report from a boy who fears the ridicule of his peers by being called a ‘fag’, ‘queer’, or worse. The same is true for the girl afraid of being labelled a ‘slut’ or ‘easy’. (Goldstein, 1987, 34)

7. Guilt is a strong emotional inhibitor for many children. Their feelings of guilt may stem from a number of factors: feeling responsible for what has happened, experiencing pleasurable feelings, and
believing they have done something wrong. Many authors believe that the maintenance of the secrecy is related to the closeness of the relationship between the offender and the child: The closer that relationship, as when the abuser is family friend or relative, the greater will be the degree of secrecy. The ultimate and most harmful form of this closeness comes when care-giver and abuser are the same person. (Glaister and Frosh, 1988, 60)

It is often difficult for people to understand how victims can live with the abuse for so long without telling and without sometimes showing signs of the trauma. (The accommodation and coping mechanisms these children use as they endure the violence is discussed in Section 6). Butler (1985, 30) says, These children submerge their true feelings, distrust their perceptions and deny their own reality. They tell no one about the relationship and behave as though nothing happened. The tacit consent they appear to give by keeping silent does not preclude feelings of deep uncertainty and confusion. They are fearful of discovery and whatever might be the result of others 'knowing'.

The "Survivor's Cycle" developed by the Women's Research Centre (1989, 111) offers a useful framework for understanding the confusion and entrapment felt by victims. Figure 2 illustrates this cycle.

Male Victims  It is important to comment on the issue of disclosure as it relates to male victims, as stated in Section 2.4.2. The sexual victimization of males has been under-reported. Many authors believe this to be a result of the socialization of males which brands them as strong and mighty, and presents the notion that "boys will be boys" and always "fool around" sexually. The other inhibition to disclosure that males have expressed is the fear of being labelled homosexuals. Maltz and Holman (1987, 144) write,

Incest disclosure may be a particularly difficult challenge for men. Few men have publicly identified themselves as incest victims. As a consequence, there exists little social precedence for male survivors to share the secret of the abuse. Disclosure seems to threaten a boy's masculine identity. He may fear that if he makes such an admission he will be labelled by others as a submissive victim or a homosexual. Because of this common fear, many professionals believe that present estimates of the frequency of incest involving male victims may represent only a fraction of the actual number of cases. One man exclaimed after hearing a talk about incest: "So what! Most of the men I know are incest survivors."

Clinicians have also observed that males often have difficulty identifying that the abuse was coercive: In general, male survivors seem to consistently discount or minimize early sexual abuse. It may be difficult for a male survivor to accept the notion that the sexual activity was both abusive and coercive. They need to learn that there are other types of force besides aggression and violence — tricking, threatening, seducing, intimidating, bribing and sweet talking. Men are influenced by our culture to view sex more in terms of whether it was easy or hard to get than whether it was a positive or negative experience. (Maltz and Holman, 1987, 144)

Issues relating to male victimization will be further discussed in Section Six regarding the impact of sexual abuse.

In concluding this discussion on disclosure it is important to focus on what is at the core of the dilemma for victims of sexual abuse. Russell (1986, 33) describes this perplexity as the "willingness" versus the "capacity" to disclose. The victim may certainly want help and desire the abuse to stop but because of all the factors described earlier, not possess the power or ability to speak out.
Figure 2: The Survivor's Cycle

**Childhood:**
Every child is vulnerable, dependent, innocent, needy.

**Child is Sexually Abused:**
(physical, emotional, mental violation and abuse)

**The Cycle Continues**

**Negative Sense of Self:**
I'm a bad person, everyone is better than me.
I don't deserve better.
I'm a phoney.
If they really knew me they'd dislike and be disgusted by me.
I don't know who I am.

**Abuse Causes Confusion:**
What's he doing?
I don't understand what's happening to me.
I don't like this but how can I stop it? What is normal?
Where can I be safe?
I can't do anything right.
I don't know what's real, what's right.

**Self-Estrangement:**
I'm always wrong, I can't be like everyone else.
I'm not normal.
I'm not important.
No one cares how I feel.
My feelings don't count.
What I want doesn't matter.
I don't want to be me.

**I'm Trapped:**
It's my fault.
I must keep the secret to survive.
I am responsible: I didn't stop it or tell anyone.
I am responsible for who I have become.
I can't change anything.
I can't change my life or myself.

**Survival Skills:**
I have to hide inside myself.
I have to protect myself.
I can't let people see who I really am.
How can I keep from exposing the real me?

5.4 CONCLUSION

In looking at the victims of sexual abuse we have focused on two major dynamics of their victimization: vulnerability and victim-blaming. The powerlessness of children in our society and the lack of awareness and protection contribute to their abuse. As well, the responsibility and blame they feel and that others attribute to their victimization prevent disclosure and promote silence. Unfortunately, the silence has been an institutionalized response.

Fortune (1983) clearly describes the "veil of silence" that has, for so long, prevented exposure of the problem of child sexual abuse:

Victims of sexual violence have tended to keep their experiences private, shared at all only among closest friends. This is largely a consequence of the stigma society attaches to victims. Victims who have felt that they will be blamed for their victimization have hesitated to tell anyone about it. In addition, the response of many institutions, including the church, has reinforced the privatization of sexual violence. The minister who tries to counsel a victim and discourages her from reporting the incident, the doctor who treats the child victim of sexual abuse and tells no one else, the police officer who takes a superficial report but tells a victim that little can be done, and the prosecutor who refuses to file charges because the case is inadequate all serve to further privatize the victim's experience. This is especially true when the victim knows the assailant — he is a friend or family member. Then she is encouraged and feels obligated to keep the secret, to keep it in the family, to keep silent.

The silence is perpetuated by shame and confusion .... Silence begers more silence, the times. The victim's silence about her or his experience feeds society's silence which encourages the victims silence to continue. (Fortune, 1983, xii-xiii)
Section Six: The Impact of Child Sexual Abuse

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The impact of child sexual abuse has only recently become a concern of our society. Although the history of sexual abuse of children has been long and far reaching, the realities of the problem, including its effects, have been only slowly revealed and understood. The silencing of the victims by the perpetrators and the ignorance and denial of professionals, our institutions and the general public have prevented recognition of the problem and prohibited an active, comprehensive approach to dealing with it. In general, our culture has attempted to suppress discussions of sexuality.

The courage of many women and men, and girls and boys, to "break the silence" and speak out about their experiences has forced us to listen, understand and act on this problem. For too long people's problems, particularly women's, have been misdiagnosed and mistreated because their "secrets" could not be told. During the last ten years, though, we have seen tremendous developments in exploring the issue of child sexual abuse, as the literature demonstrates. And, while most of the effects described in the literature are related to females, the experiences of males have been shown to be very similar.

The impact of child sexual abuse is also related to society's response to the victim. Along with the victimization caused by the assault itself, children are often traumatized by the failure of the system to respond adequately and by the prevailing attitudes of "victim blaming": Rogers (1988, 19) writes:

Many children move through society's systems and cope reasonably well with their negative experiences. Others get into difficulty, and the more distressed they become, the more society tends to reinforce their low self-esteem. The downward spiral begins, and the future is bleak for those children unless they receive help .... Thus we have the contradiction between a society that sees itself as generous and caring yet allows uncaring and insensitive systems and institutions to persist. This ambivalence adds another layer of tension to the resolution of child related issues.

This presentation is based on empirical findings and clinical observations presented in the literature, as well as on judgements from local clinicians working directly with victims of sexual abuse. Although there is still much debate about the immediate and long-term effects of sexual abuse on children, strong patterns have emerged that give a good indication of what happens in the lives of many victims.

Included is a discussion of the following: the variables which relate to the effect of sexual abuse upon the child; a review of the immediate and long-term effects of abuse; the impact of abuse on the adolescent victim; the sexual victimization of males; the issue of institutionalized victimization; and the impact of sexual abuse on the family and the community. We have relied on literature reviews by Browne and Finkelhor (1986), Arlett et al (1988), Wachtel (1988) and Beitchman et al (1988) for this presentation. For the purposes of this report we have chosen to only look at the impact on victims of male offenders.

6.2 VARIABLES RELATING TO THE EFFECT UPON THE CHILD

There has been much debate regarding what types of abuse have the most serious impact on children. Generally the effects of the abuse are influenced by the following factors adapted from Kempe and Kempe (1984, 112-113):

...
1. the nature of the abusive act, particularly the degree of seduction, coercion, or violence used;
2. the age and vulnerability, developmentally and physically, of the child, and her or his varying degrees of ability to understand and cope with a traumatic or sexual event; symptoms are as apt to relate to the developmental level of the child and his or her previous experiences as to the kind of sexual abuse;
3. whether the offender is a stranger, a member of the child's social environment, or a member of the immediate family;
4. the length of time over which abuse takes place, from a fleeting episode to multiple contacts over months, and the degree of child participation (how and when the abuse ends are also factors);
5. the reaction of the adults to whom the child tells the story;
6. the consequences of treatment or legal intervention, particularly the length of the legal process;
7. the sex of the child and of the offender.

Brown and Finkelhor examined many of these variables and reported that abuse by father or father figures had a more negative impact than abuse by other perpetrators. Experiences involving genital contact seemed to be more serious and the presence of force tended to result in more trauma for the victim. When the perpetrators were men rather than women and adults rather than teenagers, the effects of sexual abuse appeared to have been more disturbing. When the families were unsupportive or the victims were removed from their homes, adverse effects were found in some cases.

Studies have not shown any differences in impact in relation to age of onset. Whether the child is 4 or 12 when the abuse began does not seem to affect the level of impact, but will certainly determine how the child expresses his or her reaction to the abuse and copes with what has happened. However, as Browne and Finkelhor state, the relation between age and trauma is especially complex and has not yet been carefully studied. Wachtel prefers to look at developmental status rather than the age of the child.

He feels that that status represents a key element in how the child deals with the abuse, and the child's knowledge about sexuality often determines his or her response to the abuse.

The child's individual strengths and weaknesses that enable him or her to deal with any stressful situation will also influence the impact of the sexual abuse on the child. Finally, the more the child feels responsible for his or her participation in the abusive situation, the more severe the effects will be.

6.3 THE IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Child sexual abuse is a very complicated problem. Not all children are affected in the same way or to the same extent and special attention is needed to understand the similarities and the differences of the impact of the abuse on different children. The following discussion aims to provide a brief overview of the effects most commonly reported by victims of sexual abuse.

To begin to build an understanding of what happens to a victim of sexual abuse we will refer to the six phases of sexual abuse and discuss the child's reaction to the abuse at each phase. The following is adapted from Laurie Kilgore's article "Effects of Early Childhood Sexual Abuse on Self and Ego Development" (1988, 226-228).

**Engagement.** It is during this phase that the abuser gains access to the child and introduces inducements to sexual behaviour. These may take the form of rewards, threats or both, and the adult may use his authority or status. The sexual relationship is often presented as a "special" relationship. The approaches during this phase produce tremendous feelings of confusion for the child. If the abuse continues, deeper emotional problems may result.

**Sexual Interaction.** This is the stage at which the trauma is experienced. As stated earlier, a whole set of variables affect the impact on the victim: the age of the victim at onset, life circumstances, the sexual acts performed and their context, who the offender is and the approaches he uses. The trauma is maximized by
circumstances that are unstable, isolated and neglected, and is further affected by the degree of powerlessness experienced by the victim during the sexual acts.

There are four trauma-causing factors: traumatic sexualization, betrayal, powerlessness and stigmatization.

**Traumatic sexualization** refers to the dynamic in which the child's sexuality, including feelings and attitudes, is shaped in a developmentally inappropriate and interpersonally dysfunctional way. This may be expressed by children in a variety of ways — inappropriate knowledge of or interest in sexual activity, sexual preoccupation (repetitive sexual behaviour, such as masturbation), and aggressive sexual behaviour. As adults it may mean confusion about sex norms and standards (not associating sex with affection), aversion to sex, flashbacks, negative attitudes toward sexuality, inappropriate sexualization of children, and sexual dysfunction (difficulty obtaining an erection or orgasm).

**Betrayal** refers to the process that develops when children discover that someone they are vitally dependent upon or hold in high regard has caused them harm. This breach of trust may be experienced in the form of depression as the victim grieves the loss of trust. Anger, hostility, isolation and aversion to intimacy may also be expressed. Betrayal is also experienced when children realize that their parents cannot always protect them.

**Powerlessness**, or "disempowerment", is the process in which the child's will, desires and sense of efficacy are contravened or violated. This may express itself in many ways. In children this may mean clinging behaviour, nightmares, phobias and somatic complaints. In adults it could mean a range of behaviours and problems, such as eating disorders or alcohol and drug problems.

**Stigmatization** refers to the negative feedback the child receives about the experience from the abuser, the family or others around him or her. As from any stigmatization, feelings of low self-esteem, of being different, of being isolated and of self-destruction may develop.

**Secrecy.** Through direct or indirect threat the offender ensures the secrecy of the relationship. Secrecy evokes a sense of complicity in the victim, which in turn triggers a good-object/bad-self dilemma. A tremendous amount of responsibility is placed on the child to keep the secret. This generates overwhelming anxiety in the victim who must then find ways to adapt to this inner conflict, which will result in splitting, depersonalization, disassociation, denial, introjection, acting out, somatization, sexualization, and displacement.

**Disclosure.** Whether the disclosure is deliberate or accidental, the response of others dramatically affects the victim. If the disclosure is accidental, the victim's anxiety is acute. The victim will fear threats, reprisals and possible abandonment by his family. If the disclosure is purposeful there may still be similar feelings. In either case, if disclosure is followed by disbelief and dismissal, or blame and recrimination, the victim's sense of isolation, helplessness, vulnerability and guilt is validated and becomes more entrenched, possibly leading to deeper problems.

**Suppression.** Suppression attempts to alleviate through denial the anxiety of disclosure. This denial may take the form of recanting the disclosure or "forgetting" what happened. Suppression is often reinforced by others in a child's environment through their own desire that the abuse will disappear. When suppression is reinforced, overt responses to abuse are submerged in the child's identity and may surface later as a range of problems or difficulties.

**Survival.** Survival depends on the child's ability to develop beyond his or her identity as a victim. A victim has survived when he or she is able to engage in relationships separate from the original abusive relationship. Survival takes place over time.

A fuller explanation of some of these effects follow, as well as a discussion of others that have not yet been raised.

### 6.3.1 Immediate or Initial Effects

In compliance with Browne and Finkelhor's terminology we have used the term initial rather than short-term because the latter term implies that the reactions do not persist and this certainly has not been proven to be the case. Initial effects refer to those
occurring within two years. They are

**Emotional reactions**
- fear
- anger and hostility
- guilt and shame
- low self-esteem

**Physical Consequences and Somatic Complaints**
- anxiety and distress
- headaches
- sleep disturbances
- nausea, stomach aches
- changes in eating habits
- excessive fear of the dark
- compulsive behaviour (continuous hand washing)
- pregnancy
- sexually transmitted diseases

**Effects on Sexuality**
- inappropriate sexual behaviour

**Effects on Social Functioning**
- problems in school
- running away from home
- early marriage
- delinquency

These effects will present themselves differently depending on the age or developmental stage of the child. Children under five years of age tend to display mainly *internalized* traits, such as guilt, fear, depression, diminished self-esteem, phobias, a sense of betrayal and self-hate. Older children usually exhibit more *externalized* symptoms, such as school problems, tendencies to run away, temper tantrums, substance abuse, suicide attempts and inappropriate sexual behaviour (Caffaro-Rouget, 1989, 31). The emotional reactions or internalizing symptoms (described in more detail below) are often at the root of the externalizing traits.

**Fear.** Fear is the most common reaction to child sexual abuse and is almost always present to some degree. As a result of being violated, children lose their sense of protection and security. The fears may take many forms, depending on the circumstances of the abuse and age of the child, and may include fear of being physically hurt by the abuser, fear that everyone is a potential attacker, fear of loss of love and approval, and fear of certain places and certain things. All child victims of sexual abuse can be expected to be fearful of the consequences of the sexual activity as well as the disclosure. Fears are often expressed in the form of sleep disturbances, such as nightmares.

**Anger and Hostility.** Anger and hostility are also common reactions to being sexually abused. The anger may be expressed openly (usually in the form of acting-out behaviour), displaced (anger towards others) or repressed and turned against the self (in the form of depression or self-destructive behaviour). The victims are angry with the perpetrators who abused and exploited them, with parents or family whom they may see as having failed to protect them and with neighbours, friends, school personnel, classmates and others in the community, depending on their responses to the disclosure. Most often, victims repress rather than express their feelings of anger.

**Guilt and Shame.** Guilt and shame are frequent reactions to child sexual abuse. As discussed earlier, they are related to the child's feelings of responsibility for the abuse, their sense of wrong doing and their fear of how others will perceive them. These reactions are also related to the sexual nature of the abuse and the child's feelings of personal degradation. These feelings may not be present prior to the disclosure of the sexual activity. Very young children, or those who accept the assurances of the sexual abuser that the activity is not wrong, may feel no shame or guilt about their own sexual behaviour until later, when they become more sophisticated or are reproached by others. Eventually, in most children, guilt becomes an important effect of prolonged sexual abuse. Unrelieved guilt may be accompanied by anxiety or depression and result in neurotic behaviour in later life.

**Low Self-Esteem.** Low self-esteem or a poor self-image may be a result of a whole range of factors connected to the sexual abuse. Many of the children feel "damaged" or dirty. The feelings of guilt, shame and self-blame contribute to their low self-worth especially
if the response to the abuse has reinforced these feelings. As a result of the poor self-image many victims refer to their bodies as "ugly" and "disgusting" and may hide their bodies with excessive weight, clothes, and hairstyles; neglect their grooming and/or hygiene; or flaunt their bodies with seductive dress. The self-hate may be so great that they harm their bodies through self-mutilation (cutting their arms), drug and alcohol abuse, or by taking extreme physical risks (reckless driving).

6.3.2 Long-Term Effects

The long-term effects are those that are expressed at least five years after the abuse. Although long-term effects may not be evident in some people's lives, in the majority of cases the trauma of the sexual abuse has a dramatic and lasting impact on their functioning.

The following list indicates the most prevalent effects reported by victims. While the list is limited to those effects that have been most commonly reported and documented, there are many more that could be listed. As with the short-term effects, not every child or adult will exhibit the same problems. Reaction to the abuse will depend on a range of factors. It is important to realize, too, that some people may present a few of these problems; others may have almost all of them.

Emotional Reactions
- depression
- self-destructive behaviour/suicide attempts/self-mutilation
- anxiety, tension
- sleeping problems/nightmares
- nervousness
- isolation
- stigmatization
- negative self-concept

Interpersonal Relations
- problems relating to women and men
- parenting problems
- difficulty trusting others
- fear/hostility
- sense of betrayal
- vulnerability for revictimization

Effects on Sexuality
- inability to enjoy sex
- avoidance or abstention from sex
- compulsive desire for sex
- promiscuity
- confusion regarding sexual orientation
- confusion over sex and affection

Effects on Social Functioning
- powerlessness
- learned helplessness
- problems with overall adjustment or coping skills
- problems concentrating in school, dropping out
- prostitution
- alcohol and drug abuse
- disassociation, loss of memory

Physical Consequences and Somatic Complaints
- chronic pain
- headaches
- nausea
- pregnancy
- sexually transmitted diseases
- sleeping disturbances
- eating disorders

Other Effects
- multiple personality
- problems with responsibility and control

It is important to elaborate on some of these effects, though most of the emotional reactions have been discussed in relation to the immediate effects of sexual abuse.

Depression and Suicide. Both depression and suicide warrant particular attention. It is only in recent years that professionals have recognized the connection of depression and suicide to child sexual abuse. Studies have shown victims of child sexual abuse to be more
self-destructive and to have high rates of self-mutilation, suicide attempts and ideation. Self-mutilation often takes the form of cutting, burning or tattooing parts of their bodies, particularly their arms. The depression and self-destructive behaviour are related to the strong feelings of self-hate, shame, guilt, blame and hopelessness victims often feel.

Trust and Revictimization. Issues involving interpersonal relationships, those which concern trust and revictimization, deserve further discussion. "Victims of sexual abuse are very aware of how unpredictable and hurtful other human beings can be. Having been victimized by people whom they had formerly trusted, they may feel particularly vulnerable or fearful of further abuse. These feelings of mistrust may cause problems and anxieties in relationships with friends and lovers" (Maltz and Holman, 1987).

Many people working with abuse victims believe that victims of child sexual abuse are more vulnerable to further types of victimization — later sexual abuse and physical abuse (eg wife battering). The vulnerability may be attributed to a number of factors, including difficulties in learning whom to trust, low self-esteem, feelings of powerlessness, and the ability of offenders to detect social and psychological vulnerability.

Sexuality. For victims of abuse, sex was learned as an act of physical submission in which they were denied the opportunity to experiment with their own sexual feelings in naturally evolving ways. As a result, victims often feel powerless and view sexuality as something over which they have no control: "The basic sex role learned by survivors is that of submission. Their partners' needs are allowed to dominate" (Maltz and Holman, 1987, 55).

Their victimization distorts messages about love and sex, and consequently for many victims "sex becomes the key to obtaining closeness, attention, touching and intimacy" (Maltz and Holman, 1987, 57). As well, the victims' bodily integrity has been violated and they have difficulty establishing physical boundaries and choosing what is done to their body and by their body (Fortune, 1983, 84). As a result victims are often easily exploited sexually and make poor relationship choices.

Many victims choose sexual promiscuity as a way of having some control and proving that their sexuality is now their own. For many victims this is another form of self-destructive behaviour, as they punish themselves through self-degrading activities. Some victims become prostitutes for these reasons, believing that this is all they are good for. Or else, victims may withdraw from sexual activity altogether, have difficulty experiencing pleasurable feelings during sex, or develop other sexual problems.

Social Functioning. The social functioning of victims is often affected as they try to cope with their molestation. Their ways of coping with the internal stress of sexual abuse are very important in protecting their sense of well-being, personal integrity and sanity. Maltz and Holman (1987, 34) write, "While coping methods may vary, they all appear to facilitate mental escape from the abuse or relief from the stress of physical sensations."

Many victims turn to alcohol or drugs as a means of escape or mental and physical numbing. Other victims use a process known as disassociation. Victims disassociate themselves from the abuse by divorcing themselves mentally from the experience. Disassociation permits them to blank out and be somewhere else in their minds. They create a mind-body split so they do not have to stay mentally present and fully experience the discomfort or pain of the abuse. They may quickly lose the memory or have only vague, dreamlike recall of what happened to them. (Maltz and Holman, 1987, 34)

This form of coping may be used in other situations where there is stress and in an extreme form is known as multiple personality.

Loss. A concluding description of the immediate and long-term effects of child sexual abuse can be expressed through the concept of loss. Through this personal violation, victims of child sexual abuse experience many losses. Lew (1988) describes them as:

- loss of memory of childhood
- loss of healthy social contact
- loss of opportunity to play
loss of opportunity to learn
loss of control over one's body and bodily integrity
loss of normal, loving nurturing
loss of identity, self-esteem, trust, sexual maturity, intimacy, comfort and security.
loss of self-determination and choice.

All of these losses signify that these children have been denied their right to a normal childhood.

6.4 THE ADOLESCENT VICTIM

People often minimize or overlook the impact of abuse on adolescents. However, clinicians believe the impact can be just as great on adolescents as on children, and is further complicated by the stress of that difficult stage of development. Adolescents may experience deeper feelings of confusion, responsibility and self-blame because they participated in the sexual activity and may have had some pleasurable feelings. As well, their systems of support and assistance may be hampered by previous problems they were experiencing with family, school personnel or legal authorities. Their fear of trusting or confiding in these people may be greater. Also, they may be afraid of being labelled (for males it is the derogatory term queer) and blamed for what happened. Their level of maturity makes them more attuned to the problems that might exist in their family. They may try to protect their parents by not saying anything. Finally, because adolescents are in the process of forming their sexual identity, they often experience confusion and even serious difficulties concerning sexuality and intimacy.

6.5 THE SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION OF MALES

To date, little research has focused specifically on the effects of sexual abuse on males, though findings of both Badgley (1984) and Finkelhor (1984) show that

- Thirty-three percent of males are sexually victimized at some point in their life, compared to 50% of females.
- Boys are more likely than girls to be victimized by someone outside the family.
- Boys are more likely than girls to be victimized in conjunction with other children.
- Victimized boys are more likely than girls to come from impoverished and single-parent families and are also more likely to be victims of physical abuse as well.
- The abuse of boys is more likely to be reported to the police than to a hospital or child protection agency.

Disclosures by male victims of abuse have increased since the early 1980s as both adult men and boys discuss their victimization. This increase in reporting has prompted interest in understanding more about the sexual abuse of boys.

Clinicians have found that the counselling needs of men who were sexually abused as children are similar to those of females. They need a forum where they can disclose their secret in order to be free of their isolation as victims. Clinicians have noted differences in how their traumas are expressed. Women tend to internalize their emotions, whereas men are more outwardly aggressive. Men usually display more anger than depression or guilt. Also, men often describe the traditional, yet pervasive, expectation that they should be strong and able to protect themselves, and should be in control of their emotions — to deal with things "like a man" (though men have been found to be more comfortable expressing their emotions to women than to men). Since being sexually abused may be viewed as having failed to defend one's self physically and sexually, men often have concerns about their independence and masculinity (Bruchner and Johnson, 1987, 66).

Lew (1988, 62) observes that "dealing as a man" often means hiding the fact that they were abused, avenging the hurt through violent behaviour and questioning their own masculinity. They often try to prove their masculinity by engaging in daredevil activities, sexual promiscuity, violent behaviour, law-breaking and military exploits.
6.5.1 Sexuality Concerns of Male Victims

Clinicians often observe problems of sexual confusion with males who have been sexually victimized. The conflict may be a result of having experienced pleasurable physical sensations during the abuse but feelings of disgust and anger afterwards. The victim may feel betrayed by his penis because it signals arousal at a time when he is feeling upset and hurt.

The stress experienced by the sexual abuse may be displayed in a number of ways. In terms of sexual activity, the male may withdraw from sex or become overactive sexually (compulsive, addictive behaviour). As Maltz and Holman (1987, 140) state:

Sexually, the abuse robs a boy of the opportunity to have early formative experiences that are self-initiated, self-directed, and self-paced. He is denied the experience of related, safe, sexual exploration with a socially appropriate partner. His initial exposure to sex likely involved lack of control over his genital functioning. He may feel betrayed by his penis because it gets hard, signals arousal, and feels good in the midst of an emotionally painful experience. Thus he may fail psychologically to integrate his penis as a positive part of his body. Sexual activity may become fused with such feelings as disgust and anger as a result of the abuse. As a survivor grows older, he may either withdraw from sex or become overactive sexually in an attempt to free himself of the victim role.

Males also experience particular conflict over their sense of gender identity and sexual orientation. As Maltz and Holman (1987, 145) explain,

Male victims may misinterpret the sexual stimulation and response they felt during the abuse as meaning that they were genuinely attracted to the maleness of the perpetrator. This misinterpretation may foster the mistaken conclusion that they must consequently be homosexual. Male survivors may need to realize that sexual organs do what sensitive body parts are supposed to do — respond to erotic stimulation. Same sex sexual interaction is normally somewhat arousing to people regardless of their own sexual preferences. While male survivors may think that the molestation defined or caused their sexual orientation, it might be more accurate to assume that the early incestuous experiences increased their awareness of sex in general.

More research is needed before drawing any conclusions about the significance of sexual abuse and later sexual preference.

A final issue expressed by numerous authors and clinicians is the belief that boys who have been sexually abused may themselves become abusers. Although this is a very complicated issue, it is possible to see how a history of abuse may play a role in some men's becoming offenders. The confusion between power and abuse is an important factor to consider. Lew (1988, 65 - 66) believes that there is a progression that goes as follows: "As a child, he had the experience of powerful adults abusing that power. In fact the perpetrator may have also been his primary role model. Because of this, he is likely to draw the conclusion that to be a man he must be abusive."

Also he may try to achieve power to avoid further victimization, and the one way he knows how to do that is to have power over someone else in a sexual way. The boy's feelings of anger that are a result of his low self-worth, loss of control, repressed hurt, humiliation, embarrassment, shame and guilt may contribute to his abuse of power.

Other factors, discussed earlier, that relate to the socialization of males also play a role. Men who have been raised in the traditional male roles and who have difficulty understanding and expressing their feelings may find it hard to form close, intimate relationships. As victims, their inability to trust may compound this problem and they may become very socially isolated. Because of their feelings of insecurity, they may feel a lot of pressure to prove themselves sexually and yet fear rejection. If they find it difficult to understand how others feel or are too angry to care (lack empathy), they may find it easy to see others (especially those weaker or more vulnerable) as objects.
Not all men who have been abused become abusers. In fact, this confusing of masculinity with abusiveness may be expressed in another way. As Lew declares, "the old saying 'Once bitten; twice shy' operates most powerfully when the child was 'bitten' by someone who has meant so much to him". The victim may set himself up to be a victim again or become a protector and attempt to give others the protection he needed as a child. This relationship between victim and perpetrator is one that needs further examining but should be included as an important consideration in the treatment and prevention of sexual abuse.

6.6 INSTITUTIONALIZED VICTIMIZATION

A presentation on the impact of child sexual abuse would not be complete without a discussion of society’s response to children and adolescents who have been violated, and the reaction to the general issue of child sexual abuse. A number of the issues already alluded to need reiterating in the context of this section.

We have used the term institutionalized victimization. Other authors have used such terms as victimization or institutionalized second rape. The appropriateness of the term institutionalize is apparent in the Webster definition of the word: "to incorporate into a structured and often highly formalized system". It is evident from the history of child sexual abuse and the current situation in our communities that the attitudes and beliefs of people and their responses have been highly formalized and entrenched in our society. A tremendous amount of education is still required to alleviate fears and change the many prevailing misconceptions people hold.

It is disappointing that more analysis of this topic does not exist in the literature. However, what does exist are reports from clinicians and the documented statements of many victims who have experienced disbelief, labelling and stigmatization as they told their "secrets" to others. It is encouraging that so much literature on the intervention in and prevention of child sexual abuse now exists. Also, education directed toward professionals, children and the general public has been rapidly developing in recent years. However, we have a long way to go toward creating a well-informed society.

There are four major areas that contribute to the institutionalized victimization of children. They are very complex societal issues upon which we will briefly comment.

The ill-informed and misinformed public. Many people not only lack information about the dynamics and impact of child sexual abuse, but also believe in false information or myths about the issue. We discussed earlier some of those attitudes and beliefs regarding the child as seductress or regarding the offender as the "dirty old man".

When Finkelhor (1984, 99) looked at attitudes in a 1981 study he found that while the public revealed accurate information about some aspects of the problem, they still held some misconceptions. A major belief has been that the offender is, in most cases, a stranger. Finkelhor concluded that it was not so much that people had not been exposed to information that showed abusers more likely to be intimates, but rather that the truth was difficult for people to accept, because it is unpleasant for people to harbour suspicions about friends, neighbours, relatives and members of their own family. He believes that they preferred to hold on to an image of the sexual abuser as a stranger.

Whether people are uneducated about child sexual abuse or have difficulty accepting the realities of the issue, the conclusion is the same: there is a need for serious attention to the problem of child sexual abuse. However, the strategies used to educate the public may have to be carefully considered in light of Finkelhor’s observations.

Society’s reluctance to openly discuss and address issues of sexuality. The fear and resistance regarding issues of sexuality are evident in many forms in our society. They are rooted in a culture that equates sexuality with genital sex and separates sex from intimacy (Nelson, 1988, 34). As discussed earlier, it is also a society that displays and teaches very confusing and contradictory information about sexuality. There is tolerance for and condoning of the expression of sexual violence, but an intolerance for and discrimination against sexual intimacy between persons of the same sex (homosexuality).
There are special sex-education classes in schools to deal with the biological facts of reproduction but not the more complex nature of sexuality — nothing that addresses the feelings or anxieties concerning their bodies and sexual responses that children experience (Butler, 1985, 155). Moral teachings that deny or negate sexual needs also silence open, honest expression of sexuality and lead to feelings of guilt and shame. All of these factors, and many more, create a climate that inhibits open disclosure of the victim’s trauma because it is of a "sexual" nature.

The treatment of victims by agencies and institutions. There are many examples that illustrate how victims are overlooked and poorly treated by our agencies and institutions. The professional inhibitors addressed earlier explain why many professionals are unable to sensitively and adequately respond to sexual abuse victims. Because of their lack of training and experience in dealing with the problem, some professionals still exhibit judgemental attitudes and discomfort when confronted with the sexual abuse of children.

The lack of policies, protocols and procedures also hinder the treatment of victims. Pine (1987) believes that efforts to do something about the problem are fragmented, underfunded, misguided and may further victimize the victim. This "double jeopardy when helping hurts" (126), as Pine phrases it, is evident in our crowded court systems that subject victims to lengthy waits for hearings. The social service system suffers from a lack of staffing and financial resources as well, and caseloads are so high that the victim’s needs get lost. The problem of child sexual abuse has simply not been given priority by our society and until it is, the institutions and agencies established to serve victims will not have the necessary resources to do a good job (Rogers, 1988, 6-13).

The inequality of women and children in our society. The earlier section on the history and socio-cultural issues show how women and children do not possess equal status with men in our society. The most blatant form of degradation and devaluing is the portrayal of women and children in advertising and the media. This impersonal, sexualized and exploitive portrayal contributes to their vulnerability and helps to support abusive behaviour.

Although the issues of child abuse and wife battering are often viewed and approached separately, the interrelatedness of these issues, as well as abuse of the elderly, is being recognized, especially within the family (Rogers, 1988, 34). Efforts to promote the worth and equal status of women and children are important to eliminate the violence directed against them.

All of these issues impact both directly and indirectly on the victim. They are large societal problems that can be addressed only through strategies for long-term change. These will be looked at in the final section of the report, on prevention.

6.7 THE IMPACT OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE ON THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNITY

6.7.1 The Family

The effects of child sexual abuse are also experienced by family members. This happens not only in cases of incest but in extra-familial abuse as well. As McConnell (cited in Duggan 1988, 6) states, it is not just the disclosure that affects the family, but the way the child was behaving before the abuse was disclosed. Families have indicated that a state of confusion, tension and unexplained behaviours were displayed by the victim before they knew what was wrong.

The impact of the disclosure is affected by the identity of the offender and the nature of the assault. The closer the offender is to the family, and the more violent the assault, the more explosive and worse the impact on the family (Duggan, 1988, 6).

Individual family members may react differently to the abuse. Generally, they experience many of the same reactions as their child: they feel confused, afraid, angry, hurt, embarrassed, guilty and ashamed (Daugherty, 1984, 65). If the person who abused their child was a friend or was entrusted with the care of their child, the parents will experience an enormous sense of betrayal. As McConnell states, it may be even greater if the person is a teacher or clergyman. In that case the family feels betrayed, not only by that person, but by the whole institution. This leads to a sense that no one can be trusted. Thus, for parents trying to teach
heir children how to trust, a tremendous dilemma is created.

McConnel believes that there is a particular kind of impact that happens if abuse occurs around puberty. McConnell (Duggan, 1988, 7) writes, "The normal developmental stage of being an adolescent gets all tangled up with the anger at their parents for not having been able to protect them; at the court for what the court has done; and at the offender for what the offender has done." The anger reverberates throughout the whole family.

In most cases, the parents' primary reaction is the need to blame someone for the incident: the offender, themselves or sometimes the child (Sgroi, 1978, 136). There is often what Sgroi describes as a gain-loss experience or effect. Depending on the identity of the perpetrator, the family has to weigh the "gain" of acting in the child's best interest (terminating the sexual relationship, ending contact with the perpetrator, pressing charges) with the "loss" that may ensue as a result of any of these actions. This, of course, is common in cases of incest where, for example, the conviction of the father may mean a loss of income to the family if he goes to jail.

This "gain-loss" dilemma also involves the issue of public perception. Family members are often concerned about "what other people will think". For many adults in our society sexuality is such a difficult topic to discuss that they would rather hide what has happened than openly disclose it. All of these issues may cause tensions and differences among family members, making it difficult for them to support the victim.

Families may also encounter other problems. For example, parents may have difficulty, for a number of reasons, in dealing directly with the concerns of their child. This may be for a number of reasons. If the parent experienced sexual abuse himself or herself, the abuse of the child will bring back many unpleasant memories (Daugherty, 1984, 65). Parents also may be embarrassed or frightened and feel ill-equipped or too nervous to discuss issues of sexuality. In cases where their sons were abused by male offenders, parents may have fears or misconceptions about homosexuality and not know how to discuss the issue. Other children in the family will also be affected. Depending on their age and awareness of what has happened, they will have to confront a whole range of issues and concerns as a result of the family's state of crisis.

Finally, the impact on families may be complicated by the attitudes and perceptions held by their community. Family members may experience the same isolation or stigmatization as the victimized child.

The impact the abuse has on family members should not be minimized or overlooked. As Daugherty (1984, 66) states, many families need assistance and professional counsellors to help them recover from the problems caused by the sexual abuse. This is especially true in situations of incestuous abuse. Also, the victims' recovery will greatly depend on the support they receive from those closest to them. It is imperative that the family receive help that enables them to give this needed support.

6.7.2 The Community

The disclosure of sexual abuse has increased so dramatically in recent years that communities are feeling the impact in many ways. The publicity and exposure regarding the sexual abuse of children comes at a time when other related problems like - battering, elder abuse and child abuse in general - are receiving a great deal of attention by the media, professional groups and educators.

More and more people are recognizing that they are, or have been, victims of one of these forms of abuse and are looking for help. Other people, not so directly affected, are still feeling the impact as they grapple with feelings of fear, concern, anger and mistrust. Generally, people have a lot of questions about why these forms of violence are so prevalent now, and they feel quite helpless and powerless in their search for answers. A common result of this confusion of feelings is a cycle of blame. As illustrated in Figure 3, the feelings of helplessness and powerlessness are often so great that people look for ways to regain some control. As referred to earlier in the section on the family, the process of blame may be directed towards oneself (internalized as feelings of guilt) or it may be directed towards other people (a stigmatized group like homosexuals). This misdirection of blame may produce
some feelings of power, but, in reality, it can be a very destructive form of denial, causing hardship for those discriminated against and creating a very divided community.

Professionals and agencies responsible for helping victims are faced with a whole range of issues. A primary problem that exists in some communities is a lack of understanding about the seriousness and pervasiveness of abuse. This results in confusion and ambivalent messages about how to deal with disclosures and possible interventions (Hill, 1989, 2).

There are also different levels of readiness and awareness that different agencies and disciplines possess which, as Hill (1989, 8) points out, create further confusion, duplication, turf protection, jealousy and lack of trust among the various jurisdictions and disciplines.

The high rate of disclosures has pushed agencies beyond their capacity to respond, and long waiting lists exist even for crisis situations. Remote and rural communities face even greater problems. Not only do they lack the services but "front-line staff and or agencies are extremely vulnerable and can be immobilized by the amount of fear and anxiety any type of intervention generates. In fact, individual staff in small communities can easily become the target of revenge, violence, political discrimination or other forms of attack" (Hill, 1989, 2). As well, the highly politicized nature of the issue of child sexual abuse affects staff, especially in child welfare agencies where the stakes and risks are high if cases are not properly dealt with (Hill, 1989, 2).

Burn-out and staff turnover are also problems within community agencies. The high number of disclosures and the emotional impact of the work produce much stress for workers. As Hill (1989, 4) states, front-line staff are often expected to provide services in an organizational climate where there is little or no concern for the workers and their needs. Staff are often expected to provide services without adequate training, resources, supervision or supports. All of these problems and frustrations produce an unhealthy and unproductive environment for staff, which in turn affects the victims they are trying to serve. Hence, a community approach to the problem of child sexual abuse is critical for all groups of people.

6.8 CONCLUSION

The impact of child sexual abuse can most clearly be described through the personal accounts of victims and their families. We have highlighted some of the issues clinicians and researchers have identified through their work with victims. However, sexual abuse is a personal violation that affects people in many different ways. It is consequently difficult to measure the impact in tangible terms. Although the physical consequences can often be detected and assessed, the other effects, particularly the emotional repercussions, are much harder to identify and understand.

The personal strength and courage of victims and the support they receive often enable them to cope. However, it is imperative that they also receive the tools for healing. The ability and opportunity to tell their story in an atmosphere of trust without blame is one of those tools. In the following section we will look more closely at what can be done about sexual abuse, and what can be done to meet the needs of victims, families, communities - and offenders.
Part IV

Responding to

the Problem
Section Seven: What We Need to Do about Child Sexual Abuse

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous sections of this report have described the problem of child sexual abuse as extensive, deep-rooted and having serious implications for everyone in society, especially the victims. They have also shown how misnaming and mis-blaming the problem have contributed to a limited societal response and a tremendous burden for the victims of the abuse. Also evident from the literature review is the fact that the precipitating causes of child sexual abuse are controversial. The theories are numerous and often technically complicated and there are no simple, steadfast guidelines to determine who will become a victim or who will become an abuser. Although there is a trend towards looking at the problem holistically, there is still much debate about whether individual or family characteristics contribute more to the creation of the problem than the broader cultural, societal factors.

Recent attempts by the women's movement and concerned professionals to address the problem has been a start in the intervention process. However, it is apparent that the extent of the abuse and the consequences for victims and society are so great that large scale attention must be given to this issue, using all possible political, economic, and moral will.

This section of the report addresses the key elements necessary to approach the problem of child sexual abuse. Figure 4 provides a visual framework of this discussion. The issue of ownership will be discussed and some basic principles for approaching the problem will be outlined. We will then present a summary of the issues that were included in the earlier sections and indicate some strategies needed in addressing those problems. The discussion is very general and simply indicates what has been noted in the recent literature by active clinicians and government officials, nationally and locally. There are so many gaps and limitations in the means of responding to the problem in our country, and especially in our province, that we can only highlight some major and obvious strategies that need to be implemented. We will also briefly address what some of the problems have been in earlier methods of prevention.

7.2 TAKING OWNERSHIP OF THE PROBLEM OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

To do justice to the problem of child sexual abuse, broad-based ownership is needed by all segments of society. Taking ownership means acknowledging the problem to be true and valid even before victims speak out. As Fortune says, truth "is not merely a rendering of facts; it is giving voice to a reality" (1989, 114). It means violating the act of child sexual abuse, admitting that the victims have been cruelly and unjustly treated and their trust, faith and innocence breached.

Ownership also means taking responsibility for the problem, beginning with knowledge and understanding of the roots and dynamics of child sexual abuse. The action that follows must be in keeping with a set of assumptions and principles, like those described in the next section, that reflect the legal, moral and social nature of the problem and address the serious impact child sexual abuse has on its victims.

As well, in this system of ownership, there must be a process of accountability, restitution and vindication. Offenders must be confronted and held accountable for their actions and victims must receive some form of restoration and freedom from their suffering.

Finally, there must be a commitment to long-term work to change the attitudes, values, behaviours and structures that contribute to the problem of child sexual abuse, and thus to prevent the occurrence of the crime.
Figure 4: Addressing the Problem of Child Sexual Abuse

Ownership

Assumptions/Principles

Identifying Needs

Strategies

Treatment/Support

Outreach

Counselling Therapy

Follow-up

Victims
Families
Offenders

Communities

Primary Prevention

Values
Attitudes

Behaviour

Structures

Individually

Families
Communities
Culture/Society
Sections 7.3 and 7.4 will look at why shared ownership of the problem by government, churches, community agencies and institutions is essential to address the many pressing needs of victims and their families, offenders and communities, and to develop strategies for prevention.

7.3 FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

Once the ownership or responsibility for the problem of child sexual abuse has been accepted, a set of basic assumptions or principles is needed to establish a framework for an effective and comprehensive approach to treatment, support and prevention. As part of the consultation phase with Rix Rogers, the Special Advisor appointed in September 1987 by the Minister of National Health and Welfare Canada, a list of assumptions or principles was developed for treatment, support and primary prevention. These principles offer an excellent framework for approaching the issue of child sexual abuse. The following list is taken directly from the Federal Government document Reaching For Solutions Canadian Council on Children & Youth, a report from A National Strategy Workshop concerning the Sexual Abuse of Children, chaired by Rix Rogers (1989, 8, 18).

7.3.1 Treatment and Support - Assumptions and Principles

1. The sexual abuse of a child is a traumatic event which, in addition to a legal response, also requires the availability of comprehensive and specialized treatment services for all those affected, in order to aid in recovery and healing and to minimize the risk of further abuse of the same and/or additional children.

2. Given the range of variables which influence the degree of damage caused to victims of sexual abuse and the timing of its disclosure, treatment services must provide for needs ranging from immediate crisis intervention following disclosure to intensive treatment and long-term periodic support during periods of relapse and stress.

3. Opportunities for treatment begin upon the disclosure of the sexual abuse and should be a component of all subsequent intervention, from the investigative process to counselling through preparation and appearance in court and beyond.

4. The sexual abuse of a child is a criminal act for which the offender, regardless of relationship with the victim, must be held solely accountable, and, in order to maximize the effectiveness of both legal and treatment interventions, this perspective must be integrated into all treatment methodologies used with victims, offenders and family members.

5. Community response must reflect the safety and recovery of the child victim as its continuing priority and, accordingly, all treatment planning and interventions should be child-centred, particularly when the child has been abused by a family member.

7.3.2 Prevention/Long-Term Change - Assumptions and Principles

1. The sexual abuse of children is symptomatic of a deeply rooted disturbance in social values which tolerates and thereby promotes the misuse of power and authority against vulnerable populations, including children.

2. The sexual abuse of children is a pervasive social problem which can be reduced and ultimately eliminated only through comprehensive social change resulting from community development strategies to redefine and recognize the role and potential value of all members of society, including children.

3. Strategies for prevention of child sexual abuse must also incorporate provisions for the early identification of existing victims and offenders as well as those at high risk.

A commitment to these principles offers a philosophical basis for viewing and treating child sexual abuse. However, the history of children in our society indicates that sexual abuse is only one of many types of abuse directed towards children. Therefore, it is imperative that these principles be placed within a broader philosophical framework that advocates the equality and well-being of children in all facets of their lives.
3 The Child-Centred Approach

It is also important that a child-centred approach be adopted in planning and intervention. The Badgley Commission (1984) concluded that a child-centred approach "provides more short-term benefits for sexually abused children". The philosophy of the child-centred approach is based on the following three assumptions:

1. The primary focus of service should be the victims, even though considerable attention may be paid to the offender.
2. Any type of sexual contact between children and adults is morally wrong and damaging to the child.
3. The adult offender is totally responsible for any abuse which occurs.

Rogers advocates the adoption of this approach for intervention and for treatment of all abused children in Canadian society.

7.4 ADDRESSING SPECIFIC NEEDS

Section 4 of this report presented a comprehensive description of the impact of child sexual abuse on the victims, their families and communities. The offenders were discussed in Section 3, which considered some of the issues and concerns of both treatment and punishment. Before we examine the strategies and approaches required to address the problems experienced by individuals, families and communities, it is useful to summarize what their issues and needs are.

7.4.1 Victims

Although the consequences of sexual abuse do vary among victims because of their differing circumstances, the following list enumerates the general issues and problems victims often face as part of their trauma. The victims may

- feel they are not believed, that they are responsible and blamed for their own victimization
- feel stigmatized by others, be made to feel different or labelled in some way, such as "damaged" or "queer"
- experience strong feelings of guilt, shame, betrayal, humiliation, self-blame, self-hate and anger — which may get repressed
- experience confusion about issues like authority, about what’s real and what’s not, about personal boundaries and limits, about abilities and self-competence, trust and faith
- have difficulties coping and use certain survival skills, such as acting out, running away, seeking control, fantasizing and being passive
- develop serious emotional or psychological problems that lead to self-destructive behaviour like self-mutilation, considering or attempting suicide, alcohol and drug abuse or prostitution
- face physical consequences of the abuse, such as pregnancy, sexually transmitted disease or damage to their vagina or anus
- experience interpersonal difficulties, problems with relationships (male and female), problems with family and peers
- experience confusion and difficulties with issues like sexuality, intimacy and spirituality
- encounter problems in other aspects of their lives, such as education, employment and housing
- be at risk for further victimization or becoming offenders themselves
- experience difficulty knowing what help they need and where and how they can get it
- face institutionalized victimization as they go through the court process or face poorly trained professionals in community agencies.

7.4.2 Families

The effects of the abuse may be different among families. Certainly the impact of incestuous abuse will create different problems than extra-familial abuse. Generally, families may be faced with the following problems when one or more of their children has reported being sexually abused. The family may

- experience strong emotions of shock, horror and disgust that such a thing could happen to one of their children
- feel guilty and responsible for the occurrence
experience strong feelings of hurt, pain, anger, remorse, hostility and blame that may get repressed or poorly expressed
- share the same feelings of shame and humiliation as their child and feel the same stigmas
- re-live abuse that was part of their own childhood and hence, create a whole range of other emotional and psychological problems
- experience difficulty coping with their child's problems and issues that have resulted from the abuse, eg drug and alcohol abuse, problems concerning sexuality
- create a number of internal family problems. Some members may blame the child for their victimization and the ensuing consequences for the family (father goes to prison)
- have their faith and trust in the offending person shattered and, in cases where the offender is in a position of authority, question their belief in the system they represent (church, school)
- develop an overprotective approach to their child which may produce considerable conflict between the parents and with the child
- feel inexperienced and incompetent to deal with their child's problems and their own, and with all the formal services and agencies that might be there to help.

7.4.3 Offenders

The offenders are usually a group of individuals many people would rather not have to think about or deal with; however, society also has a responsibility to address their needs. The offenders must
- be held responsible and accountable for their behaviour through the criminal justice system
- recognize the legal and moral implications of their abuse
- recognize the impact their criminal behaviour has had on their victim(s) and develop empathy with them
- admit their abuse and assume responsibility for their behaviour
- develop an awareness of why they offend
- obtain knowledge about sexuality, intimacy, sex role stereotyping and work on changing their sexually deviant behaviour
- improve their self-image
- examine their misuse of power and learn other ways to feel personally powerful
- learn to recognize and express their feelings and accept criticism and feedback
- learn appropriate communication skills
- work through their own early victimization or other problems
- develop a support system
- learn to control their alcohol and drug consumption
- learn to deal with and reduce stress in their lives
- learn to manage or control their anger
- deal with issues of housing, employment
- be willing to receive ongoing help and recognize when relapse is a risk
- be removed from society or closely monitored if they are at risk of re-offending.

7.4.4 Communities

As stated earlier, the increased reporting of child sexual abuse and other related problems has created a number of issues for professionals, social agencies, community groups and the general public, such as
- ownership of the problem as serious and needing full community attention
- prevalence of attitudes that blame victims and prevent disclosure
- misbeliefs and misconceptions about the contributing factors and dynamics of child sexual abuse
- feelings of fear, shock, horror, confusion and worry that exist among people who are trying to understand the problem, why it is so prevalent and how they can prevent their children from being affected
feelings of mistrust, anger, blame and hurt are experienced by many people, especially those personally affected.

information about the rights of children

availability of resources for assistance

limited knowledge about the impact of sexual abuse even among professionals in positions to help

indicators of child sexual abuse and why they are not commonly known

absence of policies and protocols; procedures for intervening are only at the developing stage in some institutions and agencies and non-existent in others

inadequacy of training for all professionals working with people, including teachers, social workers, doctors, lawyers, judges, child care workers, nurses and psychologists

inadequacy of resources, both financial and staffing, for agencies trying to respond to the problem

unavailability or limitations of counselling and support for victims and their families

unavailability or limitations of treatment programs for offenders

need for inter-agency networking, support and sharing

recognition of the stress and strain professionals and agencies are experiencing in trying to respond to the problem.

7.5 PREVENTION STRATEGIES

It is apparent that the problems and needs identified are numerous, diverse and interconnected. Several approaches are required to respond to the issues faced by victims, families, offenders and communities in the immediate and long term. The needs of victims and their families are of primary importance; however, to meet those needs work has to be done at a community level, as well as at an individual level.

It is also vital that strategies for long-term change be put in place even though they require long range goals and objectives and their results are neither quickly achieved nor recognized. Following Canadian reports by Rogers (1989), Dube et al (1988) and Wachtel (1989) we will present some of the strategies necessary to address the problem at the treatment-support and prevention levels.

7.5.1 Treatment and Support

Outreach, Intervention and Follow-up. Meeting individual, family and community needs requires a three-phase approach of outreach, intervention and follow-up. The outreach component helps to identify victims through information and education. Counselling and therapy are part of the intervention and follow-up phases and are essential for helping victims and their families with the problems they are experiencing as a result of the abuse. Offenders also require some form of treatment, either during or after incarceration. We will look at some of the approaches needed to help these groups of people and then look generally at what the community needs.

Victims' Outreach. The isolation and degradation felt by victims requires a community approach that will send a clear message to victims telling them that they are not responsible for the abuse. They also need to be told that information, support and counselling are available, and that they will be believed and treated with respect and confidence if they choose to use the services provided. This kind of service aims to reach victims who have disclosed and are looking for help, but who may be unaware of assistance or fear to seek it. It also seeks to help victims who have not disclosed, or others who want to understand the dynamics of abuse.

Outreach can be achieved through a variety of initiatives, such as dissemination of pamphlets, booklets, media exposure, public talks, setting up information or crisis lines, and establishing resource centres. It can also be achieved by using existing channels, such as schools, church groups, youth groups, social service agencies, hospitals, police departments and public buildings (eg shopping malls). Obviously it can only work if good quality services are in place for people to use. If done properly, outreach can reduce the stigma
attached to the abuse and help the victims come forward to talk.

**Intervention.** At the stage at which victims have requested help, it is important that the services provide an atmosphere of trust and respect and offer a sensitive, non-judgemental approach. Victims may require help in sorting out what their needs are and in finding additional or alternative services.

It is important that services at every level of intervention strive to help victims restore their self-image and reclaim their self identity. To this end, counselling and follow-up services need to adopt a process like the one presented in Figure 5, "Reclaiming Self", developed by the Women's Research Centre. The diagram maps out an approach which identifies self-awareness and acceptance of self as central factors in resolving the consequences that stem from the abuse. It is a process of re-collecting the lost and distorted fragments of the victim's life, understanding the experience so that thoughts and feelings can be effectively resolved or integrated, and making sense out of the ways the victim has used certain survival skills to cope with the abuse.

To enable this process to occur, victims may need intervention that takes the following forms:

- listening, validating and understanding when the victim discloses
- assistance with issues related to the victims' safety, such as legal or child protection procedures
- information about child sexual abuse, victims' rights, and impact of the abuse
- information about legal/judicial procedures the victims may be facing or want to pursue
- information regarding medical assistance victims may require, such as pregnancy tests or tests for sexually transmitted diseases
- information about sources of compensation
- individual counselling to address the immediate emotional/psychological/social effects
- advocacy and support for dealing with other agencies and the court procedure
- support to deal with the stigmatizing effects of responses by peers and the community
- counselling for assistance with family issues
- referral to services that can provide further counselling or therapy to deal with emotional or psychological problems
- assistance with the establishment of continuing supports.

**Follow-up Services.** Follow-up is a very important part of any network of services. Although victims may have worked through the immediate issues of disclosure, court charges and some of their fears and concerns, they may need on-going counselling and support for several months or years to complete the healing process. The following components may be part of a delivery of follow-up services:

- on-going counselling and support to deal with emotional and psychological effects and problems related to sexuality, trust, assertiveness, self-esteem, anger, body-image
- group counselling to address common problems, to build mutual support and sharing, and to help victims deal with issues of power, control and responsibility
- support and counselling to help with positive coping skills and to overcome problems with substance abuse or other destructive behaviour
- concrete help with problems relating to school, employment and housing
- assistance with other problems or concerns in their lives that may be related to the sexual abuse may be interfering with the healing process, such as interpersonal relationships, communication skills or eating disorders
- self-help groups where victims can get together formally with others who have been through a similar experience, to gain insight and knowledge about themselves and to build friendships with others
- drop-in time or space where survivors can informally connect with people they can trust and with whom they can share their thoughts and concerns.
**Figure 5: Reclaiming Self**

**Self-Awareness:**
I value and use my thoughts and feelings.
I can make mistakes; everyone does.
I can learn new things and be flexible.
I appreciate myself.

**Empowerment:**
The abuse was not my fault.
I can shed the guilt and shame; they're his not mine.
I did the best I could as a child living under those conditions.
I'm remarkable for having endured abuse and its consequences.

**Self-Acceptance:**
I know myself.
I like who I am.
I respect myself for having lived through the abuse(s) of my childhood.
I am strong and able to learn and change when I want or need to.
I deserve to be loved and respected by others.

**Clarity:**
I was sexually abused.
I can separate out who I am from what I've thought and felt about myself because of being abused.
I have personal rights.
I have the right to set and enforce boundaries and limits.
I trust my perceptions.
I am much more than a sexual abuse survivor.

**Survival Skills:**
I can be myself to myself and others.
These skills have helped me to survive.
Now I can choose which ones to keep or change and which to put aside.

Families

Family members also need outreach services, crisis intervention and follow-up help. Although their needs will probably be similar to that of the victims, family members may need some additional help, such as:

- recognition that they, too, are suffering from the impact of the child's abuse
- validation for their feelings of anger, loss, hurt, pain, self-blame and shame
- information about the impact and contributing factors of child sexual abuse
- assistance in dealing with their child's problem(s)
- family counselling and support to work through the effects of the abuse on the whole family
- information and support in dealing with other agencies, court procedures and possibly the offending person
- individual counselling for some members of the family who are particularly affected by the abuse or who may need to work through earlier abuse in their own lives
- follow-up, possibly within a group of parents who are working through similar issues, or an open invitation to call or make an appointment to talk with the group when difficulties arise.

Offenders

The safety of the victims and community is a primary concern when planning services for the offender. As stated earlier, assessments need to be carried out by highly qualified staff and risk factors regarding threat and re-offending need to be carefully appraised. Offenders must be held responsible and accountable for their behaviour by the criminal justice system and treatment services must complement, not replace, the sentencing and incarceration. For treatment, services will need to provide:

1. thorough assessment procedures to plan the most effective and appropriate therapy approach and determine risk factors,
2. drug therapy for high risk offenders
3. relapse prevention procedures so sex offenders can be taught to identify the internal and external conditions that increase their risk of offending again (Pithers et al., 1989, 250)
4. external controls to prevent relapse or re-offending; these controls might include continued incarceration, monitoring by parole services or other professionals and limited access to children and certain locations
5. long-term follow-up services for every sex offender, especially critical, since the first nine months after discharge is the period marked by the highest recidivism rate for sex offenders (Pithers et al., 1989, 244)
6. individual and group therapy approaches that will address the following areas outlined by Mayer (1988):

**Sexuality**
- Intimacy
- Nonsexual expressions of affection
- Sex-role stereotyping
- Male-female sexual needs

**Self-Destructive Thoughts and Behaviours**
- Fantasizing
- Obsessive thoughts/compulsive behaviours
- Chemical abuse
- Suicide and suicidal equivalents
- Addictive behaviours (work, gambling, etc.)

**Social Isolation**
- Alienation
- Avoidance and withdrawal

**Responsibility**
- Defensive reactions (denial, minimization, rationalization, projection, displacement)
- Ownership of behaviours, thoughts, feelings

**Exploitative Behaviours (World View)**
- Objectification of others (lack of empathy)
- Manipulation, lying, "conning"
- Use of power and control

**Parenting and Family Needs**
- Communication (attending behaviours, assertiveness, "I" messages, honesty)
**· Maturity**  
· Family roles and role reversals  

**Family and Sexual History**  
· Unmet needs for nurture  
· Childhood trauma (physical, emotional, and sexual abuse)  

**Affective Responses**  
· Anger (sublimation, compensation, passive-aggressiveness, suppression, repression)  
· Guilt, remorselessness, shame  
· Impulsiveness (lack of control)  

**Stress Management**  
· Relaxation skills  
· Behavioral management of stress  
· Awareness of triggering events  

**Problem-Solving Skills Development**  
· Conflict management  
· Environmental manipulation  
· Communication  

**Self-Esteem**  
· Peer support (affirmations)  
· Assertiveness training  

**Communities**  
Communities are not equipped to meet the needs of disclosing victims and their families or to do the necessary outreach and follow-up. Services for offenders do not exist in most parts of the country and are very poor in areas where they do exist. Although some existing services provide quality intervention programs, the high rate of disclosure in recent years has pushed them beyond their capacity to respond.

These issues, along with the ones described earlier, point to the need for planning and development to address the problem of child sexual abuse at a community level. Referring to the strategic objectives outlined in the federal government document *Reaching for Solutions, Canadian Council on Children & Youth* (1989, 18-22) we can highlight major achievements needed if communities are to increase their response level:

* acceptance of ownership of the problem — by the political, economic, legal, social and moral levels of the community — and adoption of the problem as a priority by all institutions and groups  
* development of treatment and support services for all children and their families who have been sexually abused  
* development of services for adult survivors of child sexual abuse, so a response will be available for victims whenever disclosure occurs  
* development of assessment and treatment programs for adult offenders, ranging from community-based to institution-based, with mechanisms for continuity, monitoring and follow-up  
* development of comprehensive treatment services for adolescent offenders, with particular emphasis upon prevention and early identification strategies, within both the community and institutions  
* acknowledgement by professional schools that child sexual abuse is an area that requires specialized knowledge and training, and development of their curricula to prepare students to effectively respond to their clients  
* development of in-service and/or continuing professional education for all relevant professional disciplines  
* development of opportunities for inter-agency networks to enhance staff collaboration, support and the co-ordination of services  
* development of community outreach and education programs  
* development of follow-up services for victims and their families  
* development of victim assistance or advocacy programs to assist with the court process  
* development of follow-up services for offenders  
* development and co-ordination of research to identify the efficacy of different treatment models for victims and offenders.

7.5.2 Primary Prevention: Steps toward Change  

**Dilemmas in Prevention Efforts**  
Prevention efforts have increased since the late 1970s with the inception of numerous education
programs and the development of agency policies and protocols aimed at detection and reporting.

Children have been the main target group for education, with parents and professionals designated as key audiences for receiving and delivering the information. These programs have focused mainly on personal safety issues with children, such as street proofing. Although these programs constitute an important approach to teaching children their rights, a number of authors and clinicians are currently expressing concern that too much emphasis is being directed at the child rather than at adults, in general, or potential abusers, in particular. Wachtel (1989) stresses that prevention education in the school does not constitute a complete prevention program and does not "solve" the problem. Wachtel also notes that "some people fear that child sexual abuse prevention education programs may make children too responsible for their own protection and thus may exacerbate self-blame if they are abused" (4).

Concern has also been raised about the content of the programs. Dube et al (1988, 13) outline the growing concerns researchers and educators have been expressing about the quality of prevention programs.

There is a general concern that over-simplification may result when the topic is being made understandable to children. There are many issues related to this, but a primary concern is the avoidance of sexual content. Finkelhor believes that this may occur when education is done in a setting where topics relating to sexuality are deemed controversial and when inexperienced trainers deliver the programs.

One negative consequence of the avoidance of sexual content is that "children do not receive practice in using words and phrases to talk about sexual activity" and that "one thing that inhibits children from telling about abuse is that they do not have a vocabulary or past experience for discussing sex-related matters" (Finkelhor, 1986, 242). Children may also receive an implicit message that sex is bad and not something to be talked about openly.

Another concern is the lack of evaluation of existing programs. Evidence is not clear on whether programs are successfully teaching children the behaviours thought to be useful in preventing or escaping sexual abuse. It is not known whether the information children are given in these programs actually transfers to action.

Dube et al (1988, 21) also discusses problems that have been identified in the planning and implementation of programs. They refer to the following issues:

- no staff with experience in dealing with child abuse
- few potential staff with experience
- difficulty in finding training materials
- problems in finding appropriate settings for the programs - some agencies or institutions resist implementing the programs
- funding problems, such as difficulty securing initial and long-term funding
- turn-over and "burn-out" of staff because of the emotional and physical strain of the issue
- problems in community networking.

Another dilemma in prevention efforts to date lies in establishing a commitment to developing prevention approaches that will examine and address the root causes of child sexual abuse. The recognition of the widespread and deep-rooted nature of the problem develops a sense of grave concern and anxiety in people. As Wachtel (1989, 1) states, "There is a sense that people are not what they seem, a fear that our institutions and our values are not sound, and discouragement because damage is so easy to do but often so hard to repair". Although these feelings can have an energizing affect and lead to innovation and reform, Wachtel points out that "they can also provoke denial and disengagement" (1). The changes needed are so extensive and the resources required so great that it often seems easier to dismiss the problem and ignore its ramifications.

Even when the commitment to do something about the problem exists, groups or organizations are faced with other issues. For example, promoting public awareness and education on the problem is an important step in reaching victims and changing attitudes; however, there can be dangers in moving in this direction if resources are not available to meet the increased demand. The lack of an adequate response system may mean further traumatization of victims,
possible injustice to alleged offenders, burn-out of dedicated professionals, negative publicity and backlash from the system. Yet, not to address this form of prevention might result in the abandonment of children who have not disclosed, a sense of false comfort that the problem is under control, and the permitting of public and official complacency (Wachtel, 1989, 3).

Objectives and Strategies

The assumptions and principles outlined in Section 7.3.2 for prevention and long-term change point to the need for developing an approach that will establish objectives at the following three levels:

1. addressing the values and attitudes toward children in our society
2. developing strategies to control and eradicate abusive behaviour
3. creating structures that secure equality and justice for all.

A number of strategies that can work toward achieving these objectives have been identified. They are considered next.

Education. The need for education has been discussed throughout the report. The method and intent of the education would have to be multifaceted and implemented by various institutions of society, including schools, churches, hospitals, government departments and agencies and volunteer groups. It should aim to

- promote the value and importance of the well-being and rights of children
- convey the message that neglect and abuse have no place in a caring community and will not be tolerated
- provide knowledge about the dynamics and impact of child abuse
- provide information about detection, reporting and available support services
- provide knowledge about sexuality - including intimacy, relationships, sex role stereotyping, sexual orientation, and reproduction
- provide knowledge about child development and parenting skills to enhance positive attitudes toward children and promote understanding of the capacities and capabilities of children
- assist parents with child-rearing issues, including non-violent discipline, discussing sexuality with their children, and consistent parenting approaches
- empower children by teaching them their rights to safety, security, and appropriate, non-exploitive affection and caring.

Legislation, Policies and Practices. As well as education there is a need for the implementation of legislation, policies and practices that will

- ensure the equal protection, rights and treatment of children under the law
- review all relevant policies and practices of social institutions serving children (eg health, educational, cultural, religious, recreational, legal and social services), and implement the use of a child-centred approach in the planning and delivery of all services involving children
- develop and implement policies and protocols that detect, report and prevent the abuse of children
- develop strict and consistent legal, moral and social sanctions against the abuse of children, and their exploitation through child pornography and child prostitution.

These must be initiated and enacted by all levels of government, churches, schools and other institutions.

Institutions and Society. It is revealed throughout the report that sexual abuse is a widespread problem that takes place in a broad social context, that "Rape and child sexual abuse are life-threatening by-products of a violent, sexist and racist society" (Fortune, 1983, 230). Also in order to create a climate of intolerance of abuse, the structures of our institutions must be examined.

As discussed in Section 3.3, we cannot ignore the significance of the sexual stereotypes of men, women and children, their portrayal in the media, the male domination of women through violence, and the perpetuation of the powerlessness and vulnerability of women and children. The structures of our society that exclude the equal participation and decision-making of
women perpetuate biases and injustices. As well, institutions that neglect and control children or assign low status to the caregivers reinforce the historical realities of children as objects of exploitation.

The values and priorities within our institutions need to shift in order to produce a climate of safety and nurturing for all people. The fact that most abuse goes on within the family structure or within institutions that re-create that system (such as residential centres for children) cannot be ignored. We must examine the internal workings of these systems, including their management model, use of power and authority, and systems of accountability.

Also, as a society we must question "the ideology that the family is sacrosanct and its internal conduct is exempt from questioning by outsiders" (Reed, 1988, 18). Problems of wife battering and elder abuse must be addressed in conjunction with child abuse. There must also be recognition of the stresses and strains families are facing in our society generally. Issues relating to poverty, unemployment, inadequate daycare and poor housing affect the well-being and personal strength of all members of the family. Social and economic supports are essential, particularly for single mothers.

Rigid sex roles and stereotypes that restrict and inhibit personal growth and potential of both men and women and that prevent the full development of mutual respect and mutually supportive relationships must also be challenged (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1987, iii). Women must be encouraged to be strong and assertive, and men must be given permission to develop and express their feelings and emotions. The involvement of fathers in the nurturing and care of children must be promoted.

Finally, we must work to develop healthy attitudes towards sex through open discussion and communication in the family, churches and schools, and thus change the expression of sexuality in our culture. Media advertising and pornographic materials that exploit and violate the dignity and worth of the people portrayed must be censured. Positive images of women and men and the way they relate to each other, along with appropriate portrayals of children, must be demanded from companies and producers.

7.6 CONCLUSION

Child sexual abuse is a problem of great complexity. It must be analysed within a multidimensional framework and understood in relation to other problems in our society.

Figure 6 illustrates the different levels that contribute to the problem: the individual, the family, the community, the culture and the society. Although there are numerous factors that contribute at each level, we have highlighted some of the key ones which have been identified throughout this report.

In the diagram, these four levels are framed by the past because it has shaped the present character of the problem. The creation of a future that treats children without abuse depends on the commitment, will and actions of all segments of our society.
Figure 6: Factors Contributing to Child Sexual Abuse

**Individual Factors:**
- Inappropriate or distorted attitudes
- Need to feel powerful
- Emotional immaturity
- Modelled sexual behaviour
- Poor social skills

**Family Factors:**
- Dominant authoritative father
- Double-blind parenting
- Suppression of emotions
- Social isolation
- Sexual abuse or repressed sexuality

**Community Factors:**
- Lack of ownership
- Attitudes that blame and stigmatize victims
- Lack of policies, protocols & training in institutions
- Lack of awareness & education
- Inadequate resources for victims

**Culture/Society:**
- Male domination, powerlessness of women & children
- Weak legal, social & moral sanctions against abuse of children
- Objectifying of women & children; advertising & pornography
- Male tendency to sexualize all emotional needs
- Norms that prevent open discussions & education about sexuality and relationships

HISTORY


Bagley, Christopher, and Wilfreda Thurston. Preventing Child Sexual Abuse: Reviews And Research. Calgary: (Faculty of Social Work), The University of Calgary, 1989.


APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Mandate of Special Commission of Enquiry into Sexual Abuse of Children by Members of the Clergy
Archdiocese of St. John's

The abiding concern of the people of God in the Archdiocese of St. John's for persons who are injured and suffering has been heightened by the recent incidents of sexual abuse of children by some members of the clergy. In a spirit of compassion and with the desire to heal and help the persons who have been harmed, to promote the spiritual and psychosocial well-being of the clergy and to seek means to prevent further incidents of this kind, a Special Archdiocesan Commission of Enquiry is established by the Archbishop of St. John's.

The Mandate of this Commission is:

1. To enquire into factors which might have contributed to the sexual abuse of children by some members of the clergy: which factors may include family background, education, lifestyles, mutual support systems, or any other pertinent circumstance.

2. To enquire how such behaviour could have gone undetected and unreported for such a long period of time.

3. To make recommendations to provide for the spiritual, psychological and social healing of the victims and their families.

4. To make recommendations that will ensure that the Church has effective procedures for becoming aware of, reporting and dealing with incidents of deviant behaviour that might occur.

5. To make recommendations respecting the selection of candidates for the priesthood, the promotion of holistic growth of the clergy, the fostering of healthy relationships between clergy and laity and the provision of support for the clergy to help them cope with deep psychosocial problems.

The Commission will determine its own procedure. Bearing in mind the delicacy and complexity of this Enquiry, the Commission is asked to carry out its mandate as expeditiously as it can and hopefully to submit its report to the Archbishop by the end of this year 1989. The report will be made public.
Authors Frequently Cited

Robin Badgley, a sociologist, was appointed to head the Committee on Sexual Offenses against Children and Youths, established in 1981 by the Ministers of Justice and National Health and Welfare. Its mandate was to explore the dimensions of child sexual abuse and to make recommendations for a coordinated national response to this problem. In 1984, the report of the Committee (The Badgley Report) was published. It provided detailed information on various aspects of sexual offenses involving children and made 52 recommendations directed at all levels of government and the private sector. Included in the report is the National Population Survey which was undertaken by the committee in conjunction with the Gallop organization; a representative sample of over 2,000 Canadians responded to a detailed questionnaire about their experiences with unwanted sexual acts. The findings of the survey as summarized in Section 2 of the present review.

David Finkelhor is Associate Chair of the Family Research Laboratory and Associate Director of the Family Violence Research Program at the University of New Hampshire. He has been studying the problem of child sexual abuse since 1977 and has published three books (listed in the bibliography) as well as two dozen articles on the subject. He is frequently cited in the literature by other well-known authors, such as Wyatt, Russell, Sgroi, Kempe, Glaser and Frosh, and Haugaard and Reppucci.

Marie Marshall Fortune is the founder and executive director of the Centre for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence in Seattle. An ordained minister in the United Church of Christ, she lectures widely and serves as a consultant for churches where sexual abuse by the clergy has occurred. She is the author of Keeping the Faith, Sexual Violence, Is Nothing Sacred? and co-author of Preventing Child Sexual Abuse: A Curriculum for Children Ages Nine through Twelve.

Seth Goldstein is presently an investigator for the Napa County District Attorney, Napa, California, working in the Child Abuse Vertical Prosecution Unit. His background is in police work, with considerable expertise in the area of child sexual abuse. He serves on state and national committees and is a consultant to the International Association of Chiefs of Police. He has written several articles on the subject of sexual exploitation of children. His book The Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Practical Guide to Assessment, Investigation and Intervention is intended to provide the police investigation with a base of knowledge from which to build the best possible case when investigating incidents of child sexual abuse.


The Ontario Teachers' Federation, in collaboration with the Child Abuse Prevention Program of the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services and the Affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, has compiled a series of literature reviews entitled "Breaking the Cycle: Child Abuse Prevention". The five publications reflect the Federation's belief that the milieu of childhood must be studied in depth in order to plan prevention of child abuse. The two reports referenced in this report are "Family Matters", which discusses trends in child rearing and family life, and "Little Images", which surveys the literature on role models and socialization patterns for children.

Rix Rogers, author of An Overview of Issues and Concerns Related to the Sexual Abuse of Children in Canada, was appointed Special Advisor on Child Sexual Abuse to the Minister of National Health and Welfare in September of 1987. The first phase of his mandate resulted in the discussion paper from which a substantial portion of this report's presentation on current issues and strategies is based. The discussion paper is based on consultations held by Rogers in late 1987 and early 1988 with close to 1,000 representatives of the many agencies, organizations, professions, governments and jurisdictions devoted to combating the sexual abuse of children and dealing with its effects.
An Overview of Child Sexual Abuse

Jocelyn Aubut, MD
FOREWORD

This report has been made at the request of the Special Commission of Enquiry into the Sexual Abuse of Children by some members of the clergy in the Archdiocese of St. John's. The report tries to present a comprehensive but synthetic view of the present knowledge on child sexual abuse. I have opted to focus the report on the many possible types of relationships abusers establish with their victims. This approach seemed to be more relevant to the questions confronting the Commission. In my opinion, a report filled with "hard statistical data" would have been less useful.

I. INCIDENCE OF SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN

The phenomenon of sexual abuse of children has boomed in scientific circles in the past twenty years. Articles or books on pedophilia and incest were scarce before 1970 and were usually reserved to specialized forensic circles. Since 1970, a plethora of scientific publications has appeared directed towards many professionals: psychiatrists, social workers, psychologists, etc. The public at large has also been touched by this new information.

The fact that science has addressed itself fairly recently to the phenomenon of sexual abuse of children does not mean that it is a recent problem. The article by Vernon Quinsey, *Men Who Have Sex With Children*, gives a comprehensive overview of the historical and cultural extent of the problem.

Political, social and cultural changes in the last two decades have forced our society to take a more systematic look at the problem. We cannot simply look away any more. We have to face the facts.

One of the many factors associated with society's denial of the problem lies in its magnitude. The prevalence of sexual abuse is extremely high. It touches every layer of society. It is not specific and limited to the poor and underprivileged classes. Looking bluntly at this phenomenon implies a remodelling or redefinition of many of our occidental society's values of family prerogatives vs society's right in family matters.

Numbers may be quite misleading. Many studies have tried to assess the magnitude of the problem of child sexual abuse. Kinsey in his 1953 study reported that during their childhood 25% of women had been approached sexually by an adult. In 1979, Finkelhor interviewed 530 women and 266 men. He reported that 19% of the women and 9% of the men had experienced some form of sexual contact with an adult during their childhood. The Badgley Commission in 1984 revealed that amongst the 2,008 men and women studied, 54% of the women and 31% of the men had received some form of undesired sexual attention during their childhood. Over half of the abuses, of both males and females, involved some form of physical violence.

There are, of course, methodological problems with most of these studies. It is not the purpose of this report to discuss them at length. But whatever the methodological flaws, one fact remains: the more we study systematically the phenomenon of sexual abuse of children, the more we are confronted with its magnitude.

Another important aspect has emerged from the epidemiological studies. It was a common belief that the child sexual abuser was an odd-looking man prowling around parks and streets and abducting little children. Over generations, parents have taught children to beware of strangers. The irony, of course, is that most of the abuses are committed by the parents themselves, other family members, friends of the family, persons having some form of responsibility over the child (teachers, scout leaders, coaches, priests, etc). More than 80% of the sexual abuses of children are committed by persons well-known to them. This is probably another important reason it has taken so long for society to face the problem. Realizing that the abuse is so common, and that many abusers are the parents themselves, facing the fact that parents cannot protect their own children poses a great threat to our concepts of family structure and community structure.
II. PROFILE OF THE SEXUAL ABUSERS OF CHILDREN

There are many problems in trying to present a profile of the sexual abuser of children. First, there is not one type of abuse but many patterns of abuse. Second, there is little agreement in the scientific community about a common taxonomy of abusers. Therefore, it is often very difficult to generalize conclusions from one study to another.

Nevertheless, there is some agreement about two broad categories of abusers: fixated and regressed. Different synonyms are used for fixated: preferential, habitual, primary. The same goes for regressed: situational, secondary. The general characteristics of these types of offenders will be presented, bearing in mind that this categorization does not necessarily encompass the whole spectrum of sexual child abusers. This is because most studies have been done on abusers that have been caught. There is a large "dark number" of abusers who do not come to the attention of the police or professionals or scientists.

Bearing in mind these caveats, the dichotomy between fixated and regressed is quite helpful in understanding the dynamics of most of the child sexual abuses that are disclosed.

A. The regressed type or situational abuser

The situational child abuser usually does not have a sexual preference for children. His sexual preference will be for adults, for women more often than men. He leads a more conventional life, and he may be married and have children of his own. He puts a great deal of energy into maintaining his marriage, his job and other investments. More often than not, a series of stresses will have accumulated prior to the sexual involvement with a child. These stresses are non-specific and are those usually encountered by most people in life: the recent birth of a child which makes the spouse less available sexually and emotionally, difficulties at work, financial problems, etc. The important aspect to consider about the stresses is the special significance they have for the future abuser. He will suddenly be under the impression that his life is going down the drain. He will perceive his life as a total failure. This sense of failure is usually not perceived by the others around him. He will try to maintain a facade but he feels he has no one to turn to. In his mind, talking about his difficulties would only confirm that he is a total failure. He will turn to children for many reasons. Often they are available around him: they are young neighbours who like him a lot, or they are children under his care or supervision who value him.

The child will be used symbolically to solve a conflict, to boost a failing self-esteem, to replace a spouse perceived as less-gratifying, etc. Very often, many levels of motivation interact. The sexual contact tends to be limited in time. Alcohol and/or drugs serve to disinhibit the acting-out. There are usually a few associated deviant fantasies. It is not associated with a life style that revolves around children. Guilt or an egodystonic affect occurs after the commission of the act.

Many variations on this theme can occur, of course, and there are other types of regressed or situational abusers. Persons with antisocial personality disorders are predators who will experience a variety of kicks in their lives. "Trying it" with a child if the opportunity arises is one of them. Psychotic patients with manic disorders are sometimes sexually disinhibited by their illness. Child sexual abuse can occur in the context of a hypomanic or manic phase. Intellectually defective persons who can't find adult partners may find children more easily accessible.

B. The fixated type or habitual abuser

The fixated abusers can be divided into four subtypes: 1. pseudo-affective; 2. domination; 3. sadism; 4. anger. Before getting into a description of each subtype, the general characteristics of fixated abusers will be presented.

The fixated abuser has a clear preference for children. He may have some interest in adult women or men, but usually this interest is less than that for children. His fantasies, his masturbations and his sexual activities are directed mostly towards children.
The attraction to children starts early in life, very often during adolescence. He is usually aroused by specific characteristics of children: age, colour of hair and eyes, a certain body-type, etc. His fantasies and acts with children are often ritualized. His life, although normal in appearance, is often centred on the world of children (scouts, coaching children, etc). His sexual life and the quality of his interpersonal relationships with adults are usually poor. One of the most important features of the fixated offender is the sexualization of conflicts. Sexual acting-out in this category of offenders is not an answer to accumulated stresses. These offenders tend to react to everyday minor conflicts in life by resorting to sexually deviant fantasies in the same way alcoholics resort to wine or beer. Sexually deviant fantasies and acting-out provide them with a sense of power, of mastery over life (including people). They are a protection against depression. For most fixated abusers, there is a duality in pedophilia: first, the attraction towards children; second, the fear of adults. The relative importance of these two factors may vary from one abuser to the other, but both must be taken into account while assessing a child sexual abuse situation.

The first sub-type of the fixated abusers is the pseudo-affective. In this sub-type "seduction", or more appropriately stated, persuasion, is the preferred mode to approach the child. The abuser will "court" the child for a certain period of time before engaging in sexual activities. The abuser will pick a child who is at risk. The child may suffer from parental neglect. He has usually very little guidance in life, he feels worthless, he is convinced that no one cares for him. The relationship between the abuser and the child is not only sexual. The abuser will provide for some of the needs of the child: money, little gifts, bringing him to all those places his father will not accompany him, etc.

The child believes that he is someone important to the abuser. The secrecy which is often asked for by the abuser also tends to reinforce this notion of importance.

The relationship between the child and the abuser may go on for weeks and months. It may end by accidental disclosure. More often, it will end when the child grows. He may grow physically and lose some of the specific characteristics the abuser is looking for, i.e. becoming pubert and having hair around the genitals may be a cause of rejection. The child may also grow psychologically. He will become less admiring of the abuser or he will want to emancipate himself from his authority. Again he will be abandoned because he does not conform to the image the abuser is expecting of him. It is then that the child realizes that his relationship with the abuser was just an illusion. He was important as long as he fitted the abuser's needs. The child is left with a sense of treason and worthlessness.

From his own point of view, the abuser is convinced that he is in love or doing the child some good. In fact, what often happens is that his capacity to establish mature relationships with adults is poor. Adults are perceived by him as controlling, punishing, unsympathetic. He feels victimized by adults. Resorting to the world of children gives him a sense of security. Children are less confronting; they are more ready to admire him unconditionally. Children will be what he wants them to be. It is clearly a narcissistic investment. A short clinical example will illustrate this quite vividly. Mr. P. is a 45-year-old man who has been engaged in various sexual contacts with children over the last 30 years. He has been in group treatment for the last year or so. A few months ago he got interested in a neighbour, a 5-year-old girl. He was asked to move because of the risk of sexual abuse. After quite a debate, the patient acquiesced to the demand and moved. But he had kept the little girl's phone number. He thought that she was not educated properly by her mother who was divorced. He thought he might be able to comfort her once in a while. Of course, there was a lot of projection on his part. He thought that she was not educated properly by her mother who was divorced. He thought he might be able to comfort her once in a while. Of course, there was a lot of projection on his part. He saw his own childhood in the little girl. He was asked to burn the little girl's phone number; he said he had not memorized it yet. He finally agreed to do it in front of a therapist. His reaction while burning the piece of paper on which the phone number was written is quite revealing. He said: "It is as if my mirror is breaking". Mutuality is thus excluded from this type of relationship. Mutuality, of course, is not on an all-or-nothing basis. The fixated pseudo-affective abuser may answer some of the more superficial needs of the child.
But in the end, he will not allow the child to emancipate himself, to build his own identity. The basic and deeper needs of the child will not be met.

The second sub-type of fixated abuser is the dominating type. This type of abuser is, also, strongly oriented towards children. His engagement with the child is minimal. He talks little to the child and does not want to pursue his contacts with him beyond the sexual encounter. His mode of approach may vary from paying the child, to abduction and physical coercion. Threats are often used to obtain "consent" and to silence the child. The affective and sexual life of this type of abuser is often constricted and very limited. He has often been neglected and sexually victimized as a child. Loneliness, insecurity and worthlessness are denied through these brief but repetitive encounters with children. It is only then that he has a brief feeling of triumph in his life. Of course, this triumph is of short duration. The abuser is not really reassured about his anxieties and doubts related to his sexual or personal identity. The abuses have to be repeated over and over again.

He has problems of intimacy. He cannot tolerate long-standing intimacy with an adult, man or woman. He cannot tolerate it with a child either. Intimacy is threatening to him: he could be unmasked. The basic flaws that he feels within himself could be seen by the other. Showing his vulnerability to another brings a feeling of annihilation. The other might exploit his weaknesses and destroy him. Brief encounters with children and dominating them is a meagre compensation. Very often these encounters are relived though masturbation. This type of abuse serves many purposes: showing power, having a sexual outlet, stealing an imaginary form of affection.

The third sub-type of fixated abuser is the sadistic. This sub-type of abuser has strong preferences for children. However, to be sexually aroused, he needs to inflict pain on the child. The type of suffering may vary from one abuser to the other. It may also vary over time for the same abuser; that is, he may become addicted to the pain inflicted on the child and need to inflict more and more pain. Eventually, although this is extremely rare, it may lead to sexual murder. The sexual acts committed are very often ritualized. The ritualization and pain are part of the excitement.

The mode of approach is usually more violent or may happen in a context of authority where the abuser has a strong hold over the child and the child very few ways of escaping. The abuse lasts for a long period of time and is often repeated. The sadism is usually not limited to sexual activities. It may extend to psychological sadism. The dynamics involved in sexual sadism have been described by a number of theoreticians. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the different theories. However, child sexual abuse of the sadistic type reflects the extreme of the dynamics described in the pseudo-affective and dominating types. The sadistic abuser needs to have total mastery of the child. Moreover, there has been a fusion between aggressive and sexual drives which are usually differentiated in normal persons.

The fourth sub-type of fixated abuser is the aggressive. This sub-type of abuser is angry while committing the abuse. The aggressive components of the act are more important than the sexual ones. The child is used as a substitute. The abuser will take revenge on the child for all the humiliations or beatings he has suffered in the past. The child may also be used as a substitutive figure. The abuser may be angry at his wife or his girlfriend but will choose to punish the child instead. Hurting the child is a way to hurt someone directly linked to him. To distinguish this type of abuser from sadists is not always easy. Usually the sadist feels excitement, not anger, while committing the abuse. The sadist is more ritualized in his abuse than the aggressive.

As has been stated at the beginning of this chapter, these categories of abusers represent broad generalizations. They are useful because they provide a frame of reference to understand what motivates abusers, what causes the abusers to repeat their offenses even though many are arrested. It is also quite important to understand what a child experiences when he is being abused or after the abuse.

Establishing a profile of abusers is not always very satisfying because of the many types of abusers and the wide range of variations within the same sub-type.
Another way to look at the situation of abuse is the model proposed by Finkelhor in 1986. He suggests that 4 factors are associated with child sexual abuse: 1) emotional congruence; 2) deviant sexual arousal; 3) sexual and emotional needs not met by an adult; 4) disinhibition.

The first factor, emotional congruence, means that the needs of the adult will be met by the characteristics of the child. Many examples have been given, especially in the pseudo-affective sub-type.

The second factor can be assessed in the laboratory using the penile plethysmograph. In real life situations, it means that the abuser is sexually excited by children.

The third factor has two components. The first component is developmental. Many abusers have had flaws in their own development: they have been abused as children, they mistrust adults, they lack social skills to establish satisfying relationships with adults. The second component is situational: marital crisis, problems at work, physical illness, etc.

The fourth factor is disinhibition. Alcohol and drugs are frequently involved. Cognitive distortions also play an important role. Cognitive distortions are beliefs that justify child sexual abuse. They may be idiosyncratic to the abuser or they may be common myths shared by many members of society, eg the Greeks did it, our society is hypocritical and puritanical, or if the child does not want it to happen, he just has to say no.

An interplay of these four different factors is necessary for an abuse to happen.

The relapse model proposed by Pithers et al. is a cognitive model that is quite useful in understanding the process through which a sex offender goes before committing an offence. This is a chain of events that can be applied and individualized for each abuser. The first step is the abuser taking apparently irrelevant decisions. For instance, the abuser will move from a place where he was surrounded by adults who were supportive to him, but he will end up alone in an apartment. He will often justify his move by some rationalization, eg lower rent.

The second step is the abuser placing himself into high risk situations: wandering around schools or parks, etc.

The third step is the offender placing himself in a lapse situation. He will resort to pedophilic fantasies during the daytime or during masturbation. He will be in the same affective mood which preceded his earlier sexual acting-outs. He will have problems identifying his actual mood. He will use vague words to describe it: uneasy, anxious, broody, etc.

The last step, of course, is relapse. Each offender has his own pathway of relapse. Each has his cognitive-distortions precursors, situations at risk and affective moods prior to committing the offence.

The three models presented are not mutually exclusive; they are complementary. The first model, based on the psychodynamic understanding of the sexual abuse, relates to affective and unconscious factors. The second, represented by Finkelhor tries to be comprehensive. The third one, represented by Pithers, is cognitive. Each reflects a different aspect of the same reality. But whatever the model used, it must be understood that there is no single factor explaining sexual abuse. Cognitive, affective, sexual, behavioral and sociological factors all interact in different degrees and lead to sexual abuse.

III. PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS

There is no single profile of the child as victim of sexual abuse. Most of the data concerning children as victims are quite recent. The epidemiological data concerning children as victims has been presented in the chapter "Incidence of Sexual abuse on Children". Although demographic variables may be quite useful in providing some insights into some of the general factors associated with sexual abuse, they are usually of little help in providing insight into the specificity of the abuse for a given child.

The magnitude of the reported abuses and the age and social class distribution of the victims are strong indicators that every child is at risk. Of course, taking this statement without perspective or without some basic knowledge about child sexual abuse would lead to an alarmist attitude. Nevertheless, many children are taught to beware of sexual abuse. Special videos and
many children's programs will address the question of sexual abuse. They will not only teach children to beware of strangers, but they will also formulate some basic principles: your body belongs to you; if something does not feel good you have a right to say no; if it happens, find someone you trust and talk about it.

Fixated abusers of the dominating, sadistic and aggressive type can abuse any child. Fixated abusers of the pseudo-affective type will be more choosy. They will pick children "at risk". Children may be at risk for a variety of reasons: lack of parental supervision, parental neglect, loss of a parent through divorce or death, etc. More than for the specific physical criteria, abusers will look consciously or unconsciously for psychological characteristics: children longing for male identification, children eager for any form of "love" or attention, children in search of an ideal parent-substitute.

These children come from a variety of social classes. The child-care services could testify that the number of children presenting these characteristics is quite appalling. Many of these children run "freely" in the city. Most of them end up in special institutions or under the supervision of social agencies. Of particular interest is a study done by the social agencies of Quebec on the extent of sexual abuse on children admitted into readaptation centres. The study, based on 3,849 youths (less than 18 years), revealed that at least 11% of the boys and 37% of the girls had suffered from sexual abuse. But most importantly, the majority of the youths studied had been abused more than once and by more than one abuser.

Except for incest, most victimology studies on child sexual abuse have focused on the perspective of the abuser or the victim. There are few studies that have addressed themselves to the relationship between a specific abuser and a specific victim. Another important point to consider is the fact that victimology is often misperceived by putting blame on the victim.

IV. CONSEQUENCES ON THE VICTIMS

Systematic studies investigating the consequences of sexual abuse on children are fairly recent. Studies prior to 1970 are scarce. Studies done after 1970 suffer from many methodological problems, making it very hard to generalize the data: variations in the definition of sexual abuse, lack of systematic tools to assess the consequences, lack of control groups (normal children and/or non-abused children under psychiatric care), etc. Most studies were done on female victims. Nevertheless, the general trend of most of the studies has shown a large number and a great variety of consequences on children, affecting many areas of their lives. Although studies cannot give an accurate quantitative estimate, they can, however, provide an excellent qualitative assessment of the consequences of sexual abuse on children. These consequences are summarized in Table 1. There are many discrepancies between studies as to the incidence reported for each consequence listed in Table 1; therefore they have not been indicated, since numbers could be quite misleading. Rather, Table 1 is presented as a list of the areas in a child's life that can be altered by sexual abuse.

Table 1: Impact of Child Sexual Abuse

Initial Effects

A - Emotional effects
- Fear
- Anger
- Hostility
- Guilt
- Shame
- Depression

B - Physical and somatic complaints
- Sleep disturbances
- Changes in eating habits
- Unwanted pregnancies in adolescents

C - Effects on sexuality
- Increase in masturbation
- Excessive sexual curiosity
- Exposure of genitals
D - Effects on social functioning
Difficulties at school
Running away
Truancy
Early marriages

Long-Term Effects
Most of these studies are based on adults who have been molested as children. There are no prospective studies of large samples of abused children followed through adulthood.

A - Emotional effects
Depression (the most common long-term effect reported)
Psychiatric care (outpatient and inpatient)
Self-destructive behaviour
Suicide attempts
Anxiety attacks
Nightmares
Sleep problems
Sense of isolation and stigma
Low self-esteem

B - Effects on interpersonal relationships
Strong negative feelings towards the abuser
Difficulties in establishing and/or maintaining close relationships
Difficulties in parenting
A very strong tendency to revictimization as children and as adults

C - Effects on sexuality
Serious difficulties in sexual adjustment
Inhibition of sexuality or compulsive-hyperactive sexuality

D - Effects on social functioning
Prostitution
Substance abuse

The list of consequences in Table 1 clearly reflects that almost any area of a child’s life can be compromised by the abuse. Moreover, his adult life can suffer from some impediments also.

Although scientific studies cannot state the exact amount of damage caused by child sexual abuse, nevertheless, it seems that the combination of four sets of variables combine to determine the extent of the damage to a child. These four sets of variables are

1. The Victim
   Prior adjustment
   Age at onset of abuse
   Sex of the victim: a few studies seem to indicate that boys, as victims, have fewer initial effects but stronger long-term effects than girls. The same phenomenon has been noted for the effects of divorce on boys.

2. The Abuse
   Duration of abuse
   Frequency of sexual abuse
   The nature (genital contact, penetration, etc.)
   The use of force and aggression
   The secrecy about the abuse

3. The Abuser
   The relationship of the abuser to the victim (family member, trusted person, authority figure, stranger)
   Sex of the abuser: the number of female sexual abusers may be underestimated
   Age of the abuser

4. The Environment
   Family reaction: blaming the child for father’s imprisonment instead of supporting the child
   Institutional response: taking the child away from the family rather than taking the abuser away from the family.

This model should provide a better conceptualization in the assessment of the consequences of child sexual abuse. It can serve either as a clinical or research model. Two other aspects must also be understood in trying to assess the effects of child sexual abuse.
First, many children who are sexually abused suffer from other forms of abuse or neglect prior to the sexual abuse per se. It is, therefore, not always easy to distinguish what pertains to the sexual abuse and what to the other abuse or neglect. Second, further studies will need to focus not only on the negative consequences, but also on the factors of adaptation. Many children suffering from a variety of traumatic situations seem to be able to adapt well. It would, therefore, be essential to identify the factors promoting healing.

V. THE NATURE OF INFORMED CONSENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SEXUAL ABUSE.

Consent as a concept has been applied to many situations: consent to treatment, to sexual activities, to research, etc. Consent can also be viewed from a legalistic perspective or an ethical perspective. Consent of a minor to sexual activities has been defined by the Canadian Law and is probably well-known to the members of the Commission. It is probably best to use the concept of consent from the ethical perspective since it will provide some insights into the understanding of sexual abuse.

Consent as an ethical issue has received an enormous amount of attention in the last decade, especially in North America. It is noteworthy that it has received less attention, or at least a different form of attention in Europe. Changes in social values, civil rights movements and the feminist movement are just a few of the sparks that have created a systematic reflection on the subject.

Although many models exist to define consent, most of them use the same key concepts in defining informed consent: the nature, the purpose, the risks, the benefits and the alternatives to the act must be discussed with the subject (or the child's legal guardian). These criteria, of course, apply to medical or surgical procedures. But they also apply quite easily to the problem at hand, that is the ability or inability of children or adolescents to consent to sexual acts posed to them by priests.

The relationship between a priest guiding the spiritual life of a child or adolescent can easily be understood as a fiduciary one. This is a social relationship in which one person accepts the trust and confidence of another to act in the latter's best interest.

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that there are many types of sexual abuse and abusers. It would be too lengthy in the context of this paper to discuss the ethical problems for each and every one of them. Moreover, almost everyone will agree that the continuous, brutal sexual abuse of a child, using unnecessary physical constraint, is unethical. The child cannot be considered to give consent to this form of abuse.

The discussion will focus on the fixed abuser of the pseudo-affective type who uses persuasion with no unnecessary physical constraint and who tries to keep a guiding role with the child. In this type of sexual abuse, the first criterion of informed consent is, Does the abuser explain to the child the nature of the behaviour that is expected of him? The abuser will usually state explicitly what he wants from the child. The corollary, of course, is related to the age of the child. At what age is a child able to understand the real nature of a sexual contact? The law helps us here by stating that under 14 years of age, a child cannot give consent to any form of sexual activity. Do adolescents understand the nature of sexual activity? Most of them probably do but this has to be balanced by other factors: psychological maturity, prior sexual experience, prior abuse, parental and personal standards on sexuality, etc.

The second standard is, Does the child understand the purpose of the sexual activity that is demanded by the abuser? Sexuality may serve many purposes; physical, psychological even sociological dimensions are associated with it. The simple hedonistic sharing of pleasure, reproduction (continuation of the species), the sharing of love, the assertion of one sex over the other are just a few examples of different meanings that have been associated with sexual activity. For most adults, the meaning of their sexual activities changes over time. It takes a long time to integrate the different dimensions of sexuality. It is not something which is acquired and fixed with the legal age of adulthood.
Abusers have many ways to rationalize their actions. Many think that they are doing it for the child, to show him affection, to help him understand his own sexuality, to prevent him from "being abused" by someone else. Fixed abusers of the pseudo-affective type are especially prone to these types of cognitive distortions. In fact, it has been demonstrated that in the dynamics of this type of abuse, the child is used either as a mirror or as a sustainer for the lowered self-esteem of the abuser. In the end, the purpose of the sexual act is not mutual pleasure nor love. Mutuality is most often excluded. What is proposed is an illusion of a relationship. If the child does not answer to the "scenario" of the abuser he will be dropped. The child thinks that the purpose of the act is love, or a way of making him feel special or important. In the end, he will usually learn that it is the other way around. He is being used to boost the abuser's failing ego. The psychological dimensions of the sexual activity were certainly not explained to him and he definitely did not have the background to grasp the different purposes involved in the sexual contact with the abuser.

The third standard is, Have the risks of the sexual contact been discussed with the child? In the case of fixed abusers of the pseudo-affective type there is usually little risk of physical harm or damage. There is always the risk of transmitting a venereal disease to the child, and this certainly is not discussed with the child. But, most importantly, the risk of psychological harm is not evoked. Moreover, the abuser will have a strong tendency to exaggerate the advantages by using a variety of rationalizations ("it is love", "it will make you less lonely", "you will be better prepared to face adult sexuality", etc). The effects of sexual abuse will be presented in another chapter. They are many: disturbances in sexual identity, mistrust of adults, hyper or hypo-sexuality, decline in school performance, etc. The fixed abuser of the pseudo-affective sub-type will usually try to keep the relationship going with the child as long as possible. He will witness some of the side effects of the abuse on the child. He will seldom have a tendency to blame himself for these disturbances in the child. He will have a strong tendency to blame the environment of the child ("the mother is not adequate for the child", "the school is no good", etc). The general message that comes across to the child from the abuser is that adults are generally bad for him. Instead of discussing the risks of the abuse with the child, the abuser will blame adults in general. The notion of "secrecy" is also quite relevant to this third criterion. By making the abuse a secret between him and the child, the abuser will not only avoid discussing the possible risks involved, but will also prevent the child from discussing the situation with other adults who could provide other information to the child or adolescent.

The fourth criterion is, Does the child know the benefits he will gain from engaging in the sexual contact with the abuser? This question has been partly addressed in different parts of this report but especially in the chapter on the dynamics of the abuse. On a superficial level, the abuser proposes love, affection, understanding, mutuality, making the child feel that he is a special person. On a deeper level, the child is used as a mirror. He himself has to conform to the idealistic view the abuser has of him. As soon as he wants to differentiate himself from that image, he will be abandoned. Even if some child-abusers have some sort of caring for the child, it is a narcissistic caring and the fact remains that the child will come out of the experience with the strong feeling that he has been used, that he is worthless, that the relation was just an illusion.

The fifth criterion is quite important and is, Does the child have the choice to engage or not in the sexual contacts with the abuser? The question is easy to answer when we consider the fixed abusers of the dominant or sadistic type. This question is more delicate when we look at the abusers of the fixed pseudo-affective type. Most of these abusers will state that they have not forced the child; they did not exercise any physical coercion; the child came to them; he had been abused before, so he knew what was going to happen and he even wanted it and liked it. Many arguments can be used against this type of rationalization. First, the situation at hand is characterized by unequal power. The priest is the bearer of
...should have been mandated by God to lead his parishes (adults and children). Priests are given investiture authority and an aura of sanctity. By definition, they cannot lie; what they suggest to their parishioners is the truth. Their level of power over the child is undeniable: they are adults and they are mandated by God. Second, the priest has acquired special knowledge about the vulnerabilities of the child. Fixed clusters of the pseudo-affective type have known the child for a while before engaging in sexual activities. In the parishes, there are cases of children having been abused by priests and therefore could easily get attached to situations and also be dismissed. Repeating or learning by heart and over is a well-known fact. It is seen in a category of sexual situations. It is seen as a normal routine and has been to the dentist and back home. It is seen over and over again. When people dream over repetitive situations they have already engaged in (an accident). It is seen as a repetition of abuse. Abuse means as the women who have had abortions and some phobics. Putting oneself over and over again, is a way of trying to annihilation which was not successful. Unfortunately, it becomes a repetition of abuse. It is the only way a person who finds themselves in repetitive situations of sexual abuse do not remain in it or like it. They do it usually because it is the only way they have found to deal with it. The fact that it is not dealing with anything, the fact that repetitive situations of abuse reflect our society's incapacity to protect them.

Let us return to the "saying" given by a child to an adult. Parents are often confused and one, even in the case of a child claiming the physical abuse type of abuse (pseudo-affective). At least four out of the five children who have legal type model, are not met; the Church's "illuminating" relations with their pupils are endowed, as such, to be used to take the best interest in the children under their care or supervision. This means that they never promote their growth and their autonomy, but they accompany them in adulthood. By engaging in sexual activities with these children, priests are in a conflict of interest. Promoting growth and autonomy involves "losing" the children under their supervision. At the same time, they would be losing one of, if not the major, sources of sexual satisfaction and pseudo-affectation.

Another concept which is often stated in the theory of informed consent is the fact that excluding from the activity consent result in loss of benefits or prejudice. Applying this concept to the situation of abuse means asking: Are we able to talk about the consequences if he has sexual contact with the child? For the child, it will mean losing a "friend" or losing the special relationship. After all, this situation is even worse if the child is an adult and the abuser has direct responsibility over him. Then, it means that the child may lose some of the privileges he has received in a very short manner, since some form of retaliation.

Priests and doctors could later explain their responsibility for the positions and positions. They are always presumed to know what is best for their patients. Sexual contact between women and men is never seen in the best interest of the patient of the profession. Most medical and legal education specifically prohibit such sexual contacts.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The spectrum of abuse

Sexual abuse by members of the clergy, as part of the overall abuse of children. This is a serious statement and can be supported with epidemiological data. Of course, this statement can easily acquire a political meaning; it can be presented as if the Church was trying to avoid its own responsibilities in the matter.

Nevertheless, priests are men and are part of society. Some of them are victims of abusing children. As it has been demonstrated, many factors are involved in...
committing child sexual abuse. Some of these factors may be specific to the Roman Catholic Church. Celibacy is a factor that has been identified. Does the celibacy imposed on Roman Catholic Priests put them more at risk of committing sexual abuses on children? It would be very reassuring to answer by a definite yes or no. The solution would be easy from a pragmatic point of view, though maybe not from a theological point of view.

Most sexual abusers are not single. Having no sexual outlet is not the single and simple explanation of the phenomenon. There are multiple types of abuses and abusers. Sexual abuse is multi-determined (Finkelhor's model). Studies comparing abusers who are clergy members and non-clergy members are needed to determine the specific factors, if any, associated with abuses committed by clergy members.

Meanwhile, life goes on in the real world. Many levels of responsibility, and, therefore, of action, can be identified: the children, the families, the social services, the abusing priests, the other members of the clergy (bishops, archbishops and the governing body of the Catholic Church).

It is not the purpose of this paper to make recommendations to the non-clergy parties involved. Another Commission in Newfoundland is already involved in this area. The children, however, should not be considered as passive witnesses of the abuses committed on them. Talking about the responsibility of children does not imply that they are looking for the abuse or that they should feel guilty if it happens. It means making them part of the solution. Children can be taught safety, as in other areas of their lives. Teaching them about the problem, situations at risk, and ways of escaping these situations is "making them part of the solution".

The levels of responsibilities of the clergy will be addressed in the following remarks.

2. Scientific assessment of priests who are likely to become abusers.

A number of social organizations dealing with children have been plagued by child abusers. A number of devices, psychological and physiological tests have been tried to detect abusers-to-be. As of now, no strategy has yielded convincing results. Many priests may have been interested in children before entering the Church. Most of them may have become interested in children after their active involvement in the Church. The relative proportion of each group is not known.

Using a battery of tests to detect the priests who are going to abuse children poses a great number of problems: these tests are costly, their validity has not been confirmed, they could be challenged on constitutional grounds, etc. Tests could provide a sense of false security. Until science provides us with valid and specific criteria, it is probably best to rely on education and support.

3. Education

Education should start at the level of theological studies. Lectures and, most importantly, seminars on the topics of sexual abuse at large and sexual abuse specifically committed by clergy members should be started early in the career of students. The message from the Church should be clear at every level of the hierarchy and at every level of a priest's life: The problem exists; let's talk about it; let's do something.

4. Support

Priests are usually regarded very highly by their parishioners. They are supposed to know everything, to have an answer for every suffering a person goes through in life. Priests have to deal with many responsibilities.

Priests also have to deal with the same crises all men go through in their lives. Moreover, they have been faced with a decline in traditional spiritual values. Not only is there a decline in the attendance at Church but many of the basic Church dogmas have been publicly challenged. Priests are thus confronted with moral crises affecting their temporal and spiritual values. The Church has to assess its own system for providing support for its priests. Is the support and supervision provided to the priest working (if not overworked) in the field adequate?
Many treatment approaches can be developed to help priests facing crises which may put them more at risk for a variety of problems, including child sexual abuse. Peer groups meeting regularly can help uncover priests slipping on the path of child sexual abuse (re: the relapse model). Special counsellors who have received some training in the treatment of sexual abusers can also be made available to those priests requiring them. An anonymous hot line can also be of some use.

But most importantly, a clear set of policies concerning disclosure and consequences should be provided by the Church. What will happen to priests recognized having fantasies towards children? What if they have sexual contacts with children? Will they receive help? Will they be prosecuted? Will they be expelled from the Church? The Church has to define its attitudes towards the problem and communicate them clearly to its priests and also to society at large. But this is all good-will for the future. What about the present?

5. Reparation

Priests of Newfoundland, and therefore the Roman Catholic Church of Newfoundland, have hurt children of Newfoundland. The community is expecting that the Church acknowledge the problem, implement some corrective measures and pay its dues. After sin, reparation is expected. In this case, reparation can take many forms. Funding a research centre focusing on the problems related to child sexual abuse or setting up a shelter for children and women victims of sexual abuse are just a few examples. Financing a media campaign to prevent child sexual abuse (videos, pamphlets, etc.) could also be considered. Of course, the credibility of the Roman Catholic Church of Newfoundland has been seriously challenged. Any involvement of the Church with children, even at a distance, will be considered suspect. The specific political and sociological context of the Newfoundland community towards the Catholic Church will need to be analysed before choosing an avenue of reparation.

6. Looking through history

The phenomenon of child sexual abuse by members of the clergy is not a new one. It has happened in other Faiths, in other countries, in other times. What lessons have been drawn from these experiences? What were the personal factors associated with priests committing these abuses? What was the reaction of the Church at the time? Does the Church have any experience gathering data on this subject to try to understand what specific factors, if any, draw priests into sexual abuse?

History is memory. History is understanding. History can lead to action. A small example may serve to illustrate the historical view. On March 22, 1312, Pope Clement V dismantled "L'Ordre du Temple" (vox in excelsis). This Order was first set up to help fight the Holy War. Through the years, the Order lost its initial zeal and acquired a bad reputation, especially in sexual matters. Pope Clement V sacrificed the Order to please Philippe LeBel. The decision, on a superficial level at least, was clearly political. But at the same time, the Church was going through a deeper crisis: laxity in the morality of priests, confusion between temporal and spiritual values, etc.

The lessons to be learned from this far away incident are many. One of them is that the Roman Catholic Church of Newfoundland is probably going through a deeper crisis which affects the whole of its relationship with the Newfoundland community. The disclosure of the abuses committed by priests is only one aspect of the discomfort between the Church and its parishioners. This deeper crisis is no excuse, and should not serve to minimize the abuses committed by clergy members. The "sexual aspect" of this crisis has been dealt with in the previous chapters and some recommendations have been formulated. Some "reforms" concerning the behaviour of priests need to be implemented. These reforms will be superficial if they are not accompanied by deeper reforms in the relationship between the Church and its parishioners.
I have not provided the Commission with the bibliography which I have used to write this report. Below what I have seen, many articles or books have already been gathered by the Commission. Instead, I have just given below a list of the books or articles which appear to be the most pertinent or which provide the best synthesis of information.

André Lamontagne, Y. "Le traitement des déviants sexuels", Perspectives psychiatriques, 1980, Ill no 77.


L'Évaluation des abus avec la clientèle desservie par les centers de services sociaux.


Briefs submitted to the Archdiocesan Commission of Enquiry
Adolescent Health Counselling Service
St. John's

The Adolescent Health Counselling Service (AHCS) is an agency which provides counselling on a community out-patient basis for teenagers and their families in the areas of Lifestyle, Growth and Development and Mental Health. It originated as a pilot project in 1984 with the provincial Department of Health, and recently became a satellite service of the Janeway Child Health Centre.

One of the clinical areas of mental health counselling in which AHCS has been actively involved is that of sexual abuse. During the past five years, over 250 victims of sexual abuse have been referred to the Service. Besides the individual and family counselling offered to these victims, an extensive group therapy program has been developed. To date, there have been twelve groups for sexually abused adolescents provided through our Service. Research and training components have also been incorporated into the group therapy programs.

We, as a Service, are committed to continuing to provide treatment programs for sexually abused teenagers within the community. On December 6, 1989, we were invited to attend a meeting with your Commission to discuss treatment issues. Unfortunately, there was a mix up on our part regarding the date of the meeting, and our representative missed the meeting. Hence, we are writing to you and your Commission to convey some of our concerns and suggestions to improve services for sexual abuse victims.

Our experience in working with this population has been an uneasy learning process for us as we have come to realize the almost inconceivable depth of the trauma that these victims often endure. We have, in our respective professional experience, seen no other single issue which has as profound an effect on a human being as sexual abuse. The psychological hurdles that victims need to overcome are usually extensive, and treatment is long-term in most cases.

Considering the rapidly increasing number of reported cases of sexual abuse, the extensive treatment necessary, and the limited resources available we as a community are falling far short in providing victims the help they so desperately need.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is a list of gaps in our service and recommendations for improvement.

- There is a severe shortage of helping professionals available to our young people and their families. Social Workers have as many as 90 families per caseload, and there are waiting lists at many of the counselling services. The Departments of Health, Social Services and Education need to hire more social workers and counsellors, and funds need to be made available for community agencies to hire more helping professionals.

- There is a lack of co-ordination of existing services. Many agencies working with victims of sexual abuse are working in isolation and are unaware of the work of other services. There needs to be a formal, structured communication system so that more victims can be helped and services are not unnecessarily duplicated in one area and lacking in another.

- Many counsellors and social workers working in the system lack the specific skills needed for individual, family and group counselling with sexual abuse victims. The AHCS has provided a training component to the group program it has developed. Eager professionals are permitted to view the group through a one-way mirror and various group techniques, exercises and strategies
are discussed with the viewers following each session. In the majority of cases, the trained professionals who lead these groups receive no remuneration for their service. Agencies like AHCS need to be given financial support and community recognition for their training service if such programs are expected to continue.

While the larger areas (ie St. John's) have a number of professionals trained in the area of sexual abuse, many smaller communities have social workers and counsellors who feel limited in their abilities to help victims because they lack specific training in this area. Funding needs to be available to provide the necessary training for professionals, especially in outlying areas.

- There is a lack of promotion of existing services. Many young people may suffer in silence because they are unaware that there are people who can understand and help them deal with their pain. One of the benefits of group therapy is that victims see that they are not alone. The more people are aware of services, the more likely they are to feel it's okay to talk about it. (This is especially true for male victims.) Sexual abuse treatment programs need to be promoted through the schools, community centres and the media. As more and more people muster the courage to disclose abuse, the need for services for specific groups of clients becomes evident. There is a need for more services for young children, adult victims and male victims. The parents of children who have been abused also are in need of supportive group programs.

- There is a lack of prevention programs being offered to our children. If we are truly to treat this problem, then we need to teach children how to recognize abuse and what to do if someone tries to abuse them. The most effective way to reach the majority of our children is through our education system. Sexual abuse programs need to be implemented beginning in the primary grades in our schools.

- There is lack of treatment programs for offenders. Funding needs to be made available to train professionals in offender treatment programs. Male victims have increased probability of becoming offenders in the future. Programs for male victims and young adolescent offenders need to be a priority.

In summary, the recommendations noted focus on funding, training and promotion of services for victims of sexual abuse. Unless substantial, concrete efforts are made in these areas, victims will continue to be victimized, offenders will continue to offend and the painful cycle will continue.

Nancy Taylor
Sexual Abuse Consultant
Adolescent Health Counselling Service
February 1990
My name is Bernard Agriesti. I will give my background so you will know from what position I speak. I was a member of the Board of Administration for several years — this is the top board that advises the Archbishop. I was chairman of the following committees of the Board of Administration for the Archdiocese of St. John's: Budget Committee, Investment Committee, Insurance Committee and Board representative to the Archdiocesan Pastoral Council.

In the Ferryland Parish, I participated as follows: I was lay reader for many years. When Father Molloy established the Parish Council, I was elected Chairman of the Parish Finance Committee and became a Eucharistic Minister. The Commission should understand that the parish council you may be familiar with is not the same as for the Roman Catholic Church here. The parish council here is a council in name only — it has no authority, meets only at the invitation of the priest and does only what the priest wants. The Finance Committee that you may be familiar with is not the same for the Roman Catholic Church here. The Finance Committee is in name only; it has no authority to control revenue and expenditure. The priest together with his bookkeeper prepares a financial statement, Finance Committee reviews the statement by comparing the totals with the ledger total, and does a back reconciliation to ensure that the revenue and expenditures are reasonably accurate. The financial statement is then published. There is no checking of invoices or audit made.

In my professional life, I was Comptroller of Memorial University for fourteen years until my retirement on March 1, 1988. (Prior to my coming to Memorial, I was Director of Accounting at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland.)

When Father Molloy came to our Parish, we were financially in debt. When he left, we had fifty thousand dollars free and clear in the bank, for work to be performed on our Parish church. When Jim Hickey replaced Father Molloy, he made it quite clear that he was going to take over the Convent (which had been closed) to be used as a retreat centre for young boys, with the intention of encouraging vocations to the priesthood, and as a religious training centre.

Our parish had seven buildings to maintain and we couldn't afford an eighth. The information provided by the nuns indicated an operating and maintenance cost of one thousand dollars per month.

Hickey, immediately upon arrival, renovated the Presbytery. He told me that he had just put up the last strip of wallpaper on the presbytery at Portugal Cove when the Archbishop asked him to go to Ferryland. He agreed on the condition that he could renovate the Ferryland presbytery.

The Board of Administration must approve all cumulative expenditures of seven thousand five hundred dollars or more. No submission was made for approval. I advised the Archbishop of this. To my knowledge no action was taken.

I then resigned from the Ferryland Parish Finance Committee. I didn't like what was going on and I found myself in conflict with my duty to the Board of Administration.

Jim Hickey was charged shortly before I retired (that is, from the University). After consideration for the concern of my parish and discussion with the Archbishop, I agreed to assist the Parish Finance Committee. The Chairman of the Parish Council wanted me back and sought to have me reappointed.
I discussed my return with Gordon Walsh, parish priest of Renews, who had been appointed Administrator for the Ferryland Parish. He agreed that I should be reappointed and gave the Chairman of the Parish Council permission to appoint me.

The Archbishop had three meetings with the Parish Council after Jim Hickey was charged, and requested the parish council to take over and run the parish. The chairman of the Parish Council and I, together, within a few days ran into conflict with Hickey, who kept coming back to the parish, and with a religious Sister who was employed to operate the Convent for retreats and courses, and with the Parish Administrator.

We ran into a situation that reflected on our character. Without consultation with the Parish Council, the Archbishop appointed a religious Sister to run the Parish. She was in effect a parish priest except for consecration of the host and confessions. We found that hard to accept because before her appointment, there was to have been a removal of Jim Hickey's remaining belongings from the Presbytery. When the Chairman of Council and I learned of that, we decided to place Hickey's belongings in the foyer for easy removal. When removing Jim Hickey's file cabinet, three books fell from the back of the bottom drawer. They were titled The Joy of Sex, More Joy of Sex, and Show Me. Sister told the Chairman and me that Hickey told her these books belonged to Father Molloy, that they were sent to him by the Catholic Education Commission for consideration to use in schools. Having been a teacher for five years, I knew that was not the case.

I resigned from the Parish Council. At the next meeting of the Parish Council, the Administrator was asked to read my letter of resignation. I was told he refused and said that I was not a member of Parish Council, that I had tried to take over and failed.

Shortly after, I met with the Archbishop, at his request, for 2 1/2 hours and discussed the many problems.

The Parish Finance Committee had met and reviewed the financial records and determined that we were some twenty thousand dollars in deficit at the time Jim Hickey left. He had renovated the Calvert Church at a cost of approximately ninety-three thousand dollars without approval of the Board of Administration.

Considering what appeared to be a cover-up for Hickey, the Archbishop wanting me to help reinstate the Sister he appointed to the parish, the refusal to assist twenty young boys because it might prejudice the legal case against Jim Hickey (the church is there to help people in need; such help cannot be held as legal evidence of an admission of guilt), I then resigned from the Board of Administration.

I believe your Commission (that is the appointment of your Commission) is another move to placate the laity and put the issue of sexual deviate clergy at rest without action to clean house. This move, I also feel, is to silence the news media.

Jim Hickey got away so long because he had free access to a large quantity of cash without accountability. On the Board of Administration, I tried to get two signatures on cheques, to control Parish expenditures. I was voted down. The Parish Finance Committee is established in Canon Law and it is up to the Archbishop to put real teeth into it. In my opinion, the Archbishop has neglected to carry out that responsibility.

Not only must you be honest, you must be seen to be honest.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Finance Committee should be empowered to receive all donations and make all Parish expenditures.
- Priests should be paid a wage. They will live in the Presbytery and pay all expenses for utilities, food, vehicle costs, vehicle operation, clothing and personal expenses.
- The priest should be employed by the Parish Council and be answerable to the Parish Council.
- The Parish Council should have the authority to dismiss a priest.
- Each parish should have an altar society to look after the needs of the Church.
- Parish Council should own and control all parish buildings and property.
- Priests should be permitted to marry. This will assist in control of sexual deviates. The priest will have first-hand knowledge of family life. Over the years priests have criticized parents and children from the pulpit and they are way out in left field.
- The Archbishop should retire or resign as he has lost credibility with the laity.
- The word “father” should be discontinued in connection with the clergy.

It is my personal feeling that to ensure the clergy clean house, all concerned Catholics should withhold donations of funds and service, and not participate in church fund-raising activities. When the bills can’t be paid, the clergy will act quickly to clean house. Until that happens we will get a lot of window bashing.

June 12, 1989
Dorothy Agriesti
Ferryland

Unlike the parishes of Portugal Cove and Pouch Cove, Ferryland parish has no known victims for whom we can freely vent our anger and concern, but if we have indeed been spared, it is only because of those who were courageous enough to come forward in time to save the children of Ferryland, who would have been next in line.

We have been deeply scarred nevertheless, and many of us now feel alienated from the Church to which we had given years of commitment, long before Jim Hickey ever set foot here, but perhaps that is a small price to pay compared to what might have been.

As Catholics, we have been through a long dark night and morning isn’t yet broken, but if we are to rise above this we have to face the reality that this dark and slimy evil has permeated the hallowed halls and dark recesses of the Church for many years. We must not allow it to slither and slink away again, only to retrench and perhaps resurface another twenty years down the road, with the innocence of even more children wasted in its path.

It is not enough to say that this is happening in every other religious denomination, walk of life, or geographic location, for what has happened here makes every other statistic pale in comparison. Even the news from crime-ridden Detroit has had nothing of this proportion to report.

So let us not place blame on our Protestant friends who, if anything, have been far too kind to us. Nor should we allow the so-called “experts” to paint all men as potential perverts just waiting for a convenient dark alley.

It is the priests themselves who have brought the Church to its knees — it is not the people, nor the press, and certainly not the victims.

If our way of life has contributed in any way, it can only be that our history has taught us to respect — or more accurately to fear those in authority. The awesome power of the priest in a small community cannot be described in a few words, but even the doctor was at his mercy, and could find himself removed at the priest’s command.

Much has been written in recent months of the stress and the strain, and the loneliness and isolation of the priests’ lifestyle. Indeed every nocturnal nuance has been duly noted — as if the married man has only to whistle to his wife.

If, as one priest suggested, "buddy in Bay de Verde or wherever" should walk a mile in the priests shoes, why not let it be a fair exchange? Surely no study of the priestly life would be complete unless it was in comparison with the life he might have chosen — or for that matter, is still free to choose.

First of all we must remember that all these incidents took place within a small radius of the City, with all its comforts and amenities, and not in some remote, northern outpost. Furthermore, some of those priests had a loyal following who never saw them short of a dinner, a cup of tea, or a game of Trivial Pursuit, and even accompanied them on a southern cruise. If that is loneliness, then the rest of us are up a wall.

In the stress and strain category, the priest is not required to put one half of his life in hock for his education, and the other half in hock just to put a roof over his head. He doesn’t have to worry about finding a job or moving on up in the world. Respect and
Esteem are his from the moment he sets foot at the altar, regardless of whether he has earned it or not.

It may come as a surprise to some priests, but when young parents fall into bed at night, quite often the only thought in their mind is sleep, sleep and more sleep. The connubial bed is not a panacea for all life's problems.

I don't mean to sound anti-priest here. I'm sure there are many good priests left, but I wish they wouldn't align themselves so strongly with the others, because they make it more difficult for us to distinguish between them.

Perhaps we have been doing too much for them. God knows they have more helpers than Santa has elves, what with housekeepers, secretaries, parish councils, ministers of everything under the sun, including those who will relieve them on sick calls— all good lay people helping out "poor father" in the spare time they have sacrificed from home and family.

I recall one priest who would frequently wonder if he was going to "survive" after having said three Masses in one day, and everyone was concerned for his health— which they obviously need not have been, in light of recent events. At the same time my own husband's day began at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 11:30 p.m., during which time he commuted 100 miles daily to a high-powered job, built his own home and managed to meet his many commitments to community and parish efforts such as minor sports, Canadian Legion, Historical Society Museum, Seafood Festival, Parish Council and Board of Administration and this isn't to mention Sunday duties as a Reader or Minister as well.

You might ask "Did he survive?" and the answer is "Yes, but it'll never be the same." He found out his main concern was protecting the priests and the Church. Consequently we no longer attend church except when something warrants our presence, but that doesn't mean our faith in God is any less, and I'll tackle anyone who says differently.

The Church we knew and loved is finished, but something better can evolve if we clear out the deadwood. I hesitate to call for the Archbishop's resignation because the thought of who will fill his shoes frightens me even more. I do not want anyone talking out of both sides of his mouth, no matter how articulate he might be. I don't want someone who couldn't understand why the news media "would pick on that area of behaviour, when a priest could be caught fishing illegally or behind the wheel of a car when drunk and no one says anything". I don't want a Bishop who doesn't know the difference between the sexual abuse of children and illegal fishing or impaired driving.

I most certainly do not want a Bishop who holds the views of Bishop Campbell of Nova Scotia. Victims of sexual abuse must be encouraged to come forth, but Bishop Campbell's words did little to further that cause, whether that was what he intended or not.

Clearly priests must be permitted to marry and at the same time women must be permitted to be ordained. As it is now, a homosexual priest is held in higher regard within the church than a woman — yet without women, there would be no mankind — no Church — and no priesthood.

If the Bishops are not able to convince the Pope that the time is right for change — then perhaps the time is right to form a North American Catholic church.

June 12, 1989
Archdiocesan Commissions of
Faith Development, Liturgy and Social Action
St. John's

When the commissions now presenting this brief first met in February of this year, it was as pastoral workers with a history of cooperation in archdiocesan affairs, working for whom the undertaking of collaborative work in response to the developing crisis of child abuse seemed natural. That first meeting gave expression to the confusion of emotions we were sharing with other Catholics of our region: shock, anger and pain over the unfolding charges and convictions, and also frustration that the church, seemingly in a state of paralysis, was not responding in a manner appropriate to the gravity of the situation. As commissions of the church in active leadership roles, we shared a sense of responsibility dictated by our various mandates to serve the Archdiocesan community. We assumed that our status provided a legitimate and appropriate channel of expression, and shared a hopeful expectation that, once our concerns were articulated to the archbishop, there would be a positive response from the church to the manifest needs of the people of the Diocese.

Through a process of prayerful discussion, we have come over these seven months to a deepened awareness of the shocking reality of Catholic life in our community. We, along with others of the archdiocese, empathize with the victims of these horrendous crimes because of their great suffering. We relate especially to their suffering because of our own experience of victimization within the system. We recognize that there is an inevitable and undeniable relationship between systemic abuse of power and sexual abuse of children. And we have come to realize that until that systemic evil is removed, the abuse will continue to occur.

In this presentation, we wish to do the following:

- first, present a theological overview of what the church should be in the light of Vatican II;
- secondly, demonstrate how the church actually works in this archdiocese; and
- thirdly, show how the actual workings of the church have created a climate in which many forms of victimization, including the abhorrent crime of child abuse, have flourished.

The commissions of the archdiocese, established by the archbishop in the post-Vatican II era, operate out of a theology of church developed in that council, and presented most particularly in the council document, Lumen Gentium: The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (November, 1964). The favoured image of church used by the council fathers is the People of God, a term which refers to all the baptized, who are called to an active life within the church, each according to the way we have been gifted by God. Through baptism, all have a right and a duty to use our gifts, which right and duty flow, not from the institutional organization of the church, but from the call of God. In saying this we do not deny the hierarchial organization of the church, nor the special role of the priest. However, we do believe we are all endowed with the Spirit and called to use the gifts divinely provided in work that is interconnected and interdependent, whether performed by bishop, priest, religious or lay person:

Though they differ essentially and not only in degree, the common priesthood of the faithful and the ministerial or hierarchial priesthood are nonetheless ordered one to another; each in its own proper way shares in the one priesthood of Christ. (Lumen Gentium 10)
We see our work in the commissions as being the vehicle through which we can exercise our share in the priesthood of Christ, each in our own proper way. Far from seeing the commissions as a separate church, we see ourselves working in cooperation with the archbishop and the priests to bring about the reign of God. We have in fact been mandated by the archbishop to exercise our giftedness for the good of the local church, a responsibility we exercise in our own right, rooted in our baptism.

We act not in a servile manner but as equals responding to the call of baptism to live by the power of the Spirit of Jesus, as do all members of the People of God. The council fathers have been taught that we must use our gifts to express our opinions in matters concerning the life of our church:

By reason of the knowledge, competence or pre-eminence which they have the laity are empowered — indeed sometimes obliged — to manifest their opinion on those things which pertain to the good of the church. If the occasion should arise this should be done through the institutions established by the church for that purpose and always with reverence and charity towards those, who, by reason of their office, represent the person of Christ. (Lumen Gentium 37)

This was further emphasized in the Revised Code of Canon Law in 1983:

They have the right, indeed at the times the duty, in keeping with their knowledge, competence and position, to manifest to the sacred Pastors, their views on matters which concern the good of the church. They have the right also to make their views known to others of Christ’s faithful, but in doing so they must always respect the integrity of faith and morals, show due reverence to the Pastors and take into account both the common good and the dignity of individuals. (Canon 212, par. 3)

Our commissions have frequently expressed opinions on matters regarding our local church and do so once again in this brief.

The Second Vatican Council proposed two principles which flow from the People of God image of church. These are "collegiality" and "subsidiarity."

Collegiality is primarily an episcopal prerogative which sees the bishops as sharing a solidarity with each other in a college, and in their own right as a college, together with the Pope as the head, being responsible for the good of the universal church. However, this principle has been extended more and more in the post-conciliar years to embrace a collegiality of all the members of the Body of Christ, so that together they form a strong bond and take a caring stance towards the church. Just as the Pope, with the College of Bishops, governs the universal church, so every bishop acts as the head of a Diocesan College of Priests, religious and laity in the government of the local church. This collegiality is expressed concretely in our archdiocese in many ways: through the Council of Priests, through Parish, Area and Diocesan Pastoral Councils, through Archdiocesan Commissions and through the many diocesan and parochial boards, committees and ministries. By analogy with the college of bishops, all these bodies have their own life, authority and responsibility. They act collegially by the principle of subsidiarity.

Subsidiarity is the principle which states that each body operates at the level of its competence. This means each group can and must act according to the ability, competence and knowledge it has without constantly going to a higher authority for permission. Our commissions have been mandated by the archbishop to act in certain areas. The Archdiocese has employed trained directors to work through these commissions. Our three directors are recognized both nationally and internationally for their expertise. Commission members are individually appointed by the archbishop because of their demonstrated interest in and commitment to the mandate of the given commission.

It has never been the understanding that the commissions should have to turn to the archbishop or the priests for permission to act. Rather we have been seen
as united with the archdiocesan family and as exercising our mandate in a variety of ways. Each commission is made up of membership from throughout the archdiocese, and each meets regularly to carry out its mandate. Members participate in ongoing development and training, both during regular meetings and through workshops and seminars. We therefore act in our own name at the level of our competence and according to our mandate, always in solidarity with the archdiocesan family.

From a careful look at what is on paper it appears that the diocese is working out of a "People of God" model as described in Lumen Gentium (Ch.2), and out of the rights described in Canon 255.1:

Since lay people, like all Christ's faithful, are deputed to the apostolate by baptism and confirmation, they are bound by the general obligation and they have the right, whether as individuals or in associations, to strive so that the divine message of salvation may be known and accepted by all people throughout the world. This obligation is all the more insistent in circumstances in which only through them are people able to hear the Gospel and to know Christ.

The Diocese has adopted an outer appearance of people sharing gifts and responsibilities, yet as persons working on the commissions, we are not convinced that there is any depth to this appearance. Our conviction comes mainly from our experience with the structure as it exists. In theory, the Council of Priests and the Diocesan Pastoral Council are equal advisory bodies to the bishop: "...it is the primary responsibility of the Council of Priests to advise the Archbishop regarding the governance of the diocese, and the actual implementation of plans and priorities. The primary responsibility of the DPC, on the other hand, is for the longer range: for goals, directions and pastoral planning." (Terms of Reference, Diocesan Pastoral Council, Archdiocese of St. John's.) Yet in practice the advice of the Diocesan Pastoral Council is often ignored.

One case in point is the proposed renewal plan for the diocese. The plan was developed over the course of one year by a sub-committee of the Diocesan Pastoral Council and was presented to the Council in November, 1986. Discussion of the plan occurred within both councils and in May 1987 a joint meeting of the Diocesan Pastoral Council and of the Council of Priests was held at the end of which approval was given to the plan by both bodies. There was no further action until September, 1989 with the appointment of a priest to direct the programme.

The Diocesan Pastoral Council recognized the urgency in 1987 of the immediate implementation of the approved plan. However, its advice on this matter was ignored because of an insistence by the Council of Priests that the director of the plan be an ordained person.

This illustration is not unique, for over and over again we experience on all levels the facade of power sharing. People are encouraged to study and discuss, and to make informed decisions; then the decisions are totally ignored. The appearance of subsidiarity is maintained, but the structure allows on a parish level for decision making to be left solely in the hands of the parish priest, while on the diocesan level it is left to the Archbishop.

As commissions, our energy goes into the formation of the people of the diocese. Canon 217 states:

Since Christ's faithful are called by baptism to lead a life in harmony with the gospel teaching, they have the right to a Christian education, which genuinely teaches them to strive for the maturity of the human person and at the same time to know and live the mystery of salvation.

In our educational work, it is our intent to empower all to take their rightful place as baptized persons. Our efforts, however, are treated often with ridicule and scorn by those priests who prefer to isolate their parishioners from empowering influences. The commissions cannot go into a parish unless invited; and if we are perceived by a particular priest as a threat, we are not invited. Because in many parishes the parish priest remains the point of liaison between the
commissions and the people, censorship of incoming influences is a simple matter.

We are well aware of the negative attitudes toward the commissions on the part of some of the priests. Our experience suggests that much of this negativity comes from the structure of the hierarchial church which gives the priest a position of absolute power on the parish level without a system of accountability to the members of the parish. This has resulted historically in an attitude among parish priests that they have the right to control the formation of the parishioners. Consequently, the efforts of the commissions to provide information and education are often subverted.

Chapter 37, par. 1 of *Lumen Gentium* outlines in detail the role of lay people, stating that

...the pastors assign duties to the layperson in the service of the Church, leaving them freedom and scope for acting. Indeed, they should give them the courage to undertake works on their own initiative. They should with paternal love consider attentively in Christ initial moves, suggestions and desires proposed by the laity. Moreover the pastors must respect and recognize the liberty which belongs to all in the terrestrial city.

This encouragement of lay initiative is sharply contradicted by our experience as commissions attempting to show responsibility on the very issue we were addressing - child abuse. After our initial joint meeting in February of this year, we concentrated on developing core recommendations, which were presented to the Archbishop and the Council of Priests in March 8 in the form of a brief. The representatives of our various commissions left the meeting on that date feeling reasonably positive. However, we later realized that, not only was the content of the brief being disregarded, but also our very right to take the action was being questioned.

At that point, given the facts that no response was received and that the archbishop was unable to accept our invitation to attend subsequent joint meetings of the commissions, two decisions were taken. The first of these was to present our long term concerns to the Commission of Inquiry. The second was to publish in the archdiocesan newspaper, *The Monitor*, the recommendations that had been presented to the archbishop and the Council of Priests. This decision was taken in an attempt to break the sense of isolation and abandonment that were being expressed to us by people of the diocese. However, *The Monitor* informed us that all articles relating to the topic of sexual abuse were, at his request, being forwarded to the archbishop for his approval before publication. Subsequently, the archbishop called a joint meeting of the chairpersons of the commissions at which he was adamant that the proposed article should not be printed. At this time, he also informed the commissions that we had no right to publicly present conjoint statements, nor to continue meeting together on this issue without his knowledge.

The tone of this meeting with the Archbishop was disconcerting. We did not see ourselves as working in secret, and had no problem with the Archbishop's knowing that we were meeting. However, we wanted our comments and analysis to be known on a broader level, because we shared a sense of responsibility to the wider church community, and most especially to the victims, who for the most part were not feeling supported by the church.

Sensing that our only means of communication with the broader church was through the Winter Commission, we concentrated our energies from that point forward on the preparation of this brief. The discussions which helped prepare us for this meeting today have provided revelation after revelation of situations, similar to those just described, experienced by all three of our commissions. Although in our day-to-day work we focus on very different aspects of church life, we have met common treatment in dealing with the hierarchy of the church.

We believe it has been necessary to outline these experiences, since they so accurately reflect the reality of church life in our archdiocese. Stories of psychological, physical, and financial, as well as sexual abuse at the hands of the clergy are widespread in Catholic culture, and reach back into the history of the
church. The abuse has not been eliminated by the reforms of Vatican II, because the reforms have been blocked by those in power. There is abuse at every level and in some ways even those in power positions are victims. This abusive system has resulted in the worst kind of abuse—the sexual abuse of our children.

We are facing the systemic evil of an organization which gives a select group status and power in a way that enfeebles everyone else. The same factors found in abusive families are present in many of our parishes: forced isolation, unreasonable demands of loyalty, total control on the part of the abuser. Behind the semblance of subsidiarity introduced by Vatican II, there lies an actuality of domination. The concentration of power and concomitant lack of accountability create a climate in which many types of destructive behaviour can easily be hidden. Authoritarian regimes in any sphere of human activity attract abusive people, because they offer the chance both to practice abuse, and to conceal the practice. The abuse has been maintained by silencing techniques that have, ironically, been so effective in this province because faith has been so strong. Suspicions have been given no expression, because the choice in such a system is very clear: accept the status quo or give up your association with the church. In a society with rich cultural ties to a church locally often the centre of community life, this is a choice that few care to contemplate.

The solution to the dreadful problem of child abuse lies in finding a way to distribute power and responsibility equally among all the People of God. The means to do this are clearly enunciated in current church documents. Failure to implement the reforms of Vatican II is a wilful subversion of church teaching. The authoritarian model of the church must be replaced immediately with one that allows for the implementation of the principles of collegiality and subsidiarity on all levels. Spiritual and emotional health cannot be restored while an atmosphere of authoritarian domination remains. If adults are perpetually consigned to the role of children by a repressive structure, all will continue to suffer, but none more poignantly than the young.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

If the diocese is to grow into wholeness after the crisis of facing the reality of child sexual abuse by some of the clergy, there will need to be a process which involves all people who are ready and wanting to be involved, leads to reconciliation on a diocesan level, includes an analysis of what is at the base of this problem, and plans for a future where the whole People of God work together for the fulfilment of the mission of the Gospel.

In order for this to happen there has to be a public recognition of the evil that we are facing, a clear naming of that evil without any softening of the reality. There will also have to be an acceptance of the fact that not everyone in the diocese will be ready at the same moment to take part in such a public action.

Our commissions have met several times together, and separately, to discuss how this might happen. One of the things we had to face is that the process to do all this needs to be something that has some ring of familiarity or legitimacy to it. After reflecting on our collective experience, and that of other experiences in the church, we are recommending that a diocesan synod be convoked that would have as its goal the healing of the community, the building of new relationships, and the creation of the changes required to sustain the new relationships.

As a model, we are suggesting that the synod process used by the Diocese of Victoria in British Columbia since October, 1986 be studied as one that would meet all the criteria that we have outlined for healing in our community. Learning from our sisters and brothers in the Victoria Diocese in itself would be a healthy exercise. We do not have to walk alone in our journey.

**Pastoral Commission**

We support the decision of the Archdiocese to establish a Pastoral Commission.

Sensing the need for a public forum, we deem it imperative that the Archdiocese immediately appoint this as an independent Pastoral Commission, similar to that set up by the Diocese of Gatineau-Hull.
In order to reflect the serious circumstances that presently exist in this Archdiocese, it is necessary that:

- the mandate of this Pastoral Commission include an investigation into why there has been such a high degree of sexual abuse of children amongst priests; and what enabled it to continue over such a long period of time;
- the Commission be given wide and unfettered powers of investigation into all matters within its mandate;
- the Commission Chairperson be from outside the Province of Newfoundland;
- the investigation and the membership of the Commission be multidisciplinary in nature;
- the report of the Commission be made public and any recommendations be implemented immediately.

Government Inquiry

We endorse the support the Archdiocese has given to the call for a government inquiry into child sexual abuse.

We further recommend more collaboration with other community groups in pressing the government to:

- include on its commission individuals from groups who have a speciality in the area of violence in the family, especially against women and children;
- involve these groups, from the beginning, in the articulation of the mandate, goals and objectives for this inquiry.

Counselling for the Victims

We in the Church, must accept responsibility for the sexual abuse of children by some of our priests. We must also accept responsibility for the healing process. Therefore we make the following recommendations:

- Counselling services must be provided in addition to those provided by our Catholic agencies.
- Collaboration with all other agencies (community, church and government), especially those with experience and expertise in dealing with sexual abuse, should be initiated immediately and must be recognized as being of long duration.
- Massive funding (perhaps in the form of a trust fund) must be made available to assist in providing all of these counselling services throughout the Archdiocese. An independent consultant may be required to decide how this could be set up and managed.
- Provision must be made, if necessary, for the training and placement of additional professionals to counsel victims.
- An intensive communications campaign must be launched to reach the victims and their families in order to raise their awareness of the need and the availability of these counselling services.

Church Policy

We believe that it would be unjust that James Hickey and John Corrigan be restored to any Church position in any diocese because of the gravity and duration of their crimes and the extensive damage and scandal they have caused in the community.

We further believe that the community needs to be told clearly that this will be the case.

In addition, we believe our diocese needs a policy for dealing with any other such cases as they arise.

Official Spokesperson

It is imperative that the official spokesperson have in depth understanding and appreciation of the dynamics of child sexual abuse. The appointed spokesperson does not appear to have this understanding.

We strongly recommend that the Archdiocese procure as quickly as possible the services of a full-time professionally trained public relations/communications person who also has theological training. Such a person is necessary, not only in the present circumstances, but at all times.

Before procuring this person, we further recommend a serious study of the recommendations regarding

Philip J. Lewis, P.P., Chairperson, Faith Development
Molly Stacey, Chairperson, Liturgy,
Judy McCann, Chairperson, Family Life
Frances E. Ennis, Chairperson, Social Action.
September 14 - November 27, 1989
Basilica Parish Pastoral Council
St. John's

RECOMMENDATIONS
· that, in parishes where there is no Parish Council, every effort be made to establish a Parish Council.
· that Parish Councils should have jurisdiction over all Committees, Societies or any other organizations operating within the Parish.
· that, in future, the role of the priests be directed towards the spiritual and the sacramental and that financial and administrative responsibilities be assumed by Parish Councils.
· that the laity be allowed to assume more responsibility for what goes on within the Parish and further, that the laity be educated to accept one another as they respond to their Baptismal call. An Education Program should be put in place to facilitate this aim. We recommend that this education program begin at the Parish level, through incorporation of the concepts of acceptance and responsibility, within Sunday homilies.
· that the Parish be supportive of the Archdiocese in the setting up of more centres of counselling and treatment for victims of sexual abuse and their families and that all Parishes be made aware of the existence of such centres as well as their availability.
· that the role of the Parish Council be the same as that of any individual in that, if we suspect or become aware of any abuse we would report it immediately to the proper authorities.

It is premature to determine the role of the Parish Council in vigilance over this Commission's Report without a detailed study of it.

November 1989
Marie Brennan, Carmel Walsh, Mary Brennan
St. John's

Through our Baptism we are members of the church — The People of God. We feel, therefore, that it is our responsibility as active members to voice our concern and disapproval with respect to the position taken by the hierarchical church, whereby priests, convicted of criminal acts of an abominable nature, are permitted to continue to function as ordained priests.

Sexual abuse of children by clergy is not restricted to our province, but is a "cancer" in the church throughout our nation and beyond its borders. We wonder at the silence of the bishops of Canada and the Apostolic Delegate, who surely must have made the Pope aware of the need to address this serious issue.

RECOMMENDATION

- that, upon conviction, such persons be laicized. Our children must be protected. We understand that under Canon Law priests can be laicized for grave reasons. If the above situation is not considered grave, maybe it is time to amend the Code of Canon Law.

Respectfully submitted, and pledging support to the priests faithful to their commitment.

Marie Brennan — Basilica Parish
Carmel Walsh — Basilica Parish
Mary Brennan — St. Pius X Parish
July 6, 1989
Brother of a Victim

Today I present to this Special Commission of Inquiry of the Archdiocese of St. John's, a Brief which outlines some of my feelings and concerns about the Roman Catholic Church in this Archdiocese. This Brief is not meant to be, in any way, an indictment of any person or part of the Archdiocese, even though at times it may sound like one. This Brief contains my view of some of the problems in this Archdiocese.

At times, the tone of this Brief may come across as sarcastic or disrespectful. I have chosen my words only after much preparation. My time of preparation has included reading, prayer and reflection. Even though I may sound harsh at times, I realise that it is about time that I say what needs to be said. Maybe it will open some eyes. Maybe someone will take what I have written and use it to help in the reconstruction of our Archdiocese here in St. John's.

Again, I would like to say that this Brief is not meant to be an indictment, but a personal sharing of my concerns; concerns that I'm sure are shared by others in the Catholic community.

You Eat a Piece of Bread. This Bread Ceases to be Part of You. It Rises to a New Life.

Similarly, we in the Archdiocese of St. John's have to take the happenings of the last number of years and own them as a community. We must examine where we as a community of people have gone wrong. We must examine where individuals within our structure have gone wrong. We must be willing to treat not only the symptoms but dig to the root of the problems and correct them through processing and in some cases reparenting.

We have to, as a community, address the addictions of our clergy and our faithful. We need to address alcoholism, drug addiction, as well as sexual addictions. We need to look at the causes, the treatment and the cure.

We need to look to the scriptures, writings of church people throughout the ages, as well as secular studies in various academic disciplines to draw knowledge, strength and insight.

For too long, some of our clergy have refused to read anything other than their office book, while some even proudly proclaim that they don't even use that. Like people in any field clergy need to renew and upgrade their training. Some refuse to attend workshops, retreats, meetings, etc. When some do attend they may be there in body but not in spirit or mind. There is, for example, the case of a priest arriving with two suitcases to a priest's retreat; one contained clothing for a week, while the other contained his weeks supply of alcohol. This was told to me by at least two priests who attended that particular retreat. One considered it a laugh while the other thought it to be a sad sign.

Then we have the attitude of some of the priests who speak of "Fonse-the-wimp", or make statements like Fonse can say what he wants to say, but I'm going to do what I want to do.

While speaking of attitudes of priests, we have at least one priest in this Archdiocese who often told his altar boys that he wished communion lines were not so long. He said that his remedy would be to put the plastic wafers in a pistol and shoot them to the people in their seats. I must say that this priest's concern left a lot to be desired. No one would dare challenge him because he was a priest. You could not tell another adult about it because they would never believe that a priest would say such a thing. I assure you, a priest did.
For too long some of the clergy have seen themselves elevated on a Divine pedestal that the Archbishop can't even knock them off. The clergy need to come down to earth and stop walking in the clouds. Some are still in a state of shock that several of their own were charged with sex crimes. Did they see it coming? If not, they should see the rest coming.

Back to the Divine pedestal that some of the clergy are elevated on: many think of their vocation to priesthood as being "far from that of the ordinary person." Do they see themselves as more than human? Well, do I have news for them. If they look to the letters of the church and read *Sedes Sapientia* (1956) they will see that the Pope was at pains to point out and stress the fact that all vocations are due to Almighty God. Distinguishing religious vocation from vocation to the temporal professions it was noted that all vocations were Divine and that the difference between the two was not the difference of one's being Divine and the other not.

People in any profession needs to keep up on what is happening in their particular field. We still have priests who are quoting the old Code of Canon Law. Are they unaware that Pope John Paul II promulgated a revised *Code of Canon Law* on January 25, 1983, which came into effect on November 27, 1983, or do they simply choose to ignore it because it is too much to read?

Much of the stimulus for women's liberation came from a recognition that some traditional family relationships are a form of captivity. Likewise, much of the stimulus for renewal in the church will come from the recognition that "Father" is not always right, that "Father" does not know all the answers, and that "Father" can't tell me not to sleep around when he is doing it himself. I would like to remind our clergy of phrases they should all know:

Believe what you read.
Preach what you believe.
Practice what you preach.

People today are much more knowledgeable than they were in the past.

People today are just as educated as the priest; many even more so, and some even more so in church matters.

People in the church today will take on leadership roles and take their rightful place in the kingdom of God on earth.

**Canon 212**

1. The Christian faithful, conscious of their own responsibility, are bound by Christian obedience to follow what the sacred pastors, as representatives of Christ, declare as teachers of the faith or determine as leaders of the Church.

2. The Christian faithful are free to make known their needs, especially spiritual ones, and their desires to the pastors of the Church.

3. In accord with the knowledge, competence and preeminence which they possess: they have the right and even at times a duty to manifest to the sacred pastors their opinion on matters which pertain to the good of the Church, and they have a right to make their opinion known to the other Christian faithful, with due regard for the integrity of faith and morals and reverence toward their pastors, and with consideration for the common good and the dignity of persons.

It is very difficult at times to show respect for the clergy when some of them have shown nothing but contempt for some members of the church. If I had children, I would refuse to allow them to be alone with several of the priests of this Archdiocese. There are, however, a few who are trustworthy. Some of the trustworthy ones, however, are belittled by those clergy who have to gossip and criticize. They sometimes have difficulty hearing positives and are over critical of others. Some use their collar to protect themselves from their own insecurities.

We also have some clerics who feel a little more than human. When Archbishop Penney was interviewed by Barbara Yaffe of *The Sunday Express*, he
was asked about the celibate clergy. His response was, and I quote:

I think a celibate clergy is a tremendous sign
and symbol in our society. We have a society
that is so oriented toward sexuality, and here
you have people who freely relinquish that,
lay it aside and live their life without it.

I ask, how can you relinquish and lay aside any
part of your person and live life without it? We all
need to acknowledge our whole person. If we were to
choose to live a celibate life, we could give up sexual
acts. But, we cannot give up our sexuality. It is part
of our human state. However, if the clergy are more
than human, then maybe they could give up their
sexuality.

A member of a local congregation of Sisters when
speaking to a group of people inquiring about vocations
in life told them that when she entered the convent she
thought of herself as a consecrated refrigerator. She
said that she realized many years later that she had a
sexuality and that she had sexual drives just like those
outside the convent walls.

Like Sister who saw the fullness of her person after
many years, the clergy, as well as the people in the pew,
need to see that each and every person has many parts­
one of them being sexual—that when combined makes a
whole person. Whole people are ones who have
integrated all parts of being and life. Whole people
integrate their physical, psychological, spiritual and
sexual being. Whole people also integrate their
personal, family and community life.

The community as a whole needs to acknowledge
human weakness. The community also needs to
acknowledge the immoral as well as illegal acts of some
of our clergy, former clergy, and other church members.
After the community has acknowledged and accepted
that what has happened has happened, then they must
begin to repair the damage. We must also know that
no matter how much we repair the damage, we will
only receive complete healing when we join God in
heaven.

One place we could begin to repair is our
antiquated system of candidate selection and training
for ministry—we need to take a holistic approach.
Our candidates should be well-rooted in prayer and
spirituality. They should be well-rounded persons who
are willing to learn from others and acknowledge that
they do not know everything. Wouldn’t it be just great
if some of our priests could be like that also?

Our candidates should be well known to our
church community; they should not be treated as
demigods. Our seminarian who did his pastoral year at
the Basilica a number of years ago was treated royally
by the parishioners, but the staff used him as an errand
boy. He said he felt that he didn’t learn anything there
to help prepare him for ministry. Maybe he didn’t try,
or maybe he wasn’t adequately directed by those
responsible for his formation....

What about continuing formation for our clergy?
Do they have to go it on their own if they are
interested? How many are interested? Are they too
comfortable and do they feel that they will not be fired?
Maybe we would be better off without them as leaders,
especially due to the fact that they are not doing any
leading. Whatever happened to the ministry to the
priests program? There are many questions that need
to be asked about priestly formation in this
Archdiocese. We can then start to answer them and
formulate a process rather than a program. Input
should be sought from the faithful to formulate this
process.

Does the church hierarchy listen to the members
of the church? Do they want to listen? Do they want
to hear? I for one spoke to the Archbishop after a
meeting and told him that I had some concerns that I
would like to discuss with him. He wrote my name and
telephone numbers in his book and said he would call
me. To date, over a year has passed and I have not
heard from the Archbishop....

You may ask why I did not bother to follow-up
and call on the Archbishop for an appointment? Well,
I came to realise that the Archbishop does meet with
people but that he does not always listen to them.
Case in point: While visiting Toronto for a series of
conferences last Spring, I spoke with a woman from
Newfoundland who had met with the Archbishop ...
She was ignored. I asked, "Why bring concerns to the Archbishop if they are going to be ignored?"... The Archbishop has been informed and he chose to ignore. He has ignored the woman who spoke with him, he has ignored my request to speak with him, and only the Archbishop knows how many others he has ignored.

I would suggest that this Commission address this issue with the Archbishop and urge him to be sure that he make sure that he is assured of candidates’ moral fibre and suitability before he dares to ordain anyone else in this Archdiocese.

People will rise during future ordination ceremonies to publicly object, to state their reasons and to ask the Archbishop if he (the candidate) is truly worthy? It is stated during the ceremony that "after inquiry among the people of God he has been found worthy". If the people of God have not been asked for comment or if the people of God are ignored, they will then speak out and object. I again remind the Archbishop that the people of God have a right and sometimes a duty to make their opinions known to other faithful and to church leaders. When they are ignored they will do it in public.

Some of the faithful are in closer touch with what is happening in the church and in the upper structure of the church than some of our clergy. I would be surprised if some of our clergy would be able to identify a few contemporary Christian authors, let alone know what they say.

How many of our priests are rooted in spirituality? How many are afraid to know themselves?

Partly due to some of the clergy's lack of reading and lack of study, some of them know very little about real life and spirituality. Many of them don't understand people's problems. They can't identify with them because they've been on their pedestal for too long.

Most of our clergy have no idea how to integrate scripture with our lives today. But despite this, in this Archdiocese we get several types of homilies, I think this makes us extremely lucky! The types are as follows:

- Re-reads: No preparation, just re-read a few lines from each reading.
- Paraphrase: Re-read, changing a word here and there.
- Unprepared dissertations: Where the priest goes on and on not knowing how and where to stop.
- A-Papers: Those well-presented papers that are so far over everyone's heads that even a university professor might grant an A for effort.
- Well prepared homilies which attempt to tie the sacred scriptures to our lives in the church and society today.

Accepting that nothing is perfect, accepting the fact that there are only a handful of priests who are capable of producing a good homily or serving the other pastoral needs within this Archdiocese, we must be thankful that a couple are at least good at calling bingo. Some will undoubtedly not miss the collection during mass even if they are known for missing or skipping readings, prayers, or blessings.

Next I would like to ask: what are we going to do with priests who have been found guilty of sexual assault and other sex crimes? Should they be defrocked and dismissed from the clerical state? I think that they should, especially if you take into consideration the words and the spirit of the Code of Canon Law. We should also attempt to discover in a church inquiry if any of these clergy have attempted to solicit in confession. If they have, we should invoke revised Canon 1387 which states:

Whether in the act or on the occasion or under the pretext of confession, a priest who solicits a penitent to sin against the sixth commandment of the Decalogue is to be punished with suspension, prohibitions and deprivations in accord with the seriousness of the offense; and in more serious cases, he is to be dismissed from the clerical state.

I would also suggest that the Archbishop as well as the clergy and members of the faithful read with care
Title VI of the Code of Canon Law relating to Orders — Canons 1008–1054.

Likewise I suggest that Title II of the Code of Canon Law relating to cases for Declaring Nullity of Sacred Ordination, Canons 1708 — 1712 be read and applied where applicable. Our church officials have said "once a priest, always a priest". This may be true, but I caution them to also note that if the ordination was invalid due to lack of proper intention, then the priest was not a priest in the first place, but only appeared to be one; the sacrament was lacking.

In the case of James Joseph Hickey, one could raise questions as to the validity of his ordination on the grounds of lack of right intention. Was the intention that of the church? Or was it the intention of James Hickey? On September 8, 1988, he pleaded guilty to 20 charges of sexual offenses that took place between January 1970 and January 1988 (Evening Telegram, Oct. 1, 1988).

This means that while Mr. Hickey was a deacon and within five months prior to his ordination on May 20, 1970, he was actually involved in illegal and immoral sexual activities that continued after his ordination. If one were familiar with the Code of Canon Law, then one could only assume that there is reason based on the dates above that Mr. Hickey's ordination was invalid, illicit and null and void.

It is up to the Archbishop to impugn the validity of this ordination and present a Petition of Nullity to the appropriate church congregation. Canon 1708 —

The cleric himself, the ordinary to whom he is subject, or the ordinary in whose diocese he was ordained have the right to impugn the validity of sacred ordination.

Not only does the Archbishop as ordinary have a right to put this cause forth, he also has a sacred and legal duty to do so.

If the Archbishop refuses to put such cases forward, members of the laity will have no choice but to petition Rome for the resignation of Archbishop Penney. The laity will have no choice but to present a case to Rome asking for a new Archbishop, a new Archbishop who will take the appropriate action against clerics who are no longer wanted as priests by the people of this Archdiocese, who in the opinion of many church members should no longer be behind a collar. These castaways from the priesthood should, however, be welcome in the pew with others as we acknowledge that the church is a church for sinners.

Even though the law presumes validity unless proven otherwise, there is reason to believe that Mr. Hickey's ordination, and possibly the ordination of others, is invalid and worthy of investigation.

The present or new Archbishop needs to put these items forward himself and draw upon people who will explore the Codes with him. He should not rely on his clergy, who are in a state of denial.


I would suggest that members of this Commission, the Archbishop, the clergy and the laity read this book or similar books to help them to process that which they are experiencing. I would also suggest the reading of Desire and Denial by Gordon Thomas, which will help the reader to place a world focus on sexuality within the church.

I would suggest that members of the clergy as well as the faithful seek professional help or self-help groups to help deal with the baggage they are carrying as a result of being part of this dysfunctional Archdiocese.

May God grant the people of this Archdiocese the wisdom to integrate the past with the present and the strength to build a bridge to the future.

If it be the wish or desire of this Special Commission of Enquiry, I will gladly prepare additional comments or recommendations on any issue or concern brought forward in my brief. I would also be willing to comment on any other issue that this Commission would like me to address.
I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Commission members for affording me the time to present before you and to share with you my feelings and concerns.

June 13, 1989
The Burin Peninsula Child Protection Team

Marystown

The Burin Peninsula Child Protection Team consists of Educators, Social Workers, Medical Professionals, and RCMP representatives. Members volunteer their time to combat the growing problem of child abuse in the Burin Peninsula area. The team was formed in 1985 out of a realization of the escalation of reported cases of abuse in the area.

Child abuse falls into three categories: sexual, physical and neglect. The Burin Peninsula is not alone with the problem of child abuse; it is found in all areas of society. The formation of this team allows all concerned personnel to meet and discuss suspected cases of child abuse in the strictest confidence and appropriate action is decided upon, with the safety of the child the foremost concern.

There are currently seventeen such teams throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. The major goal of the teams is to provide a vehicle of prevention and education. As such, members of the Burin Peninsula Child Protection Team are willing to provide Public Awareness Programs or provide training in matters of abuse. The overall goal of the team is to co-ordinate a multi-disciplinary approach to deal with child abuse.

Because of time constraints this brief is presented in point form only. A more detailed brief will be submitted to the Commission of Enquiry at a later date.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Burin Peninsula Child Protection Team strongly believes that counselling services to victims of abuse by the Clergy should be available on the Burin Peninsula. Approximately thirty five victims have come forward; this number of victims is proof of a need for local counselling services.
- The Church should not be the agency who delivers counselling services to victims. The Church should pay the cost for such services from independent counselling agencies.
- Recent statements by Church leaders regarding who should take responsibility for the abuse shows a lack of understanding about child abuse. Clergy who have abused children are to take full responsibility. Victims are not to blame.
- Statistics reveal that child abusers are rarely cured of their tendency to abuse children. Therefore, what will happen once convicted child abusers are returned to the community? Will they be assigned to Parishes? Clergy who have been found guilty of abuse have violated their position of trust and therefore should never again be granted that trust. They should never be placed in a position where they will have access to children.
- The Burin Peninsula Child Protection Team believes that the timing of the Commission’s request for briefs on the Burin Peninsula is inappropriate. 7:30 p.m. on a Friday night is probably one of the most inconvenient times for individuals to attend this Enquiry.
The Catholic Women's League of Canada
Provincial Council of Newfoundland and Labrador

The Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Council of the Catholic Women's League of Canada, with a membership of approximately 1500, has been surprised and pained by the knowledge that over the years trust has been betrayed by clergy and young people have been sexually abused.

That this could happen in Newfoundland and go undetected for so many years came as a shocking surprise to our members and evoked an attempt to examine circumstances and situations that might have caused or even permitted this situation.

We have concluded that many of the basic causes were culturally rooted and might be spelled out in the following statements.

The great respect traditionally tendered to the priesthood placed individual priests in a class where they were, for the most part, above suspicion of any serious wrong doing. The pedestal on which they were placed attributed to them a kind of superhuman quality which expected them to be all things to all people and above the possibility of doing anything wrong.

Because of this image of the priesthood even when there could have been suspicion of wrong doing it was kept secret among a few people.

This culturally accepted image of the priesthood created two dangerous situations. For the priest himself, in some cases, it resulted in an exaggerated sense of his power, authority and influence over people.

For the people there was a sense of helplessness in the event they did have some suspicion. They saw the Bishop as likely to take the part of the priest. They hesitated to go to judicial authorities because of what might be involved when they had no proof.

The Victims

The boys themselves might very well have felt that conduct in which the priest was involved was morally right.

They may not have realized the seriousness of the conduct, or they may have been suffering from complete lack of knowledge. As they acquired more knowledge they may have developed a sense of guilt and shame and be too embarrassed to tell anyone about it.

Education

It appears that neither in the home nor in the school was adequate information given to enable young people to recognize the danger or seriousness of the matter.

Priests

The seventies were a time of crisis in the Roman Catholic Church. Following Vatican II there was widespread belief in value change in society, almost a reverse of the codes of the sixties. Answers were no longer black and white. It is possible some priests did not cope with the change very well. This continual upset could have been a factor in a priest's failing at any particular time to cope with his own sexuality, keeping it in harmony with virtuous living. In the case of pedophilia it might have been a cause factor in their failing to identify with this very serious illness.

The failure of many pastors to follow the directives of Vatican II and form a parish council responsible for the operation of the parish resulted in too much power
being held by the priest. This was particularly evident in the control over the parish monies.

No respect was paid to the need of every priest to have time for himself, time for his parishioners and time for prayer and reflection. Overburdened, priests were prey to misuse of their faculties and possible addiction.

The clergy shortage and growing pastoral demands may have resulted in the failure of ministers to help and serve each other in identifying their weaknesses and/or illnesses.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As we see it, there are many people and many contributing facts to be considered in creating circumstances that would eliminate, as far as possible, a recurrence of this tragedy.

Safeguards must be established for the benefit of the priests, the youth, parents, parish and community. We respectfully recommend the following suggestions as minimal to insure the situations we have been examining do not occur again, and should any incident occur that it will be brought to light and adequately dealt with immediately.

Healing Process

- Victims and their families must be cared for with the best possible professional help available. Wounds must be healed.
- Those who are found guilty must be punished, following which they must be treated and cared for in all the ramifications of their illness.
- Both the accused and the victims must be monitored on an on-going basis for a period of time set down by professionals.
- Offenders, once identified, must not be placed in situations where children would be at risk. All relations with children must become transparent.

Priests

- Candidates for the priesthood must be subjected to a more rigid screening process, with more thorough procedures for psychological and psychosocial testing.
- The programs of formation given in the seminaries should be frequently evaluated to make certain they prepare future priests to adequately cope with the situations, problems and pastoral needs with which they will have to work.
- More support groups are needed so that priests may be enabled to seek help when they become aware of their weaknesses which surely must manifest themselves before a crime of this magnitude - the sexual abuse of children - is committed.
- Clergy suffering from illnesses must be directed to therapy. Request for leave, after admission of need, must be readily granted and assistance provided.
- The lifestyle of the priest should be in keeping with his vocation.
- Therefore priests should be paid adequate salaries, but the finances of the parish should be handled by competent parishioners.
- It is an obvious fact that priests are often overworked, overtired and lonely. These conditions alone could lead to wrong doing. Parishioners therefore should give encouragement and appreciation to them in friendship and hospitality.
- The vocation of a priest demands primarily a healthy spiritual life. It is hardly conceivable that this could be adequately nourished by a short three or four day communal retreat once a year. Over and above periodic meetings of combined spiritual and business content, strong encouragement must be given and opportunity provided to each priest, every couple of years, for an individual priest retreat, possibly of a directed nature.
- There should be some periodic evaluation of a priest’s expertise in working with a parish council and with parishioners at large, so that if difficulties come to light, professional help can be given.
- In their supervisory role of youth ministries priests should be provided with support and assistance. They should not be placed in the position, as many are today, of distancing themselves from youth at all costs. Many healthy and beneficial relationships exist but are in
langer of being undermined forever with the current "crisis" in our Church.

Youth

- Young people must be provided with adequate knowledge. This would include giving them clear, accurate information about sexual child abuse and ways in which they might protect themselves. They must also be encouraged to tell about incidents of a sexual nature and report even suspected cases to the proper authority.
- Children who report sexual abuse should be given emotional support and taught not to feel guilty, as it was not their fault.
- Children should be exposed to education in sexuality from their earliest years, both at home and in school.

Parents

- Parents and teachers should be given an opportunity to acquire, and be strongly urged to avail of, adequate knowledge that will enable them to provide young people with necessary information about their sexuality and about the dangers to which they are constantly exposed.
- Parents must be encouraged to make certain that they know where their young people are at all times, and why they are there. They should be suspicious of unusual or strange invitations or requests.
- Parents should encourage an openness between themselves and their children that would make it easy for reporting unusual conduct in relation to sexual matters.
- Whenever rumour starts in connection with suspicious relations between a cleric and youth, responsibility should be accepted in charity to discuss it with the priest and/or his superior, with emphasis on the fact it is a rumour.
- Overnight camping or other outdoor activities should have a parent or responsible lay adult present at all times. This is necessary for the protection of both priest and people.

Parish, Community and General

- The public should be made aware of the present Child Welfare Act which requires the reporting of suspicion.
- There is need for social conditioning which would develop respect for the dignity of human beings, men, women and children.
- There must be better training for public servants such as police and counsellors.
- There must be strong and active opposition to the pornographic material so easily available to adult and youth, as it has been determined that sexual deviance and violence are often the direct result of familiarity with such material.
- Some form of regional awareness committees which would address the prevalence of incest, total permissiveness, lack of respect and other social evils and permit people to know what is going on.

Leadership

- While leadership is demanding and there is no perfect leader, there is probably need for closer relations between bishop and priest and bishop and parish, as well as closer liaison with individual parish councils.
- Many parishes are still without parish councils. This should not be tolerated. Pressure should be put on pastors to work with parishioners and form strong and effective parish councils.
- Much could be gained if the hierarchical model now in operation were changed from the vertical route of bishop to priest, priest to people, to a horizontal model of the People of God working with bishop and priest in a mutually respected atmosphere.
Conclusion

The Catholic Women's League is very appreciative of and grateful for the arduous work being done by the Commission. It is the prayerful hope of all members that the blessing of Almighty God will be with you and that your work will be brought to a successful conclusion for the betterment of all.

Gertrude M. Parsons
Provincial President
November 24, 1989
First of all I wish to make it clear to the Commission I am writing as a concerned parishioner of St. Agnes' parish, and not as Mayor of the Town or District Deputy of the Knights of Columbus.

Since the sexual abuse scandals have come to the forefront, I have written Archbishop Penney on two occasions to express my feelings. Following the second letter, I received an empty reply from His Grace.

My frustrations over the entire affair have not eased with time. While my faith has been sustained, my attitude and commitment towards the parish have remained at a low ebb. Consciously, this bothers me. A priest, so dedicated and hard working as Father Purcell, should not have to suffer because of the actions of his predecessor.

I have heard rumblings, but have no conclusive evidence, that there are other victims in this parish who have not come forward, probably because of the stigma attached. Obviously, the older victims could not live with these actions bottled up inside them and were prepared to live through the ordeal. If in fact there are younger victims, and if there is any decency left in John Corrigan, he should reveal the names of those boys to a confidential committee. This committee could discreetly meet with the families concerned and, if necessary, counselling should be provided now. The future of these children should not be destroyed.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- To assist Father Purcell in his sincerity to maintain

a respected parish, and to clarify the doubts of parishioners, an internal audit of the parish's finances should be carried out covering the period of John Corrigan's tenure as parish priest.

- I strongly support the formation of a parish council to administer the affairs of the parish. However, unless this body is given decision-making authority it will not fulfill the purpose for which I feel it should be established - that is, to oversee the financial and spiritual needs of the parish. The parish priest, in any parish, must be accountable to his parishioners and not given a free hand to expend funds as he pleases, or leave his parish for extended periods with approval (except for annual vacation).

I have, through news media reports and Father Purcell, learned of the appointment of this Commission. However, I do not fully understand the scope of your mandate. I do, however, fully realize the mammoth task before you. If, as a result of your efforts, the victims and their families receive the psychological and spiritual counselling needed, and the Roman Catholic community restored to the respectable and proud image it once possessed, then I feel you will have fulfilled your obligation.

I regret being out of the province at this time and not in a position to personally present my views, but I take this opportunity to wish you every success in your endeavours.

June 6, 1989
The Council of Priests

St. John's

1. "To inquire into factors which might have contributed to the sexual abuse of children by some members of the clergy; which factors may include family background, education, lifestyles, mutual support systems, or any other pertinent circumstance." We are of the opinion that there are several cultural influences:

- A sense that patriarchy was pushed too far and is ending as a way of ordering society.
- The feminist movement impacting on society and the Church.
- The shift from an institutional, autocratic Church to a Church that is open to more democratic, communal processes.
- The breakdown of the family unit and weak family structures.
- Priests did not escape the sexual revolution of the sixties and seventies.
- The tendency to psychologize and individualize in our modern society with a corresponding devaluation of the collective and the communal.

(The opinions listed above are the result of two brainstorming sessions we held in May.)

We also see many lifestyle trends:

- Emotionally, many priests lack deep, mature, personal relationships and so the lack of trust, support and affirmation that come from relationships leads to loneliness and overwork.
- Professionally, priestly life consists of meetings, many of which are non-productive, energy-draining and a waste of time.
- Spiritually, we suffer from an emphasis on monastic spirituality which is not helpful for diocesan priests. There is an absence of a deep, quiet, reflective, prayer life, a lack of good spiritual direction, and an inability on the part of priests to organize and plan time for communal prayer.
- Many of our brightest and best are looking for spiritual growth outside the Roman Catholic Church.
- When it comes to time management, priests find it difficult to balance leisure and work. Sometimes it is hard to plan days off - this means overwork. When your home is your office all this leads to stress, overwork and intense anxiety.
- Priests' self-concept suffers from a lack of personal recognition, low satisfaction in our work, little appreciation and little challenge, being treated as children, and an inability to accept weaknesses and strengths.
- Personal autonomy is challenging because we have to meet parishioners' expectations; we sometimes have a warped sense of authority and obedience; we tend to leave serious problems to our superior to handle and deal with effectively; we have a sense of powerlessness over our own lives; we lack a sense of real decision making - we are advisers only and so we do not take ownership and responsibility for the Church.
- Our diocesan profile highlights the fact that our priests need to integrate external behaviour and internal awareness. The profile also pointed out that some priests were operating out of conventional morality.
- We live a sheltered life - food, housing, medical insurance and pension benefits are provided. The stipend we receive for personal items does not lead us to take responsibility for our lives.
- Bishops have not listened to priests' concerns, eg Synod on Priesthood in 1970s.

2. "To inquire how such behaviour could have gone undetected and unreported for such a long period of time".

- There was a general awareness among the Presbyterium that some of its members had a homosexual orientation.
- As a Council of Priests we did not know of child sexual abuse by priests — it never came up at any of our meetings prior to 1988.
- As ordained priests we trusted one another and assumed commitment to the Church’s moral teaching.
- The role of the laity and priest - and their relationship - may have contributed to child sexual abuse - undue trust, unearned respect, pedestalizing priests, etc.
- Nature of the crime inhibits detection - it is done in secret, seemingly well planned, protected by the individual.

3. "To make recommendations to provide for the spiritual, psychological and social healing of the victims and their families".

RECOMMENDATIONS
- That the Archdiocese commit itself to the ongoing healing and support of victims and their families.
- That the Interdisciplinary Committee put in place by the Bishop be expanded in mandate and personnel to handle all complaints to deviant behaviour against individuals in the service of the Archdiocese.
- That the Pastors and parishioners be open to the pastoral care of victims and families.
- That we as Church, in consultation with liturgists, look to our rituals — conversion, exorcisms, anointings, scrutinies, reconciliation, fasting, prayer, penance celebrations — and plan a process that calls the whole Church to faith and conversion (ecumenical!).
- That the Workshop "Remembering Church" be sponsored here as a first step.

4. "To make recommendations that will ensure that the Church has effective procedures for becoming aware of, reporting and dealing with incidents of deviant behaviour that might occur."

RECOMMENDATIONS
- That any person having a complaint of deviant behaviour against individuals in the service of the Archdiocese have access to the Bishop and means be taken to make this known.
- That the Chancery Office draft new Archdiocesan procedures — based on the Code of Canon Law — for dealing with deviant behaviour;
- That canonical procedures be listed and promulgated in every parish on a regular basis.
- That civil law requirements be regularly published.
- That the Archdiocesan Commission on Child Sexual Abuse be expanded to include victims of deviant behaviour by individuals in the service of the Archdiocese.
- That the procedures taken by the Diocese in the case of a complaint being made be published.

5. "To make recommendations respecting the selection of candidates for the priesthood, the promotion of holistic growth of the clergy, the fostering of health relationships between clergy and laity and the provision of support for the clergy to help them cope with deep psychological problems."

RECOMMENDATIONS
- That a Vocation Commission be established with representation from the whole Church — laity, clergy and religious.
- That we work to develop new attitudes, eg, laity go to conferences on Vocations sometimes.
- That we continue psychological testing before accepting or rejecting candidates.
- That we not neglect good, open common sense — the wisdom of the community.
- That the community be actively involved in the selection of candidates, eg, what kind of layman, how involved in Church, in what capacity — are they good laity?
- That seminaries' report be shared with the Vocations Committees.
- That candidates be recommended by the Vocations Commission.
- That notices throughout the Diocese before candidacy for Holy Orders and Banns before ordination to major orders be published.
- That when placed in a parish for a pastoral year, a candidate be a good active lay person; that the Parish Council with the Pastor be given responsibility and that they be called upon by the Bishop to make recommendations regarding the candidate's readiness for priestly ministry.

We recommend under promotion of holistic health (Looking at the four dimensions of the person — intellectual, emotional, spiritual, physical):

**RECOMMENDATIONS**
- That the Church promote growth of the Diocesan priest as a person living secular priesthood rather than religious life.

**A. INTELLECTUAL**
- That the Diocese train priests now in skills necessary for future ministry, eg Clinical Pastoral Education for hospital chaplains, etc.
- That provision be made for trained spiritual directors — lay and clergy.
- Priests just ordained need more direct on the job supervision in order to improve their skills.
- The plan for sabbaticals be implemented and phased in — it is already on paper (c.f. Ministry of Priests Program).
- That we refine the structure of our Diocese — there are too many meetings of an advisory nature; because of this there is a low level of ownership of decisions.
- The structure, purpose and scheduling of meetings be studied with a view to ensuring maximum productivity and reducing stress.

**B. EMOTIONAL GROWTH**
- That we try to change peoples' attitudes and perceptions regarding personal friends and relationships: priests need mature, adult friends for personal growth.
- That encouragement be given to priests to develop satisfying relationships and mutual trust — men to women, men to men.
- Celibacy and loneliness are "killing" some priests;
- That optional celibacy be promoted.
- Due to the complexity of our world, the wide spectrum of people we deal with, our inability to confront, use of time and work, we recommend a continuing education program, development of support and skill groups.
- That priests take responsibility for their lives — be adult vis-a-vis work — no one can live wholesomely in one's workplace, be on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week: so we recommend two days off a week.
- We recommend a change in Diocesan structure — parish and Diocesan meetings are draining priests of energy. We further recommend more lay involvement in the Church at decision making levels.

**C. SPIRITUAL**
- We recommend more emphasis on prayer — personal and communal.
- That spiritual direction be encouraged in our Diocese.
- That our spirituality be apostolic, not monastic.
D. PHYSICAL
- That we build more rest and relaxation into our schedules.
- That we have regular checkups and medicals.
- That we take better care of our health — sleep, weight, diet, days off, holidays, etc.

E. FOSTERING HEALTHY RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CLERGY AND LAITY
- Encourage total stewardship as a way of Christian living.
- Ownership, co-responsibility and subsidiarity be our operating principles.
- Develop and promote renewal of the Church formation of the laity, by offering good adult faith development.
- We revamp the Personnel Committee along the lines of:
  - consulting Parish Councils before clerical, lay appointments;
  - using people's gifts;
  - tapping the energies of younger priests;
  - older priests be able to retire earlier;
  - some priests may decide on a second career;
  - Sisters, commission directors and pastoral workers need ongoing support in ministry.
  - pastoral leadership formation programs;
  - current Renewal Project.

F. SUPPORT FOR CLERGY WITH DEEP PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCERNS
- That our Diocese support Southdown as a rehabilitation centre for clergy.
- That Diocese provide counselling services.
- That Diocese pay priests a just living wage.
- That Diocese promote independent living.
- Separate life and work — not living in your place of work.
- That Diocese provide good pensions and good insurance.

November 26, 1989
In response to your recent invitation for submissions, I would like to offer some reflections on the current questions which face our Church today. What follows, could I am sure, be better expressed by others, but I think it important that as many of us as possible contribute — if even in a small way — to the discussion of these issues.

Factors contributing to the sexual abuse of young people by certain members of the clergy

**Personal:**

I think it important at the outset to stress that the major factor contributing to the sexual abuse of our young people resides in the individuals responsible for these acts. We should not lose sight of the fact that these men chose to engage in activities which were both morally reprehensible and socially criminal. Regardless of the complex psychological, social or religious factors that no doubt played a part, the fact remains that these individuals made a conscious decision, one that was ultimately their individual responsibility.

It seems an unavoidable conclusion to postulate that the victims themselves were chosen very carefully. This would at least explain in part how such activity could continue undetected for so long a time. To attempt a "character profile" of the victims would, I believe, be an injustice to the more complex reality of the individuals and their situations. Nevertheless, I also believe that these young people were selected because the perpetrators felt they could be "safely victimized". Unlike their aggressors, I do not believe we can hold these young people responsible for the abuse at any stage. I do think, however, that we must bear some of the blame for the vulnerability of these young people.

**Religious:**

It is probably no coincidence that such a plague has been visited upon the Catholic community in Newfoundland—not because we are less moral than our sister faiths, but because of the mental and social structure of our faith, and its particular expression in Newfoundland culture. The hierarchy of religious authority within our community was, until recently, a moral hierarchy as well. The authority vested in our clergy as clergy was de facto extended to their moral character — giving them a personal authority as well as a religious one. This was a dangerous cocktail — one which many individuals within the ranks of the clergy refused to drink. For the opportunistic individual, however, such authority within the community could be used to satisfy one's own personal ends.

**Situational:**

It was not enough for the perpetrators of these crimes of sexual abuse to have the inclination for such activity — they must also have been able to create the appropriate situations, to actually carry it out. Each of these individuals had what amounted to unrestricted access to their victims and to settings which ensured that their activities would not likely be discovered. In some instances, it appears as if these activities required substantial financial resources. It seems to me that a major advance in the prevention of such crimes can be made by making the creation of such "situations" very difficult for those in positions of trust in our communities.
The Victims and their Families

Healing of the victims and their families within our community of faith requires first and foremost that we truly listen to their pain and anguish. The formation of this Commission has the potential to contribute significantly to this process. However, I believe that our ability "as church" to hear our brothers and sisters is in danger of being compromised by what appears to be the struggle by the institutional church to "save face" before the media. Any hope of reaching the people who have been hurt by these events depends upon our willingness to "shift the focus" from "saving face" to "saving grace". When these victims hear the defensive posturing of many official and "semi-official" statements, they cannot but be suspicious of the healing hand that is being offered.

The Church, I believe, must show itself as "healer" as opposed to "teacher", it must be present as "sacrament" and not just "institution". At the same time, the victims, their families, and indeed all of us, need to see concrete policies formed and made public. These policies should at least deal with the following areas:

- Relations between clergy and young people preventing the situations in which abuse is possible/likely; parental consent to, and presence at activities.
- Guidelines to be followed in the event of an accusation of abuse made against a member of the clergy.
- Rehabilitation and reemployment of convicted clergy.

Detection, Reporting and Prevention

While it is important for the Church to find efficient and immediate ways to detect and report abusive activity on behalf of its clergy (the Parish council may have a role here), it is, I believe, imperative for the Church and particularly this Commission to explore methods to prevent such activity in the future. Parents and children need to be educated about the rights of children to their own bodily integrity, and ways that they can protect against violations of this integrity while remaining open and trusting young people. The Church, with its Parishes and schools, is in an ideal position to carry on such a program of education. In all of the sermons that I have heard "address the issue" of sexual abuse among our clergy, little, if anything, has been given in terms of preventative advice. At present our Catholic community is notorious for the damage it has done to our young people — why can't we begin to gain notoriety for our efforts in the prevention of sexual abuse? The resources are already out there — do we have the will?

Priesthood: "Called from the Community, Formed by the Community, Responsible to the Community."

I believe the key to improving the selection and formation of candidates for the Priesthood, is in giving the community responsibility and authority in the process. In short, the people should be more adequately consulted as to the fitness of individual candidates, and have a role to play in their subsequent formation and evaluation. Of importance here I believe, is the candidate’s ability to relate in a truly human way to the community he serves. I think we are beginning to see that this is more important than the Theological and Philosophical knowledge acquired and evaluated through the academic training of the candidate. After all, no one has questioned the doctrinal integrity of any of the members of the clergy yet convicted or charged with crimes of abuse. What has been questioned has been the destructive pattern of their relationships within the community.

Holistic growth of our clergy can, I believe, only be effectively fostered within the community. To accomplish this, I think the Priest must become more open to the community, and the community must accept and support the human minister in their midst, both emotionally and spiritually. In order for true life-giving "bonds" to develop between the Pastor and his community, I think the Church has to re-evaluate two of its current policies.
**Frequent Transfers:**

Unless the match between Priest and community is a destructive one, frequent transfers will, in my opinion, serve only to prevent the formation of a mutually strengthening relationship between the two. This leaves the Pastor "on his own resources" and the community regarding the new arrival as they would the latest "branch manager".

**Heavy Administrative Burdens:**

Why have we called men from our communities, trained them in Theology, and formed them in Spirituality, only to make them full-time managers? Surely this burden contributes to neither the Pastor's nor the community's spiritual growth! I believe the Church should make the financial commitment and hire full-time lay administrators for each parish. Let the Pastors be concerned with the "people" and not the "property" of God.

**CONCLUSION**

My hope is that we as church will be up to meeting the challenges that have arisen out of this horrific experience. We must not care so much about "saving face"; we must honestly admit our faults; and we must strive, with the help of the Holy Spirit to: protect our children; heal our broken; and form our communities into more open and life-giving expressions of the people of God we are meant to be.

*Stephen J. Darcy*

*August 24, 1989*
INTRODUCTION

It has taken me some time to decide whether or not to make a submission to this Commission of Enquiry. Let it be quite clear that I speak from within the Church community and, as such, I share the pain, anger and disillusionment of many. To the victims and their families, I wish to offer my heartfelt sorrow for what has happened to them. I marvel at the courage of the young men who have come forward to put an end to their own victimization as well as that of others. I thank them for the leadership and the opening for healing that they are providing, so that we can begin to deal with the problem of child sexual abuse both within the Church and society at large. I am also concerned for many of our priests who have been deeply wounded by the criminal activities of their brother priests.

Because of my involvement with St. Teresa's Parish, I have had both the opportunity to come to terms with my own feelings and beliefs in this matter and the privilege of assisting others to do the same. I have had the experience of taking part in similar discussions with educators from every school in the jurisdiction of the St. John's School Board. I was also named by the Archbishop to serve on the Archdiocesan Ad Hoc Committee established to assist parishes in which victims had laid charges against the convicted priests. Because of these many experiences I feel that I have had an opportunity to gain insight that has not been available to many. I feel a responsibility to share with you some of these insights gleaned from my many contacts with concerned members of both the laity and the clergy. I have no wish to cause further hurt within the diocese but I do feel compelled to address three of the questions within the mandate of the Commission:

- How could these crimes continue undetected for so long?
- What can be done to prevent this from happening again?
- How can we insure that there is proper screening of candidates to the priesthood to avoid this problem in the future?

These areas of concern will be dealt with in three sections:
- Abuse of virtue, authority and trust,
- Qualities of service/priesthood,
- Related issues.

Abuse of Virtue, Authority and Trust

Even a cursory glance at the parishes of the Archdiocese reveals a devotion and fidelity to the Church that astounds many in this day and age. Given the events of the past eighteen months this faithfulness becomes even more remarkable. We have a tradition of obedient adherence to the Roman Catholic faith as well as a loyal affection and reverence for its hierarchy. Until quite recently, the highest honours available to Catholic families were vocations to the priesthood or religious life by a family member or, a close association of the family with a priest. Our education system instilled in us (sometimes rather forcefully) the Catholic virtues of unquestioning obedience, discipline, humility, and reverence for authority and the sacred. As a people that had a clear understanding of the disposition required to partake in the sacramental life of the Church, it never occurred to us that our priest could not be trusted. After all, he was the representative of Christ in our midst, as well as our
teacher in matters of morality. This history, coupled with the reality that, for most Catholics, both educational and professional opportunities were severely limited, meant that the priest was willingly given unlimited power and authority in the life of the parish and the Catholic community.

Mistakenly or not, we saw these attitudes and behaviours as virtues, and fostered and rewarded them accordingly. Likewise, young men, who had inherited the same Catholic values, understood that with ordination would come the deference that had long been accorded to their predecessors. For some this caused embarrassment and discomfort; many simply accepted it as the norm. Yet, for some others it provided the license to claim for themselves the "devotion" and "obedience" that rightfully belonged to God and was intended for the upbuilding of the faith community, not for the gratification of self-indulgence.

With access to such unlimited power comes the need for general and specific accountability. But to whom is the priest accountable? Is he accountable to his parishioners, who have been taught that they have neither the ability, the education, the right, nor the power to question Christ's representative? (Indeed, even in those parishes in which parish councils exist, it is most often the norm — as provided in canon law — that the priest has the right to veto any decision or proposed course of action.) Is he accountable to the Bishop, who can only know that there is a problem if it is reported by parishioners who too often lack the self-confidence and empowerment necessary to make such a decision? Could the convicted priests have been expected to advise the Bishop (or anyone else) of their criminal activity? Could other priests, supposing they had access to such information, be counted on to break ranks and report on their brother priests? Is it reasonable to expect that children have either the capacity or the credibility needed to report such atrocities about the most respected members of the community? Discovery and accountability are made almost impossible within the parameters of the limited structures available within the Church. And because we have been obedient, loyal and in retrospect, naive, our "virtue" has become implicated in the abuse of power that ultimately found expression in the criminal activity of some of our priests.

When we speak of the "abuse of a position of trust" we must accept that this abuse could occur only if trust were freely given in the first place. In our case, it was — an unquestioning, blind and complete trust based on fidelity to the gospel and the sacramental life of the Church as well as on the respect earned by generations of many humble, honest and faithful pastors.

A few priests, by abusing the power and position afforded them by their ordination, have shown that they are no longer worthy of such position or trust. These convicted priests committed serious offenses — the offenses of physically, emotionally and sexually abusing our children as well as the equally serious offenses of taking advantage of the virtue and goodness of their parishioners and placing their brother priests under a cloud of suspicion and mistrust. They took our virtue and our trust and used them against us. They have done grave harm to the local Church and must not be given the opportunity to repeat this offence. Painful as it might be, we must realize that our complete, unquestioning trust as a community was one of the elements that provided an opening for some unscrupulous, self-serving men to victimize children entrusted to their care. Given this hard truth, we must ensure that we will never again give such unlimited power and trust to any person, based solely on office or position in any institution. As members of the human community we must acknowledge the reality, power and insidiousness of evil. As a faith community we must take pains to ensure that we do not reduce the need for accountability and responsibility simply because a person has been touched by the waters of Baptism or the oils of Ordination. Trust and authority must be earned through a personal history of honest, cooperative service and humble leadership. As responsible adults and as faithful members of the Church we must see that the proper structures are created to ensure that Church leaders are accountable to those they serve.
We have seen that we cannot rely on the structures to protect us from weakness, sinfulness and evil. Though the Church may not be a democracy, it can be made much more responsible and accountable to all its members. The canons of the Church provide us with the means to assure such responsiveness. We now realize the need to protect ourselves and the integrity of the Gospel community from being victimized and destroyed. In the words of Jesus as recorded by Matthew, we must strive to become as "cunning as snakes and yet innocent as doves", for we are living as "sheep among wolves" (10:16).

Qualities of Service/Priesthood

In responsible obedience to the Catholic tradition, we must seek the model of leadership proposed by Jesus and recorded in the Gospels if we are to understand the role of the priest in the Christian community. There are many incidents and passages which give clear insight into the mind of Christ in this regard, but perhaps the most striking is that portrayed in Chapter 13 of John's Gospel. Here we find Jesus washing the feet of his disciples and reminding them that they are called to serve and to wash the feet of others. They are to emulate his actions and attitudes and realize that as leaders their chief task is to be that of service. Similarly, Chapter 22 of Luke's Gospel and Chapter 23 of Matthew's both exhort the leaders of the community not to lord it over others but to welcome as humble servants.

What are some of the esteemed qualities of good servants? Again we can look to the scriptures to learn that a servant waits attentively on the master, even when it means personal inconvenience — such as staying up all night, going without food until the master has eaten, taking personal risks on behalf of the one served, and delivering messages exactly as given, despite the consequences to the messenger. Since the focus of attention is always on the one served, some of the most basic qualities of servanthood are an awareness of personal abilities and limitations, a desire to place the gifts at the service of the one being served, and integrity and fidelity in continued service. All of the foregoing have obvious implications when applied to those seeking ordination to the priesthood.

Any theology of vocation to the priesthood that rests solely on the experience of an interior call by the candidate, needs to be examined. The universal Church has always recognized that the specific needs of the community, as well as the qualifications of the individual, had to be examined. Yet, sometimes in the past, it seems that this wisdom has been forgotten. In many cases, a young man would present himself to the Archbishop, state that he felt called by God, and then would be sent off to the seminary. The current shortage of priests in the diocese must increase the temptation to continue such a practice as parishes are being forced to function without resident priests. How is a diocese to respond when the need seems so great?

The entire faith community must assume its rightful role in the face of this situation. If God calls to priesthood, then God first gifts the individual with the necessary qualities and abilities to respond to that call. The normal way for such gifting to be recognized is to subject it to the prayerful discernment of the faith community — those who are to be served by the candidate. This would necessitate some preliminary supervised service in a parish setting so that both the candidate and the faith community would have the opportunity of seeing how this person might best be of service to the Church — be it as an ordained minister or as one commissioned to act in some other role. During this period, the process of discernment could be focused on both the identification of gifts of leadership as well as on the attitudes of servanthood possessed and exhibited. This period should be lengthy enough — a minimum of one to two years — so that the candidate, the local faith community and the diocese would have some degree of certainty that this person possessed both the desire and the ability to serve others through a life of perpetual, vowed celibacy, authentic, prayerful example, and faithful, humble service.

Related Issues

One of the greatest concerns and accusations of people throughout the diocese has been the lack of
realistic leadership provided during this crisis in the local Church. There are those who see this leadership problem as being one of the causes of the current situation. While we have had many experiences of "formal and ceremonial" leadership in the archdiocese, there has been a lack of "substantive" leadership for quite some time. This has created a power vacuum that has not always been filled with the most desirable candidates. It has allowed some individuals or small groups of individuals to wield influence and control far beyond their competence and jurisdiction. As an "in-group" emerged, concerned individuals and groups from both laity and clergy often found themselves isolated, discredited and blocked. It now seems worthy of note that Jim Hickey was one of the most prominent members of this in-group.

Whatever the real role of the Archbishop, for the past twenty or thirty years the perceived role has been that of a holy man who presides at public functions and major liturgies in the Basilica, writes letters during Advent and Lent, assigns priests to various parishes and duties, confirms adolescents, gives permission for Catholics to marry non-Catholics, and periodically goes to Rome. Because people have this perception they (priests and laity) do not expect the present bishop to be a real leader. True, he takes part in the annual Good Friday anti-abortion march, but that is a well-established Catholic practice and involves little risk or controversy. Many of the really controversial issues get handled by the Commissions of the diocese and the Bishop is seldom expected to comment. Though these diocesan commissions struggle to provide information and leadership on pertinent social and church issues, there is little active support for them from either the Bishop or the Priests. Though the universal and local church have directed that parish councils be established in every parish, it has been left to the discretion of the individual parish priest in the diocese if, when, and to what degree, he will comply with the directive. There seems to be little or no accountability in this area or in matters of pastoral and liturgical practice. If the bishop ever challenges parishes or priests (except in financial matters) it is done very privately. The result of such a perception of the role of bishop is that in general, we have not expected the bishop to provide anything more than formal leadership — particularly if it might mean disturbing the priests.

Practically speaking, this has meant that any person or group of persons challenging a priest's decision-making or his life-style felt that there was nowhere to go. There is no established grievance procedure within the diocese. And having been brought up to respect and obey the priest without questioning, such an approach not only didn't feel right, it felt disobedient and sacrilegious.

Added to this was the traditional insistence of the Church on presenting its briefs and ideals as normative and obligatory for all. Since priests were expected to be holy as the spiritual leaders of the parish, this meant that any wrong-doing on their part, had to be denied, explained away or dealt with discreetly so as not to scandalize the faithful. There appeared to be an over-concern with preserving the public image of the sinless church at almost any cost. Such an attitude made it very difficult for priests and bishop to deal with reports of "unpriestly" behaviour, whether it be in matters social, sexual or financial. The inability to acknowledge such activities seemed to increase commensurate with the degree of culpability or deviance from the established norm (especially in terms of any unsanctioned sexual activity among priests, with a particular blind spot being reserved for homosexual activity).

The demands of celibacy on the ordained priest have traditionally been interpreted as meaning that the priest should have little or no contact with women outside the confessional. As a result of this interpretation, priests have been excluded from most of the adult socialization in their parishes. The only companionship that was deemed acceptable for priests was that of boys and young men. As long as a boy was with Father, it was assumed that everything was alright. In fact it was deemed such an honour to have a child a close friend of the priest that families would take pride in fostering such a relationship. And this was accepted practice in this diocese up to eighteen months ago.
Post-secondary education has only become widely available to the majority of Catholics in this province within the past twenty to twenty-five years. This lack of education and position within the community has added immeasurably to the degree of trust and dependence on the clergy and Church structures. Because the priest was possibly the only Catholic in the parish or community who had been to university or who had studied theology he was revered. Indeed, we knew instinctively that to question him on matters of faith or morals was to jeopardize the gift of faith and to invite possible damnation. Such boldness disclosed a proud, rebellious spirit and was actively discouraged.

Today, though many parishioners have as much education as their parish priest, there are few that will openly question or challenge him because the reverence, fear and practices of the past are slow to change. Since there are no mechanisms or structures in place, too many ordinary Catholics feel that they have no way of registering disagreement with what is or isn’t done in the parish, and that, short of what appears to them to be disloyalty and disobedience, they cannot question the priest.

CONCLUSION

All of this points to the great need in the diocese for a change of heart at all levels. If the bishop is to be bishop he must take the risk of leading; he must be seen to be putting the well-being of his people above the needs of the preservation of the structure. Like the good shepherd, he must bind up the wounds of those in need of healing and must identify the gaps in the sheepfold that admit wolves that prey upon the lambs. He must take steps to provide on-going counselling and support services for the victims of the convicted priests. He must provide leadership for the establishment of channels of communication and accountability within parishes and the diocese.

Priests must once again assume the role of good and faithful servants within the parish — servants who recognize the gifts of parishioners and encourage them to develop these gifts for the good of the entire faith community. Parish councils must be established in all parishes and must become active agents in decision-making, management of funds, and general overseeing of parish life.

As parishioners, we must come to accept, acknowledge and activate the power of God’s Spirit in our personal and communal lives. We must claim the dignity that is ours by baptism and respond by serving one another as brothers and sisters in Christ. We must relinquish the faith of our childhood, and like the apostle Paul, grow to the stature of responsible adulthood. We have learned the hard way that we can no longer give trust blindly — trust must be earned. We must develop systems of accountability at both the parish and diocesan levels. There should be diocesan- and parish-sponsored programs for adults aimed at developing a more educated and involved parishioner. Parishes must become more actively involved in the selection and sponsoring of candidates for the priesthood. We should insist that convicted priests be given access to rehabilitation and actively participate in such programs if they ever wish to return to restricted service in the Church. In addition they should serve a period of suspension of priestly duties no shorter than five years beyond their prison sentence (see Canon 1362, section 1, subsection 2 and Canon 1395). Only at this point should their situation be reviewed and they be either reinstated in a position of greatly reduced trust under strict life-time supervision or be placed on permanent suspension.

This is a critical period in the history of the diocese. It has been a time of sudden, painful awareness. Whether this awareness is the herald of death or of new life remains to be seen. One thing is certain — simply waiting for this new awareness to go away so things can get back to normal will not work. We now know that much about what we viewed as normal was unhealthy and destructive of individuals and of the faith community. It would also be quite naive to expect someone else to come and make everything right. That task belongs to all of us — to the local church. Responsibility for naivete, blindness and inactivity must be acknowledged; and guilt must be owned by all of us who have unwittingly allowed evil to
flourish in our midst. Forgiveness must be asked of the community and God, for only then can it be given and ultimately celebrated. Time, space and resources must be allocated for healing all those affected in any way by this scandal. Finally, we must rest secure in the knowledge that God has promised to be with us and will provide us with the courage, endurance and fidelity we need to be a sign of Christ's ultimate victory over evil and death.

July 6, 1989
PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW

The present scandal has rocked the local community. Two long-serving and respected ministers of the Church repeatedly violated children of the communities in which they served, violated the teachings of the Church and violated the laws of society. In its response to this crisis, the institutional Church, which has been the taproot of many people’s spiritual lives, has failed the victims and failed the community. In general, the Church has failed to pastor the victims and to foster healing and has instead cloaked its responses in the language of criminal law and Canon Law.

Part of the mandate of the Commission of Enquiry is to investigate the circumstances which contributed to the problem of the sexual abuse of children by certain members of the clergy and which permitted this problem to continue undetected for such a long period of time.

This brief does not provide any background information on these circumstances. Rather, the purpose of this brief is to outline for the Commission certain avenues of investigation which will enable it to fulfill its mandate. My intention in preparing this brief has been to make a series of comments and recommendations which would help the Commission of Enquiry structure its thinking and investigation as it works on its mandate. In saying this, however, I recognize that the Commission’s work extends well beyond the questions raised in this brief, and I make no claim that my comments comprehensively cover the Commission’s work.

This brief approaches this scandal from two perspectives:

1. It is a problem of values:
   This scandal throws into grave question the spiritual values of the priests who have been convicted. However, it also raises the question of how priests in this Archdiocese structure their personal value systems and especially how they structure their thinking in relation to sexual values.

2. It is also a management problem:
   The priests who have been convicted very likely took advantage of the position and circumstances in which they found themselves (by virtue of being a minister of the church) to engineer circumstances so that they could engage in sexually abusive practices. This raises the question of what kinds of administrative controls are in place, within the Archdiocese, to monitor and control the activities of priests in the practice of their ministry.

   This brief addresses the problem first from the aspect of values and then from the perspective of management. In all instances, the focus of the brief will be to suggest to the Commission areas of concern that it should investigate as it pursues its mandate.

   Given the fact that the two priests who have been convicted had long periods of service as priests, the roots of this problem probably go back many years within the Church. Therefore, the Commission of Enquiry will have to ensure that its examination of issues of concern within the Church extends back a number of years, at least to the time that the two convicted priests were accepted into the seminary, and continues up to the present.

   This historical perspective will in turn require the Commission to research the archives of the Archdiocese’s files or to question individuals respecting
policies, practices and events that happened a number of years ago. Accordingly, for some issues, the Commission may have to rely upon the services of a skilled and experienced historical researcher and for other issues, engage the services of a skilled and experienced professional investigator.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry:

- Adopt the stance that the examination of many of the issues related to its mandate will have to be characterized by a long-term historical perspective which looks back at the activities of the Church over, for example, the last thirty years and continues up to the present.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Before proceeding with the details of my brief, I wish to clarify several points and to outline certain opinions and assumptions which help shape my views:

In the text of the brief, several references are made to the Church's special requirement that priests be celibate. In doing so, I wish it to be clearly understood that I have believed for many years that the priesthood should be open to both women and men and that the priesthood should be open to both married and unmarried persons. However, I do not consider the special obligation for celibacy to be, per se, a casual factor in the sexual abuse of children by priests, and I fully understand that many sexual offenses against children are in fact committed by married men.

However, despite these personal views, the current scandal has to be examined within the context of the special obligation for priestly celibacy since that obligation, and its attendant requirement for chastity, is part of the law of the Church for the current time, and these priests, quite simply, violated the requirements of the Church concerning their own ministry.

Throughout the brief, the term "special obligation" of priestly celibacy is used. This terminology is used only because it is the terminology used in the Code of Canon Law, and I wish it to be clearly understood that this terminology is not being used to put priests on a pedestal that separates them from the rest of the Church. It is my understanding that this special obligation is a matter of Church law rather than Divine law, and, as I indicated above, my personal belief is that the special obligation should be dropped.

In the text of the brief, I make several references to the Church's teaching on homosexuality. In doing so, I wish to be clearly understood that:

a) Modern insights into human behaviour and sexuality suggest that for some proportion of humanity homosexuality is a natural state of sexual preference. As a committed Roman Catholic, I do not know how to reconcile these insights with the Church's traditional teaching on homosexuality. However, as with the issue of priestly celibacy addressed above, the behaviour of the priests who have been convicted has to be examined within the context of the Church's current teaching on homosexuality, particularly since priests are one of the main sources of interpretation of Church teaching for the faithful.

b) Notwithstanding 3.a above, I accept the fact that in Canada homosexual activity is legal provided it occurs between consenting adults.

c) I very clearly understand that not all homosexuals are sexual abusers of children and that the blame for the crimes of the priests who have been convicted should not be generalized to cover all homosexuals.

d) I also very clearly understand that not all sexual abusers of children are homosexuals. However, for some reason, all of the instances in which priests have been convicted of sexual abuse of children in this Archdiocese have involved activities of a homosexual nature. The same is also apparently true of those allegations which form the basis for the charges which have not yet been tried in court.

Throughout this brief, references are made to the priesthood as a whole within this Archdiocese. In doing so, I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not believe that the blame for the crimes of the priests who have been convicted should be generalized to cover all
priests in the Archdiocese. However, the subject matter of this brief suggests that the way that priests in general are supported, counselled, and supervised in the exercise of their ministry may have permitted or encouraged some priests to engage in sexually abusive activities. This possibility necessitates references to, and a study of, the priesthood as a whole.

**VALUE CONFLICTS**

The offenses for which James Hickey and John Corrigan were convicted must have presented them with tremendous internal conflicts between their personal behaviours and the values of the Church of which they were members and ministers.

To date, these two priests have been convicted of sexually abusing children, and it is possible that they are aberrations within the local priesthood. However, there is a widely held fear that something systemic within this Archdiocese may have led to these deviant episodes and permitted or encouraged them to continue. This fear will increase if any of the charges against other priests or former priests which are currently before the courts also lead to convictions.

This section of the brief suggests that it is necessary for the Commission of Enquiry to study the way in which priests and seminarians in this Archdiocese are assisted in understanding their own human sexuality within the context of the special obligation for priestly celibacy and the way that they tend to formulate their thinking on sexual values.

**The Priesthood as a "Culture"**

Many professions and organizations have "cultures" which set them apart from the rest of society. These "cultures" are composed of the distinctive traditions, behaviours/practices, values and language that permeate the organization or profession and that shape its identity.

The priesthood has many of the characteristics of such a separate culture:

- It identifies itself as a distinct brotherhood, and, by tradition, it traces its existence and identity back in an unbroken chain to Christ’s institution of the priesthood at the Last Supper.
- It has a particular set of initiation rites (i.e., seminary training and the rite of Ordination).
- It has a set of rituals with very carefully prescribed roles that are reserved for the priest and equally carefully circumscribed or proscribed roles for the laity.
- It is the dominant part of a complex hierarchical structure (i.e., the Church) which in turn has its own code of laws.
- It has a hierarchy of formal titles and forms of address (e.g., Reverend Father; Monsignor; Your Grace; etc.).
- It has its own technical language to describe the functions and activities of a priest and until about twenty-five years ago it even had, in the church’s use of Latin, a language that was largely used and understood only by priests.
- It has its own distinctive forms of attire including both a range of ceremonial vestments and the less formal dark suit, clerical shirt and Roman collar.
- The Commission of Enquiry has to study the culture of the priesthood in this Archdiocese and the role it may have played in contributing to the sexually abusive activities of certain priests.
- Essentially, the question I am raising is whether the culture of the priesthood in this Archdiocese may have included certain values, beliefs or practices which may have either:
  - Encouraged the recruitment of some individuals with the predisposition to sexually abusing children; or
  - Inducted some seminarians or recently ordained priests into patterns of sexually abusive activity as part of their efforts to reconcile their human sexuality with the Church’s special obligation of priestly celibacy.

To do this, the Commission has to examine two issues:

1. **Value Systems**: The way that the priests convicted of sexually abusing children constructed their personal
value systems to permit them to engage, over extended periods of time, in activities that violated a range of teachings of the Church in which they were ministers (i.e., they way that they resolved, on a personal level, the tremendous value conflicts that their behaviour presumably presented for them).

Of necessity, this study of value systems has to extend beyond the convicted priests to determine whether the way that the local priesthood in general deals with an reconciles sexual values may have permitted or contributed to the sexually abusive activities of some priests.

2. Mentoring: The way in which seminarians and recently ordained priests in this Archdiocese are assisted in establishing themselves in their profession and finding ways to live out the responsibilities and obligations of their ministry, with particular attention to the special obligation for priestly celibacy.

Value Systems

All sin involves a conflict in values. Specifically, it involves a conflict between the moral values that one holds and one's actual activities.

As a member of the Church, I understand that all persons are sinners and therefore experience value conflicts. I also understand that it is not right to put priests on a pedestal and to expect them to live according to standards that the rest of the Church is not expected to attain.

However, the sexually abusive activities of those priests who have been convicted must have presumably presented them with tremendous value conflicts as individual Roman Catholics and as ministers of the Church:

- They were ministers of a Church that has through the ages placed great value upon children and upon the responsibility of the family, the Church and the wider community to cherish its children and to nourish them physically, socially and spiritually. Yet they seduced and physically abused children; they undermined the self-respect of these children and the trust that these children should have had in the adult community around them; and they introduced these children to sexual activities which violate the teachings of the Church.

- They were ministers of a Church that has explicit prohibitions against sexual activity outside the sacrament of Marriage. Being unmarried persons, these priests presumably should have, therefore, considered themselves bound by the Church's teachings on chastity. Yet they were not faithful to the teachings of the Church on chastity; they were very active sexually and active over a prolonged period of time.

- They were ministers of a Church that requires its ministers to be celibate, and, given Church teaching on chastity, the celibacy requirement also logically precluded any type of sexual activity. Yet they were not faithful to the special obligation of their ministry.

- They were ministers of a Church with explicit prohibitions against homosexual activity. Yet all of the instances of sexual abuse which have come to light were homosexual in nature.

- They were ministers of a Church which has traditionally taught that, in all but the most exceptional circumstances, its members must respect the civil laws. Yet they repeatedly engaged in illegal activities by having sexual relations with minors, and they introduced those children to activities which are legally prohibited for minors in our society (e.g., pornography, alcohol consumption).

As I indicated above, all members of the Church experience conflicts between our values and our actual behaviour. We are all sinners.

However, in the cases of James Hickey and John Corrigan, these behaviours were engaged in by persons who by their office, and particularly in the case of James Hickey through his occasional public pronouncements, claimed the role of teaching moral behaviour to the rest of the community and perpetuating the traditional teachings/values of the Church.

This fact intensifies the five layers of value conflict perceived by the community and illustrates a deep degree of hypocrisy on the part of the two priests. This
...in turn helps explain, to some extent, the strength of the public's revulsion at their behaviour when compared to that of lay persons in the Province who have been convicted of similar crimes which are equally repulsive.

The Commission of Enquiry needs to investigate the manner in which priests and seminarians in this Archdiocese structure their personal value systems respecting human sexuality.

**Mentoring**

As seminarians, deacons and recently ordained priests (e.g., within the first five years after ordination) are inducted into the brotherhood and culture of the priesthood, presumably they go through a process of formation in which they learn the knowledge, skills and values that they need in order to fulfill their role. In most professions, such a formation extends beyond the period of preparatory education (i.e., for priests, the period of seminary instruction and pastoral work as a Deacon) and continues into the first few years after they have commenced their careers.

Successful adaptation to and prospering within a professional role often involves the process of finding a mentor, someone who serves as a trusted counselor or guide, who helps resolve the problems of one's profession, and who through friendship, "strategic introductions", and carefully selected work assignments/opportunities, helps the new professional develop one's skills and "make the right contacts" to further one's career.

During the period of formation, one of the issues that seminarians and recently ordained priests presumably have to confront is the fact that they are sexual beings who are about to undertake (or have recently undertaken) a commitment to celibacy. This could well be one of the areas in which a mentor could serve as a trusted counselor or guide in helping the person understand how to be faithful to the special obligation of celibacy.

However, leading a double life as a "sexually active celibate", as James Hickey and John Corrigan did, presumably also involves a number of skills relating to modes of sexual expression, choice of partners, methods for locating and maintaining partners, choice of location for sexual activity, and methods for concealing or disguising one's activities. Again, this could also be one of the areas in which a mentor could assist, albeit in a deviant manner, in helping the person learn how to be sexually active while appearing to be a faithful celibate.

The Commission of Enquiry needs to investigate whether and how priests in this Diocese are mentored in relation to their sexuality as human beings and the appropriate expression of their sexuality within the context of the special obligation of priestly celibacy.

Additionally, the transmission of sexual and other forms of abuse through several generations of a family is a painful reality that society is beginning to recognize. Similarly, the possibility that the problem may have been transmitted through segments of several generations of the brotherhood of priests within this Archdiocese at least has to be considered.

Therefore, the Commission of Enquiry needs to investigate the early life experiences of the priests who have been convicted vis-a-vis their own early relationships with priests and to investigate whether it is possible that a practice of sexually abusing altar boys and then encouraging them to become priests has been passed down through segments of several generations of priests in this Archdiocese.

The above issues are complex in nature, and their proper investigation requires the talents of a person or persons skilled and experienced at examining the manner in which persons or cultures construct complex value systems and social structures. Therefore, the Commission of Enquiry may wish to consider engaging the services of an anthropologist or other professional(s) skilled and experienced at examining such issues to assist with its investigation in this area.

**RECOMMENDATION**

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry Study and report upon:

- the manner in which priests and seminarians in this Archdiocese structure their personal and collective
value systems respecting human sexuality; and the manner in which seminarians and recently ordained priests in this Archdiocese are assisted, both formally or informally, in understanding and expressing their own sexuality within the context of the special obligation of priestly celibacy.

The above recommended study should investigate, but not necessarily be limited to, the following questions:

a) Does this Archdiocese, both locally and through the seminaries that it uses to train prospective priests, provide opportunities to seminarians and newly ordained priests to help them become aware of and understand their own sexuality and to live a life that is faithful to the special obligation of celibacy that the Church places upon them?

b) If the answer to the above question is "yes", are the processes by which they are carried out, and the professional qualifications of the persons who are the resources to these opportunities adequate to offer individuals a reasonable opportunity to understand and to cope constructively with their own sexuality?

c) How is "the appropriate expression of sexuality for a celibate" communicated and interpreted both formally, in the seminaries, in the professional literature of the priesthood, and in the type of personal counselling mentioned above, and informally through discussions among priests in this Archdiocese?

d) Are there formal or informal processes in place which indicate to the seminarian or recently ordained priest that the requirements for celibacy and chastity are not "really" realistic or that they can be violated as long as it is done discreetly?

e) Have any of the priests who have been convicted been in positions within the Archdiocese, such as Director of Vocations or other significant positions, which would have given them special influence over the recruitment and selection of candidates for the priesthood or which may have given them particular authority over such candidates?

f) What were the early life experiences of those priests who have been convicted vis-a-vis their own relationships with priests who served in the Archdiocese when they were youths? It is possible that they themselves may have been subject to sexual abuse at the hands of other priests who then encouraged them to become priests! Is it possible that a practice of sexually abusing altar boys and then encouraging them to become priests has been passed down through segments of several generations of priests in this Archdiocese?

g) Has there been operative, among some of the priests and seminarians of this Archdiocese over the past number of years, a formal or informal process of "sexual mentoring" which introduced them to a deviant lifestyle that included the sexual abuse of children or which encouraged them to continue in such a deviant lifestyle?

h) Is it possible that there may have been sexual practices to which some seminarians or recently ordained priests were subjected or into which they were inducted either willingly or unwillingly?

The above recommended study should include, if sufficient co-operation can be gained, the following categories of persons:

a) Any priests or former priests of this Archdiocese who have been or are eventually convicted of sexually abusing children.

b) A representative sample of other priests and of current seminarians in this Archdiocese.

c) A representative sample of priests from this Archdiocese who have resigned from the ministry in recent years.

d) A representative sample of seminarians who studied for the priesthood for this Archdiocese in recent years but who left the priests' training program or transferred to other dioceses prior to ordination.

e) Possibly, for comparison purposes, a representative sample of priests and seminarians from another diocese or dioceses in Canada.
FEAR OF COVER-UP

In recent months, it has been revealed that two priests from the Roman Catholic Diocese in Western Newfoundland who were convicted of sexual offenses against children transferred to dioceses elsewhere in Canada after completing their sentences. These priests resumed parish work without their new parishioners being advised of their criminal records.

The local community is rife with fear and suspicion that the local Church may have been aware of the sexual offenses of James Hickey and John Corrigan but covered up their acts. The Commission of Enquiry has to investigate these suspicions to determine whether they have any basis in fact. In this area, the Commission’s work will undoubtedly be heavily dependent upon the presence or absence of persons who can demonstrate that they informed some official or other in the Archdiocese of their concerns.

However, this section of the brief outlines one further avenue of investigation for the Commission to follow in attempting to determine whether or not officials of the Archdiocese have at any time covered up the illegal activities of a priest.

Transfers of Priests and Seminarians

For many years in this Archdiocese, assignments or re-assignments of priests to pastoral duties and Diocesan posts have traditionally been made in the early summer usually following closely after the ordination of new priests.

Sometimes priests have been transferred or reassigned at other, less traditional times of the year. It is reasonable to assume that such unusually timed transfers may sometimes be necessary for perfectly reasonable circumstances such as, for example, the death or illness of a priest. However, it is also possible that on occasion such unusually timed transfers may have been effected for other reasons.

The Commission of Enquiry needs to examine the pattern of transfers of priests within this Archdiocese to determine whether any of them may have been related to illegal activities (of any type) on the part of the priests involved. In particular, transfers that occurred at times other than the traditional early summer appointments should be examined since the break from established patterns may be indicative of extraordinary circumstances leading to a transfer.

Additionally, on occasion priests and seminarians transfer into this Archdiocese from elsewhere or transfer out of this Archdiocese to serve in other locations. Again, the reasons for such moves should be considered. The Commission of Enquiry should examine the background of transfers of priests and seminarians into this Archdiocese from elsewhere and transfers out of this Archdiocese.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry
- Examine the background events leading to any unusual patterns of transfers of priests between parishes or other Archdiocesan posts over the past twenty years, with particular emphasis upon:
  a) Changes that were made at times other than the traditional early summer announcement of appointments.
  b) Instances in which an individual priest may have been repeatedly transferred after relatively short periods of service in parishes or other posts.
- Examine the background circumstances which led to the transfer of priests or seminarians out of this Archdiocese to other parts of Canada.
- Examine the background circumstances which led to priests or seminarians leaving other dioceses to transfer into this Archdiocese.

ISSUES RELATED TO THE GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ARCHDIOCESE AND OF LOCAL PARISHES

This section of the brief raises the question of whether the power and autonomy that is vested in priests may have been a contributing factor in the sexually abusive practices for which two priests have been convicted. It also suggests that if the professional
activities of priests were subject to more systematic supervision, both by the hierarchy of the Archdiocese and by the laity of their parishes, then their activities may have been prevented or at least detected and reported sooner, thereby reducing the overall extent of their criminal activities.

A theme running throughout this section of the brief is that the Archdiocese must have in place systematic procedures to hold priests accountable for their activities in the performance of their ministry.

Relationship between Power and Sexual Violence

Increasingly, there is a consensus that acts of sexual abuse and violence committed against women and children are the result of an imbalance in the distribution of power within human relationships, with adult males often being in a dominant position and women and children being significantly less powerful. This line of thinking points to the fact that adult males can use a combination of physical, familial, economic, professional or political powers to force their will upon women and children, and it uses this to explain the fact that the vast majority of offenders are male and the vast majority of victims are either women or children (of both sexes).

Broad examples that illustrate such gender-based power imbalances include the following:

Males are often, though not always, physically larger and stronger than women and children.

Within western cultures at least, authority within the family has traditionally been exercised within the patriarchal model, and this tradition continues today to be quite widespread despite the efforts of social reformers to achieve equality between women and men.

Within our society, males tend to be predominant in positions of economic, political and professional power.

More specific to the focus of this Enquiry, within the hierarchical structure of the Church, males have exclusive access to positions of ecclesiastical power since admission to the various orders of the priesthood is open only to males.

This type of analysis suggests that the problems of sexual abuse and violence against women and children are basically the result of our social structures and the way that power and authority are distributed unequally between men and women and between adults and children. This distribution of power, in turn, shapes the pattern of relationships within the family and other social institutions.

The "Positional Power" of the Priesthood

"Positional power" refers to the authority that an individual possesses by virtue of his/her occupation of a particular office or social role. It is essentially the power of the office or the organization that is vested in a particular individual. "Positional power" can be contrasted with the concept of "personal power", which refers to the authority that a person possesses by virtue of his/her personal traits, leadership abilities or "charisma".

Historically within Newfoundland, the priesthood has possessed great "positional power". That is to say, upon ordination, regardless of the individual’s personal traits, he was vested with considerable power within the local community (both by the Church and the members of the community at large) by virtue of his occupying the office of the priesthood. Historically this power extended well beyond the modern understanding of pastoral responsibilities to include considerable influence over the social, educational, economic and political affairs of the local community.

Over the last forty years, as Newfoundland and Labrador have come increasingly under the influence of the wider North American culture, this "positional power" of the priesthood has gradually been eroded in its scope. However, there is plenty of evidence to indicate that the priesthood in this Archdiocese continues to possess significant "positional power".

Many priests tend to singlehandedly shape the life of a parish, and a change in priests can dramatically alter the way that the pastoral and administrative affairs of a parish are managed. Additionally, the statements made by the families of some victims of the current sexual abuse scandal, that they implicitly entrusted their
children to the priest's care because they were honoured to have the priest take an interest in their son, are further evidence of continuing "positional power" of the priesthood.

Sexual Offenses, Abuse of Power and Violation of Trust

Some persons may have difficulty with the idea that the crimes of James Hickey and John Corrigan were somehow related to the power of the priesthood. However, it may be possible to address these difficulties by looking at the question from a different angle.

In recent years in this province, a number of clerics of various denominations and members of various other respected professions have been convicted of sexual offenses against children. The community and the media have routinely characterized these offenses as a breach of the trust that the community placed in the offenders by virtue of their office. On occasion, judges rendering sentences have referred to the violation of trust as well.

Trust and power are closely related concepts.

One definition of power is "possession of control, authority or influence over others". This constitutes an accurate description of the "positional power" of the priesthood referred to above.

"Trust", as a noun, may be defined as "assured reliance on the character, ability, strength, or truth of someone or something" and as a verb as "to place confidence...to commit or place in one's care or keeping." This very accurately describes the way that the families of some parishes entrusted their sons to the convicted priests.

When a person in a position of trust violates that trust by sexually abusing children, he is exercising and abusing his power over those children both to force his will upon them and also to prevent them from revealing his transgressions to their parents or other adults in the community.

In the cases of James Hickey and John Corrigan, parents entrusted their children to the priests' care precisely because they were priests, and these two priests ultimately abused the power that this trust gave them over the community's children.

The Issue for Investigation

Given these perspectives on the positional power of the priesthood and the important role that power imbalances seem to play in sexual abuse situations, the Commission of Enquiry has to study the way that power is vested in and exercised by the priesthood in this Archdiocese in order to determine whether the sexual abuse of children by priests might have been prevented by more effective supervision of the convicted priests' exercise of their ministry both by the senior hierarchy of the Archdiocese and by local parishioners.

Stated differently, James Hickey and John Corrigan continued their abuse of children undetected for a number of years. This raises the question, quite simply, of whether anyone (either clerical or lay) was monitoring their performance of their ministry to ensure that they were acting within the bounds of their authority and the bounds of propriety.

Essentially, here I am raising three issues to the governance and management of the local Church:

1. The absence of sufficient supervision by the hierarchy of the Archdiocese and by the laity may give priests an inordinate amount of positional power which could suggest to the priest that he is directly accountable to no one for his actions.
2. By extension, if the conditions alluded to in 1. above were in existence, then this could have created or exacerbated precisely the type of power imbalance which led both to the incidents of sexual abuse and also to the fact that these incidents went undetected and unreported for so long.
3. By further extension, if proper supervisory procedures were in place and were properly adhered to and enforced, they could have limited the positional power of the priests to such an extent that the power imbalance referred to above could not have existed and therefore the incidents of sexual abuse by priests may have been much less likely to occur.

Broad questions to be addressed in the investigation of these issues include:
1. Does the Archdiocese have in place formal policies and procedures which provide an effective degree of supervision of the activities of priests (by both Archdiocesan officials and lay persons) in their official capacities as parish priests and officers of various Archdiocesan organizations?
2. If such policies and procedures are in place, are they routinely and systematically followed and enforced in the day-to-day activities of the local Church?

These questions will be expanded upon in the remainder of this brief.

Parish Governance and the Positional Power of the Priesthood

Under the guidance of the Bishops of Vatican II, in recent years the Church encouraged the establishment of parish councils to assist the parish priest with his ministry. This Archdiocese supposedly requires such councils to be established in all parishes.

The existence of an active and effective parish council that concerned itself with both the pastoral and administrative concerns of the local parish would, one natural for ensuring that the parish priest is accountable to someone for his actions. In other words, an effective parish council could be one mechanism for limiting the power of the parish priest and for limiting the power imbalance between priest and laity that many members of the Church perceive.

However, it has been suggested that when James Hickey moved to the parish at Rushoon he effectively shut down the parish council, even though he did not in fact disband it. The process by which he supposedly did this was by informing the parish council members that they would meet when he needed them and that he did not foresee needing them.

Similarly, when John Corrigan moved to Pouch Cove there was a functioning parish council in place, but it went out of existence during his tenure there. The Commission of Enquiry needs to determine whether this happened as a result of the deliberate actions or omissions of John Corrigan.

The issue here is that the existence of an active parish council that has deep and substantial involvement in both the pastoral and administrative concerns of the parish could possibly limit the power of the priest, thereby reducing the possibility that he could sexually abuse children in the first place. At the very least, such a parish council would probably observe inappropriate behaviour earlier and would recognize that it has the right and the freedom to report its concerns to the appropriate authorities.

The Commission of Enquiry needs to look at all of the parishes in which convicted priests served to determine whether there was a pattern of disbanding the parish councils and other lay organizations within those parishes or of allowing them to languish. If such a pattern existed, the Commission needs to investigate whether it may have been a contributing factor in the priests’ illegal activities or in the fact that these activities went undetected and unreported for so long.

Additionally, the Commission of Enquiry needs to consider carefully the potential value of active, lay parish organizations (and in particular, of parish councils) as one preventative measure for ensuring that the office and power of the priesthood are not abused in future.

Essentially, what is envisioned here is a situation in which local parish councils function in a genuinely consultative role to the parish priest and the Archbishop vis-a-vis the pastoral and administrative needs of the parish.

However, to make this system work, the Archdiocese would have to require all parish priests to establish, maintain and nurture parish councils. The Archdiocese would also probably have to provide some kind of central or “head office” staff support to assist parishioners and priests in the task of building and maintaining effective parish councils.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry:
- Investigate whether there has been a pattern of
disbanding the parish councils and other lay organizations or of deliberately rendering them ineffective in each of the parishes where the convicted priests served.

- If such a pattern existed, consider whether this could have been a contributing factor in the priests' illegal activities or in the fact that these activities went undetected and unreported for so long.

- Suggest to the Archdiocese strategies to enable local parishioners, through the vehicle of the parish council, to serve in an effective consultative and governing role on the pastoral and administrative affairs of their parish.

- Recommend to the Archdiocese a specific policy respecting:
  a) The role and terms of reference for an effective parish council including the broad areas of activity in which a parish council should be involved.
  b) The amount of responsibility and autonomy that the Archdiocese should delegate to parish councils, as a matter of Archdiocesan policy, in the areas identified in a).

Supervision of the Professional Activities of Priests

Most people who are employed in responsible professional positions are subject to some form of periodic assessment of their work performance. This process typically involves an annual or semi-annual assessment which looks at performance in the recent past in order to:

- Assess and build upon the person's strengths in the position.
- Assess the person's needs in the position and formulate plans to correct them or to support the person through these needs.
- Develop plans and objectives for their continued performance of the job over the short to medium term.
- Develop plans to support the person's overall development and growth within their profession.

While such a process is often called a "performance appraisal", it is in reality a collaborative mechanism that supports and develops the individual within the profession, opens up channels of communication, provides for the systematic development of work plans, and provides a mechanism to hold the professional accountable for his/her work performance.

The Commission of Enquiry needs to determine whether any such supervisory opportunities are available to priests of this Archdiocese on a systematic basis. Additionally, it should consider whether such assessments, preferably involving both representatives of the Archdiocesan hierarchy and lay members of the local parish, may have had the potential to reduce the power imbalance between priest and laity and therefore to have reduced or prevented the sexual abuse crimes or to have led to their earlier detection and reporting.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry:

- Determine whether there are any forms of performance appraisal used with priests to plan and evaluate their performance of their parish ministry within Archdiocesan posts.
- Determine whether such assessments, if properly adhered to and enforced and if involving both representatives of the Archdiocesan hierarchy and lay members of the local parish, could have reduced the power imbalance between priest and laity and therefore might have reduced or prevented the sexual abuse crimes or might have led to their earlier detection and reporting.
Financial Administration and the Positional Power of the Priesthood

The next several paragraphs discuss the question of whether the Archdiocese has sufficient checks and balances in place with respect to the administration of Church funds at the parish level and, if such controls are in place, whether they are followed and enforced.

In raising this issue, no suggestion is being made that there may have been misappropriation of Church funds. Rather, the issue is raised because in our society the authority to administer significant quantities of funds is one symbol to the community of the power of an individual. Accordingly, the presence or absence of appropriate controls could be relevant to the Commission's investigation for two reasons:

The absence or lack of enforcement of appropriate financial controls could be one more sign to the priest and the laity that the priest is not directly accountable for his actions.

The question of the effective or ineffective enforcement of financial controls by the Archdiocese could serve to illustrate to the Commission whether the local Church has taken seriously its responsibility to oversee the activities of priests in all areas of their ministry.

Two examples are given to illustrate for the Commission the importance of this issue:

One resident of Ferryland Parish has alleged that James Hickey, during his tenure as parish priest there, spent a significant sum of parish funds on renovations to Church property and that the amount expended was beyond the amount which the local priest has authority to spend under the Archdiocese's own policies. Furthermore, it has been indicated that this fact was drawn to the attention of the Archbishop but no action was taken by the Archdiocese.

Please note, I am not suggesting that any of this money was misappropriated or used for other than proper Church purposes. The only suggestions being made are that the Archdiocese's own guidelines for making such expenditures were not followed by the priest in question and that the Archdiocese, though it was advised of this policy infraction, took no action to enforce its own policy on an important matter.

Obviously, the Archdiocese may have further information which would contradict the above description of events and suggest that all policies were followed.

Until very recently, at least one parish in the Archdiocese had in place a system in which parish staff were responsible for approving their own expense claims for payment out of parish funds. This was not a parish in which either James Hickey or John Corrigan had served. It was a parish with an active parish council. Again, there is no suggestion that funds were misappropriated.

However, this example again suggests that the Archdiocese may not have in place effective financial controls with the appropriate checks and balances at the parish level.

We live in a society that has great respect for wealth, financial freedom and economic power. Additionally, our local Church takes its fundraising seriously.

Accordingly, evidence suggesting weak financial controls within the Archdiocese is very important to the Commission of Enquiry. If the Archdiocese did not have in place effective controls over parish priests' administration of Church funds, even in those areas in which it had clearly defined policies (i.e., spending limit authorities for priests), then it was probably lax or did not have in place effective controls or monitoring mechanisms with respect to any other areas of priests' behaviour either. This may have been a contributing factor to the activities of James Hickey and John Corrigan going undetected for so long.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry:

- Investigate whether the Archdiocese has effective policies and procedures in place to control parish priests' administration of Church funds and whether
any such policies and procedures are enforced systematically and consistently.

**Archdiocesan Standards for Selection of Potential Priests**

The events of the past several years raise the question of whether the Archdiocese has suitable screening procedures in place within the priests' training program to ensure that persons who are eventually ordained are in fact psychologically and socially suited to the role of priest. The same issue also needs to be investigated for priests who transfer into this Archdiocese, either as secular priests or as members of the various religious orders that staff some of the Archdiocese's parishes.

At least one seminary that is used by this Archdiocese conducts assessments on candidates prior to admitting them to the seminary. However, the Commission of Enquiry needs to examine the nature and quality of such assessments. Additionally, the Commission needs to determine whether this Archdiocese has exhibited a pattern of using or avoiding the use of seminaries that use such screening procedures.

Additionally, one would hope that, as candidates for the priesthood near the completion of their preparatory training, all seminaries would make recommendations to the sponsoring diocese on each candidate's suitability for the priesthood. The Commission of Enquiry needs to determine whether seminaries exercise this responsibility and also to determine whether this Archdiocese has systematically acted upon such recommendations.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

It is recommended that the Commission of Enquiry:

- Investigate whether the Archdiocese has suitable screening procedures in place within the priests' training program to ensure that persons who are eventually ordained are in fact psychologically and socially suited to the role of priest.

- Investigate whether the Archdiocese has suitable screening procedures in place for priests who transfer into this Archdiocese either as secular priests or as members of the various religious orders that staff some of the Archdiocese's parishes.

- Determine the type of assessments (background checks, psychological assessments, etc.) conducted prior to acceptance into the priests' training program, during the seminary years, and immediately prior to ordination in order to determine whether the individual is suited to the priesthood and possesses the necessary degree of maturity to function effectively in this role.

- Determine the processes by which such assessments are carried out and the professional qualifications of the persons who conduct the assessments.

- Determine the grounds for which individuals have been refused admission to the priests' training program or were dismissed from the program in recent years and specifically determine whether the grounds for rejection were all blatant examples of unsuitability (e.g., uncontrolled alcoholism or drug addiction; serious criminal conviction, etc.) or whether the assessment process attempted to pick up on more subtle indicators of suitability (e.g., emotional maturity; stability; moral integrity; well-developed conscience; ability to form and maintain good relationships; ability to lead and to work co-operatively, etc.)

- Determine whether this Archdiocese has shown a consistent pattern of favouring or avoiding the use of seminaries that conduct assessments on candidates prior to admitting them to the seminary.

- In the event that seminaries or other persons have in the past made recommendations to the Archdiocese concerning the non-ordination of candidates, the delaying of ordination or the structured support of certain candidates after ordination, determine whether the Archdiocese has systematically implemented and followed-up on these recommendations.

July 6, 1989
Enright Memorial School
St. Joseph's

We, the staff of Enright Memorial School, would like to make a few observations to the Special Commission of Enquiry on the sexual abuse by clergy and the effect it is having on schooling and the teaching situation.

While there have not been any reported cases of abuse by clergy from this particular parish, that we are aware of, there are some obvious and disturbing effects being felt by all concerned.

Distrust and disillusionment with the Church and with individuals within the Church are evidenced by the cynical and irreverent remarks that are made from time to time by certain students about the Church and religion in general. Some students demonstrate a clear reluctance to participate in religion classes and in religious activities. Some students cite the sexual abuse as a reason for this. There were, no doubt, always some students who exhibited this attitude, but it seems to be more widespread than in the past, and it seems to be more deeply ingrained. Students are questioning why they should have to listen to people like this, why they should have to do what the priests are telling them. The respect that was there in the past has disappeared and this is true not just for the disgruntled few but for the many ordinary students who have been genuinely turned off by a Church that they perceive to have let them down.

Another aspect of this issue is the effects it is having on student-teacher relationships. Teachers are really showing a tremendous amount of concern regarding what they should or should not be doing, i.e. working with students on a one-to-one basis, such as tutoring, giving extra help, assisting students, particularly young students, with their clothing, working on concerts and other drama activities, travelling with sports groups, counselling students, disciplining students and the list goes on. While some of this is paranoia on the part of some teachers, there is no doubt that there are genuine concerns being expressed and some teachers may be curtailing the work they would normally do with students outside of regularly scheduled class time.

For administrators, as well as for teachers, there are problems. Teachers and principals are struggling with the conflicts arising from the student's right to privacy when being counselled or disciplined and the administrator's or teacher's need to protect themselves from false accusations. So the question arises, do you leave the office door open or do you close it when you have a student in? A dilemma certainly exists there and the sexual abuse by the clergy has brought it to the forefront. There is always the possibility that a student or students may want to get revenge for some reason such as having been disciplined by the principal or teacher.

Another question arises from the tremendous amount of trust that was placed in the priests in the past. It was not an uncommon practice in the past for the priest to ask teachers to release certain students from class to run errands, do certain chores associated with being an altar boy, or to accompany the priest on trips. The question that should concern all teachers is what would be the legal position of the teacher who releases a student from his class if that student should happen to be sexually abused by the priest during that particular time? Must or should the teacher have to accept some responsibility for what happens, even though he/she may not know what was happening? The question may appear to be far-fetched, but it would no doubt be posed.
Another concern that teachers have is whether or not the priests who have been charged and convicted will be placed back into positions within the Archdiocese where teachers will have to work with them. No doubt, teachers and students will be extremely reluctant to do so. A decision to do so will have further implications.

In light of these concerns, a major job of rebuilding is imminent. It will have to start with some concrete evidence that the issue has been adequately addressed. For teachers, there has to be some in-service provided on how to cope with the problem in the classroom.

Teachers should not be left to their own imagination to determine how to adequately address the concerns that are being raised. The Church hierarchy, through the Catholic Education Council, should be spearheading the development of such in-service but it should be done from an open, concerned viewpoint. It should not be an attempt to whitewash, or to gloss over. Perhaps this will come in time but until it does, teachers have to struggle with how to adequately address the issue in the best interest of the students.

The Staff
October 30, 1989
The G.R.O.W. Group

St. John's

THE GROUP RESUME

- Trained students viewing group.
- Training offered for community leaders.
- Consultants on public presentations.
- Edited book for school system.
- Sent letters to Editors of Newspapers.
- Made video which was a re-enactment of victims disclosing information for the first time.
- Plans to co-lead Peer Groups.
- Invited to participate in depression and suicide groups at National Meeting.

SYSTEMS-USERS AND ABUSES

Counselling Service: Not enough of them; demand too great to be met. Feelings of guilt from people who use this system for this reason.

Social Services: Do not provide funds where needed, i.e., needing to place complaint in other town, will not pay for travelling expenses.

Hospitals: Too many patients and not enough staff.

Police: Not educated enough to take complaints seriously.

Education: Society needs more tools for education to reach all ages.

Justice: Sentences do nothing to discourage offenders; penalties not enforced.

School: Staff not knowledgeable enough to help students in coping.

Helping Professionals: Victims cannot see counsellors without parents being contacted; in some cases parents are the offenders.

Religious Systems: Screening processes are not stiff enough to guard against possible incidents.

SOME POINTS TO BE MADE CLEAR

- We are here.
- We are suffering but surviving.
- It is up to this inquiry to start looking at the long-term implications of abuse; it will not be over once your job is "done".
- We notice that there is too much focus on offenders, e.g., the sensations of priests. We ask, "Do they pay the price or do we - the victims?"
- Everybody has probably had some contact with abuse and has avoided it or ignored it.
- Society is responsible, as it touches everyone; everyone is responsible.
- Victims who are strong will get some help.
- We need to stop blaming the victim.
- Priests, Doctors, are people. They are equal to the "man next door".
- Class does not determine who will or will not abuse.

Some people ask why these men (and women) abuse. We cannot tell you the exact thought of an abuser, but we can tell you why it goes undetected for so long.

People will not speak up out of fear. A victim will not, for he/she may be threatened; a co-worker will not, because of the fear of getting into something that is "none of my business".

Power and secrecy play a key role in this silence. Often the abuser is someone who is older, respected,
trusted; often the victim is made powerless by threats of disclosure of "our secret", (eg. You'll be taken away from home, no one will believe you. I'll go to jail because of you.) These people are often in high positions and are expected to be pillars of trust in the community.

Disclosure of abuse shakes these foundations in regard to hiring professionals, such as doctors and priests; screenings are inaccurate and incomplete.

Solutions to discovered cases of sexual abuse are handled through transfers rather than confrontations that are made public; this provides the abuser with more power to continue because nothing serious will happen to him/her if caught.

Ignorance breeds ignorance. People are not educated to the signs of abuse; cries for help are taken for acting out, thus the abuser can state that this is the reason why the child is acting peculiar. The public needs to have a change of attitude. When this is done, the victims will have a better chance of safety to disclose this trauma. With well-known figures making statements to media, there is a lot of confusion, especially for the victims; they are victimized again by society, family, friends, media and court systems. All of this combined provide an ideal world for an abuser to live in undetected for a long, long time.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- More education is needed for society in general in specific areas, such as in the school systems and police agencies.
- Social Services systems would be totally revised and provided with new appropriations of funds.
- There is a need for more availability of counselling services; the need is great and in demand for all of Newfoundland. More Government funding is needed.
- There is a higher rate of victims becoming hospitalized for psychological needs; again, more education is needed for professionals in hospitals.
- Police services need to be made aware of how serious these issues are and their reality. Processing needs to be handled with better care for both victim's needs and abuser's needs.
- Sentencing and penalties need to be enforced; the system should be revised to accommodate victims more.
- There is no counselling for offenders in Newfoundland, something which should be mandatory.
- There is a need for more counselling for victims in the province.
- We suggest a system of funding be set up to reach the people, mainly victims in need of these resources.
- In order to recommend sentencing, we ask that the true experts be consulted, namely we the victims.

REVEALING THE TRUTH

These are actual cases of disclosures. Try to imagine someone you know having to disclose this abuse and then receive the negative after-effects; imagine if this person was yourself, your daughter, son, brother, sister, mother, or father.

- I was in grade 9. I phoned my youth group counsellor. He came over to my house, and I told him "something" had happened. Somehow we got on to another subject. He noticed I was shy around males. I said, "If I were to move over close to you, like this, you would jump out that door!" I thought he would tell that I was abused, but I felt he didn't want to know what had happened. What would happen to me if my father found out I had told someone?

- At five years of age, I tried to tell my mother what my uncle did. I had shown her blood that was on my panties. She wanted to take me to the doctor. Shouldn't they have known? This frustrated me a lot.

- I was four years old when I first tried to tell I was being sexually abused by my mom and three brothers. I told one brother, even though he was abusing me also. He seemed to think that I didn't know about it when I told. He slammed my brother against the wall. I never said anything until junior high school. I told my guidance counsellor that my mom was beating me up a lot. I asked her not to tell my mom. She said, "Don't be so foolish! If I talk to her, she won't hurt you". But she promised she wouldn't; she did. I ended
up beaten and locked up in the basement. She had no right to do that. I knew what was going to happen, but no one believed me — again I had nowhere to turn.

The first time I told, I was alone and my uncle, who abused me, was down stairs in the apartment. I was scared. I called my mother. She laughed and said she didn't believe me. I was hurt and I didn't mention it for a long time.

- I told a male friend six years ago. I was very nervous telling him, but I felt I had to tell someone. He was shocked but understood. I was terribly upset afterwards, but it felt good to get it outside of myself. Around the same time, I told a professional, a medical doctor. He told me to forget about it, to stop looking at the past and get on with my life.
Reverend Gregory L. Hogan
St. John's

PREAMBLE

My name is Gregory Hogan. I am sixty-three years old. On June 20, 1950 I was ordained priest. On February 9, 1989 I was retired, retroactively, to February 1, 1989. During my thirty-nine years as a priest I have had considerable ill health. I have been hospitalized around fifty times. Most hospitalizations, which averaged a month each, were for severe psoriasis. In August 1985 I had a cancer of the bladder. The malignancy was removed in the first of four related operations. In December 1987 my doctor advised a sabbatical for health reasons. I had not taken any time after the operations and realized my tolerance for stration was exhausted when, at a Consultants' meeting, I had a confrontation with Archbishop Penney. During the sabbatical I, several times, approached Archbishop Penney in person, through his Vicar General and Chancellor and by letter to find out what my next appointment would be. I received no satisfaction. In December he offered me one of the most difficult parishes in the Archdiocese. My doctor, and a doctor whom Archbishop Penney subsequently consulted, both found this inadvisable because I am a diet-controlled diabetic, have mild hypertension, psoriasis and cancer presently in remission. My doctor proposed that I not return to parish responsibilities. In my letter, accompanying his, to Archbishop Penney I suggested a ministry in which I might help with the Archdiocesan paper, (I was the only Editor, who to date, had made it self-supporting); do counselling at our Family Life Bureau (I have a graduate certificate in counselling); give weekend help where needed and help in the sacramental ministry of the parish where I was given residence. Archbishop Penney's reply was that I should do those things if I were retired. Being totally disillusioned with Archbishop Penney's leadership I did not fight this analysis of my value to the Archdiocese. Presently I am living at O'Dwyer Apartments, newly constructed for retired priests, with financial difficulties due to early retirement.

Perhaps you are questioning the relevance of the foregoing. One can speak with authority about those things which are experienced. On the other hand one may be prejudiced by experiences and therefore write with bias. In outlining the circumstances of my retirement I am using myself as an example of the lack of vision, or the tunnel vision, of Archbishop Penney. There may be those who will represent him to you as evil or malicious. This is not my contention. Rather it is that he lacks the capacity to see the implications of his own actions and the actions of others. He therefore has given indications over and over that his perceptions make those of others unacceptable to him. I write this in my preamble as I consider Archbishop Penney's personality, with its influence on his administration, to be a very valuable part of the context in which our sex scandals continued. Beginning, as I did, with my own history: hurting as I am from the assessment of my value to the Archdiocese at this time of great need: resenting the necessity to look for "priestly hobbles" to pay my board: I will try to write as objectively as possible. You will however be aware that I wish my objectivity to be scrutinized in the cause of justice.

CHURCH OF ST. JOHN'S ARCHDIOCESE
BEFORE SCANDALS

When he inherited the Archdiocese of St. John's from Archbishop Skinner, Archbishop Penney had a well structured entity with all major components of the present physical plant in place. In the years after the
Vatican Council Archbishop Skinner had been moving the Archdiocese along the road of Renewal. He had in place an office of Communications and Catholic Information Centre, a Family Life Bureau, a Liturgical Commission, Council/Senate of Priests, Denominational Education Committee, Diocesan Pastoral Council, Administration Board, Finance Committee, Archdiocesan Budget, Catholic Women’s League and so on.

While still essentially a monarchical Church the concept of the People of God was expanding. A great exodus of priests had taken place, but with the exception of combining two or three small parishes with its neighbour of somewhat greater size, under the neighbouring pastor’s administration, there was no limitation of priestly pastoral ministry.

Archbishop Penney, from the very first, began “preparing for Renewal”. This preparation is continuing to the present time, ten years later. The “place” of the People of God has been enlarged. However, it is still a “place” in a hierarchical church. Let me try to explain. It is not so much “We” are the People of God as “They” are the People of God and we (Archbishop and priests) are somehow not a part of the People of God. We “empower” them, we “lead” them, we “minister” to them, but we are not a part — an integral part — of them.

Let me write now of my perception of Archbishop Penney in this Church. I must reiterate what I have said before: I am trying for objectivity but may not have attained it.

Archbishop Penney has accepted all the terminology, all the “in” words of post Vatican II but has not come to grips with their implications. He has carried on a “flirtation” with the laity which has been most flattering for them, but not ended in a marriage of equality of spouses with different ministries. In doing this he has distanced himself from his priests, some of whom find they are threatened by loss of definition in Archbishop Penney’s Church, others of whom are turned off by what I have termed publicly as “playing games”.

When he came back to the Archdiocese as Archbishop, there was no bishop who ever received a greater welcome from the priests. Gradually this has changed. Archbishop Penney allowed himself only one relatively close friend among the priests. He is now deceased. Archbishop Penney would not promote any but non-threatening priests to appointed office. Only through election did those with strong convictions hold positions implying trust. These positions were generally emasculated by being limited to the consideration of trivialities. (See Minutes of Council of Priests, of Administration Board and of Consultors meetings. The latter may not be available). When anything of substance reached the agenda it was trivialized by inaction even after the strongest representation.

It must be remembered that the Archbishop is the “Episcopal Corporation Sole”. He is the totality of the Corporation. He has the fullness of spiritual authority in the Archdiocese as well. All bodies - and I repeat - all bodies, including your own, are advisory only. In the final analysis he, and he alone, has financial and spiritual power and as the first among the Newfoundland and Labrador Bishops he is Chairman of the Denominational Education Committee. From this position he wields almost as much power in our denomination’s participation in our education system.

Since all bodies only advise him, he appears to feel he may freely disregard advice. In most areas in which he seeks advice it is regarding relatively trivial matters, so there is a show of acceptance. A few matters of import have been advised, however. Two with which I was intimately involved resulted in papers on Meaningful Delegation in the Archdiocese and the proposal of a heritage foundation to administer Archdiocesan historical properties. The former, after cosmetic changes, received the unanimous recommendation of the Council of Priests for action, the latter received the recommendation of the Basilica Parish (most concerned), the Administration Board, Council of Priests and Pastoral Council, for action also; nothing of substance has been done after two years, with either.

In his wooing of the laity Archbishop Penney has given great support to the various Commissions in the
Archdiocese. Strong feminist elements have dominated these Commissions. Feminism that is concerned with equality for women has my fullest support. In dedication to the goal of this equality there is the danger, however, that agendas may become entangled. When the mandate of a Commission is interpreted in such a way that disharmony results in the services/ministries within the People of God, it would appear that agendas are becoming blurred.

Disagreement has grown into animosity between the Commissions and many of the priests. Being alienated from the Archbishop by his preference for non-threatening relationships, his flirtation with the laity, and his support for the Commissions, the priests more and more became islands unto themselves. The Archbishop, principle of unity among the clergy, was in less and less meaningful contact with the priests.

When priests foregathered in small groups the topics of conversation were mostly negative references to the Archbishop, his Commissions and the personalities of his Commission members, especially the Directors. With the feeling they had no credibility in the eyes of their Archbishop, the priests became more and more a fragmented presbyterium, and at the last election to the Council of Priests while fifteen priests were nominated, ten diocesan priests and one religious declined nomination leaving the director of the Ministry to Priests Program (a diocesan priest) and three religious priests to contest the two positions.

In the workings of the Archdiocesan Commissions some of the priests were very disturbed by what appeared to be promotion of a Church with little emphasis on the Eucharist. It appeared to priests, like myself, that a misplaced feminist agenda was at work which saw male domination in the Church symbolized in the confection of the Eucharist being reserved to males. Ridding the Church of emphasis on the Eucharist would give equality, it appeared. While I support with enthusiasm the legitimate aspirations of women for priesthood as they perceive a call to such ordained ministry from God, I cannot regard the goal of the priestless, non-Eucharistic, Church a legitimate levelling of differences between the sexes.

Over the past ten years then, there has been a deterioration in feelings of self-worth, episcopal approval and ministerial relevance among the priests. Coupled with our geographical isolation, this psychological alienation was aggravated by the long-sought admission from the Archbishop that the clergy numbers were diminishing at a dangerous rate and that something must be done. This was finally made in the context of sex scandals.

Meanwhile we have become more physically and mentally tired. Priests who had no difficulty with organization were rejoicing in Parish Councils and Finance Committees. I was one such. Others found it impossible to organize or relate to such groupings. Perhaps they feared change, they did not know how to relate on a democratic level, they were too conscious of their own inadequacies. Despite the directives of the Archbishop that Parish Councils and Finance Committees be in place by various and sundry deadlines, all that were created in some were guilt and frustration and defensive arrogance. Yet never, to my knowledge, was there a meaningful discussion about the Parishes and Pastors who had not complied with directives for formation of these bodies on an individual and personal basis, i.e., naming names, to see what the difficulties might be. All were presumed to have the same talents.

This became a further cause for isolation within the presbyterium.

The Ministry to Priests Program (MPP) was introduced to the Archdiocese in September/December 1980 and was placed in motion in January 1981. From the outset it was doomed to ineffectiveness. Although the Archbishop promised that Msgr. Walsh would be full-time director, he was not released from Parish duties until the end of April and from his duties as Vicar General until around the middle of August. While the first fervour of commitment to the MPP was alive the full-time director was filling first two, then one, other full-time job(s).

Two points among the many stressed by Fr. Vincent Dwyer (founder of the MPP) may be significant through possible misinterpretation, in your pursuit of
there was the emphasis laid on the need for priests "to be comfortable with their sexuality" and secondly there was the goal of "self-actualization". Those who could become Number 1, acceptance of deviant behaviour and Number 2, selflessness.

From the Ministry to Priests Program came the Ministry to Priests Program and the support groups. I have interviewed both Msgr. Walsh, former director, and Fr. Doody, present director. I was a member of the initial team and remained with the program for the first two terms, leaving shortly after Msgr. Walsh retired as director. Apart from the poor planning, there was a lack of commitment to following through and modifications watered down the impact.

Three support groups were successfully operative. Others had a beginning and lasted but a short while. There was a continual struggle to reorganize them. The project's commitment was not there and the group's leadership was ineffective. Of the three that were successful, one remains today. One of these had (has) membership including most of the priests accused of sex crimes. It would appear that this group was given more thorough investigation than any other group in the Archdiocese by the police. I recall vividly the fact that Archbishop Penney attacked the credibility of that group at a public meeting of the priests. I spoke strongly in their defence as I had no reason to doubt their credibility. Archbishop Penney accepted the support for investigation received from the priests at the meeting and backed away. What his reason was at that time I never knew; I still don't and I will not guess. My recollection is that he referred to the group as "clique".

My experience with the one-to-one ministry was that it remained on a superficial level. Its greatest value was the getting together with another priest several times a year. As team members we went to them. I would doubt there are more than a few presently engaged in this ministry and/or accepting it.

POWER

In the Universal Church power resides in a male hierarchy. The pros and cons of this have been debated by many qualified people. Whether the argument has my support at either extreme or somewhere in the middle, is irrelevant to this preambule which is trying to explain my perception of the context in which our scandals existed and became public. It is to be desired that this power is used solely in the service of God's people: that it is not a power structure emulating that of the ancient Jewish priesthood with the cynicism of the Saducees and hypocrisy of the Pharisees buttressed by convenient interpretations of the law. Whatever it is, it is a fact of life in the Roman Catholic Church of today. That its maintenance is considered essential is indicated by the lavish expenditures on Papal visits even in the poorest countries of the world, promoted by the bishops and accepted by the Pope.

This power is the prerogative of the Archbishop. In the local church it is centered in him. By him all other groups or individuals are empowered. It is his choice to what degree this empowering is real or fictional, by principle or haphazard, consistent or inconsistent, extensive or limited.

In the Archdiocese of St. John's the empowering has been, theoretically, real, principled, consistent and extensive. My observation is that far too often it was fictional, haphazard, inconsistent and limited in its scope. This perception and my dissatisfaction, were articulated by me in many different ways. They were not articulated in their fullness however. Present circumstances have forced this attempt.

While the hasty were given power, there were no real parameters established. Without parameters, power is open to abuse. Commissions that were established to extend the effectiveness of the Parish unit gradually became the arbiters of parish and pastoral action.

Interpretations of their mandates were almost inevitably supported by the Archbishop regardless of the hardship created, especially for the pastors of those parishes which had the major parish committees of
Parish Council, Finance, Liturgy and Properties in place and working.

While those Commissions were adding to their numbers people of little or no expertise, they were making decisions adversely affecting those in parishes where there was as much or more expertise. Such exercise of power was perceived to have the support of the Archbishop. He projected a tolerance for the priests and their supposed inability to function in a post Vatican II church. My perception was that we were being expected to function in a church where power was being transferred from the Bishop to a group of Commissions. These Commissions began having meetings independent of the Archbishop back in 1985 or 1986 when they protested the termination of employment of the then-editor of The Monitor. The Archdiocese could not afford the almost $50,000.00 annual subsidy he required to run the paper and Office of Communications since they had been self-supporting before.

In a paper I prepared for a Presbyterium meeting agenda in September 1986, I wrote: "I perceive there is a danger in our Archdiocese of a split so that we could have a Church of the Commissions and a Church of the Priests." I was referring here to a confrontation of leadership. Nothing that has happened since has caused me to change my opinion. Of course the sex scandals and the inevitable fallout will lead to a whole new context in which ministry will function. The Church in the Archdiocese will not revert to what it was: great positive potential in the midst of so many negatives.

In his insistence on Parish Councils and Parish Finance Committees, the Archbishop wanted real participation: real-decision making. To quote again from the presentation just mentioned "Decisions made on the Parish level, in the final analysis, have accountability built in for the parish priest only. 'T'hose who make the decisions make them with the knowledge they can withdraw if the going gets rough". This quotation is from 3C of my presentation: I would like to quote again, this time from 3B "The more co-responsibility is sought the greater the tension when decision making is in the hands of learners on the earliest levels. An odious comparison would have us give Primary School pupils the responsibility for making administrative decisions for a school".

The power base was therefore in Archbishop Penney, with Archdiocesan Commissions and Parish Committees empowered, and greatest accountability residing with the priest. Vis-a-vis the Commissions the priest would be presumed wrong unless he could prove otherwise; vis-a-vis the Parish Council, the Finance Committee, and the Liturgy Committee of his Parish charge the Parish priest would be solely responsible before the Archbishop for the consequences arising from their decisions.

As an aside, it is not to be wondered at that those priests who were not inclined to, or were incapable of shared authority became more withdrawn and isolated. Those who tried became frustrated and tension-ridden.

Where I stood in these matters is well known in the Archdiocese. I rejoice in the Parish I left, which has been functioning on its own with the aid of Priest Administrators since I was forced to resign for health reasons.

Power of the priests has been the solution proffered for the environment in which our scandals could have taken place. Like all blanket statements there is truth in this one, but not the whole truth. I will refer to this later on. Power — defined as exercise of authority or control — is theoretically in the hands of the priest by Episcopal delegation. In the hierarchical Church of pre-Vatican II we had a monarchical Church. Post Vatican II the bishops have increased in authority and control. There is, however, an attempt at "levelling off" beneath the office of bishop. The utopian attainment would appear to be that the priests and their ministry would blend into the ministries of all the People of God. All ministries would have equal value — the ministry of Eucharistic Sacrifice would require a setting aside, or ordination. Like every other ministry it would support in love God's people in their pilgrimage of faith. A further projection of this is ordination to Eucharistic Sacrifice of any Christian, whether "Jew or Greek, slave or free, male or female".
St. Paul tells us there is no distinction. While I would like to see bishops involved in this levelling process, I find the theory by which the bishops exercise leadership power and which they appear to be promoting, insofar as priests and laity are concerned, a step in the right direction. Once they have lost the lesser clergy to the ranks of the People of God, they will have lost their historical power base. They would become more of the order of a Constitutional Monarchy with symbolic rather than service ministry or they would have to join the ranks of the People of God.

But right now, in the Archdiocese of St. John’s, we have great ambivalence. I don’t know if this is universal in Canada and/or beyond. The local pre-Vatican II priest was indeed girded with many of the trappings of a feudal lord. Because of relatively long distances, poor roads and boat travel, only since Archbishop Skinner took office in 1951 did most parishes see the Archbishop more frequently than once every five or more years. The pastor had most of the authority of a bishop, spiritually and financially, in his parish. He had other power forced on him by circumstances too. Being a well educated man relative to any of his parishioners — even teachers, magistrates or local merchants — he was the arbiter of justice and the promoter of social change. As most rural communities in Newfoundland were of one religion, he was, in effect, the school board and the leader in community development. Recreational activities — dances, garden parties, bingos, etc. — were usually "fund raisers" for the Parish.

Even though Confederation in 1949 began a process of integration, our insularity and poor roads made for little change in pastoral powers up to Vatican II. Archbishop Skinner did travel extensively and frequently, visiting most parishes almost yearly. He did institute a certain amount of fiscal accountability. The government did promote real school boards and these went beyond Parish boundaries with denominational acquiescence. Still there was little potential for real change in the powers of the pastor before Vatican II.

With Post Vatican II there came the ambivalence. In all fairness Archbishop Skinner proceeded step by step in the direction of sharing responsibilities with consequent reduction in the aforementioned powers. He took advice from those who had been involved in pastoral ministry. He had been an academic and had no first hand knowledge. Priests who were engaged in parish ministry found they were asked to share responsibility with people who, sometimes, were ill-equipped, ill-prepared or unwilling to accept responsibility. People considered it to be the priest’s work to do all the things he had been doing. He could do so only by continuing to exercise the power Vatican II showed to be undesirable in a ministry of loving service. Only a few months ago I spoke with a doctor who had been a parishioner of the last parish in which I served. He observed that he had been critical of me, when I was pastor, because I was expecting the laity to do the things that were my duties. Only in the light of our present shortage of priests did he realize the practical value of having a parish which could function with minimal priestly presence. From that he moved, he said, to seeing that what the laity were brought to do there were their own ministries, not a priest’s. I mention this to show the ambivalence which exists even up to today, among the laity as well as the priests.

Progress was slow but steady until the last decade. With Archbishop Skinner’s resignation and Archbishop Penney’s appointment we embraced with joy the latter’s prophecy of Renewal. Here we had a pastoral bishop — one who had worked side by side with us - replacing an academic.

Renewal was begun with a survey by the Centre for Applied Research in the Apostolate which projected a coming shortfall in vocations. Then came the Ministry of Priests Program followed by a Teacher’s Renewal project. Concomitantly began the insistence on Parish Councils; later Finance Committees were pushed. But CARA was not engaged to finish its work nor was it replaced when it had difficulties. The MPP was put into effect but had a crippling beginning from which it never recuperated, the Teacher’s Renewal made little impression and there was no accountability re the forming of Parish Councils and Finance Committees. No standard constitution was developed
for Parish Councils, nor was there real help given to parishes where the committees were nonexistent.

The result was a mishmash. Compounding confusion were the Commissions with their ever-increasing authority. Communiques were sent to the pastors several times a week by one or other of the Archbishop, Council of Priests, Deans, Commissions, Pastoral Council, Business Office and so on. All had something for the priest to do. Like the setting up of Parish Councils and Finance Committees these were implemented more or less adequately by some, frustrated some, and were ignored by others.

Always there was the mind set — which prevails to this day — that the parish priest must be whipped into action to fulfil the implications of Renewal from Vatican II. Never educated to the new concept of Church and its possibilities (with good roads for travel, an educated laity and modern technology) the pastors were expected to learn from a few workshops and mostly by intuition. Unfortunately for this purpose, psychologists tell us intuitives with practical skills are in the minority.

The priests continued to flounder. They did their best, which in some cases was good, in others poor and for some a retrenching in the power base with which they were familiar.

Archbishop Penney was advised of this in one way or the other, again and again over the years. He used all the right words but did not generate action. The result was parishes such as the one in which I ministered where I could not get paid for a "yogurt without producing a cash receipt, to those where the pastor could spend the parish income with only to the business office of the Archdiocese. As long as it a bank balance which was the difference between reported earnings and reported expenditures (debit or credit) the business office was satisfied. Parishes paid an assessment on reported earnings. Discretion on what was reported remained with the pastor in the final analysis. Again and again this was attacked as poor business practice. No action.

In summary then, the power base was shared by Archbishop Penney with his Commissions. The priests had their own traditional power base. They shared this in the parish, but again, when the circumstances are objectively analyzed, only if, first they wished, secondly they knew how and thirdly, if, in their courage or ignorance, they could take the inevitable hassle. It is not difficult to see how any priest, with anything to hide, could manipulate the structure to give him privacy. I will move on now from contextualizing the continued abuse of children to some suggestions for change.

WHAT SCANDALS HAVE DONE TO FORCE POSITIVE CHANGE

In this portion of my presentation I am concerned with future distribution of power in the Church. Under the cloak of power these scandals were able to take place. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that power, along with isolation and aloneness gave the privacy in which what happened could take place. Access to boys came easily through altar servers and other youth involvements. During the years when these scandals took place there was another phenomenon in Newfoundland. Up to Confederation and for many years afterwards the "live-in" priest's housekeeper was the norm. As social benefits increased in the years following Confederation, those ladies - mostly widows with grown or no families - who became housekeepers, could remain in their own homes. This changed the environment of the priest's house from one with a female presence to one where, at best, a priest had someone come in by day to prepare lunch, an evening meal and take care of the household chores. After that he was alone in the house. An environment for the practice of deviance was thus provided where there would be little danger of invasion of privacy. Especially was this true when parish council was non-existent and there was no fiscal accountability to a finance committee. Provision of enticements would not be difficult in such circumstances.

The scandals with which our church is dealing presently should make us provide a better physical, psychological environment. Priests living alone should
be the extreme exception rather than the rule. Deanery residences would be more practical in the future than in the past. Since there will be an insufficient number of priests to staff each parish and since the main ministries of the priest are the Eucharistic Sacrifice, preaching in that context, and the Sacraments, there would be psychological value in priests, servicing several parishes, living in an apartment complex such as the O'Dwyer Apartments. All parishes would feel they were treated alike. When priests are primarily associated with the sacramental and sacrificial aspects of ministry the power base and the environment for abuse will be lessened automatically. Parishes would have to have Parish Councils, Finance Committees and Lay Pastoral Associates. The Finance Committees could operate the Parish budgets and be accountable to the Business Manager of the Archdiocese. There could be a central Deanery office serving all the deanery parishes with computer capacity accessing and accessible to the Archdiocesan business office. Parish needs could be ascertained and strategies set to meet them by the Parish Council. The Lay Pastoral Associate could be the liaison with the priests for sacramental administration after conducting preparation and promoting the various forms of ministerial activity of the parish.

The foregoing is a suggestion for a stop-gap measure until there is a married clergy of both sexes; not that marriage would be a solution for those who abuse adolescents. A rigid screening process should be possible with already married men or women, to minimize danger of entry of child abusers. Since there will always be those who are called to celibacy and to priesthood also, screening would have to have the same stringency for them. It might be more difficult for one not already married. A brainstorming by a competent group could develop the necessary strategies.

May I now look at your mandate and comment on each of the five areas.

MANDATE

TERM 1: To inquire into factors which might have contributed to the sexual abuse of children by some members of the clergy, which factors might include family background, education, lifestyles, mutual support systems, or any other pertinent circumstance (The Monitor, May 1989).

In the preamble I have outlined some elements of the context in which the sexual abuse of children took place in latter years. May I sum up again: weak leadership, confused clergy, tiredness, isolation (physical and psychological), a power base arising from circumstances of the past which no longer prevail, and the lack of integration into the People of God. Undoubtedly there are others.

Family background may or may not be a relevant factor in explaining sexual deviance. Exploration of the family would have to be in depth and extensive, it seems to me. That this is an inherited deviance would be difficult to propose. Even that homosexuality is sometimes genetic is a theory that has as many opponents as proponents. Abuse of children — even boys alone — has little relationship to homosexuality. To say someone is genetically predisposed to child abuse is outside any school of psychology, it seems to me.

In the family background the pertinent factor would then be nurture. If the influences during the growing years were those of abuse — physical, mental, sexual; or if a child is, to use our Newfoundland terminology — "spoiled rotten"; or if a child is given false sexual signals — feminism encouraged in a boy, masculinity in a girl, etc., there might be a basis for family background being a significant factor. Associated with family background would be abuse by significant others who would have the same effect on them as they might, in turn, have on the boys they have abused. The prognosis is that some of the latter may also become sexual abusers. To fulfil this part of your mandate you will have to analyze the background of a random selection of the other priests of the Archdiocese, for comparison, as I see it.

In the matter of education it may be found that physical abuse was a part of education, at least in Newfoundland, in the early years of their education, for the two priests convicted. This was certainly so in my
eration. They may have experienced a different style of teaching. Perhaps there was sufficient abuse on this level to create a nurture negativity.

Further exploration of education will have to take place for the university and seminary environments in which the individuals studied. This will require groups for comparison, as all who had the same educational environment did not become child abusers.

Lifestyles have been rumoured to be varied in the Archdiocese. Sometime around 1981 I chaired a Presbyterium meeting and I remember mentioning that sexuality was considered something that required discussion. It was not placed on the agenda. For years I heard rumours that the police had a certain few priests under observation because they were frequenting gay bars. The impression I had was that the Archbishop was informed. What action he took, if he was informed, I do not know. I did not expect to know, as the Archbishop’s duty in non-criminal matters would be to help in the rehabilitation of the priest, and that would not be appropriately done publicly. Names were mentioned when these rumours were spoken of. Only since our sex scandals have names been spoken of. Probably every priest has been named, for fact or fiction, since then. Such rumours are now unreliable, as the innocent are accused with abandon.

Mutual support systems might be support in crime, or support in living with guilt. Whether those who have been convicted had such systems has to be proven. Since we are social beings and since we all need approval, moreover, since the ministry given by those convicted was of high calibre except in the area of their particular deviance, and since the conscience dies a slow death, there must have been a time of struggle with the inappropriateness of their activity which would have them need another’s advice. Whether this was sought and whether it was sought from individuals, in a support group or in the confessional, is purely conjecture. Knowing the sacredness of the confessional and the quasi-confessional aspect of an almost sworn confidence, I would feel that neither will be violated regardless of are of any sort. The confidentiality of a support group was given the same quasi-confessional aspect when the Ministry to Priests Program was initiated. It would be imperative to state that the Support Group of the MPP would not support deviance, but growth; therefore the pressures would be to move to health from deviance.

The context of the past ten years, with the frustration and the lack of vision of a Church (People of God) mission, plus the privacy provided by circumstances and preference in living conditions and parish organization, probably compounded, but did not cause, sexual deviance in some members of the clergy.

Celibacy, which is concomitant in accepting a vocation to the priesthood, creates sexual tensions which have to be sublimated since they cannot be legitimately relieved. As there was little of substance given seminarians or priests by way of techniques in such sublimation of the powerful sexual drive, it is not to be wondered at that illegitimate forms of relief would be adopted by some. It is tragic that this should take the form of child sexual abuse. Celibacy might have triggered such abuse; it might have been another factor in the environment where it could take place, but it was not the cause of the deviance. Something deeper and antecedent would appear to be the root. How you find it I don’t know. It is well to note here that the trend was with adolescent boys - not pedophilia - but what this means I cannot guess unless it requires only the crassest of explanations - availability.

It would appear to me that the abusers and abused (to a lesser degree) might have the answers. How you establish the trust with either group when it is known your primary task is a public report is a great challenge for you.

TERM 2: To enquire how such behaviour could have gone undetected and unreported for such a long period of time (The Monitor, May 1989)

In responding to this I would cite eight factors why this could happen without the priests knowing, seven without the people knowing, three without the Archbishop knowing.
PRIESTS

a) The lack of an historical context. There have been no previous public disclosures of this nature in the history of the Archdiocese to cause scrutiny or suspicion on the part of the generality of the priests.
b) Nothing of great substance was discussed by the Archbishop's advisory committees: the agendas were mostly the Archbishop's.
c) The privacy of life imposed on priests which could be enhanced by those who had deviant behaviours to hide.
d) The chaotic state of Archdiocesan Administration which held priests in disarray and made them less perceptive than they might otherwise have been.
e) The possible misinterpretation of "comfortableness with sexuality" and "self-actualization" as promoted by the Ministry to Priests Program.
f) The apparent preference of the Archbishop for non-threatening clerics in appointed positions of trust in the Archdiocese.
g) The distances between parishes which made intimate knowledge of the life patterns of even the closest of neighbours most improbable, considering that deviant behaviours were not perceived even by the very parishioners whose homes were visited and whose sons were violated by their Pastor.
h) General fraternization has lessened among priests over the years. Except among some close friends there was little "getting together". Most general groups were command performances, business meetings, support groups and occasions (such as ordinations, the Archbishop's Christmas dinner, his barbecue, etc.). All or any of these seldom outlasted the minimum amount of time required by circumstances or courtesy.

PEOPLE

a) The people had accepted the traditional power position of the priest. They had in many cases encouraged it. Some even resented the divesting of power, terming it laziness or shirking of duty by the priests.
b) Some parishes were dormitory towns or a mixture of fishing-village and urban workers who moved in or remained for personal reasons. The former might be traditional, jealous of their "ownership" of the parish, and less well-educated for the most part than the latter, who were disinterested, or distrusted in many instances. This resulted in a vulnerable parish community.
c) There was no consistency proposed or expected by the Archdiocesan Administration in parish structures. To have a parish council and a finance committee was the goal. How those were constituted and how they worked was entirely up to the pastor in the matter of parish council and even in latter years, when there was a directive re finance committees, it allowed a broad continuum. Ill will was not necessary for the power of the pastor to remain. Divesting himself of power was his real challenge. The people had no way of demanding the divesting, little desire for accountability and less understanding of shared ministry.
d) Priests' idiosyncrasies were tolerated and excused much as pagan peoples tolerated and excused the idiosyncrasies of their gods. Wrathful priests, dominant priests, holy priests (generally contrasted with those who tried to move the people to parish work or social change), good priests (those who combined the gifts of spiritual and temporal leadership), money priests, and so on, were the lot of the parishes in turn. The pastor was appointed by the Archbishop. New appointments were accepted with sorrow by those who had "gotten on well" with the preceding pastor and with joy by those who hadn't.
e) Most priests held themselves aloof from the people. Having the duty of being "all things to all men/women", they were expected to have no personal friends in the parish. All people were supposed to be able to perceive themselves as having equal value. Being "loners" then, they were not known as to character - weaknesses, strengths, etc., - except in very superficial ways. The facade of perfection -- demanded of them by tradition and also by office -- was accepted, with qualifications, by the people. Most criticisms were on the level of personality rather than of lifestyle. A priest is under careful scrutiny in his relationship with women - being an unmarried, educated and powerful person. If
he passed that scrutiny relatively unscathed, that was acceptable.

f) Priests were supposed to take a special interest in altar boys. From them came the majority of recruits for the priesthood. Blessed indeed was the parish where the pastor had them in his home, took them on picnics, had an Altar Boys' party for them yearly, etc., etc. Strongly criticized were the priests who shirked this "duty". Parishioners in general had an innocence about sexual deviance and a trust in the priesthood that precluded any suspicion of unacceptable behaviour.

g) Some parishioners in Archbishop Penney's years complained to him about their pastors regarding pastoral decisions. Archbishop Penney made it clear when he visited parishes that he was the pastor and that the priest they called pastor was his representative. Had the complainants any inkling that their parish priest was involved in deviant behaviour they would have brought this to his attention. Since Archbishop Penney says he had no such representations the presumption must be that such activity was not suspected or it would have been reported.

ARCHBISHOP

a) Archbishop Penney was a priest of the Archdiocese. He had known and socialized with all the priests before he became Bishop of Grand Falls. After he returned as Archbishop he appeared to protect himself from familiarity by distancing himself from all but a few. He was consequently not one to be approached with problems.

b) He was not one to see the implications of certain actions. After a very emotional meeting of the Priests he shared with me his inability to relate to our "visions of the future". When I offered to place at his disposal my perceptions of the possible outcome of certain things, he thanked me formally and in such a way that I knew he had no intention, and in fact, saw no need, to accept my offer. This was but one evidence I had that he was quite satisfied with his own perceptions as adequate for all situations. Because he did not have "visions of the future" it appeared that "visions of the future" were not of consequence. This, it appears to me, would make him very vulnerable to misinterpreting any "hints" that came his way. He would have only himself as the arbiter of their veracity or implications.

c) As the Archbishop, Archbishop Penney is, as mentioned before, the spiritual head and the Episcopal Corporation Sole. Because of this there are only a very few areas in which he must consult and few, if any, in which he must abide by a decision of an advisory body. Had he misgivings he would have no imperative to seek advice and might judge it "pastoral", or prudent, not to do so. His temperament would seem to support such a course of action.

COMMENTS

a) It must be stressed again that we, the priests in general, had no precedent in the Archdiocese for suspicion that such deviance was to be found in the priesthood. There was also little knowledge of the dimensions of the task a person of habitual deviant behaviour would have in modifying such behaviour. Friends who might suspect or even know of something would not know how to advise and would perhaps be very loathe to invade another's privacy on a matter of suspicion.

b) I must confess I hadn't heard of the law regarding reporting sexual abuse to the Department of Social Services before the charges were made against Jim Hickey. It would appear to me that something was lacking in my training or updating after I was in ministry. It would be my opinion that the majority of priests would, at most, have only a vague idea that such a law existed. Having done graduate studies in Education Psychology in 1976-78, I was aware that confidentiality in counselling had to be waived in a legal setting and that preservation of the confidentiality of the Confessional could lead one into contempt of court. Any other notions were fuzzy, to say the least.

c) On several occasions Archbishop Penney made references to lifestyles of priests and the concern some seemed to have about inappropriate behaviour. He said no one gave him specifics. After one such occasion — I think it was a meeting of the Council of Priests — I told him of a priest who was at that time in the process
of leaving or had just been granted leave from ministry. He had come into the parish in which I was pastor and was residing alone, during the winter, at the summer residence of a friend of his. He was being friendly with boys who were shovelling snow from the driveway of the house he used. A parishioner, filled with sympathy for him, had told me he was telling the boys he was lonely there. I expressed my discomfort to the Archbishop as I had heard rumours that his behaviour with boys was questioned. The Archbishop said that this was inappropriate behaviour and that he would look after it. There was no further discussion nor did the Archbishop refer to the matter again.

d) It seems to me, as I have indicated throughout this presentation, that the temperament of Archbishop Penney may - and I only say "may" - have been a considerable factor in how this continued throughout his time. Archbishop Skinner, who preceded him, was of a different temperament and yet nothing came to light in his years, although much of the sexual deviance which brought your Commission into being antedated Archbishop Penney's administration.

TERM 3: To make recommendations to provide for the spiritual, psychological and social healing of the Victims and their Families (The Monitor, May 1989)

PRIESTS

Credibility needs to be restored to priests if the spiritual, psychological and social healing is to take place in the parish context. How is this to be done? No one person can answer. I will share some thoughts I have on this subject.

a) There needs to be a reassessment of all priests ministering in the Archdiocese and this has to be perceived to be taking place. Such a reassessment needs to be in the same areas as the healing process: spiritual, psychological and social. The assessment needs to have the full support of the priests to demonstrate good will. At no time since the scandals began have we been doing anything except play "catch up". The impression given is that we would have been happier if things had remained hidden. The reality is that sexual deviance was causing terrible damage to the lives of young people and such damage had to cease. It appears that there are those who hope that after the trials are over, things will return to normal. Since only now is it known that what appeared to be "normal" housed a lot of abnormality, unless there is a perceived assessment of all of us priests, none of us will engender any depth of trust in the parishes in which we serve habitually or occasionally. The people will not accept blindly any priest sent to minister to them, ever again. From now on the "norms" from which "normal" will arise will have to be different from the "norms" under which the "abnormal" of the past could continue.

b) Major parish committees - Parish Council, Finance Committee, Liturgical Committee and Properties Committee - have to be established with standard constitutions re their areas of work and place in the parish structure as well as providing for representative membership. The concomitant of this is accountability to the Archdiocesan administration directly as well as through the Parish Priest. Responsibilities of the Pastor and Assistant Pastors need to be spelled out and understood by them as well as by all parishioners. These responsibilities need to be concentrated on the spiritual well-being of the people rather than on parish administration with funding a major preoccupation.

c) "Aloneness" needs to be addressed. Since priests cannot, in general, find an acceptable "live-in" housekeeper, deanery residences would seem to be a practical alternative.

d) Adequate updating and sabbaticals are needed for priests to handle the "burn-out" antedating the present crisis as well as the effects of the crisis in their lives. Priests need an increase in their feeling of self-worth. This is at a very low ebb. To relate on a meaningful level to the people in the parishes in which they serve they must have help in ridding themselves of the stigma attached to their profession by the actions of some and the question "who can be trusted?" proposed by so many and compounded by international media coverage.
The role of the priest in the Church of today needs to be clarified. In the light of the present and foreseeable shortage of priests this needs to be done not only by priests themselves, or a synod of Bishops in Rome, but on the local level within the whole of the People of God — including laity, priests, bishops. A priest whose mandate is known to himself and to all others can achieve a measure of credibility if he is perceived to be living out that mandate.

f) The priest must know that he is sustained by the Archbishop. Wittingly or unwittingly the Archbishop gave some priests — and I am one — the impression that there must be those of us who knew of the deviance of members of the clergy and had not reported it to him. In fact the further impression was that your Commission is a way of finding out how he had been kept in the dark about those matters. Some members of the clergy might have had such knowledge, but there has been no stress laid on the word "some". When this was articulated in the Rex Murphy interview, carried by C.B.C., the impression left with me was that there would be guilty knowledge (and almost a conspiracy) among some, many, or all of the priests and the people, but that the Archbishop was kept oblivious. I find this hurtful, particularly in the light of the reality that Archbishop Penney never confronted these issues with his priests when they were hinted at before the scandals and during the period since, except in the most superficial way. To have accepted blame for blindness, along with his fellow priests, would have created solidarity and a good climate for confrontation. In implying that the priests/people in general had knowledge they kept from him, he distanced himself from any responsibility and appeared to place culpability on the priests and perhaps the people of the communities where violations took place. In this context it will be difficult for the priests to know they are sustained by the present Archbishop. Still for the priest in a parish context to be able to give leadership in providing a climate for spiritual, psychological and social healing there must be a sustaining solidarity with the Archbishop.

The people must know that the priest of the parish and the Archbishop are in solidarity and mutual trust. The insinuation that the Archbishop is as much at sea as the people are about which priest he can trust, leaves no priest who is trusted. If this is truly the Archbishop's sentiment he needs to lay it to rest by confronting the issue along with his priests. He has been much quoted about the desirability of a "massive haemorrhage" over the "trickle of life-blood" from the Church. In publicly insinuating he does not know whom he can trust and doing nothing about it he can expect even less trust of his priests by the people. The "trickle of life-blood" continues.

h) A comprehensive policy regarding the future of priests convicted of sexual crimes has to be developed. While this has to have a local flavour, it should be basically consistent across Canada, it seems to me. This policy has to observe the norms of justice and charity. While charity is presently unpopular for deviant priests, ours is a Church based on love (charity). For a priest to have credibility with his people this virtue has to be extended to all, explained as extended to all and the implications confronted. If a priest is left in the limbo of having no policy including in it the elements of justice and charity to propose and promote, he is forced to ignore the legitimate queries of the people or to speculate on what will be done, or again to speculate on why nothing is being done. This policy should be developed Canada-wide under the auspices of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops but by people with the appropriate expertise. The knowledge that such a policy is being developed at last is essential at this time.

i) Parishioners need to be encouraged to articulate their mistrust/trust of priests. They further need to be brought through a process which will have them specify the areas of concern they are struggling with. Then they need help to deal with all of this. If something of this nature isn't attempted, and anything approaching the present style of leadership is expected of the priest (even with the modifications already suggested) there will always be the anomaly of almost universal suspicion of one whom the people profess to trust because of his office in their Church. To have a healthy relationship
such suspicion must be reduced to a tolerable minimum wherein prudence guides the relationship of people with their priest, as prudence would guide any relationship between acquaintances. If this is neglected the priest cannot function, as there will only be the trappings of trust without the reality.

PEOPLE

a) As indicated in (i) of the preceding section, for healing to take place in the parish setting the general populace must have a restored faith in their priests. This is a formidable task as one can foresee perhaps ten years of Commissions, trials and law suits, with appeals through the court system. While we seem at present to be waiting for this to end, it is unrealistic to expect that the present situation will lose a priority position with the media until every nuance of public curiosity has been encouraged for exploitation in the various agendas of journalists and reporters. Those agendas may vary in a spectrum ranging from the pursuit of justice, through scandal mongering, anti-Catholicism, being anti-establishment etc., to crass expedience in seeking monetary settlements. The permutations and combinations of the various motivations that will keep this matter alive for the next ten years are mind-boggling. To think that healing for the victims and in the parishes is going to be aided by a time of relative peace from publicity is unrealistic. There has to be an appreciation of a prevailing environment of negative publicity as the process of healing takes place.

b) Parish lay leadership needs to come to grips with the implication of restoring trust in the priesthood and recognizing that this trust will never be of the nature it was in earlier times. Every task, with few exceptions, that a priest performed before these scandals, still needs to be done. A simple example will suffice to illustrate what I mean. Altar boys/girls are needed for the fullness of the Liturgy. For this to be an effective ministry, their youth requires personal interest from someone. Priests will be very circumspect, as well as suspect, in showing such interest. Parents and significant others in the parish structure will have to take up the slack or there will be none to serve. These things have to be discussed openly. It is not satisfactory for servers to be told, "Don't be alone with the priest".

c) Since healing of any sort cannot take place in a vacuum, the parishioners have to know theirs is an important role. Healing is needed in all parishes, as all priests are suspect to one degree or another by some parishioners at least. Especially is there need of mutual support in the parishes in which the priests convicted and accused have worked. Even if some of the accused are never convicted legally it is sad reality that in the public mind and the media, they are already judged guilty. Parishioners, in all parishes in which these priests served are at least asking, "Did anything happen here?" and are speculating about individual boys. Maybe twenty or more parishes are so affected. When one considers that names of priests who have not been charged have been publicly handled about as suspect and about to be charged, the number of parishes increases. Even if the priest becomes/remains a pariah and is only tolerated for the unique service he performs, the Church, as the People of God, must be maintained. In these circumstances it can only be maintained by enlightened, dedicated lay ministries. The parishioners must be mobilized to provide a positive environment of growth within the parish for healing to take place.

d) Parishioners must articulate their expectations of Church leadership, see where these expectations are realistic and unrealistic in today's Church and, in particular, in the Archdiocese of St. John's, with its context of public scandal and media scrutiny. There must be a "gut-feeling" acceptance that priests are part of the People of God with specific ministries: that they are of the People of God (coming from their own families) and therefore imperfect - that they have no infusion of talent through ordination - that they have no protection against human weakness from ordination - that they have the same needs as others without the right to satisfy some of them (the sexual is a case in point) - that they need support if there is to be a holistic Church containing the ordained as well as the unordained ministries.

e) Parishioners have to develop a sensitivity to the families affected by the tragedy of abuse or by
calculation that the child of a certain family might have been one of those abused. The emphasis the media has placed on "abuse of altar boys" has made every altar boy (past or present) in the parishes where convicted or suspect priests have served, a cause for speculation. Priests, who have shown healthy interest in their altar boys, are now suspect. Such boys are teased by their peers, interrogated by parents, and, where the priest has been investigated, maybe even interrogated by police. This type of trauma is peripheral to the tragic trauma of victims and their families. It is nonetheless real. There has to be a will to lay these speculations to rest, not as a coverup but as a healthy step forward. Priests cannot preach this - they are perceived to have a vested interest. This must be initiated by parishioners with leadership suggested by your Commission perhaps.

f) Support groups in parishes and across parish lines, might help families to articulate their hurts. Private counselling will serve its own purpose. Since the abuse was so horrific in its context of priest-altar boy relationship, faith-church environment, family invasion, a trusted one called "father", and so extensive comparatively speaking, there is a broad social significance. This needs frank discussion and acknowledgement of hurts in a trusted environment. Priests cannot provide this at the present time. Parents who are parishioners can. Such support groups need those who have not been subjected to abuse as well as those who have been affected by other forms of abuse too, such as incest and child-and wife-battering. Each of these forms of abuse is a violation of trust. There needs to be an acknowledgement also that, while each is unique, the publicity given violation by members of the clergy is a further abuse of the relative privacy given minors in other forms of abuse. Certainly, locally, there is little privacy left for those abused by priests. Many within and outside their communities who were known to have served as altar boys with convicted, accused or suspected priests are stigmatized as victims. There has been sufficient publicity given the thesis that the abused may in turn become abusers, to focus attention on the present lifestyle of those young men who have been used by priests. Unfortunately, if anyone wishes to find evidence of deviance, imagination and half truths will supply it.

g) Perhaps this is repetition. It is important for parishioners to accept the cold, hard fact that their priests are in no way superhuman. Placing them on a pedestal is unfair to the parishioners themselves - as they become vulnerable through so doing; and unfair to the priest -- who has to try to live behind a facade of perfection when he is only too conscious of his imperfections, and therefore in a state of unrealistic tension. Learning to accept priests as part of the People of God with the same weaknesses and strengths experienced by themselves will be difficult for those who still draw comparisons between one priest and another rather than comparing individuals (whether lay or clerical). The People of God, including priests, have a legitimate expectation that the priests strive for perfection and seek help where he fails -- he is supposed to mirror Christ in an intense and unique way. However, Christians have that as a legitimate expectation of one another as well. Such a realization has to come from theory to full mental acceptance. Only then will parishioners truly support their clergy as the latter try to live the unnatural lifestyle of celibacy required by Church law to give the People of God, Christ, in Sacrifice and Sacrament.

BISHOP

a) There must be a credible Archbishop. At present Archbishop Penney has little credibility. Whether he can regain this credibility remains to be seen. It seems to me he would need to change his approach radically. At present there has been a measure of support regenerated in the clergy. This follows from the demands for his resignation and the attacks on his character. Based in emotion this support may not last, especially if it is not fuelled by continued unjust or unfair allegations. My assessment of the areas in which there has to be meaningful change in leadership are indicated or implied in all of the foregoing. I will not repeat as this presentation is overlong already.

b) The Archbishop needs to assume control of the situation. Playing "catch up" is not leading to
meaningful healing in the community. Media allegations, inferences and allusions need considered response, based in psychological and communications expertise. That is not to say there should be a battle with the media. Sensationalism can only be sustained by more and greater sensation. The general public gets saturated over time. A measured, well-thought-out response based in knowledge rather than speculation will eventually prevail. Based in charity, which recognizes that the media gave the initiative where the Church didn't (even though in some instances they got carried away with their power and prejudices) a good public relations campaign which is aimed at attaining truth even at the cost of crucifixion will follow in the footsteps of the Lord whom we serve.

c) The Archbishop might profitably recognize those areas in which he alone can promote solidarity in the local church. Perhaps he is blinded by his embattled condition to the lack of real (rather than emotional) support he is receiving from his people and priests. Maybe the blinding comes from his temperament which has alienated at least some of us over the years. To be an effective leader in spiritual, psychological and social healing, for those directly and indirectly victimized by the events of the past two decades, he must have people to lead. Without the vestiges of solidarity some priests and people show because they perceive they are jointly attacked, with him, by the media, there are few who today could hear, let alone heed, a call from him to close ranks in eradicating the evil amongst us and providing against repetition. To promote solidarity in the local Church, it seems to me, he has to share in a radical way the power of office he has guarded so closely. Not only must he share, he must be seen to share — really, to divest himself of — that power in areas in which he has demonstrated his lack of competence. A new face has to be seen; new approaches made; new expertise utilized; new momentum generated if the Archbishop is to be other than another wound needing healing in the lives of the victims of sexual abuse, their families, communities and the whole victimized People of God (laity and priests) in the Archdiocese.

OTHER COMMENTS

a) There needs to be a definition of what is to be healed. The component parts of the damage done need to be identified. For example there is betrayal of trust, misuse of power, introduction to sexual deviance, perversion of truth (that such activity is acceptable), guilt (in beginning such behaviour and continuing it), anger, desire for revenge, possible mixed motives in seeking monetary damages, and so on. If there is to be healing, the area needing healing must be known. You would seem to be challenged to recommend that provision be made for acceptable, qualified counsellors who will help specification of areas of trauma.

b) The parallel committee which is employing a counsellor for a year must be given an open-ended mandate. One year and one counsellor is a band-aid for a deep-seated wound. Such a concept seems to me to illustrate the lack of appreciation for the trauma, with its many ramifications, which has, up to now, characterized the handling of the whole matter.

c) Comments such as those of Bishop CampheU and Father Molloy are adding to the trauma. Responses forced from your Commission — one set up to enquire and recommend — are a sad commentary on the inability of Church leadership to fulfil its function.

d) There needs to be an in-depth study of moral teaching in the Catholic School system. I make an educated guess that we will find there is less than adequate emphasis given the moral code of the Christian, Catholic tradition. This could account for some of the confusion that would contribute to the climate for abuse. Boys having no hard and fast moral norms would be more easily misled by a priest, official interpreter of the Church's moral standards.

c) Ministry to youth, once left to the priest to organize, must be adequately organized and pursued vigorously in some other way. While ministry to youth has always been a preoccupation of the Church — at least theoretically — now it must be seen to be a fact in light of the abuse of youth by some Church leaders.
TERM 4: To make recommendations that will ensure that the Church has effective procedures for becoming aware of, reporting and dealing with incidents of deviant behaviour that might occur. (The Monitor, May 1989)

EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES

For procedures to be effective they cannot be imposed as laws. Laws were in effect when abuse took place. Effective procedures require a recognition from the persons affected - namely the priests - that they are just, needed, universally applicable and adequate.

a) Just: Procedures that single out priests as a segment of society that needs special observation because of these scandals, will not be just. Indicating that priests need greater scrutiny because they are celibates would deny the reality of sexual abuse of children by many non-celibates as well as by parents and other perpetrators of incestuous abuse. When one hears the statistic that one in two girls and one in three boys will be subject to abuse, or attempted abuse, by age 18, specifying priests, even by innuendo, as the greatest potential abusers would be unjust. There are not enough priests to go around, to put the matter bluntly. The positive approach would have the priests strategize with your Commission, or another capable group, a plan to demonstrate that they are indeed trustworthy and unwilling to be categorized as potential abusers. Put properly, such a challenge will have priests more conscious than they have been of the sacredness of the calling they have accepted. Without a voluntary aspect, procedures involving them as a distinct group will have the same negative impact as segmented testing for HIV virus or segmented testing for drug usage. The good desired will be frustrated in the emotional aversion produced by the perception of injustice.

b) Needed: Whatever procedures are developed must be accepted as needed. There are those who will feel that once guilt or innocence has been proven for all charged, the matter is ended. Some will feel that there will never again be anyone foolish enough to involve himself in such activity. The obsessive-compulsive nature of this deviance must be clearly understood by priests, potential priests and those accepting and training them. Easy answers will lead to ineffective procedures. We are used to easy answers and ineffective procedures in this Archdiocese. We need no more.

c) Universally Applicable: When procedures are put in place they must be seen to apply to all who have accepted a call to the priesthood. Bishops or Vicar Generals or other officials cannot be exempted. As the Church grows towards maturity there will be more and more emphasis on lay ministry. Deviant behaviour can be no more acceptable in lay people ministering in the name of the Church than in priests. Effective procedures must encompass such lay ministers. Their training and their evaluation must be reinforced by ongoing effective procedures. What value would there be in precluding scandal arising from deviant behaviour originating with some priests and blinding yourselves to the potential for deviant behaviour on the part of lay ministers, some of whom will be administering parishes in the not too distant future?

d) Adequate: Adequate procedures cannot come from a mere brainstorming among yourselves or jointly with the Archbishop and priests. Psychology, sociology, spirituality all have expertise that must be tapped. There must also be something done on the national level through the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops so that there will as few "cracks" as possible for deviance to slip through. It must be remembered that those convicted have come from a training that was followed in seminaries more than two decades ago. To be adequate, your recommended procedures must not assume that one seminary had a bias in the direction of blindness toward deviance, without an analysis of all seminaries attended by our priests and a specification of the areas in which this blindness is demonstrable.

EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES FOR AWARENESS

How does one become aware of sexual deviance? There would seem to be three possibilities: 1) The deviant confesses. 2) The victim makes it known. 3) There is knowledge gained by a third party from a confidential communication from the deviant, or
carelessness on the part of the deviant. Let me deal with the third first. Carelessness would have to be investigated. Confidences of the confessional nature cannot be violated but all priests as potential confessors need to be trained in counselling such a priest to voluntarily withdraw from ministry and seek psychological assessment and help with the strongest persuasion that a return to ministry could only be morally acceptable when competent therapists have pronounced a cure.

For 1 and 2 education seems the most effective tool. In the case of those involved in deviant behaviour encouragement should be given to admit deviance in the cause of therapy. For victims and potential victims there would seem to be value in a comprehensive and extensive program in our schools, which would encourage disclosure of abuse from whatever source. There are some efforts at providing this presently. Now is the time for an ordered and co-ordinated program.

EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES FOR REPORTING

How does one report sexual deviance? Where it is known to exist the law is specific. Diocesan laws for investigation are in place. One problem must be faced. The deviant is, to all intents and purposes, in the unhealthy position of being denied help. In seeking help the deviant must find a helping professional who is willing to stand in contempt of the law, otherwise he must be reported by everyone except his lawyer. Recognizing his deviance and need for help and not being able to seek it in a confidential atmosphere leads to further frustration compounding the obsessive-compulsive nature of the deviance. Is there a possible solution to this dilemma? I don’t know. While there are those who feel that all abusers should be exposed there are many abusers who never will. Is it better for them to continue abusing because they cannot seek help without condemning themselves or should there be avenues where they can seek help? Making up their minds to discontinue a deviant habit or to deny a deviant urge which is expressed on occasion, is not a solution even though the majority sitting in judgement would proclaim that is all that is needed.

EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR

Procedures for dealing with deviant behaviour have already been demonstrated by the police, the courts and the Archdiocese. Was there something more in the Archbishop’s mind when he placed this in your mandate? Was he concerned with deviance which might not become known? If so then I refer to 3 above. Is the Archbishop concerned with the future of the convicted deviant? It doesn’t seem so from a contextual reading. I would hope, as I have already indicated, that there will be a policy for the future of the convicted (and worse, the suspected) deviant, which encompasses justice and charity.

TERM 5: To make recommendations respecting the selection of candidates for the priesthood, the promotion of holistic growth of the Clergy, the fostering of healthy relationships between clergy and laity and the provision of support for the clergy to help them cope with deep psychological problems. (The Monitor, May 1989).

Because of the extensive nature of this final area of your mandate, I will make only relatively few comments. They are somewhat negative towards your Commission’s task in this area because you are asked to do something by this year’s end which the Archbishop seems to think is practical and which I feel you are capable of doing in only a most superficial way. More superficiality we do not need. We have had the Ministry to Priests Program to promote holistic growth, healthy relationships and provision of support. Look where we are after nearly a decade! Can you honestly believe that you have the expertise to propose something better in a few months than an internationally accepted program for renewal in the clergy? You have been subjected to 50 pages of my thoughts and observations. I could surely write another fifty on this and still be wandering in a morass of psychology, sociology, theology, philosophy and physiology. Please do not give pat answers: They might please the originator of your mandate but will only serve to frustrate us further as they are taken as
adequate solutions to something that is extremely complex.

In reading this part of your mandate the copy I have from The Monitor seems to imply that all priests have need to "cope with deep psychological problems". I hope this is not your reading. While, being human, we all have psychological problems just as we have social problems and physical problems, they are not necessarily "deep" for everyone. Such a blanket assumption would indicate that priests, to become priests, must have something psychologically wrong with them, or must develop some form of dementia because of their enforced celibacy or other facet of their vocation. This I find unacceptable.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to write without bias. You have received little from this beyond my perception of the context of the last decade and a few suggestions which I feel merit some consideration in the light of hope for a brighter future. As I told Mr. Vernon French, I am available for a meeting with the Commission should you see any value in my appearing before you. May God bless you in your unenviable and arduous task. If I may, I will be so bold as to make more explicit a caveat that I made previously. Please beware of being manipulated into making recommendations that are superficial or only half thought-out because of the strictures of time and the monumental nature of your task. You now have the burden of finding solutions shifted to you. You have pressure from the Archbishop, the victims, the public, the media and psychological pressure from accusations that you are a tool in a possible "cover-up". Undoubtedly you have been treated to those who speak before they think, those who speak their feelings predominantly, those with personal axes to grind (perhaps I am one, I don't know for certain), those with agendas other than solely the good of the People of God and many others among whom those who occupy too much of your time, like me. Forgive me for offending in this way, if I have, but to me context is valuable in finding causes and solutions. All these concomitants are pressing you for answers. You haven't answers for all the ramifications of your mandate. It would be better, in my opinion, to respond to your mandate with recommendations that will leave what you cannot handle to competent persons or groups whom you will recommend.

I will be looking forward with great interest, to your report. May it be a beacon of light in the prevailing darkness.

September 7, 1989
We are pleased with the appointment of the Archdiocesan Enquiry into Sexual Abuse.

It is an avenue through which we can express our great concern over the on-going tragedy of the betrayal of trust by some members of the clergy. We, the faculty of Holy Heart of Mary High School, have experienced the stages of shock, outrage, anger, disillusionment and betrayal.

There is a strong demand from teachers, students and parents for an open investigation into this situation, both in the immediate and long-range affects on our Church. We recommend the following directions, some of which are already in process:

- Questions about leadership must be addressed
- accountability on the part of the clergy
- structures that permitted this sexual abuse to continue over long periods of time
- structures to ensure that, as far as possible, this situation will never occur again
- seemingly more concern for offenders than victims
- holistic approach to evaluating candidates for priesthood
- increased help and support for victims and support for their families
- mechanisms for dealing with fallout from this crisis (i.e. leadership and Archdiocesan support for sessions for students, parents and teachers).

Finally, we wish to offer our support to the Archdiocese, and particularly to our priests who are left with so much of the resentment and mistrust because of this crisis and who have so few resources to help them cope.

Thank you for your willingness to be part of this difficult but necessary task.

Sister Elizabeth Lee (on behalf of Faculty:)

Annette Rossiter, Sr. Nancy McEachern, G. Walsh, Brenda Flood, Sheila Penton, Mary Neville, Anne D. Smith, Kathryn J. Henderson, Annette Hickey, Anne English, K. Hynes, S. Elizabeth Lee, Don Ash, Patricia A. Brazil, Joan Delaney, Jean Harding, Sister Georgina Quick, Debbie Pinto, David Philpott, Sr. Colette Ryan, Gerald Doyle, Claire Rice, J. Sheppard, Clotilde Martin P.B.V.M., Lori Pitcher, Marilyn Doyle, Judith Ralph, Elaine Hyde, Terri Leonard, Jane E. Hawley, Angela McNeil, Philip A. Thorne, Fred J. Kavanagh, Geraldine Kavanagh, Bridget Keating, Al Mooney, Dennis Byrd, Pat Goulart, Dan Reardon, Jerome Brocklehurst, Tony Manning, Mary Wall, Anne Beresford, M. MacCharles, Ellen Murphy, Eva Duggan, Edwina Mallam, Virginia Houston, Sister Perpetua Gouse, Anna Nolan, Sr. Mary Theresa Doyle, Denise Bruce, Patricia Connolly, Gladys McDonald, Olivia M. Pike
INTRODUCTION

Our Council the "Father William Sullivan Council No. 9004", presents this brief on our own behalf without consultation with the "State Council of Newfoundland" or "Supreme Council in Connecticut". We feel obliged to make this submission because our parish was one of the parishes affected by a convicted pedophile, namely John Corrigan, former parish priest from 1977 to 1987. We felt that it was incumbent on an organization such as ours to show leadership and to express our views on matters of this significance.

John Corrigan was the charter chaplin of our Council and served in that capacity for approximately two years before being transferred to St. John Bosco Parish. We had no indication whatsoever prior to his arrest that he was a pedophile sexually abusing young boys of the parish. It was a well-kept secret by him from both this Council and his parishioners in general. If we had suspected anything we would have reported him to the authorities.

We have no intention of elaborating on any good points or qualities that John Corrigan may have had as a parish priest, as these would all now have been discounted by his criminal activities.

VICTIMS

The first concern that we wish to elaborate on is the injury caused to John Corrigan's victims and their families. Of all of the harm done this injury is by far the most severe. John Corrigan has inflicted irreparable psychological pain on these boys and for some of them their lives may be destroyed completely. The church should provide whatever psychological help is warranted to assist these boys. This should be done immediately if it has not already been started and regardless of any legal claims that have been filed or may come.

IMPACT ON CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

Sexual abuse of children by clergy has affected the Catholic community in Newfoundland as a whole, some more than others. In our parish practising Catholics attended church to have mass celebrated by a pervert impersonating a priest. This went on for ten years. Parishioners feel that they have been taken advantage of all this time and have wasted their time in attending Church. Some members of the clergy or religious orders may argue that John Corrigan was a priest during the period and is still a priest. This however does not augur well with most parishioners who feel that Mr. Corrigan did not uphold the precepts of a priest and therefore he was an imposter.

Precious memories of important events, sacraments such as christenings, weddings, silver and golden wedding anniversaries celebrated by John Corrigan have been destroyed. Some have advised that they have destroyed photographs of such events taken with John Corrigan. How could anyone reflect on photographs of such events with pictures of him in them? Others are contemplating whether or not they should have their children re-christened while some are thinking about renewing their wedding vows.

The vile activities of John Corrigan and the other convicted child molesters have damaged the Church throughout Newfoundland. Catholics who never attend Church will never return. Catholics who were infrequent attenders will likely stop attending. Regular attendants of church feel they have reason to lose faith and become an infrequent attendant or give up going
altogether. Catholics will not be as charitable as they once were because of the child abuse and also because of the way the Church handled the problems which we will get into a little later.

**DURATION ABUSE CONCEALED**

This Council is concerned, as are other parishioners, how such activities could go on for such a long time without being detected. John Corrigan was at it for a ten-year period, while Jim Hickey's abuse extended over a seventeen-year period. This is inconceivable for most. Some allege that the Church officials covered up these activities. It is now apparent that there was a coverup at least as far as Mount Cashel Orphanage is concerned. This is now a matter of a public inquiry which will hopefully either confirm or prove otherwise. People are also suggesting that the Archdiocese of St. John's knew about Corrigan and Hickey at least two years ago when they were transferred to other parishes. This Council hopes this is not the case, but if it is, it means that the Church is responsible for concealing information on criminal activities and is responsible for any boys victimized subsequently.

**ARCHDIOCESE PERFORMANCE THROUGH CRISIS**

This Council is not satisfied with the manner in which the Archdiocese and the Archbishop in particular handled the sex scandals during the investigation stage and after the guilty were convicted. The Archdiocese was very slow in responding publicly and when they finally did respond they were weak and took a defensive position which left the laity with the impression that there were more concerned with the welfare of the accused and convicted than they were with the young victims.

The Archbishop's response when he was asked why the R.C. Church was doing nothing for the victims, when the Salvation Army and the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary came to their aid psychologically, was "Fools rush in were angels dare to thread." This was a very inappropriate statement for a man in his capacity to make when asked such an important question. This statement insulted both the Salvation Army and the RNC and infuriated many people.

The Archbishop also made a statement, when asked about the future of the convicted priest, that they would never have an active role in the Church any more but "once a priest always a priest". Technically according to the laws of the church this is so, but it would have been more appropriate to say that they will no longer be priests, as far as their peers and the laity are concerned.

This Council is also dissatisfied that the Church provided shelter for these men when convicted and initially intended to pay their legal expenses. This added insult to injury to the laity of the Archdiocese. These men betrayed our trust for many years, molested children of our Catholic Community and then we were expected to provide accommodations for them while awaiting their trial and pay their legal expenses. In John Corrigan’s case, he pleaded guilty to most of the charges against him and when he was sentenced, and we might add rather lightly, he had the neck to appeal it. Why did he do it? Did he want to rip us off for more? Did he feel his sentence was not harsh enough? Not likely. Or was he trying to elude the federal penitentiary in Dorchester? This Council feels that when these men were charged the Church should have distanced itself from them until they proved their innocence. They should not have provided accommodations for them. As far as legal services are concerned, they should have to do what the public has to do - that is pay for it yourself and if you can not afford it then there is always legal aid. We are happy to see that the Archdiocese decided in recent weeks that it will not pay the legal expenses of these men. We hope that there were no commitments made at the outset that would oblige the Archdiocese to pay.

**EXPLANATIONS OFFERED BY DEFENDANTS**

This Council has no intention of being judgemental or sanctimonious in the brief. All mortals are fallible; we are all capable of making mistakes.
When these people (men) were inclined to be pedophiles they had right to leave the priesthood immediately. The fact that they did not do this leaves one to believe that they had no conscience; they were callous and capable of doing anything. It is a very serious matter when people in positions of trust commit the crimes at hand but what is more serious is that they continued on as priests as if nothing happened. We should point out, however, that one or two appeared to have a conscience attack as they left the priesthood. In recent weeks there have been letters to the Editor in the paper from one or two of the men convicted. They explain the loneliness of the priesthood and the unnatural way of life that they are expected to lead. This may be so and they would get no argument from a lot of people on it. Our reply to this is that they did not have to resort to the actions they took. Why didn't they leave the priesthood and pursue what they considered a normal life?

MISSION OF ENQUIRY

The Commission of Enquiry that has been struck by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese has a major task to perform. People want answers and if the Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland is to recover from this disgrace of child sexual abuse by priests then the answers should be provided without equivocation. There should be no sign whatsoever of a coverup. We disagree with remarks made by the chairperson of the Enquiry during the first few days after its formation. He said that what is past is past, and that he saw no need for interviewing the Archbishop. This committee has to review the life style of these pedophiles over the past 10 to 17 years, determine to the best of its ability why or how they became pedophiles, determine how their activities went on for so long without being detected, report their findings to the laity and make recommendations to prevent the disease from spreading any further.

The Archbishop should be one of the first people interviewed. After all he was the man at the helm with the ship went aground. It is always the man at the top who has to answer for the mistakes or wrongdoings of those under him. It is he who is ultimately responsible for the ship. The ship in this case is the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's.

The Commission has to determine what monitoring program the Archbishop had in place for keeping a tight rein on his priests, or if there was any program at all. The Archbishop has to explain to the laity through this committee what happened, how it happened and elaborate on his views of the whole mess.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of the activities of John Corrigan and the convicted pedophiles of the clergy, this Council of the Knights of Columbus would like to make the following recommendations to the commission.

- A parish council should be reinstated in accordance with diocesan policy.
- A finance committee should be reinstated in keeping with Canon Law.
- An independent audit of the parish books during John Corrigan's term as parish priest should be conducted. There are rumours circulating that he embezzled parish money. If the audit finds that this is so then John Corrigan should be dealt with accordingly.
- Priests convicted of child molestation should be excommunicated from the Church and never again permitted to perform any priestly duties.
- Psychological assistance should be provided to all victims.
- Finally, for the good of the Church we think that Archbishop Penney should resign. Archbishop Penney has failed in his leadership and the ship went aground during his reign. His performance was weak and his responses evasive during the investigations. The laity are questioning what the Archbishop had known or didn't know. People will always have their doubts about this and therefore Archbishop Penney has no alternative but to step down to let new blood with a new approach take over.

Reverend Father William Sullivan Council
June 12, 1989
Reverend Philip J. Lewis
St. John's

My experience of meeting with the priests over the past few weeks, both at the retreat and at the special meeting with Fr. Pable, leads me to the conclusion that we are caught in a dysfunctional and addictive system. When we were asked to respond to questions about our feelings the expressions I heard were desolate, depressed, angry, powerless, neglected, confused, etc. It reminded me of the way alcoholics tell how things were before they made changes in their lives.

I hear the priests stuck in their misery and this is reflected in the lives of the people in general.

Anne Wilson Schaef has written extensively on addiction and co-dependence and I find in her writing a paradigm for me to understand the church of which I am a part. It is a dysfunctional and addictive organization.

A dysfunctional or addictive system and the dysfunctional addict act in the same manner, display the same characteristics and live these characteristics and processes as listed by Schaef, applying them to our own situation.

Denial is a major characteristic which enables a system to stay closed. I am known to state this as in the saying "What is, isn't and what isn't, is". For years we have been denying the trend towards fewer and fewer priests and the need for more trained laity to minister in our church. We have seen the number of priests diminish, our seminaries with smaller student bodies and yet our official message universally, nationally and locally has been that God will supply us with more vocations if only our youth are more generous and less material. Our Holy Father's refusal to allow discussion on the question of married priests or women priests is a prime example of denial. In this recent atmosphere of child sexual abuse by some of our priests there has been widespread denial. Priests have denied there is any need to be disturbed. Our rural dean made a public statement at the December Diocesan Pastoral Council meeting that he did not know what all the fuss was about because his area was not affected by this sexual abuse. Within six weeks five of the six parishes in his deanery were directly affected and only then was the matter addressed. On the Southern Shore, where Witless Bay, Tors Cove, Cape Broyle, Ferryland and Trepassey parishes were directly involved in these scandals, the people of Renews parish saw no need for alarm until their parish priest was arrested. Then and only then was the denial penetrated to a certain extent.

Confusion is another common characteristic familiar to us in the church. We Catholics spend inordinate amounts of time trying to find out what is going on. Lines of communication are broken or even non-existent. Word from Rome often stops at the Papal Nuncio's desk or the bishop's. Frequently directives from the bishop only get to the parish priest and no further unless he is in favour of passing them on to the parishioners. Our commissions can cite example after example of communication between them and the catholic population being blocked by the pastor either because he doesn't agree with the communication or with the Commission itself. As a parish priest I myself have been guilty of this kind of behaviour. Confusion is vital to an addictive system for it prevents us from taking responsibility. This is almost a hallmark of the Catholic church. All responsibility is vested in the hands of the very few clergy. It also keeps us ignorant of what is going on. The confusion over the past few months is a case in point. We had an interdisciplinary committee in place in this archdiocese from...
larch of 1988 but only a very few were privy to this information. Confusion keeps us occupied just in trying to find out what is going on. Most of our energy can be used up in this pursuit. Finally confusion makes us powerless within the system. The name of the game for the Catholic church is to keep the laity powerless, to vest power in the hands of a few clergy. No wonder we are now in the throes of abuse by priests. Our betrayal of the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, a spirit of subsidiarity and collaboration, is at the root of our trials today. Abuse of power by clerics within the framework of the church is the fundamental to understanding the sexual abuse of our children by priests.

**Self-Centredness**, the making of oneself the center of the universe, is part of addictive behaviour. Everything which happens is either "for" or "against" us. The reaction of our bishop, most of our priests and many of our people to the way the media and especially CBC covered the sexual abuse situation is an example. The media was "out to destroy us". Attack on the church, not the sexual abuse of children, became the rationale. Even the way the archbishop was perceived as protecting the institution rather than caring for the victims smacks of self-centredness. He stepped into the role of protector of the institution rather than that of shepherd of the flock because we, as church, operate addictively in a self-centered fashion. His fight with the Rising Tide Theatre is a case in point.

**Dishonesty** is key to maintaining the addictive system. Tell the lie and put up the good front at any cost. We lie to ourselves, we lie to each other and we lie to the world. We say one thing and mean another. "What is, isn't and what isn't, is." Priests lie about their parish income to avoid paying the diocesan assessment. Church organizations which don't function properly are spoken of as being in excellent shape. We have a structure in the archdiocese known as the Diocesan Pastoral Council. This organization is made up, in part at least, of representatives of Area Pastoral Councils which in turn are composed of members of Parish Pastoral Councils. Yet not every parish in the diocese has a Parish Pastoral Council. Nor does every area have an Area Pastoral Council. However, we go along with the myth and pretend all these infrastructures are in place to give us the DPC. When this matter was raised at the last DPC meeting it was discussed for a short time and then simply ignored. It is only one example of living the lie which keeps our church dishonest.

**Perfectionism** is one of the hallmarks of the addictive system and we, in the church, learn it with our mothers' milk. We have got to be right. We find it almost impossible to admit we have been wrong or that there is a better way than ours to do something. Pius XII made wrong judgements in backing the German Nazis, in being silent on the holocaust, but we have yet to hear the official church admit this. The situation in the parish is, more often than not, described by the saying, "Right or wrong, Father is right." The church must always know the answers and must never make a mistake. The priest has been schooled in this *modis agendo*. Since he cannot be wrong, he must pretend even if he doesn't know all the answers. This means the priest must always be in control so that he can always be right. This attitude has stifled the initiative of our laity in many ways. We have left disillusioned laity in our wake both at the diocesan and parish levels because the church must be perfect and therefore must be in total control.

**Frozen Feelings** is the result of this drive to be perfect and the need for total control. We cannot afford to look below the surface and find that things are not as good as they appear. Therefore we numb our feelings, ignore the messages they send and conduct business as usual. Very little was done to vent the feelings of the parishioners hurt by the recent scandal. In the parishes directly involved, it was left to this Commission to become the lightning-rod to spark the hurt and anger of parishioners who are not given the opportunity to get in touch with their feelings either by their parish or their diocesan church. We catholics have never been strong on feelings. These are to be ignored as being unimportant. "When the going gets tough, the tough get going" expresses this attitude.

**Spiritual Bankruptcy** is the result if not letting ourselves touch our feelings. We come to the point of
not knowing who we are or how we act. Concern for the institution, leading to neglect of the members who make up the institution, is the result. We as a church seem to be more concerned for laws and good order than for the pain of our people. Our marriage legislation and theology points to this.

Along with these characteristics of dysfunctional families and addictive systems there are also processes which are commonly found.

The Process of Promise points us to the future at the expense of the present. We are encouraged to hope for something better rather than touch with present realities. Salvation as being the future "life everlasting" subtly tells us to put up with the injustice and discrimination of the present. This leads to a super-spirituality which can allow the church to stand side by side with oppressive powers spiritualize the abject poverty in which the people live.

The Process of External Referencing is alive and well in the church. We blame 'those out there' rather than acknowledge our own responsibility. We say we have few candidates for the priesthood because our youth are selfish, never because the lifestyle of priests and legislation governing priesthood is out of date. We say the children tempted the priests, not that the priests abused. We say the CBC is trying to destroy us, not that the church is wrong. I have learned I can change no one but myself. My church is slow in learning this lesson. As long as we do not accept responsibility for our own conduct we shall never take steps to change.

The Process of Invalidation is used by the addict to undermine and destroy those who criticize or disagree with him. This process is used often and well within the church. When confronted with ideas or experiences it does not know or understand, the Church is swift to condemn. The treatment of its brightest members from Luther to Kung, from Galileo to Boff is proof of this process. In our own diocese our priests are swift to invalidate the Social Action Commission because its director wears mini-skirts. The real reason is of course that they neither accept or understand the social teaching of the church being promoted by that Commission. They tear down, undermine and invalidate by using simple personal traits to pound into nonexistence ideas and truths people don't want to hear. The Liturgical, Faith Development and Social Action Commissions are targets for invalidation in our diocese not because they are being directed by "radical men-hating feminist nuns" but because they are calling forth new life in our Church, a newness which is threatening and unwelcome.

The Process of Dualism leads us to accept an either/or stance so that those who are not with us are against us. It is a simplistic way of looking at issues in the mode of only two choices. Our work then is to choose the correct side and everything will fall into place. The black and white of the abortion issue, of extramarital sex and of male clergy illustrate this process. Seeing the call for lay involvement as an attempt to "downgrade the priesthood" is another illustration. Priests are said to be called from God and therefore the unfortunate statement, "Once a priest, always a priest" can be made. No wonder the Archbishop and the Vicar-General were surprised at the negative reception such a statement received. Our people are not as dualistic as we priests are. When the Rising Tide Theatre presented a skit portraying the Archbishop and Hickey in a confessional scene, it was making a statement. The response from the Archbishop was predictable and very ill-advised. It was a dualistic either/or. Not only do we see the world in this traditional dualistic manner, we also have lost the ability to laugh at ourselves.

The Ministry to Priests Program This program was designed to help priests grow and mature with the help of other priests and with the care and blessing of the bishop. It was well designed, based on excellent psychological, spiritual and pedagogical principles.

The makeup of this program called for personal psychological testing of all the priests in the program. This gave each a personal profile and the archdiocese a profile of the presbyterate. A team of priests was selected by the priests and trained for two weeks in communication and conflict-management skills. The priests were given private interviews to help them understand their personal profile. Each priest was asked
to select a team member as his "one-on-one" to help him formulate a Growth Agreement which called the priest to accountability in four areas of his life: the spiritual, emotional, intellectual and physical. The final two were shared with the archbishop. Each priest was encouraged to join a Life Support Group which was to meet overnight once a month. The team was to have a fulltime Director and was to meet monthly. Twice a year these meetings were to be an overnight meeting and twice a year the team was to meet with the archbishop.

From the outset the program was in trouble. The diocesan profile was ignored. It showed our priests to be in the conventual or pre-conventual stages of morality with most living by law and not by personal conviction. The Growth Agreements were never completed by most of our priests. On the insistence of John Corrigan, under the guise of confidentiality the Archbishop was deprived of information concerning the intellectual and physical growth of his priests. (We can now surmise why he was so afraid of sharing his life.) The pseudo-confidence also prevented the team members from ever finding out how many priests had Growth Agreements, how many had One-on-one contact or how many were in Support Groups. I was a member of this team for four years. At each monthly meeting I asked for this information and each time I was denied it on the grounds of confidentiality. Some Support Groups changed the rules to meet for an evening and not overnight. These soon disbanded. Other groups failed to call their members to accountability and any excuse became a good one to miss the group meeting. One group, the largest, was so superficial in its sharing that major things were going on in the lives of the members without the group knowing. One priest was an active alcoholic who had to be removed from his parish, not once but twice. On the first occasion members of his Support Group were unaware he even had a problem. It may be of interest to note that most of the accused were members of that group. The Team was not able to call either the Director or the priests into any accountability. The present "fulltime" Director is also Director of the Catholic Women's League, parish priest of a large city parish, administrator of another parish, a member of the Council of Priests, and Director of Vocations. In fact, the MPP is defunct but we still live the lie and pretend it is alive and well.

PRIESTHOOD

Vocation has traditionally meant a call from God to an individual to be a priest. We have seen it become a personal matter between the Holy Spirit and the man, being ratified by the call to ordination made by the Archbishop. All too often this so-called vocation from God has taken on a very personal exclusive nature which our present Archbishop is most reluctant to question for fear of "getting in the way of the Holy Spirit". I think we need to move away from the personal "me and God" sense of vocation to that of a community-based model. If the priesthood is more than a personal elevation of the individual, if it is a call to service within the Body, then the very call to someone to participate in this ministry of Orders should come in some manner through the community within which the service is to be exercised. I am not suggesting the community elect someone to the priesthood in a vacuum, but rather anyone who indicates he wishes to be a priest must be seen through the eyes of the community, raised up within that community, judged by that community according to the way he is part of it. What I am trying to say is the call from the Holy Spirit to a person and the verification and testing of that call must be based in the faith community, not in the individual. It then becomes a matter for community, as well as individual, discernment. This is not something new, but it is a shift in emphasis.

Homosexuality Speaking of homosexuality in the priesthood is difficult and can be dangerous. Many of our priests appear to have homosexual tendencies. They seem to have a particular world view, and act for the most part as part as misogynists with a fear of and a hatred for women. I wonder if gays seek security and status in the priesthood. They can escape a world which does not accept them, is suspicious of them, and sees homosexuality as an aberration. They can hide in
the priesthood which accepts them, which blesses their misogyny and allows them to live as unquestioned and unattached males. The priesthood gives them immediate security, power, and acceptability. The "who", the "how" and the "why" of recruitment needs to be examined.

**Seminary Training** I believe our seminaries are out of date and not the right sort of environment for priestly training. I am not certain just what we should have to replace the seminary but it must be more open and more community-minded. It seems the isolation of the seminary is just what helps young recruits to continue their preconceived notions of what a priest is and what he needs. Most of the young priests we have in the diocese today have not had their thinking changed or broadened by seminary life. They went into the seminary with conservative ideas and traditional points of view and after four years came out with these ideas and points of view intact and unchanged. One newly ordained priest, while preparing for his first Mass, was adamant that he wanted to use the traditional white hosts and not whole wheat bread as was the custom in that parish because he was fed up with using bread in the seminary and wanted to get back to the traditional forms. Four years of seminary life and practice did not change his ideas about this matter. Another newly ordained, at his first mass, replaced all parish ministers with his own clerical friends. The message was clear.

The pastoral year must be looked at also. It should be a year of practical pastoral training but what the seminarian does in a parish seems to be left up to the individual pastor of that parish. Some are allowed to do little more than distribute communion to the sick during their pastoral year. We have no clear guidelines as to what the pastoral year is or how it is to serve in the formation of the future priest. The training must be holistic; it must cover all the bases; it must be with close and constant contact with women and it must be pastoral.

**Identity, Not Role** For most of our clergy being a priest is who I am, not what I am. Our theology is wanting in this matter. It seems to call for total identification of person with role. It sees the priest as being called personally by God and in ordination being affected ontologically, being changed essentially into some kind of superman with all the gifts necessary to carry out his priesthood. He has no need for further upgrading or training for he has all the gifts necessary. He knows all things and can do all things. The priest is teacher, sanctifier, builder, economist, counsellor and healer. He is "doctor, lawyer and Indian chief". In reality many of our priests are mainly ignorant and unlearned. Their theology can be dated to their seminary days. Because they are ordained "they have it all" and therefore know it all without need for upgrading. Many of our priests are emotional cripples unable to relate to themselves, to one another or to outsiders. Many cannot relate to lay people except in a dominant manner. With women, they are usually most inadequate and ill-at-ease. Our seminary training vis-a-vis women was summed up in the injunction "to keep a stout oak desk between you and a woman always". We priests are Unholy because we have not had the opportunity to have the rough spots of our lives rubbed off by loving, caring and challenging contact with others in a committed manner.

**Immediate Attainment** of goals is part of our priesthood. There is no graduation in our work. We don't move up the ladder from one level to another. Rather we are instant successes. The youngest parish priest has all the responsibilities, the same salary and the same status as the oldest. There is no incentive to achieve a higher rank or reward. There is no higher rank or reward. The priest cannot earn an increase in salary. There are no tangible rewards for achievement. The priest, once he is ordained, will have total security. He will be fed, housed and taken care of by a paternal church. Housing, food and car allowance are paid for in full and the stipend a priest receives is minimal. One priest claims he had to wait until he was sixty-five to be able to save money by combining his salary and his pension. If I were to retire today, after thirty-two years a priest, at fifty-six years of age my pension would be $500 per month, the same, incidentally, as Jim Hickey would receive. Priests should have a living wage and be responsible for all their living expenses as any ordinary
person is in this day and age. There is little accountability in the life of a priest. I can do nothing in my parish but say mass on Sunday and I have to answer to no one.

**Der Pape Ein Dorf Syndrome** There is a German saying that the priest is the pope in the village, der pape ein dorf. Our whole system of governance in the catholic church must be overhauled. It is out of date, flowing from a medieval European monarchical model. Most people in the world have some real say in their own governance except maybe in China and Iran and the Catholic Church. The French, American and Russian revolutions put an end to absolute monarchies. But we still hold on to this form of government. Neither the Pope, the Archbishop nor the parish priest have any decision-making bodies to assist them. Canon Law allows only consultative groups and councils. We have the saying in the church, "Ubi episcopi, ibi ecclesia". Although it has a different meaning it really rings of "L'etat, c'est moi".

**Systemic Evil** Any system which defranchises and enfeebles the great majority of its members is evil. Any system which discriminates against its members because of sex is evil. The Catholic church does both. Power is in the hands of the few ordained and denied to many non-ordained. Ordination is denied to women on the grounds of their sex. It is sexual apartheid.

**What is Our Future?** It is very bright. We have lots of talented educated persons available once we break out of the "priest syndrome" bondage. We have a fantastic variety of gifts in the church at our disposal. We have willing, although untrained and uninformed, people who can come into full blossom when the number and quality of priests reaches such a low level even the most blind will see the finger of God writing in the signs of the times. Ordination will no longer be seen as the "sine qua non" for ministry, or ability, or dedication.

We in the Archdiocese are trying to prepare for that day with our renewal projects such as the renewal committee, the year 1990 committee and the lay leadership training program. We have a long way to go and many obstacles to overcome. Many of these are institutional and clerical. Additional changes take so long yet these will have to come about before we hope to grow. It will be a very changed church. Maybe it will not even be recognisable as our Catholic church but it will be the church.

If we look to the events in Eastern Europe maybe we can learn a lesson. As soon as the sanction of Soviet intervention was removed, the structures in the satellite governments collapsed. They could not withstand the desire of the people for freedom. Our catholic people want to share in the ownership of the church and are very capable to do so. Maybe the recommendations of this Commission will be the catalyst to bring this about.

**The Archbishop's Leadership Style** leaves much to be desired. He wants to have his hand in every facet of the life of the archdiocese. I think he makes the same mistake the Pope does in seeing the Archdiocese as his parish, just as John Paul sees the world as his. Being a bishop is not being a parish priest. The bishop must be an "episcopus" and overseer, not a hands-on doer. I have often said the ideal parish priest is a quadriplegic. This goes even more so for the Bishop. He doesn't need to do everything but needs to oversee the doing of everything. The bishop's theology is very dated. I see it as the theology of the 1940s when he was in the seminary. He is also trying to be all things to all persons by siding with everybody. If we have a particular vision of church out of which we want to live, then we can't side with everybody and see every different methodology as furthering this vision. The Archbishop tries to affirm the priests by siding with their theology of church which is often questionable thus we have action and counteraction. We are going nowhere. He appointed good commissions and committees to further the church of the future and then allows these bodies to be gutted by the neglect of, and even the attack by, the priests. His leadership style needs to be studied and wise recommendations must be made and implemented.

The Commissions were set up by the Archbishop in the wake of Vatican II to provide the People of God in this Archdiocese with the expertise we required to
move into the post-conciliar church. Unless these commissions remained subservient to the priests they came under severe fire from them. Three in particular are now the target of attack, namely Social Action, Liturgy and Faith Development. When Michael Ahearn was editor of The Monitor, the Social Communications Commission was also under fire. In all cases the major cry is, "the commissions are anti-priest and downgrading the priesthood". Sisters Lorraine, Sheila and Brenda, the directors of the three above-mentioned commissions are targeted for special venom. I see this as arising from fear on the part of priests who know these women to have a more updated theology. All three women are recognized internationally for their expertise. They are respected across Canada, in the U.S. and in other countries as well. They are valuable members of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops' committees and groups. They cannot be appreciated at home yet are highly respected elsewhere. I think the root of the antipathy between many priests and these three commissions is the theology out of which the Commissions live, which is undermining clerical hold on power.

I urge the Commission of Enquiry to recommend a process of dialogue be instituted in the Archdiocese to bring about reconciliation and renewal for the People of God. This process must be ongoing, thorough and universal in scope and participation. Only if we change our manner of living as church can we hope to eliminate what caused the present crisis and hope to survive.

The issue of child sexual abuse by some of our priests was the reason why the Commission was called into existence. Yet is not the only issue you have dealt with during your deliberations. In the same way I would not want our diocesan church to concentrate only on your report and not undertake a real and total renewal of church life. Therefore, I hope the report can be a catalyst for this work of renewal.

Our renewed church must have a built-in understanding of the need for open and constant dialogue and exchange of information, ideas and experience. Not only must there be dialogue between clergy and laity, but also between bishop and priest and between bishop and people.

There must be accountability at all levels. One of the major causes of corruption and confusion in our church is lack of accountability. Our structures of Diocesan, Area and Parish Pastoral Councils are in tatters because we have lost the art of dialogue and the honesty of accountability.

The church of tomorrow must be the responsibility of all the People of God. Therefore, authority must be shared with all and ownership must be encouraged by all. If we are a living entity, we must be ready for and even welcome change and growth. We can do this if we have the structures and process in place for constant ongoing renewal.

It is easy for us to claim we cannot make changes until the universal church makes them. This is not so. Within the general structures and law of the Catholic church we have all kinds of space to manoeuvre if we have the will. If we have the desire in our hearts to change, we will find the means to change.

I thank you for the several occasions afforded me to meet with you and I commend you for the long hours you put into your task.

March 25, 1990
INTRODUCTION
As the representatives of some 400 religious women ministering in the four Dioceses of Newfoundland and Labrador, we, the General Administrations of the Mercy and Presentation Congregations, are pleased to have been invited to make a presentation to the Commission of Inquiry. Because we are part of Church and society, we share responsibility for the good and evil that are present there. It is our very involvement in many different areas of ministry in our province that impresses upon us our duty to speak to situations that impede or frustrate the coming of God's kingdom among us. Our choosing to make a joint presentation expresses our desire to live out the reality of the church as the community of God's people. It also makes real our solidarity as religious women concerned for the vulnerable and the powerless in our midst.

We feel that the issue of child abuse is but one strand in the web of violence and abuse that seems to be part of the very fabric of our church and society. In this brief we plan to situate the child abuse issue within this broader context, to note how the very systems and structures of our lives support and promote violence and finally to look at what we can do to help change the situation and bring about a measure of healing and reconciliation. Section 1 of our brief will be an overview of the societal context for violence—a system of patriarchy which we view as sinful. In Section 2 we will look at the Church as a patriarchal society—first generally, and then with specific reference to our local church. Section 3 will focus on envisioning a future where inner renewal and healing can happen in our church, and in Section 4 we will make some specific recommendations for bringing about that future.

SOCIETAL CONTEXT — PATRIARCHY
A cursory glance at newspaper headlines on any given day will serve to remind us of the pervasive presence of violence and abuse in our society. We now know enough to realize that this problem of violence a. is rooted and embedded in a socio-cultural environment that affects each and every one of us; b. is tolerated and even accepted by all of us as part of the status quo; and c. is nourished and sustained by a host of beliefs, values and attitudes which we all accept and reinforce.

This situation which we inherit and to which we contribute, directly and indirectly, we call patriarchy. We now tend to look upon patriarchy as both the essential organization of our society and the roots of violent abuse—on the one hand sustained to maintain order and stability, and on the other, providing us with a way to understand how some of the violence in our culture came to be and is supported. As these values become institutionalized in the policies and structures of church and society, they provide a strong cultural and social support system for violent ideals and behaviours. The ideology and the structures of patriarchy worked to reinforce one another. In such a system, hierarchical ordering and authoritarianism allow one person or group to dominate, exploit or oppress others. This gets played out in situations where men dominate women, whites dominate blacks, the rich dominate the poor. In relationships patterned after traditional gender roles where domination and submission are the models of human interaction, no real mutuality of persons is possible and the inevitable consequence is victimization of the powerless. Separation of the masculine and feminine leads to false dichotomies which foster fear, hostility and alienation within and between persons. Individualism and the
competitive spirit promote an achievement orientation and a go-it-alone approach to life and ministry. This milieu of control, separateness and exploitation affects and infects all spheres of our human existence — social, economic, religious and political — so that all of us are victims to a greater or lesser extent.

It is within the context of the social sin of patriarchy that we can situate the issue of child abuse. We have seen that the analysts tell us that an imbalance of power is at the heart of the abuse issue. It is difficult, perhaps impossible to say why a particular individual is abusive, as a multitude of factors may be operative in a specific situation. While we can and should deplore the violent actions of child abusers, we realize that we cannot stand in judgement on these individuals, who may not even know themselves why they committed the abusive acts. What we can say is that we are all part of the socio-cultural system that has tolerated and even supported abuse in our homes, communities, places of work and places of worship.

THE CHURCH AS PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

The church as a system has been influenced by a patriarchal culture, and society in turn has been influenced by the values inherent in our Judaeo-Christian tradition. The message of Jesus was radically different from patriarchy but His message came to be shaped by the values, attitudes and customs of a patriarchal society, and this to some extent lessened the impact of the message of Jesus. In time, the institutional church took on most of the attributes of the patriarchal world view — a male dominated, hierarchical structure, dualistic thinking, authoritarianism, privilege, and in so doing, reinforced and sanctioned what we have now come to see as evil.

At this particular time in the history of our local church, we need to acknowledge that we are part of a sinful church and a sinful society. As religious communities, parishes, dioceses and nations we bear responsibility for the social sin we find in us and around us. As religious communities within the church, we lived for many years under the same oppressive structures and espoused many of the same patriarchal values as the other members of the church. With Vatican II came the call to renewal, to a more creative response to the movement of God’s spirit in our day, a call which religious communities took very seriously. The renewal process called us to humanize our structures and policies and to replace patriarchal values with Gospel values, a process which involved much struggle and pain. We feel that this ongoing struggle of our congregations to recognize and face our oppression and to open ourselves to change and growth can be a sign of hope to our church today as it faces the same challenge.

One of the key problem areas in our local church is the lack of clarity around the model of church. We use the language of the model. In some instances there even seems to be a rejection of the ecclesiology of Vatican II as well as its sacramental and biblical theology. It is our observation that the spirituality being preached for the most part reflects a lack of understanding of current scriptural scholarship and theology. The lack of awareness and/or the seeming lack of sensitivity regarding the use of patriarchal language and imagery in worship, preaching and teaching tends to reinforce the patriarchy that is at the root of many of the evils we are dealing with. Clericalism and sexism are very much in evidence as many priests seem to exercise their priesthood in an overpowering way. This is particularly disconcerting in the case of some newly ordained priests who in our experience seem to have an innate fear of women and a need to find their identity in their priestly role. In some situations, parish councils have been rendered totally ineffective because of the arbitrary decision of the parish priest. We find that our priests have no structures that call them to be accountable to their bishop or to their people. This can lead to irresponsibility in ministerial and financial matters, to individualism and isolation. Such a lack of accountability has many implications for themselves, their parishes, their diocese and all the members of the church.

All of these factors, combined with the idealization and the unreal expectations placed upon the priest by
the people, especially in outport Newfoundland, provided a context in which individual priests could and did exert total control over innocent victims. The sexual abuse of children by some priests in our church is a matter of grave concern for us, as this crime strikes at the most vulnerable and powerless in our society.

Especially in recent months all of us have suffered angers and doubts in the face of these criminal acts against the children of our province. Some of us have been appalled by the hypocrisy and evil existing at the very heart of our church and we have become confused, cynical and mistrusting. Some of us have seen our pedestals come crashing down, and we are left with feelings of profound emptiness and loss. Some of us have been more closely involved in these incidents, and we are experiencing deep personal hurt and scarring wounds not yet ready to be healed. Some of us have lost our faith, severed our connections with the church and are left with an overwhelming sense of anger, disillusionment and alienation. As we look forward to the healing of our broken church, we recognize our special obligations to the abused, to the abusers and to the families of both. To do anything less would be to continue the negative values of patriarchy and to contribute further to ongoing alienation among us.

ENVISIONING A FUTURE

We believe in faith that the whole painful reality we are experiencing at the present time holds the seeds of life and growth for the future. We recognize a divine call to conversion, that change of heart and mind which will bring about structural changes more reflective of the Gospel. A renewed church, preaching and practising justice, love and forgiveness, while offering no blueprint for a perfect society, will clearly proclaim those virtues that will transform relationships in all areas of society and lead to eradication of violence and oppression.

All of this involves a discerning recognition of our social sin and a compelling commitment by all of us to work towards a whole new order in society's structures and institutions. Though this is a major task, it begins when we gather in small groups to reflect on our role in sustaining these structures. Once our awareness is raised, action for change can more easily follow.

As we consider a new kind of society, we want to focus in particular on the education and health care systems, through which many of us religious women make our contribution. Our teacher re-education would include such topics as family violence, sexual harassment and values clarification. Particular attention would be paid to the detection of child abuse and the development of appropriate and caring procedures when such abuse has been identified.

In our health care institutions we recognize the same need for the re-education of professionals and for ongoing development of appropriate policies and procedures. Our vision demands a more humane and less bureaucratic approach to health care, more holistic patient-centred health care, more community support systems and a recognition of the special care needs for the victims of violence.

As we commit ourselves to working towards these improvements, we believe that we will be actively involved in bringing about God's kingdom in this world. We call upon our church leaders to exercise their proper authority as they continue to call us to accountability in these institutions.

A RENEWED CHURCH

Now we need to speak more specifically to the present reality in our local church, and to share with you some of our hopes for renewal and healing. It is essential that all of us be given opportunities to reflect on the role we play in sustaining the values of a patriarchal church and society. Only then can we change these sinful structures and be open to forgiveness and healing. While respecting the personal authority of our leaders, we can then deal with tensions about the exercise of authority and role distinctions — between priests and bishop, laity and clergy, men and women, children and adults, religious and other members of the local church. The result will be improved dialogue, collaborative efforts and mutual respect for differences.
Even as we develop new structures, central to such change is a reinterpretation of scripture, such that we will re-discover the reality of our God as a God of election, liberation and covenant, Who is most fully imaged in the equal discipleship of all of us together. This is a new historical moment in which we are being invited to a new vision of humanity and of church, a vision based on the full riches of both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.

As we enter into the process of rebuilding and healing, our church must reach out in a special way, in a spirit of love and justice and in sensitivity to the special needs of victims and their families. Supported by our faith and by each other, we can trust in God's mercy and continue the process of healing and reconciliation. If we can seize this opportunity given to us, our church will become again a beacon of hope for a world crying out for justice, love and peace.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to move us in this direction, we invite the Members of the Commission to hear these recommendations which we offer respectfully and in a spirit of love for our Diocesan Church. At the same time we commit ourselves to participate with all the other members of the church in whatever action is needed to actualize these recommendations.

- As a first and necessary step in rebuilding and healing our church we recommend that the diocese initiate an ongoing experience of pastoral renewal in the form of a diocesan synod. Such an event would happen in phases, over a period of years, with the whole local church involved in the process of becoming partners in shaping a new church, characterized by the values of justice, love, service and reconciliation. Special attention would be given to involving the alienated and the powerless in our midst, and efforts would be made to draw on the wisdom of the wider community.

- In order to use the public media as one means of evangelizing our present day society, and in order to restore a measure of credibility to our church in a society which has become cynical and mistrustful, we recommend that the Archdiocese commission a person to undertake the role of public relations and communications.

- In view of decisions which will possibly result from the upcoming synod on The Formation of Priests in Circumstances of the Present Day, we recommend that our diocese move quickly to implement the new policies, particularly at the pre-seminary and early post-seminary phases, so that a carefully structured diocesan program of ongoing discernment, evaluation/accountability and formation support will be put in place as soon as possible.

- To ensure the accountability of parish priests to the bishop and to the parishes, we recommend that accountability structures be set up in our local church, at both the diocesan and parish levels.

- In order for our educational system to provide the necessary leadership and formation for a renewed society, we recommend that the Catholic Education Committee invite the collaboration of the Department of Education and the Catholic School Boards to begin a process whereby present policies and procedures can be evaluated and improved and new ones can be put in place where necessary.

- To more effectively promote the Christian vision of health care and to increase awareness of the responsibilities of all of us for health care in our province we recommend that consideration be given to the establishment of a Diocesan Health Council which will work in collaboration with the provincial Department of Health and the health care institutions.

- To broaden the concept of collegiality to include the whole church and to allow for the maximum participation of all God's people in the life and mission of the church we recommend that participative modes of interaction and leadership be developed within and among all diocesan and parish structures, placing special emphasis on shared values, shared vision and collaboration. In such a process the wisdom and expertise of the wider community would be accessed.

- In the light of current Biblical research which is beginning to recognize the inclusiveness of the Gospel message we recommend that special emphasis be placed
In order to live out the reality of a church which began with a vision of equality of discipleship, we recommend that special efforts be made to ensure the use of inclusive language in all areas of church life — liturgy, preaching, music, teaching and documentation.

November 26, 1989
INTRODUCTION

We feel the need to express our feelings concerning the Hickey case specifically, but also other cases involving the sexual abuse of children by the clergy.

We are the sisters of one of the victims of the Hickey case.

OUR EXPERIENCES

When we first became aware of the abuse involving our brother we felt pity and concern for him. Among ourselves we tossed around a lot of hate towards Hickey.

Our brother felt ashamed and wasn't and isn't talking about this to us, it's only a very short comment now and then that gives his feelings away to us.

Hickey was a priest who came to our parish and took care of the little boys so they wouldn't get into trouble. They were spending the night or the weekend at his house so parents didn't have to worry. Can you imagine the shock when this ugly story was being told about a man of God who did this to little children?

Some members of our family just can't talk about this and it makes us feel that they don't care or they don't want to admit the shame they are feeling.

In this small community there are still people who don't want to believe this mess.

Our family and especially our brother, who was sixteen at the time, is still looked down upon as the bad boy who should have kept his mouth closed. We feel that if everyone had the attitude of these people, this abuse would still be going on right under our nose, if it was, their children instead of some of the brave ones who came forward.
COMMENDATIONS

- Parish priests should acknowledge that an injustice has been done to children and their families in our parish. "Let us pray for our children who have been abused by members of the clergy."
- An acceptance of the fact that many parishioners have lost their faith in the church because of what has happened, and an understanding of this fact, without trying to influence or change the minds of these people who still need support and understanding.
- Altar servers, eucharistic ministers and lay ministers should be a team, responsible for the church services in conjunction with the priest. They should be together in the church, eliminating the possibility of the altar boys and girls being alone with the priest.
- The Roman Catholic Church will have to recognize that clergy should be allowed to marry and that women should be allowed to be ordained.
- The Archbishop should resign.
- Lay people should have the responsibility of the financial and administrative matters. The priest role is strictly spiritual.
- The priest is to be accountable to the parish council.
- Confessions in the Roman Catholic Church should be abolished.
- Parents of children who will be receiving first Eucharist and Confirmation should be consulted as to their child's readiness to receive these sacraments. A certain age or grade in school should not determine whether or not a child is ready.

CONCLUSION

It is our hope that our feelings as outlined in this presentation, and those of others who have met with your commission and submitted briefs, will be given serious consideration.

Every effort must be made to make sure this tragedy never happens again.

October 16, 1989
The Roman Catholic Commission of Enquiry has as its mandate, as I understand it, to enquire into factors which may have contributed to abuse by members of the clergy, to find out why it went undetected for so long and to recommend ways of preventing the sexual abuse from happening again. I would like to make several comments regarding possible contributing factors and conclude with my own recommendations for prevention.

Firstly though, I wish to explain who I am and why I am submitting this brief before you. I am presently a resident of Portugal Cove, one of the communities heavily affected by the sexual abuse by a member of the clergy. I have three young sons who were not directly affected by the abuse; however, they are becoming more socially and sexually aware of their environment and will in due time require the necessary safeguards to be put in place to protect them from such abuse in the future. My husband, Michael, and I are genuinely concerned for their welfare and wish to provide them with a healthy and sound sense of morality and religious values. I am sure most with this wish. I am also a practising social worker presently employed in a large psychiatric hospital in St. John's. I have had clinical experience in working with adult victims of sexual abuse. I understand the trauma associated with those individuals who have been victimized and recognize the necessity to provide counselling and therapy over a long term period. In March, 1988, I addressed a letter to the Reverend A. Penney pointing out the need to intervene immediately with counselling to affected victims and families; however, he responded with a thank-you stating that the legal system would have to proceed with the court case prior to any provisions of service.

Since that incident, my involvement with this issue has been low key; however, in May, 1989, I was asked and accepted a position of the Archdiocese Committee on Child Sexual Abuse Board. For clarification purposes, I am not submitting these recommendations on behalf of that Board.

In having attended the Enquiry's first parish meeting in Portugal Cove and having listened to the recent media reports from subsequent meetings in Pouch Cove, Ferryland and more recently, from the Burin/Marystown areas, I see that a major recommendation from the earliest hearings is to have the Archbishop removed from his office. I am somewhat dismayed by this response, not because I don't agree with their sentiments entirely, but more importantly, I feel that in the long term, with or without the present Archbishop, our problems of abuse past, present and future, are still with us. It simply is an act of retaliation or revenge that may appease some in the short term but does not address the real issue at hand or begin to analyze the complexity of the problems of sexual abuse within the clergy.

In recognizing that this problem of sexual abuse has gone on for years undetected, I feel that one has to understand the history of Irish Catholicism, its power and the hold it has wielded within the Newfoundland culture. The position of power a priest maintains and has held in the parish communities over the years is immense. As was told by witnesses during the enquiry, "no one questioned the priest" as he held an almost omnipotent position of authority within the community. In placing this in some perspective, I will make an analogy with an incestuous family scenario. In an incestuous father-daughter family dynamic, the father wields an enormous amount of power and authority,
the helpless daughter is victimized and totally without any power or control over her life. The balance of power is totally one-sided and in therapeutic situations, in its most simplistic form, one would make an attempt to create a more even balance of power between victim and abuser. The analogy here can be made with the priest and father being possessed of too much power and the child being victimized as were the young adolescent boys in the priests' parishes.

I do not wish to underestimate the complexity of this enormous problem that you as Commissioners face when I present this in a simplified format but I feel the issue stems further into the hierarchical structure of the Archdiocese. The structure as it is organized presently is inherently wrong and opens up too many opportunities for abuse situations to begin. The lack of any external policing body to examine the Church in its policies, programs, and finances raises the possibilities of corruption and abuse of power.

A distribution of power within the parish may be a way to approach a fairer and more equitable balance of power. This may be achieved through inviting parishioners, men, women and children on a grass roots level to become more involved in the church. The laity are the church after all and should be contributing and participating members of the parish in all aspects of church affairs. The priest would simply be another member of the parish involved in other community development projects for example.

Parish councils could be formed whereby the parishioners are actively involved in all aspects of the church agenda and daily affairs. This would include the parish finances as well, in which elected committee members (which may or may not include the priest) would be responsible for all financial matters of the church including other essential matters.

Women for years have been participating and active members of parish duties taking on responsibilities that often went unheeded or without credit. Women should assume far greater responsibility within the church and its affairs at the decision/administrative levels of the Archdiocese. I have recently heard people making reference to "female priests"; however, this is not an issue to be tackled at a local level but may indeed have some merit! Women may not necessarily want to be "priests", but certainly if they are given ample opportunity to undertake leadership positions within the church, the balance of power, as alluded to earlier, may be more equally distributed between the sexes, bringing a far more healthy perspective, I feel.

Finally, education will play a critical role in prevention of future sexual abuse within our parishes and communities alike. This crisis has raised the public's awareness and has begun recognition of a problem that has remained undetected for so long and I feel this is a positive thing.

However, now we are in a position where formal and informal educational sessions should begin to:

a. alert individuals to the signs and symptoms of sexual abuse -- emotional, physical and sexual.
b. direct people to the proper resources if they have been victimized so that therapy can proceed as soon as possible and for as long as necessary.
c. teach prevention strategies to young children so that they can be better prepared to cope with such atrocities in the future.

Education may take place in the school system or on a community level by professionals acting as consultants to community groups. Street-proofing has been widely acclaimed and should be promoted avidly within community and government agencies, schools and public gathering centres on a local level.

My feeling is that money and services should be readily available as a result of this recent avalanche of sexual abuse cases coming to light and therefore it's an opportune time to take hold of the situation and direct the funds available in the most effective manner possible.

My recommendations in organizing an effective delivery of service would be to suggest that one specific body, be it government or a private corporation, take it upon themselves to spearhead the overall "flow" of services. This body may act as a type of central registry with its primary function to register all recognized
professional service providers in the area of sexual abuse. In this way, duplication and overlap of services may be avoided and it can also ensure that appropriate qualified counselling occurs.

It can also function to "streamline" funding to areas where services are most needy and where resources may be scarce.

In concluding my remarks I recognize that my comments are only scratching the surface, so to speak and would require more in-depth analysis to make them operational.

I understand that the dynamics of sexual abuse are traumatic enough within a family situation. When the clergy become the abusers, the situation is highly charged and almost incredible to comprehend by average person. The victimization is felt by the en parish community and all will have to undergo healing process.

This may be achieved for some, as described earlier, in therapy sessions, for others in gaining widespread control over church affairs or in education pursuits in the area of sexual abuse. Ultimately however, the process of healing and spiritual renewal an individual and unique experience. We can only hope to facilitate this process once it's begun.

September 25, 198
The Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA) appreciates the opportunity to make a presentation to the Roman Catholic Commission of Inquiry into the Sexual Abuse of Children. The Association has a membership in excess of 10,000 full and part-time teachers employed in the publicly funded day-school system in this province, and represents teachers of all religious denominations. This presentation is made, therefore, not from the narrow perspective of adhering to one particular religious faith, but from the broader perspective as professional educators of the province's youth, some of whom have been criminally victimized by once-respected members of the Catholic Church. Since the Commission's mandate confines itself to abuse perpetrated by members of the Catholic clergy, all reference to Church and clergy in this presentation should be read as though prefixed by the words Roman Catholic.

As teachers, we are angered, shocked and outraged at the exploitation of innocent children by those in positions of authority. The clergy has always been perceived as trusted authoritative figures, perhaps more so in Newfoundland than in any other Canadian province. By law, Church and school are partners in education in this province, and the youth served by both is the same. As a result of the deviant behaviour of some members of the Church, authority figures in the Church, school and society have tended to become suspects. Society as a whole is suffering as all of us attempt to deal with the blatant reality, ie some individuals in positions of authority are not deserving of the stature accorded them by their colleagues. This shocking breach of trust must not be permitted to recur.

The Newfoundland Teachers' Association is confident that, with the extensive work and recommendations of the Commission, this sordid situation can be remedied, positive factors can be identified, corrective measures can be put in place, the victims can be healed and comforted, and future occurrences of such shameful, criminal acts against the weak and defenceless can be curtailed in the future. Without a sincere belief in this promise, this submission would be a negative and hopeless enterprise. In preparing our submission, the Association considered the five terms of reference of the Commission. We will respond from our perspective as teachers, relying on our professional interests, knowledge, expertise and experience. Our chief concern is the child, and the protection of the child from violence, abuse and exploitation. Our responses to the five terms of reference will therefore be governed by that predominant concern.

The Newfoundland Teachers' Association views child sexual abuse not so much as a sexually-related phenomenon, but rather as a power-enhancing phenomenon perpetrated by the abuser to gain domination and control over those who are the most vulnerable — children. There is, we posit, as research has substantiated, a relationship between the systematic and sinister abuse of power and child abuse. The authoritarian and hierarchial structure of the Church has proven to be a place for both forms of abuse.

In reviewing incidents of sexual abuse of children by the clergy, the NTA realizes that it is extremely difficult, and perhaps even impossible, to extract any one reason why such horrendous acts took place, and how these acts could have been undetected for so long. The social fabric of a typical Newfoundland community does offer us some insight for reflection. Considering
that the Church, school and community have been so closely linked in Newfoundland, it is important to give attention to the role that the clergy played in the broader community in the past and the implications, if any, of that role being a contributory factor to the conspiracy of silence surrounding the child-abuse horrors.

In Newfoundland communities, especially the small rural ones, priests were regularly placed on a pedestal by the community and given absolute power and authority on all issues — morals, lifestyles, behaviour, religion, education, etc. The priests were generally the only persons in the community who had education beyond grade school and they therefore became the unquestionable experts on all matters. The lay community had no input at all into the choice of who would be its priest, and was totally disenfranchised in the decision-making process. In blind faith and trust, the people forfeited their own independent thought and decision-making into the priests' care. They assumed the role of the ignorant bystander and were therefore in a position to be easily exploited. As the school was an extension of the Church, it was not uncommon for the recruitment, hiring, and firing of all teachers. All those who were hired were expected to adhere to the wishes of the priest if they desired to have continued employment. Such an insular family, with its educational and community reliance on the priest, left the people disempowered and without any avenues of recourse within the system or without. Should the people not agree, to whom could they turn? There were no democratically elected Church bodies with lay representation. There were no official grievance procedures if they disputed the wishes of the priest. In fact, the people became trapped in their own innocence, imprisoned by a "closed shop" system of authority which thrived on ignorance and total devotion to those whom they regarded as God's representatives. In such a scenario, absolute power can soon become sinister power, when trust becomes hedged with fear, and devotion to the Church predominates over all other behaviour. At the bottom of the "power totem pole" in the community were the children, the most vulnerable, the most easily awed, the most easily led, and the most easily abused.

In examining the incidents of child sexual abuse that have been exposed recently, we have asked ourselves why most of the students who were violated did not approach us, their teachers, to confide in us as trusted adults and report these crimes. In addition to the conditions outlined previously, literature on child abuse indicates that there were perhaps three other preconditions which may have prevented these young people from coming forward:

a. They felt they would not have been believed;
b. They were confused about exactly what had happened to them;
c. They felt dirty and guilty.

In total, they experienced a torrent of emotions which they were unable to identify or label because they had never been taught anything substantial about sexual matters or sexually abusive behaviour. No one, not their parents, not their teachers, not the priest, had ever helped them separate positive sexual feelings from negative ones, so their perceptions of their sexual selves were left distorted. Pleasurable sexual feelings became entangled with feelings of abhorrence and fear. In retrospect, lacking for these young people were explicit and intensely informational sex education programs in the school curriculum. Such programs serve to foster a positive sense of sexuality and the notion that a person's sexuality is both an integral part of who a person is and also a means to achieve intimacy with others in both sexual and non-sexual relationships. Lacking also were comprehensive programs from the primary level to the secondary dealing with the issue of sexual abuse both from an informative and reporting perspective. The educational system, another hierarchy, abandoned these victimized children in their exploitation by not making both sexuality programs and sexual abuse programs part of the regular school curriculum. Such programs are desperately needed to promote a positive sense of sexuality and at the same time identify the negative abusive side so that all children all able to recognize inappropriate sexual advances for what they are — abusive and criminal
behaviour. More importantly, children must be taught that they are not to blame for the inappropriate behaviour of another person and that they blamelessly should report to someone whom they can trust. The system in total in the past let these children down. Never again must we, as adults, parents, teachers, and the clergy, allow children to suffer in ignorance, humiliation, shame and fear.

The healing process can begin only when the Church publicly acknowledges guilt of the most excessive and repulsive abuse of priestly power and authority. Furthermore, the Church must acknowledge its responsibility for the spiritual, psychological, social and emotional damage done to the victims and their families. The Church’s substantial power, influence and considerable capital must now be turned to healing the deep scars left by decades of wanton and unchecked violation of the innocent. The Church must turn away from protecting its own image and must address the bruised and injured victims.

As teachers, we have daily contact with these victims in our classrooms. These are children who are hurting beyond description and who require individualized care and nurturing. Most importantly, as teachers, we want to ensure that these child victims fully understand that they are not the guilty party, that they are without blame. They and their families need to feel supported by a caring Church, not one which abandons them in their pain. To that end, the Church must bear total responsibility for the counselling of these young people at school, in the family and in the community. The Church’s considerable financial resources should be made available to provide funding for the best professionally trained child-abuse counsellors to facilitate the healing and adjustment process. In the school setting, these individuals should operate outside the normal teacher allocation units, but be hired by and responsible to the appropriate school boards. Such individuals, working as members of the school staff and as additional resource people, should also be made available to any students in school who wish to talk about child abuse, not only the current victims.

From within, the Church must initiate an internal review of its own operations and procedures, and that review must include the laity as well as the clergy. It is inconceivable to us as teachers that the laity will tolerate any longer being disenfranchised from Church policy making. Responsibility for internal decision-making must become more democratic, and the Church must begin to discard its image as an organization that gives a select group all power and status, and reduces the rest to insignificant obedient others.

As with any organization, the Church must come to terms with the indiscretions of its own and make available a channel of accountability, one key component being the involvement of parish councils. The quietening of the people’s voice in Church matters can no longer continue. Through accountable parish committees and other structures, mechanisms can be put in place which will afford the laity a process to question, review, compare and evaluate in a democratic manner the performance and behaviour of the clergy assigned to them. This is common for other religious denominations and if judiciously implemented can do much to place controls on those who would abuse power and authority entrusted to them. Such committees should also have the authority to recommend appropriate measures to deal with a priest whose behaviour has become deviant or unacceptable. To simply move a priest to another parish, or to another position, should no longer be acceptable. In addition, the people, through this democratic process, would have every right to expect a detailed, neutral report on any new candidate proposed to them as a parish priest. Full disclosure of past history and behaviour, along with references (not all from within the church) would be deemed responsible as information going to the local parish council. Measures such as these, which would place back in the hands of the laity a democratic interest in the Church, can only enhance the Church’s image in the community, and its respect among the people whom it serves.

In reviewing the reprehensible behaviour by some members of the clergy, the shocking breach of trust they have exhibited, and the immeasurable and perhaps even
irreparable damage done to the lives of innocent children and their families, one must ask how it was possible for such individuals to be accepted into the priesthood in the first place? Simply presenting oneself as a candidate is surely not a criterion by itself. Is it possible that the authoritarian organization of the Church might by its very nature attract individuals who may be prone to deviant abuse of power and thereby find the means to conceal such practice? For any other profession, there are checks and measures, tests and experience, and ongoing assessments. Authority in other professions is not awarded automatically, but must be earned through years of demonstrated ability and experience "on the job".

Knowing what we now know, it is clear that the screening and training procedures of the clergy must be revamped and tightened, so that those who through psychological and behavioural testing are shown to be unreliable candidates are released.

Furthermore, once in the system, all clergy should be required to engage in personal development and human development training to enable them to cope with the changing demands and challenges of a life experienced by the people whom they serve. The Church can no longer function as a static entity. Caught in that suffocation, even the most diligent, devoted and faithful clergy will be afflicted with human problems brought about by divine right stagnation. The Church must support and promote the positive personal growth of its own messengers and be proactive in assisting them to deal with real human needs, both of themselves and of those who are entrusted to their care. By focusing on the commonality between the clergy and the laity, much can be achieved in rebuilding the people's trust and confidence in a once revered and respected institution. However, the trust and confidence must be earned by example and no longer given blindly as per tradition. By example, the Church must be seen to discipline its own offenders, to admit its guilt, and to ensure that every positive step is taken to prevent the clergy from engaging in any form of child abuse in the future.

CONCLUSION

When the history of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland is written, this period of turmoil will be viewed as one of the most tragic and at the same time most revolutionary periods ever. The Church must change and it must change for the better. As educators, it is our duty to prepare the youth of today for life in the community of tomorrow. Part of that community life will revolve around the Church, but it must be a changed Church. It must be a Church that will protect the innocent - children in particular - and place blame where it lies, on the guilty within itself.

At no other time in the history of the Church in Newfoundland has there been a greater need for strong leadership. The partnerships between Church and community, and between Church and school have been shattered perhaps to the core. The rebuilding process must begin immediately. Confidence, trust and respect must be restored. As teachers, we are more than prepared to do our part, but our efforts will fail without corresponding efforts from the Church and the lay community. Damage control and patchwork solutions will never work. A partnership of trust and an openness to respond, listen and act, must result if any degree of normality is to be restored to the life of the Church, school and community in this province. If together all parties are not prepared to meet this challenge, those who will suffer the most will be our children. Have they not already suffered enough?

In consideration of the issues raised above, the Newfoundland Teachers' Association wishes to make the following recommendations to the Commission:

- That the Church publicly acknowledge that some of its members have been guilty of child abuse and that it needs to become more thorough in ensuring that this does not reoccur.
- That the Church publicly acknowledge that the victims of child abuse are without guilt.
- That the Church assume full financial responsibility for (a) providing school boards with professionally qualified child abuse counsellors to schools attended by the victims, or schools where friends of the victims or teachers of friends of the
victims request help, and (b) provide professionally qualified child abuse counsellors for families of the victims upon request.

- That when a priest is suspected of the crime of child abuse, he be reported to the appropriate civil authorities.
- That no attempt be made to transfer any person suspected of the crime of child abuse.
- That parish councils be provided with details of a priest's record prior to a priest being assigned to that parish.
- That, if a priest convicted of child abuse is reassigned to another position within the Church, the appropriate persons be made aware of the priest's record to ensure that the parishioners and particularly the children are protected.
- That priests convicted of the crime of child abuse not be permitted to have contact with children.
- That priests convicted of child abuse undergo lengthy and intensive psychological and behavioural treatment assessments.
- That the treatment assessments in the foregoing recommendation be performed at regular intervals of four months should a priest pass the initial assessment test, such reassessments to last at least five years.
- That the Church become more accountable to the people by giving the laity a more direct and active role in the decision-making process as well as in the day-to-day operations of the parish so as to enable a more democratic model of the Church to replace the current authoritarian and hierarchied structure.

- That the Church, in consultation with the clergy and local parish committees composed of lay members, adopt and publicize a comprehensive policy on child abuse, such policy to include internal and external reporting procedures, sanctions to be imposed by the Church and appropriate legal procedures.
- That training programs on issues of child abuse be provided to all Church youth leaders, such programs to include detection, reporting procedures and strategies for working with children who have been involved in an abusive situation.
- That priests receive pre-service and regular in-service training on child abuse.
- That the Church recognize that the role of the clergy in society has changed by requiring priests to receive regular retraining and updating in such areas as human relationships, personal interaction and interpersonal skills.
- That one important component of the initial screening process for candidates for the priesthood be the person's psychological and behavioural aptitude.
- That family life and sex education programs containing explicit, yet age-appropriate information, be taught in schools at all levels by certified teachers who have received the appropriate inservice or pre-service training.
- That child sexual abuse prevention programs containing explicit, yet age-appropriate information, be taught in schools at all levels by certified teachers who have received the appropriate inservice or pre-service training.

December 1989
The Catholic Church in Newfoundland Is Presently Undergoing A Spiritual Crisis, One Of The Many That The Church Has Undergone In Its Long History.

The catalyst for this crisis has been the sexual abuse of children by priests and brothers. Its effects have made themselves felt on the laity, who have lost trust in a ministry they once believed beyond reproach, and, as well, on the priests and Brothers — both those who are guilty of wrongdoing and, particularly, those who are not. Those who are not guilty of any crime sense that they are under suspicion until proven innocent. These ministers of the Church cannot perform their duties effectively in this atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion. On the other hand, the lay people will not return their confidence to these priests and brothers until they are sure that the days of “cover-ups” are gone forever.

Thus, the enquiry on the part of the Archdiocese is not only desirable but necessary. However, the process must not end at the enquiry stage. This immediate crisis will eventually pass but a crisis, though painful, can become a means for change and renewal — with the right response. In this case, an enquiry alone cannot re-establish the relationships of trust of the Catholic laity and its ministers. The Archdiocese must, upon reviewing the Enquiry’s report, undertake action in three specific areas.

First, and some progress is being made here, the Church must offer long-term support — spiritual and, if necessary, financial, to all victims of this abuse, for the statute of limitations does not apply to the hurt and anguish these young people have suffered, since research has shown such emotional scars may take decades to heal even with proper counselling. The delay on the part of the Archdiocese to offer counselling, and the silence of the Archbishop only tends to affirm the people’s fear of still another “cover-up” and presents a Church that hides itself behind the law. After all, it was the Pharisees who hid behind the “Law” when they spoke with Jesus. Undoubtedly, and unfortunately, there will be lawsuits on the part of the victims but, surely, the major concern of the Church should not be the loss of money but the loss of faith by its people.

The laity, who observe daily new and more sensational revelations, now feel more and more betrayed as the extent of the cover-up emerges. They, too, must be reached and brought into the process of healing. They need not only a forum to voice their anger and concern but also to become part of the solution. To be a part of this solution, they then, must become part of the decision-making process when the enquiry is finished. Therefore, representatives of the various parish councils must attend meetings coming out of this enquiry. They can then bring the process to the parish council and on to the people.

Finally, the priests and brothers must be included. Support and counselling must be provided not only for offenders but also for those who are victims of suspicion and mistrust. For it is this last group that must forge a new bond of trust with a laity that is becoming increasingly cynical about the Church. As well, the selection process for the religious orders must be scrutinized closely with a view to screening out any who may have homosexual or pedophile tendencies. The number of religious involved in sexual abuse would suggest that there are a greater percentage who exhibit sexually deviant behaviour than the general population. The reasons for this may be many, but the overriding
concern must be the safety and welfare of the children in their care.

Whether these proposals are the most appropriate or practical is a decision that rests with the Enquiry. However, the end result of the Enquiry must be definite action. Although the present crisis will pass, if action is not taken, the Church will have missed an opportunity for renewal — a renewal that is badly needed by its members at all levels, in the wake of this sexual-abuse scandal.

The Recent Sexual-Abuse Cases By Clergy Has Led Me To The Following Thoughts Concerning This Whole Matter.

First of all, our society besides our church is in shock. It seems to me that sexual abuse is "new" to people. Women and girls have been the predominant victims of sexual crimes up to now. I wonder where is all the moral outrage for this fact? It has never occurred and probably will never. I am outraged that it causes deviant clergy and abused boys to upset our complacent society and our complacent church.

Secondly, I would like to address the issue at hand. Priests are not the only abusers out there. Each time I pick up the paper or listen to the news there is a "good Christian" out there who is sexually assaulting someone. Following Christ, not just as clergy, matters — or it should.

Priests are also abusing. Why have too many played that role too well? "Power" is one answer. I see unnecessary power held in many instances. As a teacher I see its interference with the workings of our schools, such as the request that a priest write letters of recommendation for our Catholic teachers. Wouldn't a personal faith decree by a baptized Christian be enough? Unfortunately, I see our church acting out of a worldly hierarchical power structure instead of a Christ-like community of believers where only Christ's power (lessness) matters. The hierarchy needs to be overhauled and there needs to be a power shift to the kings of the spirit in the Christian community.

I sometimes ask myself, "Where in our church are we absorbing and struggling with the challenge of Christ's message?" When I look I see a "church" preoccupied with bingo games and garden parties. The dollar bill is readily associated with our church and for good reason. It is easy for sexually deviant clergy to hide behind a church caught up with money. I wouldn't think it would be easy if the clergy and the rest of the community gathered to reflect on Christ in their lives with the same amount of energy.

As a teacher, I see the need for sex education at the Junior High and the Senior High levels. We face a world where sexual knowledge is necessary in order to help many young people deal with issues of their own sexual maturity, child sexual abuse, and other sex-related issues. I suggest a course which looks at all the facts without moralizing. On the practical level, perhaps a trained sex educator could work with a group of schools and conduct workshops in the various schools.

All ministries in the church should be open to anyone (man or woman, single or married) who is gifted by God. Ordained clergy could be healthy (not "sexually" sick) married persons!

Finally, my final reflection and belief is that this whole issue warrants prayer for healing in the entire community. While I believe the courts should pronounce jail sentences in matters of abuse and assault, therapy is also a must. And then there is our challenge — "Forgive them, O God, for they certainly didn't know what they were doing". Yes, if one follows Christ, one forgives. And the victims require Christ's healing touch. This means hiring trained counsellors as well as being a more supportive Christian community.

My perspective is that of a Christian and a high school educator.

Two letters submitted by teachers.

November 16, 1989
PART A:

The denominational education system in this Province exists as a result of efforts by the Catholic hierarchy, in the mid nineteenth century, to provide a system of education for Catholic youth. Since that time church officials have played a significant role in this continuing educational enterprise. Catholic schools were and are seen as an integral function of the church's mission. Catholic priests have had ready access to schools for visitation. Schools in their turn made time in their schedule during school hours, for matters which could be classified as church related, such as celebration of sacraments. In short a close and cordial relationship existed and still exists between the Parish and the school. Priests' roles in schools have been multi-faceted. They have been spiritual directors, chaplains, and pastors. They have also had a role in the administration of schools and school districts, from being one-man school boards at one time to sitting on school boards at present. In the hiring and certification of teaching personnel a reference from a pastor is a requirement. Indeed Catholic education and parishes, represented by Parish Priests, have been inextricably linked in the Catholic education system in this province. In this situation it is fair to say that Parish Priests enjoyed respect and honour. When the issue of child sexual abuse by priests came to light a whole new dynamic evolved.

This School Board has been particularly cognizant of this issue, as priests who have been either charged or convicted of the offense of child sexual abuse have been pastors in district parishes and School Board members. As a Board we wish to present a brief to the Commission to both attempt to provide some insight into how this issue has affected the educational enterprise in this District, and to acknowledge that the work of this Commission is important in the work of healing this wound which has been inflicted on our Catholic community.

In compiling data on this issue, a cross-section of teachers and principals were interviewed in an attempt to ascertain the impact that child sexual abuse has had on Catholic education in this District. In particular how this issue has affected teacher/student morale, Religious Education, priest/school community relationships and student/teacher faith response. We also attempted to assess whether this issue impacted differently on areas where abuse or alleged abuse had occurred. Our findings indicate that, in general, reaction was strongest in areas where abuse had occurred or was alleged to have occurred and less strong in areas where abuse had not occurred. However, this trend did not hold in all locales and in reaction to all queries. It should be stated at this point as well that time limitations prevented us from doing exhaustive research on this matter.

It may be valuable at the outset to comment on the tone and reaction observed in schools during the interviews. It should be noted that only teachers and principals were interviewed, and again because of time constraints the interviewing sample was small. Reference to student reaction was elicited from teachers and principals and not students. For the most part school communities felt saddened, angry and, in some instances, betrayed by the disclosures which have occurred as a result of the child sexual abuse by priests. These emotions often exhibit themselves in cynicism and anger at a leadership which was perceived to have demanded so much of school communities and was associated with these atrocities. This reaction seemed
most apparent in schools where allegations of abuse or convictions had occurred, but was not exclusive to them. On the other hand some schools reported no noticeable preoccupation with the issue.

TEACHER/STUDENT MORALE

The issue has had a curious effect on teacher morale. As a group the issue did not seem to have had much of an impact on how they discharged their professional duties while at the same time some teachers reported to have been deeply affected personally by the issue. The issue seems to have affected older students more than the younger, or at least older students were more vocal in schools on the issue. We have categorized older students as those from Junior High to Senior High. Teachers felt that students show a lessening of respect for the clergy. The exception to this exists in school communities where priests have developed a good rapport with the school community.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Apart from their interest in education generally, priests have a special interest and role in the Religious Education of students. Priests are viewed as the repositories of moral integrity and uprightness. The impact then of this child-abuse issue on Religious Education was deemed important in our assessment. Observations from teachers suggest that the effect on Religious Education ranges from one of no impact to one of devaluing of Religious Education and those who teach it. These findings do not follow the lines of communities which have been affected or not. As well it is more observable in older students.

Religious Education classes seem to be the class of choice for students who wish to discuss the issue. In responding to students' questions about the abuse issue involving priests, teachers felt unsure as to how to approach the issue. Their biggest problem in this regard seemed to stem from a feeling of insecurity in terms of how far to go in discussing the issue, i.e. When were they going beyond "safe ground"? The basis for this fear seemed to be that the church, meaning the Parish Priest, might not think it appropriate to discuss the matter. Teachers observed that in the past Parish Priests were consulted for references when teachers are granted tenure with school boards. The end result of this being that teachers may skirt and avoid discussing the issue. This attests to a perception by teachers interviewed of the degree of power and authority which priests have exerted from time to time.

PRIEST/SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

In some instances it was observed that priests' visitation and contact with schools had become visibly reduced. Some students have expressed the sentiment that they do not wish to have priests visit their classes or to conduct celebrations. Again, this sentiment has only been observed in older students. Some students have also given voice to a general lack of empathy for priests while others have felt pity for priests who have to live under this cloud of suspicion.

STUDENT/TEACHER FAITH RESPONSE

Teachers have noticed a general decline in the number of older students attending church. It was also noted that some teachers were dropping their support for the church. This lack of support ranged from not attending mass to not being involved in church related activities. It was further observed by some teachers that students often use the child abuse issue to legitimize their own moral positions, which are not consonant with accepted Christian norms. It is difficult for many to distinguish between the church and those who use and abuse the church.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we wish to express our gratitude for the opportunity to present this brief. We would have preferred to have provided something more substantial but limitations of time prevented us from doing so.

It is our intention to submit a further document which will outline:
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this Board can take to help those who have directly or indirectly victims of sexual abuse.

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...that the Church provide counselling services outside the auspices of any Church agencies or commissions for victims of sexual abuse who are not presently associated with school or students.

In order to provide some means of prevention we recommend that school boards be involved in educating children and teachers on the issue of sexual abuse.

ENDATIONS

the Church issue a statement which clearly vocally supports victims of child sexual abuse, assures them that no fault rests with them;

school boards issue a similar statement which is enshrined in policy;

persons found guilty of child sexual abuse be deprived of access to children;

staffing schools, teachers would be screened to determine if they have no convictions of sexual abuse.

...that school boards ensure that when appointments of school boards are made that persons convicted of sexual abuse would not be appointed;

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INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's I am pleased to have the opportunity to make this presentation to the Commission.

I should say at the outset that the Board did have some reservations about how to approach this presentation, given the status of the Commission and its terms of reference.

First of all, in dealing with the terms of reference, while the Commission is concerned with the Archdiocese of St. John's, the implications are far-reaching, both provincially and nationally. However, of necessity the Board's presentation is somewhat restricted by its own experience.

Secondly, it is stated that the Commission will determine its own procedure. This Commission is unlike commissions of enquiry appointed by a government and having well defined statutory powers. The Board was concerned that the informality of the Commission's procedures and apparent lack of investigative powers would hamper its ability to thoroughly enquire into those matters set out in clauses one and two of its mandate. Without formal procedures and investigative powers it is difficult to perceive how the Commission could carry out its mandate.

On the other hand, there is a number of factors which leads the Board to support the Commission. Perhaps most importantly is the competence and integrity of the Members of the Commission. Another important factor is that the Commission's report is to be made public. Finally, the fact that the Commission is not bound by the formalities of other enquiries may encourage people to come forward who would not otherwise be willing to do so.

As a final point on this topic I would like to add a personal comment, that I do not envy the Commission in its undertaking. The ability of the Commission to determine its own procedures leaves it open for the possibility of becoming a sounding-board for slanderous or libelous statements and for the enquiry to become an inquisition. I am confident that the Commissioners are aware of the very fine line to be drawn here.

Having expressed these reservations and satisfied itself that the Commission's work is extremely important to the future of education in this Province the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's would like to formally present its views to the Commission.

The Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's serves a large part of the Archdiocese of St. John's. It covers the Northeast Avalon Region from Kelligrews to Cape St. Francis to the Goulds, and includes the Cities of St. John's and Mount Pearl. It is responsible for the Catholic education of 20,000 students and employs 1100 teachers with an annual operating budget in excess of $70 million dollars. It provides an essential service to the taxpayers residents of the Region and by comparison is a bigger operation than the City of St. John's. Needless to say the Board has a vested interest in the outcome of this Commission of Enquiry.

In this presentation it is hoped to highlight the following facts:

- that the Catholic school recognizes the communal responsibility for the full development of the individual;
- that when part of the community encounters difficulty, all suffer;
that when the problem is child abuse by those who are an integral part of the system the ability of the system to cope is suspect and taxed to its limits;
that the role of the School Board and its professional staff is to ensure that cases of such abuse are properly reported and that programs are in place to help our administration and teachers provide assistance and guidance;
that the nature and magnitude of the current crisis makes it extremely difficult for our teachers to pursue religious education programs;
that the actions of a few are not representative of the many dedicated clergy and religious;
that the present system of reporting and accountability has failed;
that it is hoped this Commission will make recommendations which will minimize the likelihood of a occurrence and which will restore trust and confidence in the system;
that the Board stands ready to assist in any way possible the efforts to achieve this result.

The school system's Catholic philosophy of education places the person full centre in the total society in which one lives and grows. It considers education as extensive as human life itself, and realizes the rights and responsibilities of the family, the Church, society and the school in guiding youth to self-fulfilment. This unity of the school, the family and the Church acknowledges the unique role each plays in the development of youth.

In his Papal address of September 12, 1984, Pope John Paul II stated: "Catholic schools speak of the meaning of life...and reinforce a sense of community. The Catholic school is a community effort, one that cannot succeed without the co-operation of all concerned - the students, the parents, the teachers, the principals and pastors" (Address at Basilica of St. John the Baptist).

Because of the unique interaction of the home, the parish, and the school, when one is hurting the others are affected. The present crisis within the Church, the sexual abuse of children, strikes at the very heart of those that the educational system serves — the youth.

The problem of child abuse pervades Canadian society. While child abuse is not a new phenomenon, more attention is being focused on the issue both nationally and provincially. Federal and Provincial Commissions and studies have been set up to investigate the abuse of children, and in recent news the media has made the Canadian people much more aware of the nature and extent of the problem.

In Canada, Federal and Provincial legislation has been enacted to protect the rights of all persons. In this province, legislation to protect the rights of children is contained in the Child Welfare Act of Newfoundland (1972). Local agencies have been established to respond to the problem of child abuse.

Responsibility for the education of children is entrusted to school boards. According to the Schools Act (1970) each school board in Newfoundland is responsible for the safety and well-being of all students under its jurisdiction.

In the past six or seven years, our teachers, counsellors, and administrators have indicated that there has been a substantial increase in the number of reported cases of children who are either sexually, emotionally, or physically abused. Indeed, the school system, in conjunction with other agencies, has been trying to deal with the horrendous effects of child abuse.

Dealing with child abuse is not a new problem or experience for our teachers, counsellors, therapists, or administrators. However, dealing with one of the present sources of child abuse has had a devastating effect, not only on the victims, but all associated with the organization of the Church, the family, the school, and indeed the larger community.

When the perpetrators of child abuse come from within, it is not only the victim and the immediate family who suffer, but indeed the entire community. When some of those who are regarded as the guardians of morality, who by their very profession have espoused to live an exemplary life, become the predators, it is little wonder that, like Peter, we would say: "Lord, to whom can we turn?"
Given our denominational system and the relationship between the school and the Church, there is great hesitation and reluctance to engage in issues that would suggest weakness, faults, or failings within the Church. To take such a stand would at one time have been tantamount to heresy, and assure censure. That is no longer the case. The home, the school and the Church have the responsibility to protect our youth from such abuses no matter who the perpetrators may be. The Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's is on record as encouraging its employees to participate in an open and honest discussion regarding the present crisis within the Church. The Board readily provided a forum for such discussion to take place at the local school level, and at the administrative and district level.

Central office administration arranged meetings of all principals to discuss the issue and its effects. The Board arranged to have leadership teams meet with individual school staffs. As a result of these meetings, some written submissions were made to the Board. The Board has encouraged its employees to discuss the issue at the school and classroom level. Likewise, the Board encourages its employees to make private or public presentations to this Commission.

The Board itself received both formal and informal reactions from its employees. On two different occasions these concerns were expressed to the appropriate authorities (October 1988 and March 3, 1989). This report to the Commission contains nothing which has not already been expressed in other forums.

The School Board also encouraged teachers to address the questions and concerns raised by the students. Guidance counsellors, administrators and teachers were encouraged, and indeed did try to assist some of the victims to deal with the results of being abused.

The School Board has developed a comprehensive policy dealing with child abuse, and we would recommend that the Archdiocese do the same.

In-service programs were held dealing with child abuse, and a more extensive program will go into effect in the 1989-90 school year. During the next school year one of our goals will focus on the continuing development of pastoral teams at the high school level. This focus will be on adult and student formation.

The School Board is intrinsically linked to the hierarchical structure of the Church. Indeed, Catholic schools are considered to be extensions of the teaching arms of the Church. With a teaching force of 1,100 and a student population of almost 20,000, the School Board has been in a very good position to ascertain the impact that the sexual abuse has had throughout the various segments of the Archdiocese.

This report will try to simply identify some of the various impacts that the present crisis has had on the school sacramental preparation and the personnel within our district.

There has been a high degree of anger and frustration expressed regarding the reprehensible acts by some priests and some religious. This anger and frustration has been fuelled by the unanswered questions as to how this could happen; why it was not detected; and the perception of the apparent lack of direction and leadership that is so greatly required at this time.

The school, together with the Parish, is instrumental in the sacramental preparation of students at the primary and junior high levels. At the primary level, the school is deeply involved in the preparation of children for the sacrament of Reconciliation. There has been some parental feedback that a selected number of parents will not permit their children to enter into a confessional box. They claim that if their children are to attend any Reconciliation celebration, they feel it must be conducted in full view. At the junior high school level there are some students who have indicated that they would not receive Confirmation this year. Teachers at the high school level are feeling ill-at-ease. Some are at a loss to deal with remarks and questions that arise.

The great difficulty that some primary teachers are finding relates to the whole focus of reinforcing the concepts of trust, confidence, and community building in the primary religious education program. One of the major focuses of that whole catechises is community building. Indeed, the very role models one could trust
are being destroyed. The message seems to be: "You cannot trust anyone but yourself and God." What does this do to one’s sense of community, trust, and indeed the long term attitude that these children may develop? Perhaps the greatest anger and frustration is evident in the primary teachers. Here the sense of betrayal is most harmful.

The recent events put all priests under a cloud of spoken or silent suspicion. There is a great reluctance for some priests to associate with any school or school children. Even where priests have entered the school for Reconciliation, it is not uncommon for the priests to request that another adult be within viewing distance while the child attends Confession. All priests are in need of support and encouragement. However, this can be difficult when the confidence and trust is shattered. The Roman collar, once worn with pride, has now become a source of embarrassment and suspicion.

Teachers found guilty of criminal offenses have lost their teaching licence and can never teach again. Yet these laws of the land did not seem to apply to religious or the clergy. There is a question as to whether there is a double standard of justice — one for the lay person, and another for the religious and clergy.

The course of history has shown that when morality fails, the legislation of the land takes over. Right now the perception is that the justice system is the only agency which is cleaning up abuses in the Church.

MAJOR ISSUE

The present crisis is an indication of deeper problems within the corporate Church. The present situation gives rise to the question of screening and training of prospective clergy.

In most professions respect, authority and position are earned through experience, education and accomplishment. Even after years of hard work most professionals do not gain the stature, authority and respect that a newly ordained cleric receives. In no other profession are the decisions made so readily accepted simply because of position.

Apart from the moral and theological training, a parish priest must possess leadership skills and management techniques. In certain parishes, the word of the priest is law. Some parishes are perhaps the last bastion of feudalism, where rule is by divine right and accountability is superficial, if present at all.

The situation has been perpetrated by a passive congregation whose heritage of faith embodied a blind acceptance of the priest’s word.

With a better-educated Catholic population, faith and reason supplement and complement each other. Accountability is not only expected, but demanded.

There is need for better training and retraining of priests. Just as any professional is expected to keep abreast in his/her field, so too must parish priests.

For the many priests and religious who are living their vocation, the present situation must be horrendous. These men have been led to believe that they shared an exclusive brotherhood in which faith, commitment and reproachless, moral lives bonded them one to the other. Some of their associates have lied to them and left them subject to ridicule and suspicion. The question needs to be asked: "What support has been provided for them?"

While one may well be concerned about the effects on the general populace, the Church and the priests, the greatest sin is the damage done to the victims. What has the Church done to help them deal with the trauma?

CONCLUSION

As stated earlier, there is nothing in this submission that hasn’t been said before both by the Board and others. We can ask the questions and state the problems but the answers and solutions are harder to come by.

The Board has made efforts to deal with the problems of child abuse within its legal and moral framework, and will continue to do so.

The Board is on record as supporting the efforts of the Archbishop in establishing this Commission.
Given the Commission's Terms of Reference the Board would like to make the following recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Since the people most victimized are the youth, it would seem appropriate that the Commission hold a special hearing for them. The School Board would gladly provide their facilities to accommodate such a session. The Board is confident that our schools would avail of the opportunity.
- The Archdiocese should develop a policy dealing with child abuse and this policy should be circulated to all parishes.
- The screening process and seminary training should be re-examined.
- The victims of the clergy abuse should be provided with appropriate support systems to assist them in dealing with the trauma.
- The laity must exercise a greater authority and demand a higher degree of accountability for the operations of the Parish.
- Appropriate support services and training should be provided to all priests. "Especially because of the circumstances of modern society, priestly training should be pursued and perfected even after the seminary course of studies has been completed." (The Documents of Vatican II, Chapter VII "Priestly Formation", p. 456).
- Leadership within the Church must become proactive rather than reactive. If there was ever a time for strong leadership and direction, it is now.

The bishops should present Christian doctrine in a manner adapted to the needs of the times, that is to say, in a manner corresponding to the difficulties and problems by which people are most vexatiously burdened and troubled. (The Documents of Vatican II, Chapter 11, "Bishops", p.405).

July 6, 1989
I grew up in a society in which we held our priests in very high esteem. We both respected and feared them.

Thus the recent events of clergy sexual abuse of boys have devastated me as a person who is committed to her faith. I am one who was, and remains actively involved in my faith community as a Eucharistic Minister, as a member of the Ladies' Auxiliary and the Grotto Committee.

Also, we as a family have always contributed fairly to our parish. Despite the Archbishop's long-standing request to set up parish councils in all parishes of the Archdiocese, we were denied a parish council in Flatrock and Pouch Cove Parish by John Corrigan during his ten years as pastor. Thus we as lay people never knew where the funds we raised went. We still do not have a parish council which would allow us, as parishioners, to have a significant say in our parish affairs.

There are two other points I would like to make:

- I don't want to see these individuals who are convicted of sexual abuse of young people being reassigned to another parish in this province, or any other province, or reappearing as active priests assigned to desk jobs in this Diocese.

- Now that some of the victims are suing the Church, I want to know where the money is going to come from to compensate the victims if they win their court cases. In my view the offenders should be made to pay those costs from their own assets.

I want to close by expressing my deep concern for the young people and their families who have suffered so greatly. They are constantly in my prayers.

I feel that our Archdiocese has badly handled this whole matter — it's a pity that the Archbishop stopped acting as his own spokesperson on this matter in recent months. He should have continued to be publicly present throughout this crisis in the Diocese — in the press and in public meetings — to show that he is accountable for the actions of the priests of this Diocese whom he is responsible for supervising.

In final closing I cannot believe that something of this magnitude could go on for so long without someone in authority becoming aware of it, or being put on alert that something was amiss.

I hope that the final report of this Enquiry will answer some of my questions in this regard.

June 12, 1989
Sacred Heart-St. Anne’s Parish Council
Ship Harbour, Fox Harbour, Dunville

To address the mandate of the Commission is indeed serious business, a serious call to address a terrible issue. In many ways, the whole exercise is a test of whether or not we can maintain our Christian perspective in the midst of crisis. We trust, in this, we will be found not wanting.

Of one thing we can be certain. No preoccupation with a particular issue will bring satisfaction unless it is founded in prayer. "To you, God, we lift up our souls; we trust in you" (Psalm 25). Man-made strategies on their own are bound to fail. Yet, the temptation is there that somehow this issue surrounding the misdeeds of our clergy can be fixed by considerations strictly cerebral in nature. As all of us (and it is a responsibility for everyone, not just a few) bend our hearts, minds, wills, and souls to the situation, we must ensure that we live within the principle of love that Christ asks of us.

The points that follow are made in that spirit. If some aspect is isolated on its own, it may well appear to be almost too pointed in nature. The vision is much wider than any one aspect. Indeed, we do not presume to have made every point that needs to be made. That we see as a collective responsibility of the local church. Our task is to bring forward points for consideration within a prayerful framework. This is a challenge to the most religious-minded — how to be prayerful and pragmatic at one and the same time. Luckily for people of faith, hope and love, the "Holy Spirit too comes to help us in our weakness" (Romans 8:26).

ROLE OF PARISH COUNCIL

Present: Under Canon Law, Parish Councils serve in an advisory or consultative role to the (parish) priest and administrator.

In practice, this appears to have meant that a priest may use the Canon Law provision to his own wishes, from no Parish Council dynamically involved in all aspects of parish life.

Future: In the long term, seek to amend Canon Law to give Parish Councils a full collaborative responsibility with the priest.

In the short term, the present Canons need not be interpreted as meaning the Parish Council is subservient to the priest. However, Parish Councils need to be empowered with a clearer mandate outlining their right to exist and a process which ensures rightful and responsible dialogue with the priest.

There are a number of ways in which dialogue can be more readily ensured:

- When a priest is appointed to a parish, there must be a joint responsibility on the part of both priest and Parish Council to contact each other. Failing this, a formal letter of invitation (which by its very nature indicates a missed responsibility in the first place) should be extended to that party. The formal letter should be posted in the Church with a copy to the Archbishop. Should the Parish Council not respond within two weeks, the priest should call for elections. Should the priest not respond within two weeks, the Parish Council should issue a second formal notice, but, this time include a call for a full financial and liturgical boycott until a satisfactory meeting can be had. A copy, of course, must go to the Archbishop.

- Every six months, the Parish Council must hold an open meeting in the Church hall to report on council matters, but primarily to listen to parishioners’ concerns. It may well be necessary to use a different structure
than the traditional large group if parishioners are reluctant to speak. The point to be made, no matter the precise process, is that there is a joint responsibility for dialogue. A priest or a Parish Council must not be permitted to exercise undue authority over the other.

ROLE OF THE PRIEST

Present: It is perceived by many to be concerned with maintaining power through control of finances, Parish Councils (if they exist), other Committees, a selective few. There’s a sense that the priest is isolated (willingly) from the real issues that touch the lives of the ordinary person. Traditional contact through the collection of yearly dues, for example, has been lost under the rationalization that freeing-up such a financially focused exercise leaves room for more personal contact. In fact, the result has been less contact (in some cases, apparently, none).

Future: In the long-term, we need a radical if common sense change in the role of the priest. Open the clerical ranks to married people as well as single, female as well as male. Perhaps a gradual participation might be possible from the diaconate to the priesthood.

In the short-term, priests may well need training in interpersonal relations. To get parishioners involved in the 1990s requires more than simply having Mass. And indeed in some instances, we are witnessing a real effort by priests to respond to the needs of the time. If, as noted earlier, the laity through the Parish Council and other instances, are to be empowered to take a proactive faith stance, it is the priest who will be the empowering agent. Establishing Sacramental preparation groups and active groups for liturgy participation, constantly inviting the people at large coupled with direct, personal invitations to become active, demonstrating through personal action rather than waiting and talking about participation, giving homilies that show Christ as He is or would like to be in the contemporary world — these are a few worthwhile goals. In short, a priest must combine his “official” duties (celebrating Mass, administering and witnessing the Sacraments, etc.) with living the beatitudes, and inviting parishioners to do the same.

ROLE OF THE PARISH COUNCIL AND THE PASTORAL CARE TO VICTIMS

To assume that Parish Councils do have a role is questionable. Of course, as individual Christians, members of the Parish Council must respond to victims with openness, understanding, and moral support. On a practical level, Parish Councils could possibly help arrange for contact with the appropriate professional assistance, perhaps through providing transportation. On a preventative thrust, Parish Councils could ensure young children receive the attention they need for healthy relationships with adults by establishing an educational committee for that purpose. Parish Councils could suggest a mission with the focus on sexuality, including abuse. Parishes could bring in, periodically, knowledgeable speakers in the area of child abuse.

ROLE IN DETECTING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

Parish Councils need to be informed if an appointment of a known child abuser to a parish is forthcoming.

The area of reporting deviant behavior is a difficult one. With child abuse, there is a law and so once an offense is known, even suspected, the obligation of any citizen is to report the situation to the police and/or social services.

But priests (presently at least) take the vow of celibacy. It matters not what one’s sexual orientation is. So, sexual activity of any sort is deviant. Still, it is deviant activity that causes scandal that must be reported — a continuous relationship involving sexual activity. This is easily stated, whereas, in practice, the possibility of misinterpreting a relationship and/or the role of malicious gossip suggest how fraught with danger is this whole area. We accuse priests of being automatons who need a more human face; then we are suspicious of any relationship they may have.

Suppose, though, one becomes aware of obvious deviant behavior. To whom does one report? The present situation suggests most Catholics simply don’t know who to turn to. Perhaps the church needs an
investigative office (non-clerical) to which one can report without fear.

**ROLE OF PARISH COUNCILS AND THE COMMISSION'S REPORT**

Parish Councils should be given the authority, collaboratively with the priest but not by his leave, to disseminate the Commission's Report either in whole or in meetings called for that purpose.

Each Parish Council should be expected to report to the Archbishop's office on the reception of the Report with, if applicable, recommendations for further action.

Yearly reports written by a lay member of the Parish Council should update the Archbishop's office on actions and concerns.

**THE OFFENDERS**

The immediate concern is that no convicted offender should be returned to parish duties, and indeed, alternate appointments to positions (eg. old age homes,) must be viewed sceptically. Individuals who need sexual release will accept less satisfying outlets when prevented from their primary attractions.

Nevertheless, a blanket statement on all offenders of deviant activity would be unfortunate. What parishioners need is a conviction that offenders will go through an examination process with the bishop and suitable professionals to determine, what, if any, active ministry is appropriate. At present, Catholics do not have that conviction. Fearful of easy reinstatement of offenders, many feel pressured to take a less than Christian stance towards them.

**LEADERSHIP**

Many Catholics feel there has been no leadership in this crisis. They wonder about the whereabouts of the Archbishop as well as that of other officials. They resent "the official spokesman" for one of two reasons a) because he has been delegated when no one should be delegated, and b) because he may be "the official spokesperson" as important as it were. This may well be partly unfair to both Archbishop Penney and Father Penney received other reports that leadership is an illusion. News reports and public statements, advice that may not have been well informed. Other reports suggest the archbishop ignored sound advice. One can imagine the sensation of being buffeted from all sides he must have felt when the story broke. So, while most people feel there has been a leadership vacuum, they are also sympathetic to Archbishop Penney.

One question here is: Just what is the leadership structure in a diocese? Traditionally, the structure is about simple enough — the bishop, the priests, and hierarchy. Order for just about everything. An exception, a model if a clear one. Today, besides the bishops, there are Committees of several sorts: a Parish Council, as well as service associations such as the Family Life Bureau. On a local level, these are (right to be) Parish Councils more Canadian style.

Is it not an example, that the system of sharing responsibility in fact weakened the rightful quality of leadership?

One useful significant way to develop a knowledgeable and dedicated leadership within the diocese is a yearly forum of Parish Councils to discuss progress and regression. Another might involve setting up a diocesan committee of lay people to help develop Parish Council activity. There must be a check and balance system to lessen the chances of the misuse and abuse of authority, whether by parishes or by Parish Councils. There's no point in replicating one form of power abuse with another.

In conclusion, with the Commission well. Yours is a difficult task, the trust we have helped in some small way to clarify your thinking. On a local level, our vision is always changing; perhaps, from the perspective of yesterday, it is no so. William Magee's remark, "Christianity and Its Role in Theology", serves in the Christian community in
Newfoundland well: "God gives us not only the strength to survive, but also the ingenuity and hope to draw good from evil and to change the world's suffering."

Juanita Higdon
Bonaventure Fagan
November 1989
Sacred Heart Parish Pastoral Council
Marystown

INTRODUCTION

Members of our parish community are experiencing a confusion of emotions arising from the disclosures of child sexual abuse within the Church. People are revolted and shocked at the nature and the extent of the heinous crimes committed by persons who were respected and esteemed: they are hurting deeply through their empathy with victims and from the breaking of trust by some members of the ordained clergy. Often parishioners speak of their intense anger at the crimes themselves, at the perceived indifference of the church to the victims and their families, and at the indecisive leadership of the church hierarchy. There is a sense of frustration and uncertainty about how to help victims, how to respond personally to these events, and about how this tragedy will affect the future of the local church. Amidst the pain and upheaval, there is still a commitment to faith and to church. Moreover, the trauma has shaken people from a comfortable complacency, and acted as a catalyst accelerating a process of change within the church whereby lay people will be empowered with a more involved and more responsible ownership of the local church.

PARISH BRIEF: DEVELOPMENT AND LIMITATIONS

At its May 1989 meeting, Sacred Heart Parish Council requested three of its members to act as a steering committee to facilitate the preparation of a parish brief to the Archdiocesan Commission on Child Sexual Abuse by the Clergy (Winter Commission). The steering committee understood that the Winter Commission would be visiting the Burin Peninsula at the end of October and planned accordingly. The committee decided that sufficient opportunity had to be provided for input from parishioners before it could represent parish views. First, on July 9, 1989, a newsletter outlining the Commission's mandate, and the procedure for preparing the brief was distributed at weekend masses. On September 17, 1989, an open meeting for all parishioners was held; sixteen people attended. Finally, four hundred and fifty (450) questionnaires were circulated at parish masses; sixty of these were completed and returned. Four intensive meetings attended by a core group of from five to seven persons completed the brief. Despite its limitations, and judging from the input received and from many informal communications with community members, the committee believes its brief is an accurate and fair reflection of the concerns and views of our parish.

THE COMMISSION MANDATE

Term 1: Factors Contributing to Sexual Abuse

The power, status, prestige, and lack of accountability at the parish level in particular, may have created a climate in which the insecure, the power-hungry, or the deviant believed he could exploit and abuse victims with immunity from discovery or punishment. Also the celibate life of a priest may have been attractive to those persons who were avoiding having to deal with their own sexuality, whatever their sexual orientation. Finally, it was suggested that the power and status accorded to the priests and their positions of trust in communities made it easier for deviant clerics to prey upon vulnerable members of the parish.

While there was speculation on this issue, we have
Term 2: Detection and Reporting of Child Sexual Abuse

We believe the following factors may have contributed to the persistence of child sexual abuse:

a. the understandable reluctance of most victims to talk about being abused;

b. the failure to listen to and respond appropriately if any victim did speak of abuse;

c. the lack of any clear, formal procedures for dealing with allegations or disclosures of abuse; there is no public, widely promulgated demarcation or delineation of responsibility within the church for receiving and acting upon reports of abuse or any inappropriate or wrong behaviour by the clergy;

d. because of factor c, or because of indifference, ignorance, or lack of courage, persons having knowledge of abuse may not have reported the information or may not have insisted that it be followed through properly.

There is a very strong conviction among a minority of people that the abuse had been detected, reported, and dealt with by moving the offending priests to new parishes where new victims were created. No definitive proof was offered to the committee to substantiate these convictions. However, if the Commission determines that reported cases of abuse were handled in this manner, then we believe there should be acknowledgement of this by the church hierarchy and a public commitment that no further attempts will be made to solve such problems by shuffling priests from parish to parish, or diocese to diocese.

Definition of the Victims:

We feel the term "victim" can be broadly interpreted to include:

- those actually abused by the clergy;
- their families;
- the body of the church, including both laity and innocent clergy;
- since violence is cyclical in nature; i.e. some of the offenses occurred many years ago, there may be second generation victims; we would include second generation victims;
- other members of the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Specifically, we recommend that:

Counselling:

- The victims and their families receive professional counselling. Help is imperative for healing to take
place. "Children need treatment and support services right from square one"; this means as soon as abuse is suspected, not at the end of a long drawn out court case.

- Counselling should be available for more than a year. Victims require time to work through their experience.
- This counselling should be open to anyone in the community who has been sexually abused.
- The church should pay for the initial counselling. Thirty-seven respondents felt the "church" should pay for counselling. Twenty felt the church should not pay. Only fifteen stated they personally would be willing to pay for counselling.
- The church should use its influence to persuade the government to provide much needed counselling services for the Burin Peninsula, and other areas of the province presently lacking such services. Counselling services are needed for adolescents and for family crisis.

Social Healing:

It is imperative that we, members of the church, learn more about the process of victimization and family violence. We need more understanding of child sexual abuse and how to offer victims our support. "Victims need to feel they have support and we need to give them the guidance and support they should have had but didn't" (Dan Stote, Secretariat for the Solicitor General of Canada).

Many people in our parish have been disturbed by what has happened. They indicate they do not know what they could do to help the victims and they don't know how to deal with their own feelings. Marilyn McCormack of the Child Abuse Treatment and Protection Unit has said, "Children and their families need a whole lot of support out there to get them through this". Because we haven't dealt with our own feelings, we tend to isolate ourselves from those who hurt the most. One anonymous family stated, "Our community was the church...and the congregation ostracized us...and we had to move away....We needed their support the most" (quoted by Rix Rogers, Special Advisor on Child Sexual Abuse to the Minister of Health and Welfare, Canada).

We propose:

- That parishioners meet together and talk to each other about their anger and how they feel. This should be done informally and soon.
- That Nancy White, Social Worker and Child Sexual Abuse Consultant, be invited to come to our community and hold an open meeting with anyone who wishes to attend. (The Commission could recommend this as an option for any parish.)

The purpose of these meetings would be

a) to learn more about abuse, why and how it occurs;
b) to increase our understanding of the pain suffered by the abused;
c) to learn how to better support the victims;
d) to give anyone within our parish who has been abused a chance to meet with her and assess whether they wish to call her privately. (There are undoubtedly those who have been abused, but have not yet disclosed the abuse.)

We would take the penitential times of Advent or Lent and use them to study, reflect, pray and talk about violence and its causes: about what needs healing within ourselves, our church and our culture; what makes violence so prevalent and why disclosure is so very difficult for the victims. We have wife abuse, child abuse and elder abuse and we need to learn about all three.

Prevention:

- Teachers need more education regarding the signs of abuse. (It should be noted that, of all the professionals, teachers more often are told about abuse and most often report abuse.)
- Children need to learn how to prevent abuse. The Janeway Street Proofing Program and the Care Kit are just two that could be made universal in our province.
- We too often dismiss what a child is trying to tell us. As a society and as adults, we need to learn to
listen to the little ones.

- Sex-role stereotyping needs to be examined. Too often, girls are taught to be passive and not to defend themselves. This makes them vulnerable. "Teen females are culturally socialized to seek approval from others by being passive, adaptive, and physically attractive. They are taught to downplay their intelligence and assertiveness for fear of being seen as unfeminine. The message is that females should be responsive to males' sexual needs. Paradoxically, females are also inaccurately viewed as having ultimate responsibility for whatever sexual activity takes place." Males are taught to be tough and not complain. This means they are unlikely "to tell" on someone who abuses them. The abuser picks his/her victims on the basis of vulnerability and availability:

Males are often taught that being unfeeling, uncommunicative, and sexually demanding is part of being masculine... Sexual activities become an opportunity to gain peer status and show conquering abilities rather than relate meaningfully to another person.

Sex-role stereotyping is related to other problems. Sex is sometimes portrayed in the media as a means of control and exerting power over another person. Women are shown as objects and men learn to think of them as objects. Boys (and girls) often lack skills in developing intimacy:

It would be very beneficial to our culture if we were to begin teaching sexual relating as a serious activity that can be approached with personal integrity, a willingness to assume responsibility and an ability to delay gratification.

Males are conditioned to be sexual predators and females are conditioned to be sexual victims.

Experts such as Rix Rogers see sexuality education as a necessity, not an option. Some, but not all of us agree with him.

- Since children who grow up respected and who have self-esteem are less likely to be victimized and abused, adequate preparation for parenting needs to be incorporated into our educational system. Such programs must be universal. Nobody's Perfect is used by some guidance counsellors when they are working with problem families. To be most effective, these need to be taught before people become parents.

Dr. William Marshall has said, "The insecure child and the child with low self-esteem is basically the child who will be abused". Sexual abuse is an abuse of power and child sexual abuse underlines the sense of powerlessness that most children feel in our adult world.

- At the parish level, we recommend education in family violence. Incidents of violence are estimated to be as high as one in six relationships. We believe that misuse of power is a common thread to violence and sexuality, child pornography, family violence, child sexual abuse, and social breakdown.

Spiritual Healing:

In terms of spiritual healing, several questions arise: (1) In what way do our images of and teachings about God permit/prone violence? (2) To whom do victims of violence pray? (3) What insights of our faith will help with the healing of those abused (and ourselves) in this painful situation?

Victims may block off or deny the spiritual side of their being as a result of abuse by the clergy. Children learn about God, as do adults sometimes, from interpersonal relationships.

"I realized at five that God the Father and Father the God were one and the same. I knew what God did. He would find you no matter where you were and he made you do unspeakable things and you could never stop him because he was all powerful and all present and you could never tell anybody because who could you tell on God?" ( Abuse in Society and Church and Proposals for Change. Report to the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 1986.)

Our image of God is too often strictly patriarchal and that image has been used to reinforce, to justify the hierarchy. God is seen as a power image, eg "God
Almighty, "Thine be the power and the Glory", who ensures his loyal followers financial rewards, victory for an army or a football team, world economic or military supremacy. Churches see God as the one who ensures their spiritual supremacy and the one who gives them authority to use power over others.

We have been taught that sin is a misuse of power. This implies that it is acceptable for one person to exercise control and power over another as long as that control is used responsibly. Sin may be the needless exercise of power over another, regardless of how it is exercised.

There is also an awareness of God as the helpless one, the long suffering one, the one who gives us an awareness of our need to open ourselves to others, the one who needs our being led by the spirit in order to have his/her work done on earth. God is nurturing and can be seen as the one who associates with, reaches out to the weak and helpless.

The church has taught that repentance — sorrow, confession of sins and acts of penitence — leads to spiritual healing. This seems inappropriate for those who have been sinned against and then made to feel guilty for what was done to them.

As part of the process of victimization, they have learned to see and think of themselves as victims. From a Christian perspective, Christ as victim might be a useful role model, because it was through his victimization that he became transformed. As such, he is a sign of transformation for us. When we empty ourselves of our pride, complacency, anger, envy, covetousness, gluttony and lust (seems like all since of victors, not of victims) we can be open to the transforming possibilities of God.

It may well be, as they go through the painful process of discovering, understanding and emptying themselves of all the distortions in relationships that came as a result of abuse, that victims can come to better understand the empowerment God gave Christ as he emptied himself. Christ, with his arms stretched out or us on the cross, is a powerful symbol. Theologically and psychologically, there is a difference between one willingly suffers and one who has no choice.

We know that part of the process of discovering what has happened to oneself is the retelling of one's story to someone who is accepting and supporting. It is in such an atmosphere that victims can come to understand and believe in God's unconditional love and acceptance. That is spiritual healing.

Addendum:

Our parish should organize discussion groups around the subject of family violence and child sexual abuse which is often coexistent with family violence. People in this parish need such groups formed. The parish council or someone they delegate should start this immediately. It would be a step towards our healing.

Term 4: Procedures for Dealing with Incidents of Deviant Behaviour

Detection:

The most important and most effective means of detecting any abuse is to create an awareness in potential victims of what actions constitute abuse, what situations or circumstances are likely to contribute to abuse, and how to avoid these situations. Also, any victim of abuse must be confident that he or she will be treated in a caring, supportive manner when disclosing abuse. As previously outlined in Part 3 of this brief, a major educational program on sexual abuse and all forms of family violence must be implemented by the church and other social agencies.

Reporting:

The recent changes in social awareness of abuses and increased willingness to deal with such problems have created a climate much more favourable to the reporting of cases of abuse. However, the abuse itself and the process of acknowledging and dealing with it are still very traumatic experiences for victims, their families, and associates. Therefore, the church must implement and promulgate a clearly defined procedure for dealing with reported cases of abuse by clergy or any other persons in official positions in the church at the parish, diocesan, or national level. Such a procedure
The means for processing all complaints of wrongdoing.

The procedure should incorporate the responsibilities of individuals or groups for reporting; acting upon; for the handling of abuse or other wrongdoing.

The procedure should create a shared system of burden of dealing with such problems does not fall on one individual, and so that the situation is not a solitary one which best meets the needs and rights of victims and alleged wrongdoers;

The procedure should create a shared system of responsibility to the public of the responsibilities and groups for reporting; acting upon; for the handling of abuse or other wrongdoing.

The procedure should create a shared system of responsibility to update the procedure;

The procedure should create a shared system of responsibility to the public of the responsibilities and groups for reporting; acting upon; for the handling of abuse or other wrongdoing. The burden of dealing with such problems does not fall on one individual, and so that the situation is not a solitary one which best meets the needs and rights of victims and alleged wrongdoers;

The procedure must be sensitive to right of due process for victim and the perpetrator. However, if there is an error on the side of caution, it should err in favor of the victim. Also, there must be no attempt to circumvent or neutralize the obligations of our moral and legal systems, pastoral responsibilities for individuals, the local church and larger social community.

Chapter 5: Church Dealing with Convicted Clergy

Examined in preparing this chapter are strongly held feelings about how the church should deal with convicted priests who have served their sentences. Many factors contribute to the complexity of opinion and feeling. First, the punishment must be seen to fit the crime and what crimes were perpetrated on many victims over many years and which may be indicative of chronic evil or incurable illness are much more difficult than those perpetrated on a single occasion and perpetrators. Secondly, for the sake of protection of their families, justice must be seen to be done.

The danger among many people at the diocese is remaining culpable priests from parishioners and so to diocese, when perhaps it was suggested there were problems with certain priests to active convicted priests to active ministry to other scandals and undermine the reputation of the church in general, and possibly the diocese.

Confession must demonstrate over time, through in-person confession, that there is genuine repentance. Perhaps as one person said, "Time will cure the wounds we feel today. We also may be having anger.

Confession over time is made difficult as well by the conclusion that from the perspective of some priests there are two churches - the people as one, the hierarchical institutional church is the other. There is an "us"- "them" view of the church, so that when some people speak of the church being the other, or being responsible, or praying, they mean the institutional church, and separate themselves totally from it and disclaim any obligation or responsibility to the institution.

Finally, we have examined what, if any, legal relationship might arise between a priest and a diocese. It is a relationship to an employer to an employee; that is if a priest was an employee to an employer, that it was not the criminal relationship to an
organization; or that of an administrative officer to an institution? What, if any, legal responsibility does the Archdiocese have for its priests in cases of criminal wrongdoing?

Material Welfare of Convicted Clergy:

Generally, it was felt that a priest who, while in the service of the diocese, is convicted and serves time for child sexual abuse should be provided for from the services already in place, such as pensions, unemployment insurance, social assistance, or his own resources. If these fail or are exhausted, only then is it recommended that the church meet the most basic needs of the person.

Providing for the material welfare of convicted clergy was viewed in the context of compensation to victims. It may be assumed that a priest is on church business at all times. In the past when churchmen committed major blunders, restitution was made by the church. For example in 1984, the Vatican Bank paid two hundred and forty-four (244) million dollars to Banco Ambrosiano creditors as recognition of moral responsibility for Archbishop Marcinkus' involvement in a fraudulent scheme with Roberto Calvi, president of the Italian bank. Archbishop Marcinkus was head of the Vatican Bank (Schein, David E., Contract on America). If one of our priests breaks a personal life, a family, or perhaps an entire town, then our church must be prepared to respond materially, socially, and spiritually.

Return to Ministry:

The question soliciting the views of parishioners on how convicted priests should be dealt with after serving their sentences was deliberately open-ended so as not to influence responses. The most severe judgements by ten respondents said that the priests should be excommunicated and "cut adrift to fend for themselves". Sixteen of the replies indicated that the convicted priests should be treated with compassion, reconciliation, and forgiveness, if there is a sincere repentance (with restitution) on their part. There was a strong emphasis on the need for repentance for the healing of the priests themselves, the whole church, and most especially for the immediate victims of abuse.

Thirty-four of sixty respondents to the questionnaire specifically addressed the issue of convicted priests returning to their ministry — thirty-two persons thought that convicted clergy should not return as active ordained ministers in the church in the immediate future. Ultimately decisions will have to be made on individual cases. Such decisions should be made by the bishop, only after extensive consultation with the local church. Factors to be considered should include:

- the nature and severity of the criminal act;
- the perception that the church has not sufficiently condemned the evil done by these persons. Priests should be barred from the active ministry until it is determined at some future date that they could be reinstated;
- the cases of those who have abused many victims over many years demand a severe penalty;
- there exists within our communities, those who are living good lives but whose marriage situation is "irregular or unconcanical" because they are living in common law, previous unions have not been declared null, or they are former priests or religious who have not been relieved of their vows. These people are excluded from the sacraments. Surely, as severe a penalty should be imposed upon those who for years have preached and celebrated, and spoken out and "led" hypocratically;
- there must be a commitment to a process of rehabilitation. Evidence from psychologists strongly suggests that this will be a lengthy and uncertain process in the most severe cases;
- there must be genuine repentance;
- those convicted must make what restitution they can to victims and to society;
- a committee consisting of representatives from the hierarchy, medical and counselling professions, and lay members of the church should be formed to recommend to the bishop a process for examining individual cases
tion of Candidates for the Priesthood

A committee felt that it had very little of the current process of selecting the priesthood, and that most parishes did promote vocations except on the occasional people were asked to pray for vocations. We are not "experts" in the discernment of uncertaining which persons are moved by the spirit of God to seek ordination. Even God often works through the ordinary.

Also from the church community the role of the diocesan priest is in a state of definition, while from the viewpoint of others, different priests bring different gifts to the church. However, amidst the profusion of gifts one constant remains, sacramental ministry of the ordained priest, the Eucharist, as essential to the life of the community. For this reason alone, great care is exercised by the church to ensure as far as possible that those ordained to the priesthood are and respond willingly and lovingly to God's people. With these thoughts, we believe that our church should take into consideration for the priesthood:

1. An evaluation of candidates as to: self-concept, self-esteem, self-identity, appreciation for, and acceptance of one's strengths and weaknesses to be overcome, or
2. A vision of church and of priestly ministry in the church;
3. Development, including communication style, interpersonal relationships, movement;
4. Life experiences prior to beginning priesthood; to include education, work experiences, family and ground;
5. Prayer, service, integrity, responsibility,

It does not exist already, create a formal process for the evaluation of candidates both in the initial selection and in the ongoing formation. Make sure people know the process.

- re-examine and re-emphasize the roles of local priests, pastoral councils, and all church members in all states of selection, formation, and ordination.

The purpose of these suggestions is not to create a class of priests drawn from the elite, or to create a group of "elite" priests. Rather, it is intended that the approach to the ordination by all church members and the offering of comprehensive information help enable wise selections to be made at each stage of formation planned to best meet the needs of the individual candidate and those of the church.

The Clergy

The well-being of the growth of the clergy is linked to the healthy relationship of the clergy to the laity in a vision of church. Emphasizing a community of God's people rather than a select priesthood. Once again, the parish could be faced great difficulty making prescriptions for improvement without adequate diagnosis of the problems or needs. However, we do believe our priests must grow and even more fully in their ministry and responsibility. As members of the church, we have a responsibility to offer and support that growth.

Fr. Donald MacPhee, writing recently in the Catholic New Times said that:

As individual Catholic Christians our homework will be to ask ourselves what we expect of our priests, and, in turn, what they may expect of us. It is no longer enough to hold on to images and models which are impractical and
impossible but to face squarely the reality that new living realities and images are required....
A particular clerical model of priesthood may die, but priesthood itself will live as long as there is a need for God's people to be served.

The whole question of the roles of priests, of parish, and of church is in the process of redefinition; we are in midst of a process of rediscovery which goes to the root of what it means to be Christian, to be church. It will not be easy to find solutions — that is the cost of being disciples of Christ today. But what support is being given to priests, whose lives are most heavily invested in that very process?

a) Ways must be found to reduce the overextension of the priest's energies, time, and talent. Priests are expected to be the preparers and celebrants of sacraments, liturgical planners, spiritual leaders and educators, counsellors and consolers; they are expected to be administrators, fundraisers, budget planners, employers, as well as pastors; they are expected to be members of diocesan committees and commissions, parish and deanery committees, school boards. These are impossible demands that cannot be fulfilled and which debilitate and exhaust even the most able and dedicated.

There are no easy short-term answers but some possibilities exist:

- Lay people must be encouraged and trained where necessary to perform many of the tasks which, of their nature, do not belong to the ordained minister.
- Increase the number of ordained priests.

b) The number of priests in the active ministry may be increased by prayer and promotion in parishes and church groups.

Also many people believe that the church is too restrictive in confining candidates to the priesthood to persons who are single, celibate, and male. Two-thirds of those in our parish who replied to the committee's questionnaire believed that priests should be allowed to marry and that women should be eligible for ordination.

The issue of celibacy must be addressed. Manyholics feel that it should be optional. This would not be a smooth transition as the church community would have to look carefully at the issues involved.

In addition, marriage is not a panacea for sexual disorders: to think that perverse sins of abuse would not have occurred if these priests had been married is to commit the further sin of seeing women as sex objects only and of ignoring the glaring reality that a high proportion of abusers are married men.

c) In his column in the Catholic New Times, Fr. Don MacLellan states: "One of the most revealing aspects of the study (into lifestyle and sexuality of priests) was the admission by the vast majority of older priests that there was no person — man, women or even another priest in whom they felt they could truly confide".

It is not "sex" which priests need, but a truly intimate and loving relationship where they can be held "accountable" on a daily basis. Marriage should be an option for priests; one of the great advantages of the community of marriage is that partners have an intimate relationship where both individuals can grow together as Christian persons. Our priests have no such intimates built into the institution.

d) Also in his Catholic New Times column, Fr. MacLellan stressed that "it is more and essential that there be built into the lifestyle of the priest, a structure of support which respects the choices he has made and which encourages him in those choices.

Even if the church moves relatively quickly to ordain married men and women, a new consensus must emerge in church communities regarding the personal and social interactions between priest and laity. For example, a priest must be able to have close, intimate friends in a parish without being seen as "unpriestly"; more lay people must learn to relate to the priest as a person and not just as a cleric in a hierarchical church. Sacred Scripture relates how, while he associated with pagans and sinners, the poor and the powerful, Christ had an intimate, loving relationship with several special friends. Many clergy live in hermit-like enclaves, mingling only with their own. The future priest will be more visible in the
sharing in everyday life.

Relationship Between the Clergy and the Laity

The relationship between clergy and laity is difficult because perspectives on the relationship by and large, clergy vary greatly and change. In general though, it seems that problems originate in the narrow but widely felt church as a hierarchical structure. Incentives of a hierarchical power structure do:

- autocratic paternalism which in effect creates one clerical, the other, lay — where may be used for power or to maintain the and not for the service of people;
- inability of priests and parishioners to one another weaknesses and build on each other;
- reciprocity, apathy on the part of lay people who personal responsibility for the mission of the church;
- demands on time and energies of priests;
- disparity, lack of awareness, inflexibility, slow within the institution;
- priorities and interests sometimes lead to or abandoning of work done in parishes change from one parish priest to another.
- opposite priorities and interests sometimes lead to conflict, or the undoing or abandonment of parishes;
- many lay members may be frustrated because no genuine sense of belonging, or participation in the parish community.

Many historical and cultural reasons why exist in the church, but the intention

CONCLUSION

The Archdiocesan Commission was formed in response to child sexual abuse by some members of the clergy. Our brief has attempted to respond specifically to this issue, and more generally, to address issues which may contribute to the possibility of such abuse in the future by ensuring a healthier church.
Even people feel the Commission is a stop-gap
measures and a means of relieving pressure in the short
future. The council had felt this way, we
entered this brief. We expect the
issues the thorny issue of abuse fairly
that its recommendations will be

Spirit guide your work and that of
Commission.

We wish to thank all people who helped in the
preparation of this brief by meeting
and see the opportunities contributing education and
in the writing stages of writing this brief.

D.M. Murphy

Standing Committee
Sacred Heart Parish Council Marysville

December 1989

Child Sexual Abuse, October 19, 1989,

Child Sexual and Sexuality, p.2

19, 1989
Judging from the reaction to the participants at the meeting of November 4, 1989, it would appear evident that the relationship between many Parish Priests and Pastoral Councils unfortunately is not one of cooperation. Many problems have been cited and until all parties agree that such problems exist and begin to actively seek solutions to them, the healing process which we so desperately need in our Church community today cannot take place.

Our Pastoral Council sees the development of role definitions for Parish Priests and Pastoral Councils as a first step or a starting point in the process. Existing definitions— if they exist- must be studied and the necessary changes made to these role definitions which will facilitate greater co-operation. If role definitions do not exist then they must be developed using a democratic process.

The Diocesan Pastoral Council may be the body to take on the leadership role since it is representative of clergy and laity of the Diocese. Success in developing acceptable role definitions will come about if and only if there is team work by all team members. Leadership has to come from the laity and the clergy. The Parish Priest has to be seen as a leader rather than the leader. As well, his leadership must be seen in a sacramental mode.

The next step following the development of the role definitions involves communication. Pastoral Councils have to establish more effective lines of communication between the Archbishop, various Diocesan Committees, and with each other. Hopefully, such communication would lead to a more uniform structure of Pastoral Councils in which there existed a spirit of community and co-operation. In the spirit of communication and co-operation, our Pastoral Council
Other points brought out on this issue were:

- The feeling of the parish should be considered, if the parish will suffer as a result of the appointment of an offender.
- The suspension from full pastoral ministry has to be enforced, but there may be some form of limited ministry in which the offender could serve. This limited ministry would have to be discussed further.
- The rights, especially the monetary rights, of the offenders have to be dealt with as they would be for an offender in any other profession.

WHAT ABOUT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ARCHDIOCESE?

There is a consensus of opinion within our Parish Council that we experienced pain and disappointment with the leadership of the Archdiocese throughout this present crisis. First of all, it appears that there was inadequate supervision of appointees by the appointer.

It is difficult to separate the official reports of leadership from what is conjecture.

The official silence was not satisfactorily explained. There was, and is, a lack of communication between the leadership and the people this leadership is called to lead and serve. This lack of communication was expressed as a problem by both lay and cleric members of our Council.

Following the initial period of silence, an unofficial spokesperson became the official spokesperson. Our question is, did he become "official" because he was already "unofficial", or was he appointed to be official, and if so by whom - the Bishop or the other priests?

The point was made, and well taken, that our Church is experiencing difficulty in moving from the benevolent dictatorship, to which we were accustomed, into the shared responsibility we are attempting to implement. This difficulty is experienced by all of us, from the pew to the Palace.

In closing, our Council generally feels that the leadership of the Diocese is being seen as lacking in definitiveness, and not particularly helpful to us in dealing with the crisis we now face.

Thank you for inviting this response.

Sadie Griffiths
Parish Council member
November 1989
Sacred

As a Staff, we are extremely concerned about the scandal involving some members of the Church, and the effect it has on us personally, the students, and their parents. We met as a Staff and expressed specific concerns that we now wish to share.

We found it very difficult to teach students about Church and Church life. It was easy to stay away from Church issues. Sex scandals serve as a great excuse for the mistrust that has been created. This mistrust gets quickly transferred to their relationships with their teachers and to the relationships between parents and teachers. Children who are traditionally active in the Church (altar, youth groups) face ridicule from their peers if they decide to become involved. As a result, parents are keeping their children from active participation in Church activities.

Another dilemma that we face as teachers is the role that we are expected to play in spiritual preparation of the students. By teaching concepts among the students, some beliefs we are condoning what has recently taken place in the Church. As a group, we certainly do not want to be tarnished with such a reputation.

Three teachers face a most unique dilemma in preparation for Penance. Teachers' attitudes, as a result, have changed and there are many times when the teacher wonders if indeed he/she is a hypocrite. No teacher can foster a healthy or wise to hand over to students which he/she believes to be no longer valid. Parents also face this same dilemma and consequently instill into their children ideas that will be in conflict with the members of the Church, who have been teaching but not practicing.

As a Staff, we further thought that one of the greatest deterrents to the Church was its inability to show concern for the victims and their families, or lack of remorse and forgiveness of its clergy. We noted the option that justice had to be served, but we believed it was much we had to pray, and not to take everything okay.

On the other hand, the idea of the "power" that the individuals who have, not only in the Church, but in the school and community as well. There was a consensus that never again should there be a situation where there is much power, either by the individual, who is bestowed upon them by the Church or kinship, to be put in place that not only will affect them, but also members of the school community as well. It is a well-known fact about the role of any person in the Catholic school system. The results of those past few years should teach us that we are not healthy or wise to hand over to the children of the clergy that some individuals we feel that should not be allowed to reoccur.

As a group, we feel that this situation should never be allowed to reoccur. This group have been listening and from within our own conclusions, we believe that the importance of the school, church, and faith, working together. This triangle has been broken and probably will never be repaired. All following are recommendations that we feel are wise.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Never be any such ideal
as a perfectly safe society, but that there must be a way to make it better. Education is a major way to help in this matter. The help we provide must be meaningful and practical and could become one of the components (sexual abuse) of our Family Life Program. The school will not solve the problem, but its resources can and should be a very important asset to use.

We feel that absolute power should never again be handed over to any individual, whether it be a lay person or a clergy member, as this absolute power leads to corruption. Therefore, we recommend the establishment of a structure within the Parish whose members are ultimately responsible for the workings of the church. Needless to say the clergy member would have an active part in this group, but would not make all final decisions regarding the workings of that group. The clergy's role would be more of a server and facilitator than a dictator.

As a concerned group of Educators we wish to thank you, the members of this Commission, for allowing us to present our thoughts and ideas about this most serious crisis that has occurred from within the church. We hope that the issues we have raised will be of some assistance to you in the writing of your report.

Michael Edmunds (Principal)
and the Staff of Sacred Heart School
November 6, 1989
School Counsellors Association of Newfoundland
Burin Region

The School Counsellors Association of Newfoundland is composed of guidance counsellors, educational therapists and educational psychologists who are employed within the Newfoundland school system.

The Burin Regional Chapter of the School Counsellors Association of Newfoundland is composed of school counsellors, educational therapists and educational psychologists who are employed by the Roman Catholic School Board for the Burin Peninsula and the Burin Peninsula Integrated School Board.

INTRODUCTION

Child sexual abuse has affected many residents of the Burin Peninsula. To date approximately thirty-five children and young adults have come forward claiming that they have been abused by members of the Roman Catholic clergy and religious orders. One priest who has been convicted of child sexual abuse was a parish priest on the Burin Peninsula. Seven other priests who have been charged with child sexual abuse were also former priests on the Burin Peninsula.

Statistics reveal that the majority of abused victims never come forward. Research (Halliday 1985) reveals that on the average a child sexual abuser offends 73 victims. Therefore, it is possible that there are many more than thirty-five victims in this region in Newfoundland.

The number of victims who have come forward indicates that there is a need for counselling services to victims on the Burin Peninsula. It is our belief that such a service should be established in this area and that the Church should pay the cost associated with it.

UNDERSTANDING THE VICTIM

Under no circumstances can a child victim of sexual abuse be held responsible or accountable for perpetrating or causing these assaults.

The children of sexual abuse are victims because they are helpless, easily exploited, coerced and often bribed. Disclosure of molestation is extremely difficult for children. The initial reports of abuse to an adult are often ignored, rebuked and, at times, punished as lies. The victims experience a range of emotions: degradation, feelings of love and hate, guilt, humiliation, frustration, fear, shame, isolation, loneliness, and depression.

There are numerous reasons for the victims' resistance in revealing their hidden secret. Consistent with research (James & Naclerio, 1983; Halliday, 1985) the following are most prevalent among child victims of sexual abuse:

Fear of Rejection and Judgement (Blame) is experienced most frequently, fear that he/she will be no longer loved by the family, will be rejected by peers, ostracized by groups and/or communities. Sex and sexual activity is often a "taboo" subject within families and is often treated as a dirty word where discussion is either minimal or nonexistent. Many victims have a deep fear of appearing abnormal or "crazy" and thus being rejected.

Fear of the Consequences of Telling. The majority of victims experience feelings of vulnerability and fear of their personal safety or that of their families. The offender has often threatened the victim with physical violence, emotional manipulation, ie "No one will
believe you", "You will go to a foster home", "Your mommy and daddy will break up". Many victims hate the abuse but love the offenders and are fearful of telling because they do not want their offender to go to jail - they just want the abuse to stop.

**Respect for Adult Authority.** In most cultures worldwide, children are taught from birth to respect adults and obey their authority. "Children should be seen and not heard" are among the dynamics which exist in many adult-child relationships. The victim often regards the offender with love, adoration and/or respect. He/she attempts to please the offender by obeying his/her authority - granting any requests.

**Desensitization.** Many victims of sexual abuse often "block out" or desensitize from their minds their traumatic experience. Many have memory gaps and therefore often appear non-confident when revealing their experiences. Research has indicated that victims tend to detach their minds from their bodies when the sexual acts are happening, which often results in failure of accurate and detailed reports.

**Guilt of Pleasurable Feelings.** Victims sometimes experience "good" feelings during the abuse, especially if the assaults are recurring and long-term in nature. Many sexual assaults do not take the form of violent rapes but are seductive and pleasurable in nature. These natural feelings of pleasure do not make the victims in any way nor do they mean that they were participants in the abuse (Haliday 1985).

The victims of sexual abuse have been betrayed: betrayed physically by the sexual act itself; betrayed emotionally by the offender's abuse of the position of trust; and also too often betrayed by his/her family and community for failure to believe, misplaced blame and lack of support and understanding.

**THE POWER OF THE CLERGY - ONE TOWN'S EXPERIENCES**

Why did sexual abuse of young people take place and why did it remain secret for so long? We believe that the answer to this question has a lot to do with the power held by the clergy and with the lack of accountability associated with that power. There is no doubt that the clergy had great influence in the years in which most of us grew up. There is no doubt that the clergy inflicted physical and emotional abuse on their parishioners. In many cases, the abuse was done quite openly and there was no attempt to disguise it. Shakespeare’s Lady Macbeth puts it aptly when she says "What need we fear who knows, when none can call our power to account?"

We will refer to several incidents which illustrate the point. During the 1950s in a community here on the Burin Peninsula the parish priest discovered some minor damage to the church. He could not find the person who caused it and to make sure he punished him/her, he proceeded to strap every one of the 600 students in the school. Not a murmur of protest was heard, but the fear among students and teachers was evident. The same parish priest at a later time learned that some students had missed a mass of obligation. He proceeded to whip the offenders with bamboo rods in front of the classroom.

In the 1960s, a woman who had given birth to many children did not obtain a procedure to prevent further pregnancy even after she was told that future pregnancies were life-threatening. The medical profession would not act without clergy approval.

In the 1970s a number of teachers were dismissed in a community here on the Burin Peninsula. At one particular meeting of teachers, one brave teacher came to the defense of his colleague and asked the parish priest to give a reason for the dismissal. His reply was, "I do not have to give you a reason, and I won't."

These illustrations show the degree of power and non-accountability among the clergy. Although there appears to have been no example of sexual abuse in this community, it is quite easy to imagine how it occurred in others. This community simply had the good fortune of being spared a priest who had pedophilic tendencies. It is our contention that some priests simply felt they could act with impunity. The
prestige and power they held simply made it impossible for a victim to be believed. Given the image people had of priests - highly trained, disciplined, and men of God - it was utterly incomprehensible that they were capable of the acts they perpetrated.

TREATMENT OF THE VICTIM AND FAMILY

Experience and research has clearly indicated that children who are sexually abused by adults, and in particular by adults in positions of trust, are significantly harmed as persons and that their social, emotional and behavioural development is frequently seriously delayed and sometimes regressed. The degree of trauma and emotional damage will vary with individuals and will to some extent be influenced by such factors as frequency; duration; intensity and nature of abusive incidents; length of time over which abuse occurred; the child's stage(s) of development at onset and during abuse; relationship to abuser; and the quality of family, community, church support provided to the child (person) when the abuse is reported.

Frequently, the psychological trauma being experienced by the child is not immediately evident to the uninformed observer. Often the long-term effects of those experiences are not evident until much later (sometimes years) and are only then revealed as a result of intensive therapy. The sad reality is that few victims of sexual abuse receive therapy and those who do ultimately receive treatment do so after the damage of sexual abuse has been manifested in the form of significant adjustment disorders (ranging from difficulty coping with daily living to suicidal tendencies); anti-social behaviour; sexual dysfunction; difficulty with interpersonal relationships; marriage dysfunction; family dysfunction, and so on.

Dr. Robin Badgley and his Royal Commission wrote in their report, August 1984, "Child Sexual Abuse is a largely hidden yet pervasive tragedy that has damaged the lives of tens of thousands of Canadian children and youth. For most of them, their needs remain unexpressed and unmet. Only a few young victims of sexual offenses seek assistance from the helping services."

For most victims of sexual abuse it is very difficult to disclose those experiences and after disclosure equally difficult to actively seek professional help. We, society, of which the church is a significant part, must insist on providing for those who have come forth and for those who have not yet found the courage to do so, the quality skilled professional help they need. While sufficient treatment personnel and programs are not yet available, we must work to find the resources to provide same.

A reality of counselling and therapy is that it is order for such to be effective the counsellor relationship must be based on trust. This often takes considerable time to establish. However, it would likely be very difficult, if not impossible, to have a victim of sexual abuse develop a trust of an organization or individuals associated with the organization which he/she perceives as connected to the abuser. Hence, treatment programs must necessarily be totally disassociated with the individual(s) and/or organization involved or perceived to have been involved with the abuse.

In summary, it is recommended that in this instance the church support and encourage access to recognized quality therapy services in the community and that this service be clearly independent from the church or its influences. Further, it is recommended that the costs of such psychological services to victims of sexual abuse by church leaders be absorbed by the church. In instances where these services are not immediately available, such as on the Burin Peninsula, the church must use its resources and influences to have them established by independent (of the church) institutions, organizations, or private counselling services.

It is also recognized that the victim is often not the only victim in instances of child abuse. Often the victim's family are confused, frustrated, hurt and in disarray with respect to how to cope with their child's experience. Families must also be provided the necessary professional help to put their lives back in order. It is also recommended that this service be
vided independent of the church but that the cost or same be absorbed by the church.

THE OFFENDER

The adult offender is totally accountable and responsible for sexual assaults against child victims. There are no acceptable reasons that can excuse this abusive behaviour.

Pedophiles, or adults who molest children unrelated to them, usually have a history of sexual abuse and neglect in their own childhood. Pedophiles are terrified of intimacy with other adults. Relating intimately to children is non-threatening because they feel fully in control of whatever happens. (James & Nazlet 1983) Studies of pedophiles indicate that they can be divided into two categories: those who are primarily sexually attracted to children and those who sexually molest children when under stress. Persons in both groups seduce children by meeting the child's needs for attention, affection and excitement. Persons whose primary sexual interest is in children may also participate in adult sexual relationships, but the initiation generally comes from the partner. The adult sexual relationship is usually engaged in to disguise sexual preference. Their choice of sexual partners is children, not adults. These people experience their behaviour as a compulsion.

Other victimizers have developed mature forms of sexual relationships with adults and turn to a child as a sexual object when they are in conflict or under stress. (Haugaard & Reppucci 1988).

Generally, offenders are highly manipulative. They seek power and control in and obtain gratification through a vulnerable child that loves and trusts them.

The literature supports that the offenders are very selfish, self-centered and seek immediate gratification of their own needs.

They have low self-esteem and are very insecure. They appear to the public as very secure, successful people but in their immediate family or environment they always seek to have total power and control to their own insecurities. (Halliday 1986).

Because of their emotional immaturity (need to control), they have difficulty relating to adults or their own peer group and therefore obtain gratification by controlling the actions of children.

They are often authoritarian and have rigid thinking.

The offender seldom seeks treatment voluntarily. Most offenders seek treatment only when external pressure (conviction and disclosure) is present and will cease treatment once the external pressure is relieved.

TREATMENT OF THE OFFENDER

Although child sexual abuse is a criminal act and must be labelled and treated as such, as a society we must do more than merely incarcerate offenders. Community programs must work with the criminal justice system to bring offenders into programs that permit the exploration of effective therapeutic techniques and outcomes after conviction and release from prison.

There is no rationalization that can be deemed valid for abusing a child. The treatment for offenders is to force them to take full responsibility for what they have done. It is important to clearly understand that there is NO CURE for a sexual offender. The issue at hand is one of a sexual preference - pedophilia. The problem lies within the perpetrator as a result of deviant arousal, and travels with the person. Given these dynamics the offender must not be given the opportunity to associate with children in any circumstances after a conviction.

To put this in perspective, the perpetrator can be likened to an alcoholic in that the problem is one that is often controllable but not curable. There are certain lifestyles and patterns he must stay away from or he may offend. There is a 75% certainty that sex offenders will create new victims after release from prison according to Dr. Greg Lehne, a psychologist at Johns Hopkins (Halliday 1986). A sex offender will always be a risk to children and should never again hold a position of trust over the lives of children.
The issue of treatment of sex offenders is one that is extraordinarily complicated. According to the literature, treatment options based on empirical research or experience with successful outcomes are lacking. Sex offenders can learn to control their behaviour through behaviour modification and aversion therapy as treatment. One of the most effective methods of forcing the offender into a treatment program and remaining is through the criminal justice system. A peer-group approach after initial individual counselling could prove to be valuable because other offenders in the group are adept at countering the resistances and denials of new group members. Peer-groups could be an option that could involve community programs working with the criminal justice system.

Regardless of the techniques chosen, the therapeutic options must be:
- forced by the powers of the court
- intensive and long-term
- life-long follow-up must occur

SELECTION PROCESS FOR CANDIDATES FOR PRIESTHOOD

The request for briefs asked individuals and groups to make recommendations to the Commission regarding the selection of candidates for the priesthood. We, the presenters of this brief, are unaware of the current selection process. Therefore, specific recommendations are difficult to make. However, it is obvious that the current selection process requires modifying.

The percentage of clergy members who have been charged and in some cases convicted of child sexual abuse far exceeds that of any other single group in this Province. Why is that? This needs to be investigated and solutions found. Would a detailed personal investigation of candidates for the priesthood detect deviant sexual tendencies?

RECOMMENDATIONS
- That the church encourage victims and their families of child sexual abuse by the clergy to seek treatment in independent recognized treatment programs and that church absorb all related costs;
- that the church should examine the selection process for its candidates to the vocation of spiritual leadership, for the purpose of identifying candidates with deviant sexual tendencies;
- that the church examine the possible beneficial aspects of a married clergy as it pertains to child sexual abuse;
- that the hierarchical structure of parishes be reorganized giving more autonomy to the laity and demanding more accountability from its spiritual leaders;
- that the church publicly acknowledge that under no circumstances can a child victim of sexual abuse be held responsible or accountable for perpetrating or causing these assaults;
- that the church publicly acknowledge that the adult offender is totally accountable and responsible for sexual assaults against child victims. There are no acceptable reasons that can excuse this abusive behaviour.

The protection of children must be given the priority in the endeavours to deal with the convicted priest after his prison term. The cycle of silence, that facilitates and encourages the convicted sex offender to commit further crimes against children, must be broken as follows:

a) He should never be given the opportunity to have access to the vulnerable population of children under any circumstances.

b) The dynamics of sexual abuse in terms of the victims, their families, and the offending priest must be realistically as well as spiritually addressed by the church’s hierarchy and the laity.

Sentencing of a convicted child sex offender should result in a mandatory long-term (2 or 3 years) in-patient treatment which would include appropriate follow-up service after release from the institution. The
courts must maintain long-term control to ensure the continued success of the treatment. This is the only way we can ensure protection of children from a child sex offender.

September 15, 1989
My name is Al Stacey and I reside in the Town of Carbonar in the Diocese of Grand Falls. I have come here tonight as an individual to express a few concerns I have as a Catholic and as a member of the Knights of Columbus. Sometime ago I wrote a letter to the Evening Telegram called "One Still Feels Ashamed", in which I struggled to express my bewilderment at what was happening in our Church. At the same time I expressed my concern for the victims and their families and I do that here, again, tonight. I believe their plight of attempting to endure the hurt and torment of the terrible acts visited upon them by members of the clergy is a disarming one. My heart goes out to the defenceless children who lived in their own private hell in Mount Cashel Orphanage while we all believed they couldn't go to a better place. Words cannot adequately describe how I feel about that. Suffice it to say, it is my sincere wish that every criminal involved, whether priest or brother, will be brought to justice.

Before I get too critical, let me confirm for the Commission that there are still large numbers of good and decent priests and brothers who are trying to carry on their work on behalf of mankind in the midst of all the degradation and shame brought upon their profession and vocation by significant numbers of their groups.

However, I have come here tonight because I believe there are some fundamental problems with the organizational side of the Church in Newfoundland, which probably contributed in no small measure to crimes being committed and going undetected for so long. I am imploring you as a Commission to recommend to the Archbishop to advise his fellow bishops in the province to set up similar commissions in their dioceses with the purpose of holding public hearings in every parish or area in the province.

Catholics all over this island are hurting and are a stunned by what their priests have done. There are, in addition to this, a multiplicity of problems that need to be brought to the attention of those in responsible positions within the Church.

Firstly, I would like to point out that there is no avenue, no means of reaching the Church to whom one can appeal for justice. Some avenue must be open in the institutional church to act as a medium for the concerns people have in the face of such disgrace committed with their priest.

Secondly, Catholics do not have a say in who conceives their parish as a parish priest. A parish could have a group of men who are involved in the parish and that's good, but it is stopped out and another is sent in. We should be sent into that parish and completely change the direction of the parish and the people of the parish.

Third, what about the role of the parish priest? The parish priest seems to be an organizer, a leader, a counsellor, an accountant, a fund raiser, a teacher, a school board member, a member of the town council and many instances, a god. He is left with this tremendous task to the spiritual needs of the people. The problem is a priest can spend as much time as he wants ministering any one of those, or numerous other things, but a human being can do all those things. My question in this regard is one of accountability. To whom is the parish priest accountable? To whom will he answer? Who supervises him? Even organizations have associations that oversee their members and discipline members when they are out of line (e.g., doctors have Medical Association, lawyers have the Bar Association, and dentists have the Dental Association).
Fourth: Parish priests should have nothing to do with parish funds. They should be paid a good salary by the parish and they should live on that. At the present time most parish priests still have final authority on expenditures of parish funds and many parish councils and finance committees seem to be in place only to legitimize the parish priest's expenditures.

Fifth: When was the last time someone took a serious look at the quality of preaching and the content of homilies presented in our churches? The liturgy has lost meaning for many Catholics. In some churches the Sunday liturgy does not even approach being a celebration.

Sixthly: Parish Councils and Finance Committees do not have any authority. The Parish Council, if its going to play a significant role in the church has to have authority that supersedes that of the parish priest.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- That a diocesan committee be put in place in each diocese, made up of elected lay people to hear and investigate complaints about parish priests and parish councils and complaints about lay parishioners;

- that a parish council or some other elected parish body be put in place to accept, on behalf of the parish, at least one of these recommendations from the Bishop or parish priests;

- that parish councils be elected, not appointed by the priest, finance committees be put in place to manage all financial matters of the parish and to pay all parish priest a salary and travel expenses as per travel claims. That committees' power must supersede that of the parish priest in financial matters;

- that chartered accountants be hired each year by each parish to produce an official audit of parish receipts and expenditures - when you are talking about indreds of thousands of dollars there aren't many people who will object to spending the $1000.00 or $000.00 it costs to produce an audit;

- that some program of evaluation be devised by the diocese and put in place to make sure parish priests are ending to duties considered to be a priority among their functions.

I don’t know if the recommendations I have made could result in creating organizations that would be in violation of Canon Law. If so, there would be little hope of seeing any of it become a reality. I noted, among previous suggestions for change made to the Commission, the idea of married clergy and women priests. Although noble recommendations, to be implemented they would require a change in the position of the magisterium, a change which we may not be able to effect from Newfoundland when we have a Catholic population of approximately 200,000 versus a world-wide Catholic population of 700,000,000.

My final comment to the Commission is to offer my congratulations to the Father William Sullivan Council of the Knights of Columbus of Pouch Cove for putting forward their position on the whole sexual abuse scandal in their parish. Notwithstanding quoted comments by Knights of Columbus officials, that this Council was not in line with the Provincial Council's stand supporting the Archbishop, I believe that any Council of the Knights of Columbus has a right to say publicly what it sees as the problem and who it believes is to blame. I have no difficulty with the State Deputy speaking on behalf of the whole, but one must be careful not to censor the parts. If the State Council is blindly supporting the Archbishop, they hopefully realize they are supporting either one of two contentions - that the Archbishop knew what was going on in the Archdiocese and didn’t report it, or he didn’t know that a significant number of priests in his charge were abusing children for twenty years and he should have known. I believe it is quite clear what I am saying here. I mean no disrespect toward the Archbishop but the question of accountability does enter the picture. The State Council of the Knights of Columbus would be well advised to encourage councils of the Knights of Columbus to get involved in this issue and work for the reform of church organizations which permitted these criminals to practice their craft for so long and to destroy so many lives. I believe in support for the clergy but I no longer do it blindly.

July 6, 1989
CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Male unquestioned and unchallenged power in positions of authority is often a predisposing factor in child sexual abuse cases. The Catholic church has not done enough to discourage the sexual abuse of children from happening. It has encouraged the continuance of male-only clergy, perpetuated the myth of the male’s right of dominance over women and children, and shielded itself against public scrutiny, to date. The inclusion of women in the priesthood would help alleviate the imbalance of power that exists within the church as it is at present. The socialization of female children to believe that they must be submissive to others, and of male children to believe they have the right to be dominant is all a part of the continuing vicious cycle of violence within our world.

The responsibility for the crimes that have been committed lies with each individual offender, but at the same time the church must take ownership for the part it played in not doing anything to discourage this kind of abuse from occurring and for letting these offenses go unchallenged for so long.

It is accepted in treatment circles that the majority of offenders in child sexual abuse cases are heterosexual males. Whether the children involved were female or male is completely irrelevant, the crime committed by the clergy was pedophilia. The male clergy had the trust, respect, and access to male children. Why did they abuse this status? Simply because they could. The distinction must be made between male homosexuality and the crime of pedophilia. The church is obligated to make publicly a clear distinction so as not to shift responsibility onto an already oppressed group of people.

SERVICES FOR VICTIMS

Victims of sexual abuse need reassurance that they did nothing wrong. They need support and someone who will be nonjudgemental in assisting them to deal with the aftermath of an assault. This support does not have to come exclusively from the church or its agencies. Alternative forms of counselling services are needed. They are, for the most part, already in existence but receive very little monetary support from the community. Groups such as the Women’s Centre and the St. John’s Rape Crisis Centre have been directly and actively working in the area of survival and empowerment for victims of sexual abuse, by way of assisting the formation of self-help groups, counselling individuals, and through public education. Financial support from the church would allow these and other groups to continue their work. Also, by making available community-based counselling services, there is the option for victims who are leery of church-run services to seek assistance elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

The Women’s Movement has given birth to new ways of looking at power structures and their effects. These structures must change in order to begin to undo the damage that has been done to the powerless in this world. We all have to take on the task of re-examining our interactions with one another and the ways in which those interactions affect our lives and our personal and political selves. The Women’s Movement has been addressing these effects and offering alternatives.
RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Catholic Church should allow the ordination of women as priests.
- The Catholic Church should allocate funding to alternate groups offering counselling services to the public.
- The Catholic Church should publicly make the distinction between male homosexuality and the crime of paedophilia committed by members of its clergy.

January 26, 1990
On behalf of the teaching staff of St. Edward's
Mpls., I wish to present to you our general
reaction to the whole matter of sexual abuse of
students. Comments and observations will relate
to the mandates of the Commission and how they
are being interpreted by the events of media-reported
sexual abuse.

With regard to the mandate of the Commission,
I wish to offer comment except to deplore the
past and pray that the healing process extend to
children in a healthier position. We find sexual
abuse is not a common conversation among our children and they are
often drawn into such discussions. However, it
is the whole business of educating children.
Sexual abuse of children, especially smaller children, are
common among our children and they are
not talked to strangers, accepting rides, and
physical contact.

A decided attitudinal change has
occurred with regard to physical contact.
Each is very much aware of the other. Young adults in
elementary to junior high at St. Edward's
are uncomfortable with physical touch in a hand
on the arm around the shoulder, etc., and
are aware of any effort by a teacher to
extend any physical touch towards a student.

We have been shown teachers to be
influenced undoubtedly
by students who have had their
parents' disapproval with sexual abuse.
While we have no
sympathy for those who have been convicted
for sexual abuse, we hold that the high level of
visibility and mandate of these unfortunate cases
make it very necessary and
reinforced by the events
in the past and present.

Breath of trust of the clergy has certainly
been given an increased degree of visibility and the
existence of some mistrust of the clergy is evident. In some cases,
teachers have reported that they flatly refuse
touch for any other reason or with
classmates, and even if they do,
that students have not been present or with
outside of the classroom,
whether by老ing and touch, cannot be
avoided.

A fortunate turn of events in
the case of teachers of
necessary, where rewards,
encouragement, and love all underlie
positive futures.

St. Edward's Elementary School
Mpls.
As teachers, we realize the need to develop and foster positive relationships with students. All students need to be appreciated, needed, and loved, for it is only in such an environment will one want to succeed. That bond of trust and love between student and teacher is absolutely necessary, and consequently, we must be always aware of its importance. It just so happens that, presently, we are becoming very conscientious and concerned and we fear that what we are experiencing in our classrooms is not in the best interest of developing good school spirit.

On behalf of the students of this school, I wish you and your people success in dealing with this unfortunate issue, and I trust that your findings will prompt a rapid healing process in the church.

Felix Collins  
Principal  
November 6, 1939
INTRODUCTION

A questionnaire was distributed to parishioners by the Pastoral Parish Council as a means of obtaining the views and concerns of the people of this parish. A summary of the responses received is presented.

Question 1. How have recent charges and convictions of sexual abuse against some members of the clergy affected your life, your practice of Faith, and your community?
Response: Most people felt that their faith had not been affected as it is not the priest but God that we believe in and faith in God is not changed; however, they did feel somewhat betrayed in that the ministers of that faith could be involved in such devastating crimes. Personal lives did not seem to be greatly affected. No such incidents were ever reported to have happened here. There were no families victimized. Many did, however, feel a loss of respect for and trust in the clergy. They felt embarrassed about the jokes, as sexual crimes are being associated with all priests.

Doubts about the powers of the Roman Catholic Church and the priests’ administration of the sacraments, particularly the sacrament of Reconciliation, were expressed.

These people did feel that many in the community may have been affected as the attendance at church and financial support for the church have declined considerably. Whether this is due to these developments or others is not quite clear. One person did mention her difficulty in explaining to her children why our own priest was arrested. This incident was a total shock to the whole community and disbelief was, and still is, widespread.

Question 2. How do you think this abuse went on for so long undetected-unreported?
Response: The main reason was a failure by adults to believe such action possible by priests who were held in such high regard and if it came to the church the priest would be believed before the victim because of these traditional beliefs about priests.

Several people indicated the difficulty in believing that it was neither detected nor reported but instead that reports by children were ignored by the hierarchy of the church.

Other responses included:
- lack of information on sexual crimes to youth - the right lid kept on discussion of sex in the homes made it easier for rewards of gifts and money to be used to keep children quiet;
- the Justice Department didn’t provide any protection for the victims;
- victims felt ashamed about what happened to them;
- victims may have been waiting for someone else to make the first move;
- many felt that incidents were reported long before it hit the media but were kept quiet to prevent scandal.

Question 3. What steps do you feel the church needs to put in place to make sure it does not occur again?
Response: Steps people in this parish feel should be put in place to ensure such incidents do not reoccur include:
- perspective candidates for priesthood should be thoroughly screened;
- educate all children with regard to sexual abuse, i.e. CARE program in schools;
- public should be educated on the issue of sexual crimes, i.e., behavioral changes in children;
- priests should be permitted to marry if they so desire;
- those convicted should be severely punished;
- there should be more openness between Church and community in discussing matters of sexual abuse;
- develop a system whereby victims can get help;
- regular seminars on this topic should be held with priests;
- develop a strong support system for priests who are continuing to do the work of God in a Christian manner;
- more lay people should become involved in the Church activities to help relieve the priests of some of pressures;
- the publicity, although some of it is unfair, will probably do more than anything else to prevent recurrence.

Question 4: Other Comments:
Response: Most felt that we should let the Justice system and not the public deal with accusations. Priests should not be forced to lose their spiritual leadership but should still live Christianity by continuing to administer to both the spiritual and administrative needs of the parish.

Time may heal this mistrust of priests in general but presently it is being obstructed by charges still being laid. We have to remember not to condemn all priests for the actions of a few. Each case needs to be dealt with on an individual basis.

September 16, 1989
We, the staff of St. Joseph's School, would like to make the following presentation to the Commission of Enquiry on the Sexual Abuse of children by certain members of the clergy.

In our presentation we hope to highlight for you our concerns regarding the Sexual Abuse which has occurred and make recommendations regarding the present crisis in which we now find our Church.

St. Joseph's School, located in the east end of St. John's, is a co-educational institution serving a student population of approximately 400 students. Our students range from Kindergarten to Grade Eight in our English Program and from Grade Six to Grade Eight in our French Immersion Program. Our school is an integral part of St. Joseph's Parish and like the Parish it has served its community faithfully for the last eighty years or more. Today it has a teaching staff of twenty-six personnel consisting of Administrators, regular classroom teachers and specialists.

As teachers in a Catholic school system we are fully cognizant of the place of the child in our education system. Indeed, we fully realize that the main purpose of our Catholic schools is for the full development of our children - physically, socially, intellectually, emotionally and spiritually. This is a sacred responsibility that we in our schools share with families, church and society at large.

As a teaching staff we have been shocked at the recent sexual abuse of children. Like so many other members of our church and so many other people in our educational system we feel that the sexual abuse of the children by our clergy has had a devastating effect not only on the victims and their families but also on the church itself, on families in general, on our schools and indeed on the larger community.

As a staff we already have had meetings to discuss the sexual abuse and its effects. A high degree of sadness, pain, anger and frustration has been felt by us all regarding these unacceptable actions of clergy and other religious toward our children.

We, as a staff, have many questions regarding the abuse committed against children by those most trusted in our Catholic System. We question how the abuse could go on for so long a time without being detected; how the Church, notably those responsible for leadership within the church, had been so slow in responding to the sexual abuse; how the needs of the victims and families are now being addressed; how the training and preparation of men for the priesthood may have failed to prepare these men properly for the life they must lead as priests; how our schools have been affected by the sexual abuse; how our Church is going to be able to rise above the present crisis to continue the mission given to it by Christ.

As professionals who deal with children on a daily basis we are fully aware of how children's lives are damaged by any form of abuse. We are, too, fully aware of the long range effect sexual abuse can have on children. While we acknowledge the action of the Church to respond to the needs of victims through establishment of counselling services for the victims and their families who wish to avail of it, we recommend that this counselling service be continued to victims and their families on a long term basis.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That the Church endeavour to assist the victims through some form of compensation for the damage done to their lives by clergy and other religious.
The leaders of our local Church should begin a process to assist and remedy the damage that has been done to our Catholic school system and to the Church by this crisis. This process should include the lay people of the Church, Catholic educators and clergy.

Our local church, in its hour of crisis, should begin a process of recognizing and involving more fully all lay members in its work as it renews itself and continues to do the work of Christ in today's world.

In its carrying out the work of Christ in the World the Church should look at and accept the contributions that ordained married men could give to the development and growth of the Church.

In its efforts to spread the mission of Christ the Church should be more open to and recognize the role of women in the Church, even if this involves the acceptance of female priesthood in the Church. The Church should begin addressing the screening process and the training and preparation of priests in seminaries to detect and eliminate the factors which may contribute later to the development of abnormal and unacceptable behaviour on the part of priests.

While we realize that the present crisis in our Church has placed it in a very precarious situation, we continue to have faith in our Church. We look to our Church to rise to the forefront in redressing this crisis. We look for strong leadership and direction from the leaders of our Church and we stand ready to work with them and to assist them in any way necessary.

St. Joseph's Staff: James Armstrong, Principal, Raymond E. O'Brien, William Benoit, Lucille Gambia, Sally de Bruyn, W. Hefferton, Bern Farewell, Shirley Fleming, C. Calcutt, Kevin Philpott, M. Stamp, M. Genest, Ann Marie Suley, Shirley Philpott, Carmelita Johnson, Eileen Codner, Alice Flynn, Betty Nien, Geraldine White, N. Lutz, Patricia Colbert, Mary Williams, Noelle Whalen

October 31, 1989
We, on behalf of St. Matthew's Parish, Cowan Heights, would like to outline for you how some factors in cultural trends, the discernment, selection and formation of candidates and the lifestyle of priests may have contributed to the sexual abuse of children by members of the clergy.

**What cultural trends led to the possibility of the sexual abuse of children?**

In our culture, children, although humans, have been deprived of the human rights enjoyed by adults in our society. As Christians we have neglected to follow the teachings of Jesus on the importance and value of the children entrusted to our care. Thus children have not had trusting avenues to help in situations where they have been treated in an abusive manner.

How people express themselves as sexual human beings has traditionally been viewed negatively, anything related to our sexual selves has been treated as a put down. This is very clear in how the sacrament of marriage has been viewed. Until Vatican II it was not seen as a vocation and the idea that women had to be "churched" after the birth of a child attests to the fact that sexual intercourse and the birth of a child were sinful acts of humans — something to be cleansed from rather than rejoice in. With this view of marriage then it was of high value to have a vocation to the priesthood or religious life. In fact, the perception of Catholics was that the best road to heaven was through the priesthood or religious vocation.

Within the church community, the structure of power has not involved the lay people. Thus people were never empowered nor challenged to take control of their life as Catholic Christians. This caused people to put blind trust in the people in power — the clergy.

Many, if not all of us, have come from parishes where priests have had no accountability as the person ministering to the community. He had absolute control over the administration of the parish community and could run it as he saw fit. The priest was seen as God and could do no wrong.

In our society, priests were always held with the highest honour and respect. Once a man was ordained to the priesthood his status in the community moved to the highest step on a ladder without ever having to earn this position. Being in this respected position enabled him to be welcomed into every home and he could use his position to manipulate friendships. Having the power to mislead whole families enabled him to sexually abuse many children. These children then found it difficult to approach their parents with the obvious wrongdoing as a result of the family's image of the priest and in light of the child's own insecurity that so often accompanies the pre-teen and early teen years.

**What is wrong with the process leading to the ordination of priests?**

The priesthood has given automatic authority, respect and power to individuals. Because of this we feel that people with deviant behaviours leaning towards financial abuse, sexual abuse or emotional abuse could easily be attracted.

There has been a poor theology of priesthood. Men are being accepted because of a lack of numbers and not for their ability to minister to people.

Seminaries tend to stress the educational preparation with no adequate development of the
candidates sexuality and spirituality. This may be the result of the seminaries having no clear direction from the bishops.

What are the problems we see in the lifestyle of our priests?

We have grown up with the idea that parishes owe priests a living and that once a priest always a priest. The parish in which a priest is ministering pays for car maintenance, food and a significant portion of accommodations and also pays the priest a small salary for personal expenses. Since the parish is taking care of a significant part of the priest’s financial life this is another facet of his life that the priest does not have to develop.

As secular or diocesan priests many have to live alone and in many cases are deprived of the life support systems of friends and services which other people take for granted. We feel the community life of seminaries does not prepare people for the loneliness of the diocesan priest’s life.

Priests have not been encouraged to take care of their physical, intellectual, emotional or spiritual lives. Many feel they have to be on call 24 hours of the day every day and thus valued healthy friendships with people of both sexes have neither been developed nor nurtured. Priests have not been encouraged to continue education as they progress through their life as clergy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that the local church be empowered to take responsibility in the selection of candidates for the priesthood. This responsibility could be recognized in the following way. Before a candidate is accepted for a program of study the local parish provide an evaluation of the person. This evaluation needs to be intensive — involving the activities this person has been involved in and how that person has been living out the baptismal call.

If a candidate is chosen for study the bishop of it diocese must be in constant communication with the seminary to see that the seminarian is evaluated in a way that enables the seminarian to minister to the local community.

In the pastoral year, the community to which the seminarian is assigned must be given guidelines to evaluate that person and the bishop or his delegate needs to visit the community at regular times to see how the evaluation is progressing.

The final year of study should focus on an area of needed growth as evaluated during the pastoral year.

If at any time in the process it is discerned that a candidate is unsuitable for the priesthood then the candidate must be informed and encouraged to find a vocation outside priesthood in which a fulfilling life can be achieved. With a system of checks in which the laity play an active role, priests may be fewer in number but more dedicated and interested in the vocation.

We also recommend that once ordination takes place the priest should be encouraged to go for further study at regular intervals.

As any other person in a chosen vocation, we feel that priests should be paid a salary in accordance with their qualifications and years of experience. Thus a salary scale would be initiated and an evaluation process would be put in place. Within this framework the priest would have set hours of employment and the local parish would take the responsibility of sharing in the ministering to others in the community.

We recommend that priests meet in chapter for decision-making at set times during the year to deal with concerns and issues of the diocese.

We feel the church must recognize the vocation of every person in the church. If a woman is called in vocation, to ordained ministry then the church needs to be open to that. It has come time to drop the law of male-only clergy in favour of the vocation of the person, male or female.

The power within the local church must be co-responsible — priest and laity working together for the work of Christ in the world. This co-responsibility must work on the principle of subsidiarity. Thus within the parish, given ministries make decisions at their level of
competence. If a decision goes beyond the ability of a ministry then it goes to a higher level in the parish community but the higher level must always include laity who have been chosen for the position by the community. This shared decision making will bring the checks and balances which bring accountability to the priesthood which it has not had in our culture.

Our hope is that the recommendations we have made to you will make our church healthier. We cannot be certain it will eliminate child sexual abuse by the clergy but with all people taking responsibility for how our church grows and develops we will become a much stronger community of faith and, in turn, prevent child sexual abuse.

The preceding brief is one which we presented to you last summer and which we have been working on consistently in an effort to add to the recommendations. As a community we feel we have been in a unique situation in this Diocese because we have been encouraged to continue in this endeavour.

One of our main concerns in implementing any kind of process on the parish level deals with the fact that the vast majority of our parish priests make the decisions on what is implemented and what is ignored in their parishes. From the lack of recognition and response by our parish priests to the extent the Child Sexual Abuse is affecting their parishioners, we feel that most of our priests, to whom the people are looking for some form of guidance, are still in the denial stage of the grieving process. We don't feel they comprehend the fact that the victims that were physically abused are not the only abused people in our church but that the people as a whole are victims, and this includes the priests themselves. This is not only a clerical problem but a society problem at large, which the whole church has to address in order to incorporate people's social and spiritual lives.

From the time our parish began nearly five years ago our pastor encouraged all the lay people to take ownership of their spiritual lives and build a community of people with a vision of Church which puts God as the centre of their personal life and their community life and not one man, or a group of people. This has been a difficult task because we all came from parishes where the priest was given total responsibility in all decision making and the people never questioned his authority. We have grown to a point where our spiritual lives are enriched and challenged by our pastor in the midst of an active community growing in faith.

We feel the recommendations we make for the parish level will only succeed if people become active working communities with their main emphasis on faith building and living the Word of Christ instead of the traditional monetary emphasis. This will take time, openness, and a lot of sharing of experiences, but if it can work in one parish it can work in others.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Our first recommendation arises from the immediate need we see in our clergy for counselling through their denial. We feel it is imperative for all of them to work in groups with professional therapists and as well some, if not all, may need individual help. Hopefully, this would lead to an acceptance of themselves as human beings with varying strengths and weaknesses and enrich their vocation as spiritual leaders. Because of the present structure of most parishes (with the priest as leader ultimately holding the deciding power), leaders who cannot face the social problems and injustices in the lives of the people, the limits of their own areas of expertise and the acceptance of their own lives, can consciously or unconsciously undermine any process of life which the diocese might try to implement.

- The Diocese should set up a Commission with people who are knowledgeable in all areas of child sexual abuse, and who will be available to go into parishes as the need arises. When a priest is charged, a team from this Commission should immediately be sent to all parishes in which the priest has been stationed to work with parish groups (eg parish council), to help them work out and begin a life process to deal with the anger, hurt, guilt and frustrations of the people. This would begin a gradual awareness of individual and parish recognition of their own strengths.
and weaknesses as well as those of the whole church, and give a group in the local parish the skills to enable them to work with other people in their parish.

A process similar to the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults could be developed. This process enables people to look at their own lives, progress to living their lives in relation to the life of Jesus Christ, leading them to a reconciliation between them and their Church which could then be celebrated.

- In the Jim Hickey case, our church offered no help to victims because of legal implications. Because of this, many people are still angry and hurting and have walked away. With this in mind, we recommend that:
  a) an outreach program be set up, primarily for the young men who testified against the two convicted priests, providing individual and group work to deal with their issues and to show encouragement and support;
  b) as soon as a charge is laid, a professional counsellor contact the victim on behalf of the church to offer counselling.

- In recent statements made by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, priests who have been convicted and served their time in the legal system may be accepted back by their bishop to hold some minor position in their diocese, to say Mass, and not to be put in a position where they have contact with children. Such action would only fuel the anger and disillusionment of the people of the church. We feel that any position a priest holds in the Diocese is a position of trust. Therefore we recommend that these people not be employed in any capacity in parish churches or in our diocesan offices. Also, to prevent these people from moving to other provinces and taking positions as priests, we recommend that the bishop investigate to see if there is a procedure within the boundaries of Canon Law that allows the sacrament of Holy Orders to be annulled.

- The Diocese appoint a public relations person well versed in Canon Law, diocesan policy and the dynamic of child sexual abuse to be its spokesperson on matters relating to this topic. This person should also have perfected skills in dealing with the media.
  - The bishop make regular statements to his people through the local media so that people feel a sense of leadership at such a difficult time in the lives of Catholic Christians.
  - The Diocese use the local media to inform people on a consistent basis of: a) the diocesan groups that have been set up in the past one and one-half years and b) the progress these groups are making.
  - The Diocese identify the services available at the community level to help victims and their families deal with their anger, frustration, and alienation of the church.
  - The Diocese make funds available to implement programs, such as Parent Effectiveness Training, at the parish level to improve communication in families since the issue of sexuality has traditionally been taboo in families. The openness that this type of program would encourage would help in the detection of any kind of abuse should it happen again.
  - The Diocese develop an in-service and education program for our school board members, our school principals and our teachers in the separate but united responsibilities of the parents, the teachers and parish in the faith development of our children. This would encourage more emphasis on parish community building and alleviate the pressures the teachers feel from the parish priests. Hopefully, this will lead to a healthier outlook for our children on the role of their parish priest in their community.
  - An education of priests and parish councils together about the Vision of Church, which involves laity working together with the clergy to build parish community and enhance our growth in faith, is needed.

Al Mooney, Carol Anne Northcott, Maureen O’Keefe
Heather Shapler, Marie Stoyles

December 18, 1989
INTRODUCTION
Honourable Mr. Winter, fellow Commissioners, thank you for the opportunity to present on the grave issue of sexual abuse by the clergy. It is on behalf of the Pastoral Council for the Parish of Burin that I present. My name is Ray Picco and presently I am Chairman of the Parish Council.

Much has unravelled since the gloomy days of January, 1988 when the media first broke the news of abuse, alleged and actual. Since that time we have been in a state of reaction. The issue of abuse by the clergy has taken up a large portion of our monthly meetings. The Educational Therapist from one of our parish schools made a presentation. Mr. Tom Mills of the Family Life Bureau made a presentation in July. Since that time another public meeting has been held.

Generally speaking, attendance at meetings has been low. While this could be attributed to a number of reasons, including the lack of faith in this Commission, definite reactions and opinions are evident. At this time I will provide an overview of these reactions and state the views of the Parish Pastoral Council as they relate to each of the five mandates.

COMMUNITY REACTION
Based on a meeting of July 6, 1989 it would be fair to describe the reaction of the Burin Parish as one of bewilderment and dismay. From the onset many felt the church hierarchy was not willing to deal with the issue and it took the judicial system to face the issue. It seems the judicial system was even reluctant to tackle this issue at first. There was also concern that the church hierarchy was manipulating the healing process. A high degree of frustration was being experienced, people were trying to find appropriate ways of venting it, but all the time the hierarchy was talking prayer and forgiveness. When this scandal first broke, people were not capable of forgiving because they were hurt so badly.

Many parishioners were concerned about defending the Roman Catholic institution to other faiths. This is especially unique to Burin a multi-denominational community. Young and old alike have spoken about comments made in the work and social community when charges were first laid. Since the situation has become worse, a great deal of sympathy has been expressed by non-Catholics toward us. Concern has also been expressed about the noncaring, apathetic reaction of our youth. They have either numbed themselves or lost respect altogether.

A number of parishioners maintain that the Diocese was aware of the abuse and how deep it was. Attempts such as writing the Diocese were made, but they were ignored. It was stated by ex-parishioners at our meetings that when the situation was too serious, the priest was relocated. For this reason, some parishioners have called for the Archbishop’s resignation, too.

Others have been upset over the inadequate help being offered to victims. It is felt that counselling should be available to complainants as soon as they come forward. Waiting to see if a priest is going to be found guilty before offering help seems inhumane when this victim perceives that he/she was abused, whether true or not. Perceived abuse has to be treated just as seriously as actual abuse. Likewise, alleged abusers have to be examined with as much concern as convicted abusers.
One other vein of thought I wish to relay to you as expressed by parishioners deals with the doubt they have about the effectiveness of this Commission. Parishioners are wondering how change can be expected if all the responses go back to the people managing the situation. We are dealing with an issue where denial and secrecy contribute to the problem. There is also the belief that the power structure of the Church has allowed much of this to happen and unless this structure changes, the potential for abuse will always be there.

What I have presented thus far represents a summary of reactions. Like any crisis, feelings must be vented and legitimized before solutions can be sought. It has taken a long time to legitimize feelings and even as I speak, many have not been able to do this yet. Nevertheless, I will continue on and present other opinions as they more specifically relate to your mandate.

In looking at Term No. 1 of the Mandate, factors that may have contributed to sexual abuse of children, the Parishioners of our parish expressed a variety of opinions. These opinions ranged from shock to utter and deep anger. However, in sensitizing the this was not unexpected, in mind the respect and place of honour the priest held in the Catholic family. This scandal was like a volcanic explosion.

Mr. Commissioner, it would take the wisdom of Solomon to try to say why one factor was more important than the other in this serious matter. Nevertheless, it was the view of our parishioners — at least those who attended our meetings — that the following factors were indeed very important.

The first is one of Power. The priest was almost like God. Rarely was he questioned about his actions. If at times he was, the vast majority of people felt that they had no recourse, no one to help them. Another factor was that there was very little accountability on the part of the priest; with very few parish structures in place the priest ruled everything. Our parishioners too, felt that Alcohol was a contributing factor. It seems that we have a cultural tolerance for this substance and in some cases in this scandal it may have been used as an excuse or a bribe. They felt, too, that sexual abuse may have gone on in the past but it might have been swept under the rug.

In our meetings parishioners expressed their views on the institution of the Priesthood. In their opinion "celibacy" was a contributing factor and it is clear that they are ready for married clergy and the ordination of women. Celibacy, they felt, should be optional. It was their consensus that there is a "call to celibacy" and a "call to priesthood". These are two different concepts but they have been enmeshed together. Parishioners stated that there was a lot of status for clergy and it provides a context where to be unmarried is acceptable and this may attract (or have attracted) candidates with hidden agendas — ie a safe place or a safe cover.

Another factor they felt that made its contribution was Frustration on some of the priests part in trying to cope with their own sexuality. In many cases there was very little in place to help them overcome the problem.

It was the view of the people that "fear" on the part of the child played a role in this not being detected for a long time. Not only was there fear of the priest but they were afraid to mention anything at home because of the paternal structure of the family. Very often it was better to suffer in silence.

In recent years the Lieutenant Governor, among others, has tried to bring attention to the existing crisis of the traditional Newfoundland family. We wish to make reference to this issue as it relates to abuse.

Newfoundland during the 1940s to the 1960s was an isolated society. It was changing from a British Colony to Canada's tenth province. A long period of stagnation was slowly coming to an end. Many social problems related to poverty were existent and generally speaking, people had a tendency to be passive, submissive and unquestioning of authority. Families were considered to be patriarchal. Obedience and orderliness were the features of a good family. Children were "good" when they behaved and thought the way they were suppose to behave and think. Good children were meek, agreeable, unselfish and never caused family
embarrassment. Children were under complete and absolute control of adults.

The patriarchal family structure, endorsed by the patriarchal church, created a ripe situation for abuse. Most abusers grew up in this era and this was their experience of family. An abuser could count on any family's blind obedience and access victims. Once abuse occurred, the family's drive to protect its good name allowed the abuse to go on.

No one needs to be reminded that in today's emerging family individual family members have rights and these individual rights come before protecting the family name. Many view this trend toward individual rights negatively, but this is another reason why abuse has become a major issue. Children are no longer considered "owned", they have rights and freedoms that are being protected.

In looking at Term No. 2 of the Mandate as "to why such behaviour could have gone undetected and unreported for such a long period of time", a variety of opinions were expressed. Once again there was much evidence of anger and frustration and hurt in the voices that spoke. Some of our parishioners were adamant that it had been detected, that it must have been reported, but it was covered up by the power structure of the Church who tried to deal with it in a very quiet way. Others stated that it may be the result of the normal reactions of the victims:

- fear of the consequences of telling
- traditional respect for authority
- embarrassment
- desensitization (numb themselves, block out feeling and memories)
- denial
- fear of being rejected.

In addition to these, it was the view of other parishioners that it may have gone unreported because there was a general lack of education on the part of many priests. They might not have understood the enormity of this crime and its effects on their child. In addition, there was few structures in place to report the problem. Some expressed the view that it would continue to be so today except for the role of the media, laws regarding the reporting of child abuse, trained guidance counsellors, social workers, etc. All agree that there is an awareness now on the part of the parent and the child of their rights. Structures exist now outside the Church authority to ensure that people who report such incidents are listened to and believed. In the past, it was the word of the priest over everyone else.

In looking at Term No. 3 of the Mandate — How can victims and their families be helped?

It was the unanimous view of St. Patrick's Parish Council and views expressed at meetings of our parishioners, that the following steps be put in place to help the victims and their families, realizing of course that some of these suggestions may already be in place.

- Psychological counselling must be available as soon as possible after the trauma. This means providing help even before convictions are reached.
- The onus must be on the Church to go to these victims and their families. It must not be vice versa.
- There must be group support.
- There will have to be long-term follow up, perhaps 20-30 years or longer. The diocese must cover all cost.
- Counselling should be available in the victim's environment. In cases on the Burin Peninsula, it was felt that it was unfair for victims to have to travel to St. John's for counselling.
- Anonymity must be ensured.

In dealing with Term No. 4 of your Commission, many of our parishioners expressed a range of suggestions but many qualified these statements by asking — "How can a person making a complaint be listened to?" "Will there be a cover up?" They were adamant on these points and pointed out what they believed to be a hush-hush attitude about past abuse.

That being so, there are a number of suggestions that were debated. These include:

- It was the consensus of the parishioners that "the diocese should develop a model plan for parishes" to follow in reporting suspected cases.
The person(s) making the complaint must be listened to and an investigation must be set in motion immediately.

Listen to children and act immediately on their reports.

Programs and better schooling is needed to educate children to realize when they are being "groomed" or "set up" for abuse.

The role of "altar boys" was questioned. It seems that some abused children were "altar boys". The role of this group made possible a very close relationship to develop between the boy and the priest.

Parishioners expressed the idea that perhaps this role in our church could be eliminated. This suggestion was based on a number of changes that are now present in our Liturgy.

- Readers come from the assembly
- Ministers of Communion come from the assembly
- The presentation of gifts come from the assembly
- Why not an adult or child be picked to serve ass?

It was suggested that at other liturgical ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals, etc. it should not create much of a problem.

In doing this they felt that one source of contact that might contribute to child sexual abuse would be eliminated.

In looking at your last mandate, we realize too, that it was very important to try and make some recommendations with regard to this mandate. Our Pastoral Council and Parishioners expressed the following ideas that should be considered. At the same time, we realize that at the present time we are not as fully informed as perhaps we should be as to the selection of candidates for the priesthood and some of these suggestions may well be in place.

- Psychological testing, a must.
- Priestly ministry must be considered exclusive of the celibacy issue.
- Priesthood should be open to Men or women, ed or single.
- Priests need inservice and help if they admit to a problem. Support and therapy must be provided.

It seems to us as we spoke to many of our fellow parishioners that the incidents of sexual abuse over the past year have created a large gulf between the clergy and the people. This was expressed to us in many ways. There was anger, cynicism and a lack of trust. This, we feel, is very unfortunate. Our parishioners believe that we still have in our diocese many good priests who also have been deeply hurt by the events of the past year.

St. Patrick's Pastoral Council, in an effort to foster a healthy relationship and to be more or a presence to the parish, makes the following suggestions: The Parish Council needs real authority in each parish. The work should be a team approach.

- There should be consultation with the Parish Council before the appointment of Parish Priests to the Parish.
- The Parish Pastoral Council should have the responsibility to look after the economics of the parish.
- There should be lots of liaison between the Diocesan Pastoral Council and each Parish Council, but it should be clear that each Parish Council should become strong and familiar with the workings of the local parish structure before it begins to expand itself into other areas.

**SUMMARY**

St. Patrick's Parish, with the whole Roman Catholic community, was deeply hurt and saddened by the activities of some of our priests over the past year. However, in another way perhaps it was good because it is giving us, the laity of the church, an opportunity to speak of these issues in a frank and open session and this we hope will lay the groundwork for a stronger Catholic Community.

Nevertheless, the task of your Commission is indeed a tremendous one. If you fail to make good recommendations or if it is perceived to be just a rubber stamp, then we feel the crisis within our Church in Newfoundland will grow deeper. It will become "silent".
There will be no support, no trust and very little communication and we feel it will take a lot of evangelization to win back a generation of young Catholics.

One may argue, and perhaps rightly so, that the issue of child sexual abuse is an issue of society and that priests were unfairly treated by the media in this regard because of their station in society.

Parishioners with whom we spoke argued with this premise on the grounds that in looking at the number of charges being laid - left an extremely high correlation - there has to be a problem.

Perhaps, as they pointed out, celibacy is not practical for all priests in today’s society and therein lies some of the problem. As stated in this brief, we believe that it should become optional.

With your help and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the church may find some way out of this terrible problem. However, unless it is done in the open and with the support of the people, the wounds will not and cannot heal.

Your task is no small undertaking. You will need the prayers and support of every Catholic in our Diocese.

September 15, 1989
St. Teresa's Parish
St. John's

Letter to Archbishop Alphonsus L. Penney

On the night of March 3, one hundred and eighty people gathered in St. Teresa's Parish Hall to take part in a forum designed to enable them to express their concerns regarding the recent occurrences of the sexual abuse of minors by some priests in the Archdiocese. The presence of so many people on a Friday night is an indicator of the depth of feeling and concern by the laity. Another is the fact that for many, though this was the first time they had ever taken part in any formal group process, and despite the fact that they were very uncomfortable with speaking in public, they were even more upset by the recent happenings and thus felt compelled to speak. The promise was made that evening to present to you any concerns and recommendations that came from the evening. As you would be aware, a multitude of feelings, approaches and solutions were presented out of frustration, anger, love and loyalty. Certainly the open airing of feelings and the discussion in a church-convoked meeting was very important to the people gathered. Also there was a sense that it's our church, and therefore our problem, and maybe this kind of meeting means that we will be given a voice and part in seeking a solution.

NEED FOR A PUBLIC PASTORAL INQUIRY

Whereas, their initial concern focused on the silence and lack of leadership on the part of the diocese, it would be more accurate to say that, now, parishioners are preoccupied with the need for an open public forum to help re-establish the Church's credibility and to begin the task of rebuilding trust between laity and clergy. The forum itself must address many areas relating to the sexual abuse issue 1) How could this abuse go on for so long without some persons in the structure at least harbouring suspicion of its existence? 2) Why was there such silence from church leaders when the morals of the community had been so seriously attacked? 3) It appears that there has been a silent acceptance of an irregular lifestyle among some priests — namely those frequenting gay bars and those having girlfriends. This is viewed as an insult and assault on the faith community. In doing this, while proclaiming to be celibate, these individuals jeopardize the integrity of their brother priests and of the church itself.

In addition to the areas directly relating to the current issues of sexual abuse convictions and charges, our parishioners want this forum to examine many issues relating to the priesthood in our diocese. Among these are 1) the perception of the role of the priest by both laity and clergy; 2) what real role do the local parishes play in determining admission of candidates to the seminary? Are there too many socially maladjusted and sexually immature young men presenting themselves as candidates for ordination? 3) Is there a kind of tacit seminary mist independence from their only possible companions are young males: 4) What elements in our culture made it possible for these crimes to have been so easily committed? 5) Is our present diocesan Church set-up adequately equipped to encourage priests to seek assistance in dealing with problems relating to such diverse issues as alcoholism, sexual misconduct, and other problems? In short the forum should address both the role and lifestyle of the priests and the structures in
our culture and in our church which facilitated the sexual abuse of the young people by priests.

It should be noted that many people have the strong feeling that the present organization of the church does not serve well either the clergy or the laity. It seems hard for the archbishop to communicate directly with his people and even more so for the laity to communicate with him. The clergy and the laity must be accountable and responsible for the welfare of the church at the parish and diocesan levels. Yet somehow the way the diocese is organized it does not encourage or enable this. For instance, people feel that they are kept on the outside of this problem and have little or no way of contributing to the solution. Because of the lack of hierarchical leadership they now realize that they must play a much greater role in ministering to the local church. Insofar as the laity has been a part of the problem, they realize that they must be part of its solution. There is a sense that "we can help" and "we desperately need to help". Therefore it is imperative that there be a substantial representation of lay persons, both male and female, in the pastoral inquiry. Parishes, Deaneries, school boards, and the diocesan commissions have lay persons with the background and interest required to serve on such a body.

Looking to the re-establishment of trust and credibility, it is seen to be important that some persons outside the diocese (and perhaps the province) be invited to serve as members of the Enquiry. These individuals need to be of such stature that they are perceived to be
• dedicated to uncovering the truth;
• free to pursue the truth in any area that they wish;
• capable of hearing and speaking the truth without a bias towards the archdiocesan church; and
• capable of bringing expertise, insight and healing to the local church.

(Perhaps the fact that Archbishop Hayes has already been here for public hearings would merit asking him to serve.) A representative or representatives from other churches might serve to bring a certain distance and at the same time a compassion based or understanding the local situation. Certainly there would be need for the inclusion of a sociologist with expertise in the area of structural analysis/interaction.

Whatever the composition of this group, it would be important that there is representative lay involvement in appointing members to serve on this body and in defining its mandate. (The Gatineau-Hull Report, 1986, might be of assistance.)

REACTION TO THE ARCHBISHOP

As was stated in the opening remarks, there was a great diversity of opinion on many issues. This is particularly true of the reaction to the Archbishop. We present these to you, respectfully, knowing some of the negative brunt of them. Opinions ranged from those based on deep-seated anger, resentment and bitterness to those emanating from equally deep-seated sorrow, understanding and compassion. What is clear from this wide-ranging reaction was the expectation that, as leader of the local church, the Archbishop must be seen to stand clearly on the side of truth, justice, compassion for the victims, and moral leadership. Thus it may not be surprising that many people felt that, since this was not seen to be the case, the archbishop should resign. Comparisons were made to the corporate system in which the acknowledged leader is responsible for the actions of his officers whether or not he knows about them.

The smaller group of fourteen persons who helped design and facilitate the parish forum, together with the pastoral team of St. Teresa’s, felt that this had to be presented to you because it did surface substantially in all the small groups on Friday evening. However, recognizing the more compassionate and reconciliatory points of view that were also expressed that evening, the group felt that the re-establishment of this sense of leadership could come from a very different direction. The recognition was there that the lack of direction seemed to come from an inability to act, faced with the complexity of facets, rather than a lack of desire to lead. The ultimate goal is twofold:
healing and reconciliation of all the parties involved in the sexual abuse, beginning with the victims and their families, all the way to clergy who have been convicted and charged with sexual abuse; and

- the re-establishment of trust in our church leadership and its dedication to truth and to the resolution of the problems that gave rise to the sexual abuse.

With this twofold goal in mind, perhaps the gift that the Church needs most is leaders who are able to recognize their weakness, express their sorrow and are not afraid to allow this weakness to be a source of strength. In weakness, strength. A humble, public, and open admission of sorrow regarding some of the major points of inaction that are seen by the people would go a long way towards rallying the support of people. To admit one’s own fears, anxieties, feelings of being trapped between the claims of the victim’s families and disillusioned people and the need not to convict anyone before trial would clearly place the Archbishop with the rest of the church community in a kind of community shared weakness. Strongly resented by the people was the sense that official responses for much too long were legal rather than moral responses to the pain of the community. They felt that there was a gross insensitivity in showing understanding to the needs and concerns of both the victims and their families, and the faith community. The lack of immediate public recognition, and the lack of strong initiative in trying to deal with the problem were also points at issue. Along with decisive steps to get to the root of the problems and issues giving rise to the sexual abuse, such a real admission of sorrow and struggle would invite all the good will and co-operation of the laity who want to help. Actually enlisting their help in the public pastoral inquiry directed towards healing the past and building towards the future would be seen as a decisive act of leadership.

CONVICTED PRIESTS

There seemed to be unanimity that priests convicted of sexually abusing minors should not be permitted to exercise their priestly ministry again. Just calling on Canon 1395 as the general principle that the archdiocese will apply in dealing with such cases would assure the people that both the church and individuals will be protected from now on.

OFFICIAL SPOKESPERSON

There were strong sentiments in the groups about official spokesperson for the Archdiocese. Given the lack of trust at the moment and some underlying suspicion of the personal credibility of the lifestyles of clerics in general, it is recommended that the archdiocese give serious thought to hiring an experienced layperson to fill this role.

SUPPORT, HOPE AND FAITH

Despite the community’s moral outrage surrounding the issue of sexual abuse of children by some priests, it is important to acknowledge the deep faith, compassion for victims, and willingness to serve the church in the long processes of healing and reconciliation present in so many parishioners. Many wish to assure the Archbishop and priests of their increased support and understanding. There is much courage and strength present in the lay and they need to be given the opportunity to take responsible roles in dealing with the and related issues in our local church.

In the name of the parishioners gathered on the evening of March 3, and in the name of the group of facilitators, I present you with the concerns and recommendations which flowed from our evening.

Gerard Dominic
Chairperson of St. Teresa’s Parish Council
March 16, 1989
St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Council
St. Lawrence and Lawn

On behalf of the Parish Council of St. Thomas Aquinas Parish, St. Lawrence and Lawn, we would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank this Commission for allowing us to meet with you today. We trust that our comments, which reflect the attitudes and opinions of our parishioners, will be of some assistance to you in preparing your report on this extremely important matter.

From the outset of this problem we would like to inform you, that we as a Council have, to the best of our ability, communicated to our parishioners all the information re: the sexual abuse of children by some members of the clergy, which has come from the archdiocese offices. We have provided opportunities for dialogue, such as having the Family Life Bureau conduct a seminar and sending out a questionnaire.

Also, a special prayer service for the victims of this abuse was conducted in this parish last March. This service was quite well attended.

We'd now like to summarize the views of our parishioners as communicated to us in our recent questionnaire.

The majority of our parishioners claimed that the recent abuse issue has not affected their faith in any way. They indicated shock, disappointment, and lack of trust in the perpetrators of these crimes but they still continue to practise their faith as before. Many of them held the view that the actions of priests (i.e., human beings) did not affect their relationship with God or their faith in Him.

A representative sampling of our youth, however, clearly indicated a profound sense of shock and a lack of trust in all priests. Many said they have decided to discontinue going to church.

Our survey too, clearly showed that most of our parishioners held the view that this abuse by the clergy went undetected for so long for the following reasons.

1. The priests were held in such high esteem and were incapable of doing wrong. Many said that even if some boys did report incidents of abuse, they would have been dismissed for that reason.

2. The victims were afraid to come forward because they were afraid no one would believe them and they were too ashamed and embarrassed anyway.

3. Some people were of the firm belief that the hierarchy of the church in this province was surely aware of what was going on but failed to investigate such actions.

The third part of our survey asked our parishioners what steps were necessary to prevent a recurrence of this crime. The following are representative of the views expressed:

- more careful screening of candidates to the priesthood;
- priests should not have to live by themselves but live in communities of priests (like the Sisters and Brothers);
- priests should have the option to marry (this was almost unanimous);
- punish those priests found guilty and convicted and make sure they are not allowed to ever function as priests again;
- the church should provide counselling and support to the victims and their families.

In conclusion, we as a parish, feel that our parish community has been affected very much by these sexual abuse crimes. People have been shocked, saddened,
and deeply humbled by the whole affair. We feel very sorry for those priests who are innocent of all such wrongdoing but who are nevertheless "painted with the same brush". Our positive aspect of this whole affair is that we have been made more aware of the whole issue of sexual abuse and that parents are now speaking more openly to their children about it.

It is our sincere hope that this brief can be of some small assistance to this Commission. We strongly recommend that your full report on this issue be presented by His Grace, Archbishop Penney, to The Canadian Conference of Bishops to be part of their submission to the Synod on Priesthood to be held next year in Rome. Let us hope that with a co-operative effort, we may see the end of this heinous crime. Thank you very much.

September 16, 1989
I write to express my concerns and viewpoints regarding the sexual abuse of children by Roman Catholic clergy. I hope the questions I raise will help you in your search for truth. In the interest of brevity please find my concerns enumerated below:

1. Is the sexual abuse problem we are witnessing among our Roman Catholic clergy related to teachings or omissions in seminary training? Was homosexual behaviour overlooked in the seminary by turning a blind eye? Is Ann Roche, a Roman Catholic historian recently interviewed on The Journal, correct in her belief that a sympathy and tolerance for homosexuality existed in the seminary? If we are to follow her train of thinking, the problem we are experiencing with our clergy was predictable; in fact, she saw it as "a disaster in the making for the last twenty years." Most seminary leaders knew about it; furthermore, she contended there was active recruitment just as there was known persecution against straights. No wonder many Catholic laity now feel our seminaries have been attracting too, too many individuals who merely see the priesthood as a haven to carry on their own perverted sexual behaviour in wealth, comfort and prestige with daily access to numerous boys. If any of this is the case, then the Roman Catholic Church needs not only to tighten its screening for candidates to the priesthood but also to re-evaluate the thinking processes it fosters regarding human sexuality.

2. Priests need to be made more accountable to their parishioners. They should be placed on a salary from which they would pay their own rent, as well as all living and social expenses (vacations).

3. Leadership assessment is needed. Priests for some time (at least last ten years) have not been adhering to their bishops. Many have gone their own way, doing their own thing as they continued to ignore Archdiocesan approval for parish work expenses over five thousand dollars. This was something bishops had to be aware of in their parish visitations yet they turned a blind eye and deaf ear. One has to wonder if bishops were more concerned with supplying a quantity of priests, regardless of quality.

4. Why are the few remaining good priests finding it necessary to remain loyal to these sex offenders? Why haven't they chosen to stand up and speak out vehemently against the perverted behaviour of these individuals? Their misguided loyalty is only making it more difficult to separate the straight, honest-to-goodness priests from the perverted ones. Why isn't our church calling the faithful to pray that all the wolves in sheep clothing among our church leaders be found out and cast out? Surely everyone wants the honest and pure church that Jesus founded, not the sick, perverted one that has been engulfing us this last twenty years.

5. Is this problem we are encountering among our clergy in Newfoundland only a North American problem or is it world-wide? If world-wide, why isn't the hierarchy in Rome addressing it? We need to get away from the pray, pay and obey church.

6. Is the whole Catholic philosophy a little at fault? Are our Roman Catholic laity learning to imitate many of our church leaders by adapting the attitude of hiding problems rather than acknowledging them and seeking solutions to them. Do many Roman Catholic laity, like, it seems, the Roman hierarchy see a priest's involvement with a woman more disgusting and unforgivable than a priest's sexual abuse of children? A priest can sexually abuse children and remain a priest but is immediately defrocked for his acknowledged
involvement with a woman. Pardon me, but aren't both against Catholic teaching? That isn't to say church teaching on this (priests marrying) shouldn't change but until it does, leaders must obey.

Canon Law needs to be changed, if it maintains that clergy convicted of sexual abuse charges are to retain their priestly status notwithstanding that they never get assigned to a parish. Shouldn't they be defrocked? Haven't they violated their celibate vows not to mention violation of the Catholic church's teaching on morality? Haven't they knowingly and deliberately consecrated the Body and Blood of Christ in a state of sin? Haven't they even taken their vows under false pretenses? I know for myself, and many other Catholics it is hardest to come to with the idea of these men being retained within the priesthood at all. The Roman Catholic Church needs to take a firm stand. Either we are for or against sexual abuse of any kind. If against it, then act accordingly. Cast out from the leadership roles those who have cast aside Christ's teaching and have led too many others down his perverted path. Even Christ was merciless to those who gave a bad example to children (see Matthew 18:6).

8. Why did so many of the charged priests — two already convicted and three others charged (one ex-priest) end upon the Southern Shore? Did the Shore's being predominantly Catholic have anything to do with it? Was it felt that a predominantly Catholic area would not mistrust a priest and thus he would be able to continue, undetected, his lifestyle of abusing children? Interestingly no charges came from the area. Again, is this because there were none, or is it because Catholics will silently bear abuse rather than publicly acknowledge a problem? Are Catholics so guilt-ridden that even as victims they assume some of the guilt?

9. Priests should be allowed to marry and women should be invited to the priesthood.

10. How can the Roman Catholic Schools help children through this church crisis? Is the church planning any kind of programs to help the children rebuild some kind of trust in our good priests. To date they have been left to deal with news broadcasts, hushed conversations, in the home, rampant gossip, innuendos and filthy jokes, with little or no leadership from our school authorities in way of explanation or addressing the children's confused thinking.

11. If the people are indeed the church, listen to them don't just hear them. Changes are needed. We want a strong, open, honest Church for and by the people. Will we be heard or will the hierarchy continue to ignore us and let the community of God drift away to find a new and better way to follow Jesus on their own or just to drift and drift farther and farther away?

I hope you will find food for thought in my queries. As you can see, there are many problems within our church. May your Enquiry be the beginning of many, for I acknowledge your mandate does not allow you the scope to address them all, but you can recommend the need for many others addressing different facets of our church. May God bless you and the Spirit guide you to do your very, very best to shake some renewal in our present church hierarchy for therein is the heart of the problem.

July 1, 1989
The Working Group on Child Sexual Abuse  
St. John's

INTRODUCTION

We will be brief as the Commission has already undertaken considerable literature research into child sexual abuse and has made substantial efforts to seek the opinions of experts, community members and interested persons. We formulated, and provide, our comments within the framework of the Commission's publicized mandate.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Power that is not open to challenge is rare and dangerous and yet it is unchallenged power which the clergy in Newfoundland have enjoyed. And it is the issue of power and control over others which is central to an understanding of sexual abuse, whether it occurs in nuclear families, the family of the church, or in non-family relationships. Additionally, it must be recognized that the acceptance of male dominance has caused sexual abuse offending to be an almost exclusively male problem. The Roman Catholic church has not challenged male violence but in fact has been largely instrumental in protecting the male right to power and control over women and children, by allowing only men to achieve positions of church authority.

The priest's status in the community is unequalled. He is expected to be better, more spiritual, less corporeal than others. He is also expected to have a heightened perception of God's will and the spiritual needs of others. To question this perception can be seen as a sin against faith.

The priest is socially accepted in a community because of his position. Strange character traits or personality flaws that would attract attention in anyone else are dismissed. This status gives the priest ultimate authority over his flock. Children are especially vulnerable to this, because they have been taught that anything a priest asks of them is in their best interests to provide.

The priest has unlimited access to children. Parents are delighted to have a priest express any interest in their children and would allow him full rein because they believe this is in their children's best interests.

Because of his status, the priest's home becomes a mystical place. It is treated with almost the same reverence as the church itself. The thought of police or social workers entering to question the priest would seem a violation. This allows a priest to move in secrecy, a major requirement for sexual offenses his power and control are sanctioned.

Accepting this societal approach to the issue of power and control makes it clear that the conditions fostered by the Church for its clergy make it attractive for sexual offenders.

The literature on sexual offenders is clear that they seek social acceptance, authority or status, secrecy and access to children. The church, unwittingly, provides for its clergy exactly those conditions: elevated social status, aloofness and secrecy and the role of a proselytizer.

The point we wish to make is that the Church cannot blame this problem solely on individual perpetrators. It has to accept a large measure of responsibility for creating and fostering a climate which can only be described as attractive to potential sex offenders.
HEALING FOR VICTIMS

Essentially, the healing of victims of sexual abuse perpetrated by priests is little different from the healing needed by all abuse victims: they need to be assured that they did nothing wrong and did not invite the abuse (other than perhaps by being needy children — as we know that sex offenders seek out children who give their love and affection freely). They need psychological counselling to offset the guilt they feel for having been a part of the abuse, and they need to hear, quite strongly, that someone else, the perpetrator, is responsible for the abuse.

It is, therefore, our strong recommendation that the Church be very clear in its statement of the wrongness of child sexual abuse and its intent to hold perpetrators responsible.

We hope the Commission will advise the Church on the need to take a strong public stand for the provision of improved mental health services for victims of abuse. We do not see it as necessary that these services be actually provided by the church — the business of psychological counselling is a professional service and the church does not need to become a treatment centre for sex abuse victims — but the church could financially support such initiatives in an ongoing sense. This is vital. The church is currently perceived as allocating its resources almost entirely on assistance for priests. More resources need to be allocated for the wellness of parishioners, in the same sense that the church has historically expressed its interest in fighting poverty and underdevelopment.

SELECTION OF PRIESTS

It is generally acknowledged that screening for sex offenders is an underdeveloped science. Unless someone has a criminal record for conviction on a sexual offence, available records tend to provide little incriminating evidence of sexual deviance. Sex offenders do not self-report; the dynamics of offending make it within the offender’s best interests to deny and set-up aberrant activities. This is as true for a priestly offender as any other.

Additionally, it must be recognized that sex offenders, according to all current thought in this field, develop their "sexual careers" over time. Some deviant sexual careers will develop only after successful entry into a vocation, not only because of this developmental aspect of sexual deviance, but because, as we suggested above, the priestly environment is a contributing factor in itself.

We feel strongly that screening for sexually deviant behaviour (and the accompanying selection criteria or guidelines which would be developed to put such screening in place) provides false hope for ridding the church of sex offenders.

In all, the area of selection may offer less help than a commitment to (1) proper education of in-coming priests, and (2) adequate in-service on issues of sexuality, family life, interpersonal communication and other "non-spiritual" components of priestly life. Those entering the priesthood need secular as well as religious training on the issues with which they will be confronted in parishes. Refusing to deal with sexuality in a normative sense during a priest’s education is suggesting that it will not be an issue for priests throughout their careers.

We suggest, therefore, that the Commission recommend that the Church substantially increase sexual education for priests.

To return to screening, however, there are some obvious moves which can be taken.

- A family environment study, if thorough, may offer some insight in determining predisposing factors in priestly applicants, notably any history of child abuse, neglect or behavioral disorders which might themselves be indicative of abuse.
- Psychological testing, if rigorous and standardized, may indicate sexually deviant tendencies.
- The Commission should recommend that the church support the introduction of a provincial child abuse registry which would track identified offenders and document cases of children in need of protection.
TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

The mandate of the Commission suggests that there must be a provision of support for the clergy in helping them cope with deep psychological problems. It is incorrect to assume that all abuse stems from deep psychological problems. The literature on sexual abusers shows them to be extremely resistant to treatment unless and until they have clearly accepted responsibility for abusing. Sex offenders build their histories of abuse on denial, minimization, rationalization and projection. They seldom, if ever, accept responsibility for the wrongness of what they have done or even for having done the abuse in the first place. Providing sex offenders, priests or otherwise, with the seeming comfort of suffering from a "psychological disorder" is short-sighted. The pre-disposing factors in sexual offending include poorly developed inter-personal communication skills, poor skills in relating to adults (especially of opposite sex), low self-esteem, personal history of abuse, and opportunity to abuse. These are treatable characteristics which seldom fall within the categories of deep psychological problems; to call them such offers offenders a convenient diagnosis and fails to acknowledge the need for social skills training.

Priestly sex offenders must be treated for their deviance in the same way as other identified sex offenders, they must be subjected to long term treatment which helps them distinguish and extinguish their incorrect behaviour, not which labels them as sick.

Experts who have spoken in our province on treating sex offenders (Robert Pos, Michael Cox, Linda Beal, Georgia Cumming, William Marshall, Margaret Bogue, Robert Ley) have each stressed the long-term nature of such treatment if it is to be successful. Sex offenders are not made in a day and they will not be cured in a week. If the church is to assist effectively in treating sex offenders, it needs to support long-term, publicly funded treatment services, some of which could surely be paid for by the church on a user-fee basis.

RELAPSE PREVENTION

The experts are also clear on the continued risks posed by sex offenders: they re-offend, they lapse and they relapse. Formal relapse-prevention programs are not available in our community and their need should be discussed, openly, by the church. But, as well, you do not keep sex offenders from re-offending by placing them back into the same conditions as existed prior to their discovery. Part of relapse prevention is providing a different environment for an identified offender, where risk factors have been decreased.

Since opportunity is a major risk factor in sexual offending, we feel the Commission must be unequivocal in its advice to the church on returning convicted priests to pastoral duties where access to children is available. This must be avoided, not solely because it might appear to be the correct course of action in the public's view but because of the very real risks involved.

SUMMARY

We feel the Commission should ask the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's to
- take a strong public stand on the wrongness of child sexual abuse and announce a commitment to ensuring that the Church is willing to examine its own role in fostering an environment which has not been healthy for some children and families;
- support long-term publicly funded sex offender treatment and assist in its financial support;
- support, and assist in funding, improved mental health services for all victims of child sexual abuse, not
only those abused by its employees;
- adopt a commitment to increase the secular component of a priest’s initial and in-service education on issues of normative sexuality, family life and interpersonal communication.

We wish you well in the completion of your final report and look forward to its release.

January 10, 1990
Report on
Student Opinions
Regarding
Church and
Related Issues

Omnifacts
Research
Limited
contained the information that the research was sponsored by the Commission. Students were encouraged to show the letter to their parents.

Excellent co-operation was extended to Omnifacts personnel by all school board and school officials. There was a high degree of interest in the research with numerous expressed requests for feedback regarding opinions held by students on the matters discussed.

**School and Student Selection**

Within the geographical boundaries of the St. John's Roman Catholic Archdioce, there are four Roman Catholic school boards: St. John's, Ferryland, Burin Peninsula and Placentia-St. Mary's. A sample of schools was selected from each of the four boards to provide the viewpoints of students residing throughout the Archdioce. Two schools were selected at random from all boards except St. John's where, due to the larger school population, three schools were selected. All schools with Grades 8 to 12 in each of the four boards were included in the population for sampling purposes. The selection of schools was reviewed and approved by the Commission. A list of participating schools is provided in Table I.

From prior experience with group discussions among school students, it was felt that the 13- and 14-year olds in Grades 8 and 9 should not be included in the same discussion group as the 15 to 19 year olds in Grades 10 to 12. Participation by younger students tends to be impeded by the presence of older students. Therefore, four groups were composed of Grade eight and nine students while five groups were composed of Grade 10 to 12 students. Another criterion used for student selection was the sex of the students. It was hoped to determine if males and females had different opinions, given that the current sexual abuse charges against priests involved males only. Therefore, four groups each of males and females were formed. A ninth group comprised of both male and female students was also conducted. Within each school board, there was one male and one female group as well as one younger group and one older group.

Twelve students were randomly chosen from each class list. A summary of group characteristics is provided in Table I.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Grades in School*</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Grades Selected</th>
<th>Sex of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marystown</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>Marystown Central High School</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamaline</td>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>St. Joseph's Elementary</td>
<td>8 &amp; 9</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trepassey</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>Stella Maris High School</td>
<td>8 &amp; 9</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferryland</td>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>Baltimore High School</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placentia</td>
<td>8-12</td>
<td>Laval</td>
<td>9 &amp; 10**</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Carmel</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>Mount Carmel Central High School</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John's</td>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>Beaconfield Junior High School</td>
<td>8 &amp; 9</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John's</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>Gonzaga High School</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>Male &amp; Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torbay</td>
<td>4-12</td>
<td>Holy Trinity School</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** School did not accommodate grade eight students.
**Discussion Outline Development**

The focus group method of research is a qualitative technique used to explore and identify deeply held beliefs which are very difficult to obtain using structured written or oral questionnaires.

As is usual in most focus group interviews, the discussion outline is designed to begin with a fairly general topic, and move into more specific subjects relating in this case to sexual abuse and perceptions of accused clergy. The discussion outline was reviewed with members of the Commission and their suggestions incorporated.

The first section of the outline was used for introductory comments, to gather some information on respondents and help students relax. From this, the discussion was to proceed to some aspects of moral development. Students were to discuss how they determine what is right and wrong and from whom advice and guidance are received to assist them in making difficult decisions. The aim of this discussion was to determine what group or groups are predominant in students' lives as well as to discover what topics and issues students discuss, and with whom.

The third section of the discussion outline was designed to explore students' attitudes toward the Church and its activities and to determine the perceived importance of the Church in students' spiritual and moral development compared to other groups, such as the family, school and peers.

The discussion then turned to the definition of priests. The students' level of knowledge and understanding of the duties of and commitments made by priests as well as their general opinion of priests were sought.

The final part of the discussion was designed to discover students' understanding of abuse, particularly sexual abuse, and to determine their views of victims and priests accused, as well as those priests convicted of sexual abuse of children. Students' opinions of the reaction of the Church once charges against priests had been made and their views of what is fair treatment by the Church for the victims and the accused priests were also sought.

**Sources of Support in Decision Making**

Students were consistent in stating from whom they would seek advice and with whom they would discuss difficult decisions. Clergy were never mentioned spontaneously. In most groups, especially the male groups, students were quite adamant that they would never consider the clergy as a source of support. The one exception was one school wherein several teachers and the principal are Jesuit priests. The most frequently cited support groups were friends, parents, and older brothers and sisters, with friends/peers being the primary source. Male participants typically consulted older brothers and friends while female participants tended to consult their mothers and older sisters on what were perceived to be serious matters.

The issues students would discuss with the various support groups did vary. Problems at school or with specific teachers were discussed with parents and with friends, to a degree, while issues such as drinking, smoking, drugs, dating and sexual relationships were more frequently discussed with either peers or older siblings. In some cases, students did feel that they could discuss more sensitive topics such as sex and drugs with their parents. However, this was not generally the case. Female participants felt that they could turn to an adult, for support on sex-related matters by talking to a girlfriend's mother. The males, however, definitely would not turn to an adult other than perhaps a slightly older brother. School teachers or guidance counsellors were not volunteered as a group which young people would consult. When probed, however, most participants stated that they would discuss school-related matters or gossip, but generally not sensitive subjects, with school personnel. Some students, generally female, did state that there were some teachers and guidance counsellors who were approachable and to whom they might go for advice and support on certain topics. This was often dependent upon the personality of the teacher or counsellor. The more approachable teachers or
Guidance counselors are those who are accepting of the students as young adults and are not automatically judgemental of their actions.

Students' attitudes about how they decide what is right and wrong are strongly dependent upon their personal experiences and those of their friends and family. Many students stated that they know through their consciences what is right or wrong. When probed further they stated that conscience was formed by their upbringing in the home and the shared experience of friends. Neither religion nor the teachings of the Bible were mentioned as a source of conscience. In their responses to questions later in the interview, it was noted by the interviewers that participants showed indications of having well-developed values of justice and a moral sensitivity to others.

**VERBATIM COMMENTS**

I couldn't talk about sex with my Mom; she'd automatically think I was doing something and start lecturing me!

I would go to our guidance counsellor Mrs. ... she's understanding and I'd feel comfortable with her. [Interviewer note: one female response to: what if you found out you were pregnant?]

I wouldn't trust them. [Interviewer note: stated by several males when asked about clergy as sources of support in making difficult decisions. Others laughed or smiled if to imply the interviewer had to be crazy.]

You know what's right or wrong from how your parents brought you up.

**INvolvement in Church and Church Activities**

The major involvement in church or church-related activities by students was attendance at mass. The attendance at mass by young people, while generally low, varied between the two St. John's urban groups and the seven remaining rural groups. Generally, more students in the rural communities attended mass regularly (i.e., once per week) relative to the number that attended mass regularly in St. John's.

Attendance at mass by females was also relatively higher than attendance by males under each school board. The total number of students who attend mass either periodically or regularly in Trepassey, Ferryland and Torbay was higher than in other communities. In Trepassey and Ferryland, in particular, the number of students stating that their attendance at mass was voluntary was also noticeably higher than in other areas. Those students who did attend mass periodically did so most frequently during special feast days such as Christmas and Easter. They indicated that these services were relatively more enjoyable than the regular mass. Several students mentioned that they did attend wedding and burial masses and such special events as blessing of boats.

Four groups of students indicated that young people, as opposed to adults, were using the recent charges against priests as an excuse not to attend mass; that is, using it simply to legitimize their existing behaviour. Several students stated that they no longer attended mass but stopped quite some time ago, before the recent court cases.

Many of those who stated that they do not currently attend mass remarked that their parents forced them to attend when they were younger but, now that parents permitted them to decide for themselves, they no longer go. Reasons cited for not attending mass included: "It's boring"; "I can recite mass myself almost - it's the same thing week after week"; "What's the point of going? What purpose is there!" and "I don't understand what the priest is saying".

Those females in Trepassey and Marystown who regularly attended mass often stated that they read in Church; one girl played the organ and two others were altar girls. Participation in other church activities was quite limited in all groups. Participation in confession is limited to once or twice per year and only then because it is organized by the school and time is arranged during school hours for the confessions to take place. It was also acknowledged that confession was now done in a public forum at school and not on an individual basis. Many students stated that they did not agree with confession or stated seeing no benefit or reason for having it. One student stated: "What good
is confessing to some stranger and then saying prayers? I'd rather talk to a friend who could give me advice and help me do something about it."

Grace is seldom said at home and is often limited to special religious occasions such as Christmas and Easter, and family prayers are almost non-existent. Prayers are mostly said at school and the choice of prayers repeated depends upon the teacher. In two of the female groups there was an indicated dependence upon individual prayer and an expressed meaningfulness of the prayers said in school during times of stress and problems, such as during the illness or death of a loved one. This attitude was limited to stressful times experienced by the females. None of the male participants expressed any such reliance on or use of prayer.

The level of involvement of students in church activities such as choir, altar boys, altar girls, parish committees and reading in Church was generally higher in the rural areas than was evident in St. John's.

The majority of students interviewed stated that there were few church groups of interest to them and all stated that, other than Choir, Altar Boys and Altar Girls, there were no formal organizations or groups within the church for young teenagers. Social events such as fall fairs, garden parties and bingos were felt to be attended by adults and younger children. These events were not of interest to teenagers. In St. John's there was mention of parish dances for teenagers, yet few students actually attended.

The male students in Torbay and in one of the St. John's groups mentioned the International Student Leadership Institute (ISLI), the Peace and Justice Group, and the Columbian Squires, which were perceived to be indirectly influenced by the Church. These groups were seen to be worthwhile, in that personal satisfaction was obtained through helping others. In several other groups mention was made of food drives for the needy in which many of the teenagers participated. These food drives were often organized at the school level and not necessarily by the Church.

There was also mention of various youth groups such as Allied Youth, Sea and Army Cadets, Pathfinders, 4-H, Folk Choir, and various sports organizations available to teenagers. Participation in these groups by respondents was low, yet somewhat higher in the rural areas. There was some positive feedback related to the 4-H groups, as they involved various projects and organized activities. Allied Youth, given its orientation towards drugs, was avoided by members of at least one male group. Membership in this group was frowned upon by peers.

Overall, there was a great deal of variation in the number of youth groups and activities available to those teenagers interviewed. This was even evident within the one rural parish where a group such as 4-H could be very active in one community and not in another community located quite close-by. Students felt that the success of groups was largely dependent upon the leader and whether or not a leader could be found. For example, in two of the female groups there were no groups of Pathfinders or Rangers; the only thing available was a group to provide leadership training for the Brownies and Girl Guides. These students were not interested in leadership roles.

Students in all groups felt that there are no mechanisms for the parish to obtain the views of youth. The group of males in Ferryland mentioned that the Parish Council did have youth representatives, and all confirmed parishioners were given voting privileges to elect the entire Parish Council. It was generally felt, though, that teenagers were not greatly involved in Parish Councils. In summary, teenagers felt that Church groups were for adults or younger children and not available to them, despite the fact that many of the groups, such as choir, may indeed be open to teenagers.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHURCH AND BEING A CATHOLIC

A large majority of respondents felt that being a Catholic today is different from what it was in the past. Generally, it is felt that the Church is no longer the centre and dominant force in communities that it once was. While the recent charges against priests were mentioned indirectly as one element reducing the power
the Church, it was not the foremost or most frequently cited reason for the perceived decrease in the importance of the Church in people's, and especially young peoples', lives. For young people it was: that society has changed, allowing them more freedom of choice. Numerous teenagers choose not to attend mass or be active in church activities or groups. There is a great deal of indifference toward the Church. While there was expressed disgust about the recent crises, this was disgust at the behaviour of individual priests, and only in one or two groups was this feeling generalized to disgust at the Church.

All group participants were unanimous in stating that next to family, peers and school, and other groups, the Church ranked last in the level of influence it had on their lives. Two groups, one male at Holy Trinity and the other a mixed group at Gonzaga, did, however, feel that the Church had an indirect influence on them through youth groups and was a background moral presence or force in their lives. The majority of students ranked either their peer group or their family as having the greatest influence on their lives. Virtually all participants were confirmed, yet very few felt a sense of community in the Church. Rather they saw it as allowing them the right to participate in the mass, but this was viewed as a ritual without greater spiritual meaning for them.

The majority of students felt that there was little correlation between a person's religious beliefs and attendance at mass. They did not believe that the Church as an institution currently played a major role in their moral and spiritual development. Many students did state that they had been forced to attend church when they were younger. This however was not perceived to have had a lasting influence on them. Students' understanding of either the religious or theological meaning of prayers and even Confirmation was quite limited. Any information regarding the meaning of liturgy and ceremony would be gleaned from the school, through individual teachers saying the prayers with students and, to a lesser degree, from religious education courses, not directly from the Church or from parents.

There was a sense of moral development inferred from comments of students in at least two female groups. These students did state that they turned to prayer and God when they were experiencing trouble at home, during times of serious illness or the death of family members or friends. These students were generally those who attended mass regularly. There were several female students who attend mass infrequently but who stated, however, that they use prayer as a source of support. Males were less likely to discuss the usage of prayers.

Students in the urban St. John's area were much more secular in their thinking, placing little value on the Church. While this was also evident in the more rural communities, parishes were perceived to play a relatively greater role in the lives of the young people and their parents.

Teenagers expressed no sense of community as parishioners. While there was a bonding expressed toward their families and peer groups, the Church definitely did not elicit this same feeling among students, and most particularly not among the male participants.

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF PRIESTS

All students interviewed found it quite difficult to define a priest. Definitions were never conceptual but always given in functional terms ie, says mass, preaches the Bible, is a role model, is a devout Catholic, is self-sacrificing, is a community leader. Only in three of the female groups and one male group was there any difference seen between a priest and the lay religious orders. The difference was again related to the person's duties. The lay orders were seen to play the same role as priests except that the males felt that they were often teachers while the females contended that the lay orders could not "give the Host."

Types of Interaction With Priests

Only in one of the St. John's schools was there any large amount of daily interaction with priests. In that school, several teachers and the principal are Jesuit priests, who live next to the school and who therefore interact daily with many of the student population.
There was also limited interaction between members of the lay orders and students in the school system at the junior and senior high levels, as the majority of teachers at these levels are not members of a religious order. Priests in other St. John's schools were known most frequently in a formal context as the parish priest. By contrast, in the rural communities, priests were also known in a social context from their visits to the homes of students. In each group the number of students having informal contact with priests outside a religious setting was quite low. Many students knew priests through formal visits made to the school, during such times as confirmation preparatory classes, confession and from attendance at mass. Never were there any lengthy informal discussions between the students and the parish or other priests, with the exception of those who knew priests as personal friends of their families. Those students who interacted with priests on a social basis tended to have a broader understanding of priests and a better appreciation for how priests live.

In one of the female groups there was an expressed desire to have an opportunity to discuss things with priests and to have various ceremonies and prayers explained to them. But generally in the male groups, the suggestion of informal interaction with priests was met with laughter and sneers. This cynicism was encapsulated in one group of very outspoken males who felt that priests didn't know anything about the real world and therefore would not be able to explain or help with moral issues facing teenagers.

Generally, in all groups students said they would treat priests differently from other adults. Both males and females indicated that they would watch what was said in their presence and many, in light of the recent charges, would not trust them or remain alone with them. Given the recent charges against and convictions of priests, teenagers see priests as being less than holy and decidedly more human. Their authority on spiritual and religious matters is challenged and questioned as well as deemed unnecessary.

**Perceptions of Priests and their Duties**

Priests are generally seen to be separate from the community, even in the rural areas. In rural communities priests live in separate houses with, in many instances, housekeepers. There are indications that in some communities, depending upon the personality and age of the priest, people see less of a separation.

Teenagers have difficulty understanding why priests can't be more "normal"; which, in their eyes, means taking part in ordinary activities like jogging and bicycle-riding. There is a sense that younger priests are more in tune with young people and are better able to relate to them. A group of visiting missionary priests and a young Irish priest were mentioned in this light, as were the Jesuit priests teaching in St. John's.

Those teenagers interviewed were unanimous in their contention that priests should be part of the community and not be isolated from it.
Teenagers do not perceive all priests to be the same in personality and in actions. They generally feel that there are good and bad priests, with bad priests being those who have broken people's trust and not been honest, or broken the word of God. There was a strong feeling that many rumours and accusations being made against priests in general were very unfair and that not all priests are sexual abusers. It was suggested by many students, however, that their first reaction toward a priest would be one of mistrust and doubt.

As seen by participants, the parish priest's duties were to conduct mass, visit the sick, generally preach the word of God, visit the schools and give advice. Perceptions regarding the daily life of a priest were very naive. Many felt the priest prayed all day long or visited the sick, especially since mass was only once or twice a week. One male cynic felt that the priest's job very since was so little to do.

When asked if they would like to live the life of a priest, there was a resounding "no" from all groups.

Some students stated that they would have to make too many sacrifices, one of which was not being able to marry and experience family life. There were also suggestions by many students that it was a lonely life. Several students mentioned the poor image associated with being a priest these days in the light of numerous charges against and convictions of priests. Two of the male groups, where there were participants from parishes where priests were either accused or convicted of abuse, suggested that the transient nature of a parish priest's life was a contributing factor to the sexual abuse practised by some clergy. They contended that priests had no roots and no support systems, in that they were isolated in their communities.

One perceived good aspect of the life of a priest was the self-fulfilment obtained by helping others and being able to follow what was clearly a strong calling. Many students did, however, feel that the life of priest was easy, given that their material needs were provided by the Church.

**Perceived Qualifications for becoming a Priest**

Participants in all groups were unaware of the specific requirements for the priesthood. The majority of those interviewed felt that self-selection was the major requirement. There was some understanding that candidates had to "go away and study" but students weren't quite sure. When asked how priests are chosen, there were some guesses that the Archbishop and Bishop decided. Most felt that if you wanted to be a priest and were willing to serve God and make a sacrifice, you could become one. One girl stated that tests to screen priests were now being conducted to see how they react in different situations with children.

Several female students stated that one qualification for becoming a priest was to be male. The relevance of sex to the vocation of priesthood was questioned only by the female participants.

When students were asked what they perceived to be the important qualifications of a priest, those most frequently cited were trustworthiness and honesty. Another important qualification mentioned by

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**VERBATIM COMMENTS**

What makes a priest so special anyway! They are human just like us.

They are too wrapped-up in their jobs. Everything is religion, they should be more "normal".

Why should we confess our sins to this priest, a stranger, especially when we don't know what he may have done "wrong".

You'd never borrow milk, a bottle of ketchup or butter from the priest. You wouldn't treat him like a normal neighbour.

We used to call it (the priest's house and property) the priest woods. Kids wouldn't dare play on the grounds, but since the new priest came here he allows them to play there.

It's not fair, even the ones [priests] who are not at anything are being put down.

The life of a priest is boring and lonely.

A priest doesn't have any friends to go to with his problems.
approximately half of participants was a good speaking ability, an ability to get and maintain people's attention. Students also frequently mentioned that it was important for a priest to be friendly, generous, caring, supportive, helpful, devout, knowledgeable about the Bible, dedicated, open-minded (not condescending), and committed.

All groups expressed the need to have the community choose, or at least participate in, the selection of their parish priests. Several of the older students stated that it would be difficult for the community to have an initial say because residents would not know the priests. Members of two of the male groups stated that it would be quite difficult to establish a mechanism for the community to have such input. The male group in Ferryland suggested having a community representative on the selection committee to serve in an advisory role to the Archbishop.

The main commitment made by a priest entering the priesthood was seen to be "to serve God" and to remain unmarried or as one boy put it "not having sex". Very few could remember the promises taken by a priest but several did state that they learned them at the end of Grade eight in confirmation classes. Poverty was the only other vow mentioned. The vow of poverty was seen by many males and some of the females interviewed to be meaningless, as many students perceive that all priests had a fancy house, large car and housekeeper. In answer to the question "Are these vows difficult to keep?" most male respondents quite sarcastically stated that the vow of poverty was not hard to keep, as everything was provided for them by the Church. Two students stated that in their opinion priests did not take a vow of poverty. Once again, teenagers are forming their opinions on concrete, material things to which they can relate; there is absolutely no appreciation for the theological basis of the promises.

The most widely-known commitment of a priest was stated by students to be the commitment not to marry. These students could not discriminate between chastity and celibacy. All students felt that the promise of celibacy was quite difficult to keep. The male participants gave ironic responses that the difficulty was obvious given the numerous breaches of the vow.

STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDING ABOUT SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ABUSE

Sources of Information and Support

Teenagers interviewed indicated that they obtain information about sexuality from their friends, parents, older siblings, school courses, books and television. The comment was made by many female students to whom this was a bigger issue, that many parents don't start to discuss the issues of sexuality until it is started in the schools, whether it be in courses or through visits by public health nurses. Female students interviewed indicated that they were given some information in Grade Five which was focused on the reproductive cycle and menstruation. Discussions on homosexuality and heterosexuality were limited to family life and religion course sessions offered in the school. For the most part, these courses were described as being about relationships. Male students interviewed were more likely to restrict about sexuality to their groups and older brothers; however, there was a marked reticence by males to discuss such issues of sexuality with other groups. There was a strong preference for reliance on the school system's publications to provide this information.

VERBATIM COMMENTS

Priests should be allowed to marry.

There should be female priests.

A priest can still be commited to God and be married; it's allowed in other religions.

A priest knows what he's getting into; he must want to do it.

A priest makes a lot of sacrifices.

Many priests substitute alcohol and smoking [for sexual relations] because they can't get married.

Priests are human and they have sexual desires just like anyone else.

They [the Church] are making priesthood like a sex. The priest is neither male nor female.
Females would discuss their concerns about reproduction with another female more readily than with any male, and certainly not with their fathers. Discussions with female students about sexual relationships were often initiated by the mother and often related to whether or not the daughter was engaging in any sexual activity. Decisions about pre-marital sex by males and females would be discussed more readily with a peer or older sibling, rather than an adult. For many females, an adult might be consulted in those instances where the adult would not be expected to condemn the discussion or automatically assume that the girl was engaging in the activity.

Females tended to seek support from different groups on sexual issues. The group approached depended upon the level of crisis in the situation. Many females stated that if the questions related to their own sexuality they would confide in and seek advice from friends, peers or older sisters; in the case of pregnancy many would seek the advice of an adult who would likely be the mother of a best friend and, in some instances, a female guidance counsellor at school. Male students distanced themselves in discussions on sexuality with adults. Many males felt that there was no "socially acceptable place", in their eyes, to turn for support on such issues outside the school system.

Reaction to education about sexuality in the school was positive by most groups. There was some mention that certain religion courses covering the topic were optional in the last three years of schooling and often not chosen by students. In two schools, one in Torbay and another in Ferryland, where sexual abuse by the clergy is public knowledge, students feel that there is very little support or information about sexual behaviour and sexuality and feel quite alone in dealing with these topics. Females tended to seek support from peers, while males would not. Information on a female's sexuality was provided to females at an early age, yet they also expressed concern that there was often nothing available to them after Grade 9. Males interviewed appreciated any information on sex-related topics presented to them. One group said, with evident appointment, that they had a sex-education textbook but when it was discovered that it referred to condoms, it was withdrawn from the school. There was a feeling among males that the religion courses were peripheral in their treatment of topics related to sex and, given that they were not compulsory, many males would not choose to take the course, because doing so would be frowned upon by other male peers. In many instances, participants, both male and female, felt that teachers, and adults in general were uncomfortable discussing sexuality-related topics with teenagers.

Students' Understanding of Abuse

All those students interviewed had a very clear understanding that behaviour was deemed abusive if there were elements of violence and involuntary participation. Students were quite articulate in stating that there were different forms of abuse ie physical or mental abuse. The use of power to take advantage of someone was another dimension of abuse discussed.

Students were adamant that abusers could be male or female, homosexual or heterosexual. There were indications from the male groups that abusers were generally felt to be male. This was not spontaneously mentioned in discussions with the females. Students quite clearly stated that homosexuals are not sexual abusers if the sexual activity involves two consenting people who engage in it voluntarily. In three of the male groups, students indicated that children would not be able to make the judgements necessary to provide the consent. Therefore, sexual behaviour involving children would be considered automatically abusive.

Sexual abuse was seen to contain elements of both physical and emotional abuse, with an added dimension of "touching someone in private places where they did not want to be touched".

Students' Views of Priests Accused of Sexual Abuse

There are mixed reactions towards those priests accused and/or convicted of child sexual abuse. All students voiced disgust at the action of these priests, with many stating that the offenders "had to be sick."
The majority of students interviewed felt that priests abused their positions and therefore took advantage of young children. In this respect, priests in their eyes were different from other sexual abusers.

Those males interviewed were much more accusing of priests and felt that offenders were homosexuals, while a large number of females felt that they were pedophiles, using boys as convenient sexual objects simply because the life style of a priest forced them to be in the company of boys more frequently.

A degree of understanding regarding the amount of blame to attribute to accused priests was evident among some teenagers. In almost every group there were several participants who partially accorded blame for the events of sexual abuse on other elements. The Church, through its established rules for priesthood, and the power and authority accorded priests by Newfoundland community residents were cited as elements contributing to the events of sexual abuse. It was quite strongly felt by the majority of participants that priests, as people, were responsible for their actions and that regardless of the level of blame, they should be punished as would anyone found guilty of a crime.

**Perceived Barriers and Support Systems**

Many students felt that the residents of communities were partially to blame for the abusive behaviour not surfacing earlier because priests were so revered by the adult community. Most teenagers felt that family and friends had to be aware of the abuse, or at least of the existence of a problem. It was felt that the victim would have been withdrawn, depressed and appear uncomfortable in the company of priests. While these people could have reported things to legal authorities, there was an element of disbelief that priests could be responsible for abusive behaviour. In several communities, students remembered hearing adults say that there was something "unusual" or "different" about a particular priest, but that is where the questioning and probing stopped. Students also felt that the strong respect for the priest among adults (their parents and grandparents especially) impeded other adults from stepping forward and voicing their concerns if they had any.

**VERBATIM COMMENTS**

The priests found guilty are sick.
They (the convicted priests) are paedophiles and not necessarily homosexuals.
They're all queers and fags.
The priests aren't totally to blame; we don't know if they lived through it (sexual abuse).
The priests aren't totally to blame, it's the ones who make up the rules for them to follow.
Newfoundlanders have always given power to the Church. The priests took advantage of this power.
They are hypocrites.
Everyone is responsible for his own actions. The priests are totally to blame.
Some priests do it under peer pressure from other priests.
Priests accused and convicted are not homosexuals, male boys were the only sex objects that they frequently interacted with.
I don't know how to feel. I'm really mixed up. I know I'm supposed to forgive them (convicted priests), but how can I when they have ruined the life of some boys.

Victims of the sexual abuse by priests were not seen to be different in any way from those students interviewed. The victims were not perceived to be, as one girl stated, "looking for it". Students generally felt that the victims were young and therefore perhaps more vulnerable and susceptible to following or doing exactly what was asked of them by priests. There were several comments that priests tended to prefer children who felt more comfortable around them and who were shy.

Most students interviewed felt that victims could have done little to prevent the abuse, other than to avoid situations where they would be alone with priests. Many felt that the victims were too embarrassed and afraid to tell their parents or other adults because the victims probably felt that they would not be believed if they talked against the priest. Also, the notion was expressed that some children might have thought that what they were doing was right because it was with the priest.
Most students felt that the victims should have informed someone older than themselves, perhaps a parent or law enforcement officer, to make the issue public. At the same time, students were very sensitive to the emotional trauma associated with the experience and the reluctance to tell of the event. When asked what they would have done if sexually abused, there was a difference between responses of male and female participants. The females tended to say that they would tell a peer initially and then, with support from that peer, would tell an adult. The males, on the other hand, would definitely not tell a peer because the shame and embarrassment would be too great. Males would tend to tell a stranger, such as a police officer. Many males and females also suggested that they would prefer to use an anonymous help line, where the support could be given by a peer or older person. In a couple of rural communities, young people were aware of the existence of such a help line currently available to them.

I viewed Reactions by the Church

Students' reactions to the Church's response to charges against clergy were varied. There was a strong feeling among the males that the Archbishop knew about the abuse and covered it up. The females were less accusing and in only two female groups was the allegation made that the Archbishop knew about the abuse.

Reactions of the Church at the parish level were seen to vary. In the rural communities, especially those where charges were laid, parishioners held discussions; the local parish priest gave a sermon on the topic and some parishes had questionnaires for students to complete. There was little knowledge about what the adult parishioners were doing by way of reaction, other than there being a lot of gossip and jokes repeated.

There was a strong feeling that the Church should have reacted more quickly in providing help. It is worthy of note that all students felt that monetary compensation for victims was not the appropriate course, rather they felt that counselling for victims would be more appropriate. In regard to the Church's reaction to the offenders, the majority of students felt that once it was recognized that a priest committed an offense he should not have been transferred to another parish.

Students were generally very fair minded about what should happen to offenders once convicted. Most felt that they should serve a jail sentence and be obligated to undergo rehabilitation treatment. Many students expressed concern that the sentences given were more lenient than would be the case for other sexual offenders, given that the offenders were priests. This was seen to be unfair by students. There were some students who felt that, due to the great abuse of power by the clergy, their sentences should be greater than other convicted sexual offenders. There were several comments such as "They should be locked up and the key thrown away". Furthermore, it was seen to be unfair for all priests, even those accused but not convicted, to be publicized by the media and automatically assumed to be offenders.

CONCLUSIONS

Based upon the nine discussion groups conducted with young people in the St. John's Archdiocese, several general, as well as numerous specific conclusions related to the overall objectives of this study are evident.

Generally, there were no perceived differences of opinion among the two age groups interviewed; yet there were some differences noted between the opinions of males and females most particularly in their reaction to the specific events of sexual abuse by the clergy. Males tended to be more accusing of offenders, more sceptical, cynical, and less tolerant than those females interviewed. Males also felt that accused priests were homosexuals, while approximately half of the female participants felt that these priests were not homosexuals, but pedophiles. Males and females also differed in the support groups used for discussing issues of a sexual nature. Females would consult peers and some adults, while males often felt quite alone and preferred school courses and seemingly "anonymous" forms of support. There was also a relatively higher, yet still low, level of participation in the formal Church
activities on the part of those females interviewed, in comparison to the male participants.

There were also differences between the behaviours of students attending urban and rural schools. Rural students attend mass more frequently and a relatively larger number interact with parish priests in informal, social settings than do those in St. John's.

Specific conclusions drawn from discussions are presented below, categorized by topic.

Sources of Support

- Students rely heavily on peers and older siblings for support when making difficult decisions. They do not consider the Church at all, in this respect.
- Information on sex and sexuality seems to be discussed in several contexts for females, whereas males look to the school for information.
- There is a desire on the part of males to have more information on sexuality in the school system because they do not feel there are other means of support for them on this issue.

Students' Involvement in Church Activities

- Students make a choice to attend or not attend Church. Those who choose not to attend see no meaning in it and see it as an institution for their parents and older adults. It is perceived to be repetitive and boring.
- Students feel that the Church activities are focused on adults and young children, offering no alternatives for today's teenager.
- Students involved in school organizations having a church orientation felt much personal satisfaction from their participation in such groups. There is a need for leadership in the organization and operation of youth groups, especially in the rural communities, as the success of such groups is highly dependent upon the leader.
- Attendance at mass is not perceived to be necessarily important to be a Christian.

Students' Attitudes Toward Church and Being a Catholic

- All students feel that being a Catholic now is no like it used to be, the Church's perceived importance in their lives being very low.
- There is no sense of community felt by students in their parish congregations.
- Being a Catholic holds no special spiritual meaning for teenagers. Being Catholic tends to mean practising formalized rituals and memorizing prayers with little meaning.

Students' Perceptions of Priests

- Students' understanding of the life and duties of a priest is very naïve, and this ignorance gives rise to much speculation. Those students knowing priests from activities outside of the Church are more understanding. Generally, however, teenagers know priests only through mass, and in a very formal, structured environment.
- Teenagers do not feel that all priests are bad; however, there is much scepticism and doubt regarding all priests now. Therefore, every priest will now have to prove himself to them.
- Many teenagers feel that priests live lonely, transient existences and should therefore be permitted to marry, so that they may enjoy family life and have emotional support.
- Priests are viewed to be totally caught up in their vocations. It is felt that priests should be more involved in ordinary activities and become more integrated into the communities being served.

Students' Understanding of Abuse

- Students have no difficulty defining abusive behaviour and sexual abuse and indeed were moderately sophisticated in this way. There is seen to be no direct relationship between homosexuality and sexual abuse, yet those male students interviewed do feel that priests accused and convicted of sexual abuse were indeed homosexuals.
Many male students feel that sexual behaviour involving an adult and children is automatically abusive.

**Students' Perception of the Church's Reaction**

- Many male and some female students felt that the Archbishop was aware of the abuse.
- Students feel that the Church should provide counselling for victims and their families, and that it should be mandatory for offenders to undergo rehabilitation. Monetary compensation was deemed inappropriate.
- Students definitely feel that once a priest is found guilty of an offense of sexual abuse he should never be permitted to run another parish or practise as a priest.

The Church's credibility in the eyes of these young people is generally quite low. This low credibility is not so much due to the abuse for which clergy have been accused and convicted, but rather due to the fact that the Church is not the central force in their lives that it was in their parents'. If the Church is to make a greater impact on these young people, it should not try to do so directly, but should operate tangentially through youth groups wherein these young people can exercise their obvious idealism through practical projects that help people. There are also indications that teenagers would be willing to participate in discussion groups on moral and ethical issues. A need for leadership training is evident if the Church hopes to influence the moral development of teenagers using vehicles outside structured, formal church activities. The school system is one potential vehicle.

Sex education appears to be a problem for these young adults, especially the males. Young males are more restrictive about whom they talk to concerning sexuality and sexual matters, and if the schools do not fill the vacuum, they will remain largely ignorant of this very important aspect of their lives.

Based upon this research, participating students generally feel that the Church as it exists is not responding to any needs they may have. It is viewed as a structure, complete with ceremony, rules and special privileges for priests who are not part of their community. There is no perceived sense of moral or spiritual development that could be gained through attendance at Mass or participation in other formal Church activities.

The research presents a challenge to the Church, in that it is not a central force in teenagers' lives and therefore their spiritual, moral and ethical development is occurring largely through the school system, family and peer-related experiences.
A Financial Review of Selected Parishes

Peat Marwick Thorne Chartered Accountants
February 26, 1990

The Honourable Mr. Gordon Winter
Chairman,
Roman Catholic Commission of Enquiry
into Sexual Abuse of Children
P.O. Box 1154
St. John's, Newfoundland
A1C 5M5

Dear Sir:

In accordance with your instructions we visited certain Parishes of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's to:

- review the records and meet with individuals as required, to determine if effective financial controls and accounting systems existed in the Parish;
- ascertain if proper authorization existed for the expenditures of Parish funds;
- ascertain if all funds were spent in accordance with the authorization;
- draw up a Statement of Worth of the Parish at the beginning of the period under review and one at the end of the period; and
- establish if, generally, Parish finances have been managed in accordance with the financial Guidelines established by the Archdiocesan Board of Administration.

It was understood that we were not to conduct audits of the Parishes' financial records or to perform any procedures which would constitute a review, as set out in the Handbook of The Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants, of the various parish financial statements.

The Parishes selected for our visits and the defined time periods included in our engagement were as follows:

- Holy Rosary Parish, Portugal Cove (October 5, 1979 to July 16, 1986).

During our engagement we held a number of meetings with Mr. William Power, Business Manager of The Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation, Archdiocese of St. John's.

Also, under your instructions, we visited the Parishes of Mary Queen of Peace and St. Thomas of Villanova, to meet with the Parish Priests and members of the Finance Committees to discuss accounting systems and financial controls. Based on our discussions and certain information supplied to us, these Parishes appear well organized with computerized accounting systems and active finance committee structures. We were informed that the "Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees" approved at Council of Priests' meeting June 11, 1986, are followed.

With respect to the Parishes of Pouch Cove/Flatrock, Portugal Cove and Ferryland/Cape Broyle. Our responses to the questions raised in our terms of reference are

1 Financial Controls and Accounting Systems

Complete records were not available to us. Only at Ferryland/Cape Broyle were supporting records such as bank statements and paid cheques, and a number of payroll support records (copies of T4 slips, etc.) and supplier invoices (not complete) available to us.

Copies of cash receipt and cheque disbursement journals of all Parishes were available or obtained from the Archdiocesan Business Office. We also obtained copies of statements of receipts and disbursements for each year prepared by the Archdiocesan Business Office. These statements were prepared from copies of cash receipt and cheque disbursement journals sent to the Archdiocesan Business Office by the Parishes. From the Parish offices we did obtain a number of copies of the statements of receipts and disbursements issued to Parishioners.
From the records and information available to us it would appear that there was lack of control over revenues and that bank deposits were not made on a regular basis in some Parishes.

Expenditures were under the complete control of one person and were not subject to detailed review.

From the records, supporting documentation and information available to us, it would appear that complete support documentation for expenditures was not maintained. What support documentation was available was not maintained in an orderly fashion.

Based on our discussions and the information which was supplied to us, it is our opinion that effective financial controls and accounting systems did not exist in the aforementioned Parishes during the periods under review.

II Expenditure Authorization Process

We understand that based on Archdiocesan Policy the Parish Priest has the authority to issue Parish cheques with just his signature should he choose not to have a second signing officer.

We also understand that the Archdiocesan Policy for any contemplated project in a Parish involving the construction, extension or renovation of church buildings, the cost of which will exceed $7,500, and any capital expenditure over $7,500 must be presented to the Parish Finance Committee for approval and must have approval of His Grace, the Archbishop.

In the Parishes visited it is our information that all cheques were signed by the Parish Priest alone.

In the Ferryland Parish we noted one project with expenditures of approximately $35,000 undertaken without the required approval and another project with expenditures of approximately $72,000 in excess of the approved amount of $30,000. In the Cape Broyle Parish we noted one expenditure of $10,722 which did not have the required approval. Projects in excess of $7,500 which came to our attention in other Parishes, did have the approval required at the particular point in time.

As it is authorized for the Parish Priest to be the sole signer of parish cheques it would appear that, during the period under review, expenditures were made in accordance with authorization except for the items in excess of $7,500 noted above.

III Spending Practices

As supporting records were not available or incomplete, we could not ascertain if all funds were spent in accordance with the authorization, but we were informed in all Parishes that all cheques had been signed by the Parish Priest who, as set out above, is authorized to sign alone should he choose to do so. Where paid cheques were available they did bear the signature of the Parish Priest.

IV Parish Net Worth

"Net Worth" has been interpreted not to include property. It was difficult to establish the "net worth" of the Parishes as of the exact dates in our engagement because of the lack of records and cut-off information with regard to accounts payable and true bank balances. Certain financial information is included in the attached document setting out our findings from the various Parish visits and interviews.

V General assessment of use of Financial Guidelines

As we understand it, the Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees were approved on June 11, 1986. We also understand that prior to that date there were no formal guidelines, but approvals were required at the Archdiocesan level for capital projects costing over $7,500 and for the borrowing of funds.

The following is an extract from the Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees which were approved on June 11, 1986.

- to administer the budget
- The Committee should meet at least after each Fiscal Quarter has ended to make a
comparative analysis of Actual Revenue and Expenditure to Budget Forecasts and present Quarterly Reports to Parish Priest and Parish Council. They would also meet at the call of the Chair.

- Without prejudice to Canon 532, all Capital Expenditure over $7,500 and requests for Bank Loans must be presented to and dealt with by motion of the Parish Finance Committee and the Parish Council before being presented to the Archdiocesan Administration Board.

- All other expenditures of the Parish must be made in accordance with the approved Budget.

In two of the Parishes visited by us, Pouch Cove/Flatrock and Portugal Cove, the periods covered in our engagement ended on July 16, 1986. Because the Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees were approved on June 11, 1986, they were not considered applicable to our review. In these two Parishes, capital projects over $7,500 and bank borrowings, which came to our attention, were approved at the Archdiocesan level.

From information that is available, it would appear generally that, during the period under review in the Parishes of Pouch Cove/Flatrock and Portugal Cove, the Parish finances were managed in accordance with the requirements of the time.

In the Parishes of Ferryland and Cape Broyle the period covered in our engagement fell within the period of time when we understand the Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees would be in effect.

- These Parishes had Finance Committees but the Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees, in particular those set out in the extract above, were not applied in the Parishes.

- As set out above, approvals were not obtained, as required, for certain projects in excess of $7,500 undertaken in these Parishes.

In our opinion, in the Parishes of Ferryland and Cape Broyle, during the period under review, Parish finances were not managed in accordance with the financial guidelines established by the Archdiocese.

Arising from our Parish visits and the various interviews conducted by us, we have formulated a number of recommendations to improve Parish accounting and controls. These recommendations are attached for your consideration.

The major control will be provided by strong active finance committees operating under revised Guidelines and a Policy and Procedures Manual.

Should you require further information please feel free to contact us.

There is also attached a document setting out our findings from the various Parish visits and interviews.

Peat Marwick Thorne
Chartered Accountants
St. John's, Newfoundland

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the records available to us and the information received in our various meetings, the following are our recommendations for your consideration.

We understand that with forty-four Parishes with a wide range in size and, in some cases, the unavailability of trained accounting volunteers, it is very difficult to implement controlled accounting systems in all cases. Nevertheless, we do not feel that this is a reason not to set high standards and reach them wherever possible.

General

- We agree with the present actions of the Archdiocesan Business Office in engaging a qualified accountant to perform internal audit functions in Parishes, to provide for increased review of Parish financial statements and to be available to assist in Parish accounting matters.

- We also support the preparation of the "Archdiocesan Policy and Procedural Manual".
At present, there are a number of Parishes in the Archdiocese which have computerized accounting systems. We understand that there are Parishes who are presently considering such systems and also that there are a number of Parishes where costs and size would not make it practical to install computerized systems. We would suggest that a review take place, with a view to providing a central computerized accounting system for all Parishes, at the Archdiocesan Business Office. The installation of such a program may take up to five years to implement, but we feel would have major advantages to the Archdiocese:

- provide great assistance to Priests in small Parishes or in Parishes where qualified accounting help is not available;
- while costs would be incurred at the Business Office, there would be cost-savings in the removal of the need for a number of systems in individual Parishes.

It is suggested that consideration be given to providing Priests, possibly during their training, with a course in financial management. Parish Priests are given financial management responsibilities, and training in this area would be of great assistance.

Financial Statements

- Parish financial statements should be prepared on an accrual basis. In other words, accounts receivable and unpaid liabilities should be recorded so that the true financial position may be disclosed.
- Parish financial statements should include a balance sheet. Details of investments and other assets owned by the Parish should be listed, even if only at nominal values, so that assets will not be misplaced or forgotten over time. Possibly there are assets held in excess of needs that could be turned into liquid funds for the benefit of the individual Parish and/or the Archdiocese.
- Parish financial statements should include all activities of the Parish, special fund drives, Government Grant projects, etc.
- A copy of the Parish financial statements should be forwarded to the Archdiocesan Business Office after their preparation, for comparison to the records maintained at the Business Office, in order to ensure the completeness of the records.

Cash Receipts

- The column designations of the present cash receipts journal supplied by the Archdiocesan Business Office should be reviewed and expanded where necessary. At least a separate column should be provided for envelope and other revenue requiring charitable receipts so that the total of the charitable receipts issued would have a balancing point.
- Charitable receipts should be issued to every eligible contributor, not just on request.
- Cash receipts should be controlled as soon as possible. At least two persons should be responsible for counting cash at Church and other functions and recording the amounts received on designed forms, which would be forwarded to persons responsible for accounting functions. With certain functions, where possible, the forms should contain details, in order to reconcile cash totals with control information (eg number of tickets times price, etc).
- Disbursements should not be made from cash receipts, but cash should be deposited intact. Where this is not possible, receipts should be obtained for any cash disbursed.
- Deposits should be made frequently and as soon as possible. Where possible, night depositing services should be used. If cash has to be retained over night, it should be in a protected and controlled area.

Cheque Disbursements

- The present column headings in the cheque disbursement journals supplied by the Archdiocesan Business Office should be reviewed
provide for good control (such as Church and Presbytery supplies in one column and repairs and maintenance for all Parish properties in one column). We would suggest that consideration be given to having the parish priest made responsible personally for expenditures which are generally considered living expenses, such as, food, presbytery operating expenses and automobile expenses. These would have to be replaced by salary adjustments and automobile allowances. Such a change would eliminate a number of current Parish expenditures and also provide for uniformity in Parishes. Each cheque should be supported by an approved, checked invoice or voucher. The invoices and vouchers should bear evidence of checking and also bear any necessary approvals. Where invoices are not available, a voucher should be prepared, outlining the details of the expenditure. Invoices and vouchers should be filed in a permanent and systematic manner. It is suggested that they be filed by cheque number.

**Budget Process**

Each Parish should prepare a yearly budget. The budget should follow the column headings in the revised cash receipt and cheque disbursement records, but each of these column headings could be subdivided in the budget to give as much detail as necessary (e.g., entertainment would be listed by event in the budget).

Yearly budgets may not be too useful in certain circumstances because of timing of expenditures (e.g., comparison of fuel costs, say to December, may be under total yearly budget but, in fact, over the allocation to December). Monthly or quarterly budgets may lead to a better comparison of results for the Parish Priest and the Financial Committee.

Each Parish should forward a copy of its budget to the Archdiocesan Business Office. This would provide the Business Office with information about Parish activities and advance knowledge of proposed construction or commitments. An additional control could be achieved by the comparison of budget information with the information from cash receipt and cheque disbursement journals received monthly from the Parishes.

**Guidelines for Parish Finance Committees**

We suggest that the present Guidelines be amended to require more than one signature on a Parish cheque. The preferred cheque signers would be the Parish Priest and a member of the Finance Committee.

**Payroll**

It is suggested that consideration be given to centralizing the payroll functions of the Parishes in the Archdiocesan Business Office. In effect, all payroll information for the Parish Priest comes from that office, and this action would consolidate a number of payrolls into one. It would also relieve T4 preparation from the Parish offices.

**Bank Reconciliations**

Bank reconciliations should be performed monthly and placed in a permanent file. These should be performed by the Finance Committee, or if performed by another party, form part of the financial package reviewed by the Finance Committee.