Child Sexual Abuse Cases in the Catholic Church vs. Secular Groups: A Media Content Analysis

Hannah G. Adkison

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CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE CASES IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH VS. SECULAR GROUPS:
A MEDIA COVERAGE CONTENT ANALYSIS
by
HANNAH ADKSION

Under the Direction of Kristina Thompson

ABSTRACT
The court of law is to uphold whether or not an individual is guilty of a crime and if found guilty will be punished. Child sexual abuse is not shy of these punishments being in the court of law but the barrier that child sexual victims face is who or where their abuser or abusers work for. The impact of the offender being from a religious entity can change the whole directory of the victims receiving justice for their abuse. There are protected barriers for offenders when they are clergy members of a church, especially the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has been on hundreds if not thousands of news articles of sexual abuse victims stepping forward. The goal of this research is to investigate why we see these headlines and stories about abuses coming to the forefront but there is either no follow-up to offenders getting prosecuted in court or simply they are not getting prosecuted for their crimes. With that also taking a look at how secular groups are either prosecuted more or about the same abuses from the Catholic Church. Unveiling the protection that Catholic offenders receive from the U.S. Justice Department and their own religious entity will answer why there is a gap in prosecution. Using mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative data will show whether or not the religious entities are protected, unlike secular groups that have had sexual abuse occur. This comparison of prosecution should
be able to give insight into how the Justice system is protecting certain offenders rather than protecting all victims of child sexual abuse in any environment.

INDEX WORDS: Catholic Church, Child Sexual Abuse, Secular Abuse, YMCA, Boy Scouts of America, U.S. Olympics, Organizational Deviance, Control Balance Theory, Spiritual Abuse, Prosecution, Settlements, Lawsuits, Child Sexual Assault Catholic Church, Child Sexual Abuse Secular Groups
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by

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is a serious public health problem in the United States, with estimates suggesting that approximately 8% of males and 20% of females experience some form of sexual violence before adulthood (Pereda et al., 2009). Adult acquaintance victim-offender relationships account for 83% of all cases (Ullman, 2001). And while the acquaintance of victim-offender relationships is facilitated by a range of social institutions, perhaps none have received as much media attention as those occurring in the context of the Catholic Church (Formicola, 2014). Although child sexual assault is recognized as a serious punishable charge in all 50 states and the federal government, it is perhaps one of the hardest to prosecute (Parkinson, 2018) and evidence suggests that instances occurring in the context of large organizations such as the Catholic church that may have features that further detract from formal prosecution in the criminal justice system. Examining cases in this context is central to understanding the continued neglect of these crime victims.

The Catholic Church stands as an ideal type to explore organizational features and abuse for several reasons. First, its organizational structure is a well-defined hierarchy that starts with the Pope’s being the ruler over everyone else that has a position or title in the church and its members. Second, the Catholic Church is unique in that it owns Vatican City and the Holy See (See of Rome) which is the governmental body of the Catholic Church. The Holy See, as the supreme body of government of the Catholic Church, is a sovereign jurisdictional entity under international law. Hierarchies are common in organizations; however, the Catholic Church has multiple characteristics that may make it unique concerning the handling of criminal justice prosecutions. The church’s particular brand of moral authority, and its long-standing history (Donnelly 2016) likely continue to shape the reporting and prosecution of child abuse cases. The
present study explores the dimensions of organizations that influence the addressment of child sexual abuses cases by organizations and the criminal justice system. Using a comparative analysis of cases systematically identified in newspaper reporting, this study compares cases of abuse occurring in the Catholic church with cases in other organizationally similar institutions. In particular, I ask whether CSA case characteristics are similar or different when they occur in the context of the Catholic church versus other organizations. Discovering if there is any particular organizational structure as to why the secular cases might be similar or different from the Catholic Church. Further, I explore how the institution itself responds to allegations, and how all of these factors relate to criminal justice outcomes by using media content analysis.

The Scope and Challenge of Child Sexual Abuse in the United States

According to some estimates, one in five girls and one in twenty boys are victims of child sexual abuse in the United States (Perez-Fuentes et. al., 2013). Given the reporting challenges of CSA, it is thus likely that national estimates are underestimated. Lack of reporting is a particularly salient issue concerning child sexual abuse, an issue that translates to difficulty in adequately addressing cases of victimization (Widom & Morris, 1997).

Reporting may be unduly difficult for child sex abuse victims. First, scholars have documented the often traumatic process of reporting to authorities (Roth & Friedman, 1998). In describing reasons not to report, victims have noted when they have to disclose what happened to them which for many is the realization of the abuse that occurred. This is why delayed disclosure occurs because they will not feel safe or comfortable telling another individual or police, because the "barriers to disclosure of CSA are psychological factors, such as the child's abuse-induced shame, guilt, self-blame and fear for self and others (e.g., Alaggia et al., Pg.25). Second, at the time of the offense, victims may be too young to understand that they are experiencing sexual
abuse (Winters et al., 2020). Third, a vast majority of child sexual abuse cases occur between victims and offenders who know each other. (e.g., Malloy et al., 2011; Sas & Cunningham, 1995; Schaeffer et al., 2011). The type of relationship the offender has with the victim is often a key consideration in decisions to report abuse (Jeglic, & Calkins, 2020).

In general, research suggests that available reporting options loom large in the decision to report. Jeglic and Calkins (2020) note that "because of the relational dynamics that often surround CSA, this trusted person may not always be found at home or within the immediate family. For children who lack strong support in this homelife, support, and mentorship from schools, treatment providers, or other organizations (e.g., big brother and big sister) is therefore crucial to promoting CSA disclosure" (p. 15). Importantly, while membership in organizational institutions can be a source of trusted relationships, it may also be an additional exposure to risk – and such institutions may serve as potential detractors of abuse reporting (Smith and Freyd, 2014).

The challenges inherent in reporting translate to challenges in prosecution and conviction. The current complex dynamics around prosecution include related reporting issues such as lack of physical evidence, delay in reporting, and relationships between the victims and offender (Shead, 2014). Therefore, fact-finders in criminal child sexual abuse cases often lack the knowledge of why there is a lack of physical evidence, time of reporting, and related issues. Because the U.S. Justice system does not take into account these challenges, victims may be further dissuaded from reporting or may feel guilty for being victimized (Shackel, 2009).

Organizations and Child Sex Abuse

Understanding organizational characteristics and their influence on deviance within the institution is critical to understanding similarities and differences between the Catholic Church
and non-religious organizations. This section outlines the features of organizations broadly that may support higher instances of CSA and lowered instances of reporting to the criminal justice system.

Much of the literature on organizational features and their impacts is focused on political and business-related institutions; however, it is regularly noted that groups of varying goals organize in hierarchical or department patterns (Evans, 1975). Organizations that are centralized power have a single person in power that controls goals, budgeting, and strategic planning for the organization. Decentralized organizations are comprised of multiple individuals or teams within that share in decision-making. Most organizations that have a hierarchical structure consist of the CEO who is the highest member within the organization and then employees underneath their position. Understanding which type of organizational structure an organization uses is important because it explains how organizations react or handle deviant behaviors such as CSA within their organization.

A hierarchical organizational leader is in control of the organization and beneath the leader or CEO are the members or employees within that organization. The best well-known organization in modern society using the hierarchical system is Amazon. Jeff Bezos is the CEO and everyone else falls under Mr. Bezos. Therefore, the control and power of the organization are in the hands of the one individual in charge and are not shared amongst the rest. For an organization to maintain a hierarchical structure there must be impersonal control mechanisms. “Impersonal mechanisms of control, such as automation and merit personnel standards, help transform flat structures in which the chief executive exercises much personal control into multilevel hierarchies with decentralized authority” (Blau, Pg. 467). Impersonal refers to a lack of emotions and no personal connections or behavior while performing the job. Organizations
and businesses take this approach to maintain professional control over employees for their performance within the organization. Hierarchical organizations fall under the centralized control structure because they rely on one individual to make the decisions for the organization as a whole. For an organization to be centralized it must have rules and regulations for their counterparts beneath them to follow in the organization. Therefore, the power distribution is unequal and is held in the hands of one individual.

These organizations may also impose social control mechanisms. Social control is a "mechanism by which a person or group expresses a grievance. It is a mode of conducting normative business, such as a court of law, face-to-face discussion, a public protest, or an act of violence" (Black 1993, Pg. 5). Theoretical research has long suggested that the levels of established social control in a society influence the amount of compliance with formalized rules (O’Reilly, 2008). Child sexual abuse is not accepted in society which means society holds others accountable that also including organizations. Accountability is a norm in society therefore, it is expected for parties or an individual to be held accountable when in the wrong. “Accountability webs can be characterized in terms of their alignment, including the structural alignment that may exist between formal organizational systems and parties' perceptions, and the web alignment that may exist between individuals, groups, or other entities” (Gelfand et. al. 2004, Pg. 143).

That is also why organizations may withhold information from the public or their counterparts because of the accountability that may have been delayed or ignored internally within the organization which is not acceptable to society. Though organizations may have high social control on the other end of the spectrum they are to be held accountable as well for their actions.
CHAPTER 2

THEORIES

2.2 Theories Criminal Behavior in the Organizational Context

As noted above, the structure of organizations is relevant to the successful adoption of norms in society. In this way, criminological theories centering on social control theories can be helpful in describing how the Catholic Church and similarly situated organizations may facilitate or hinder cases of CSA, and also why some instances of deviance largely continue unaddressed by formal systems. Control balance theory (Tittle, 1995) provides insight into organizational deviance and how features of institutions impact the extent of and response to child sexual abuse. Control Balance Theory suggests that an individual's "control ratio" would influence involvement in their deviant behavior. Individuals that fit into this category experience problems with control imbalances, whereby: "The amount of control to which an individual is subject, relative to the amount of control he or she can exercise, determine the probability of deviance occurring as well as the type of deviance likely to occur" (Tittle 1995, Pg. 135). These control imbalances revolve around the individual's sense of feelings, sensations, or emotions when evaluating themselves to act on their impulses or emotions. The control balance theory has been applied to sex offenders by other researchers within the last few decades (Wood, 2015). In a qualitative study of 125 sex offenders in a residential treatment program, Wood and Team found that the most cited reason for offending was related to the sense of control and power.

Such a theory holds promise for understanding sexual abuse in organizational contexts because organizational power hierarchies are often key to their general functioning. In establishing power deficits, the overall institution may inadvertently work to cultivate abuses that
are especially power-related. Relatedly, exploitative deviance is another theory as to why an organization gets involved in deviant behavior because it will benefit them in some type of way. This could also explain why organizations do not report, acknowledge, or punish individuals involved in deviant behavior. Exploitative deviance is unique because the deviance is done on a more mass scale that benefits the organization or corporation committing the deviant behavior. One example of exploitative deviance was committed by some corporate executives who were exposing toxic waste into rivers that farmers and fishers used, but this was a calculated decision by the company. They did this knowing it would harm the farmers and fishers immediately so that they had control of the market (Piquero, 2006).

The control balance theory also gives insights as to why non-reporting of abuse is common, as the offender is in a position of power that often does not have much oversight. Scholarship across an array of fields has suggested that the amount of oversight structured into institutions has important consequences for the functioning of the organization and its ability to identify misconduct. For example, Kaduce (1980) conceptualized the scheduling of unnecessary surgeries in the medical field as a form of professional deviance and she emphasized the importance of professional autonomy in both the presence of deviance and its measurement. Because the offender holds a level of authority and the power influences how victims decide to come forward and how the offender is treated not as harshly within their field. Finally, studies suggest that elite deviance comes from the system being politically economical in which wealth and power concentrates among the elites (Piquero, 2006). Overall, such inquiries highlight how the general autonomy of those in power may further support the existence and perpetuation of deviance.
Power differentials coupled with low oversight may also be an isolating experience for victims and may further detract from their ability to report. The victim's understanding of how much power that individual may have may deter them from wanting to report their abuse because they may think that the perpetrator will not receive any form of punishment.

Organizational theories provide further insight regarding the presence of social deviance and ineffectual interventions. Organizational deviance refers to members within organizations who engage in deviant behaviors or whose behaviors that run counter to normative expectations. Vaughan notes that organizational nonconformity in the form of misconduct is closely linked to issues of power and centralization (1999). Organizational misconduct that happens in organizations that are “thriving” enterprises (Vaughan, 1999), meaning the abuse of power and abuse of trust is a part of understanding why organizations are being deviant and abusing social power. A competitive environment such as the American economic system organizations and their justification, and their maintained social control. “Powerful offenders can resist grassroots efforts at social control because they construct public accounts that legitimate their actions and because individuals and organizations are dependent upon them for goods and services” (Vaughan 1999, pg. 288). At this level of deviant behavior offenders that hold power such as over an organization, can construct their behavior for the public because of the social capital they possess.

The lack of morals shown within these organizations are shown through their behavior of deviance and their social capital being the most important at this level is not disregarded or unnoticed. Morality is another social norm in a culture that is important to be upheld alongside the accountability norm. Morality is a given society’s construction of right and wrong (Suchman, 1995). This is important on an individual level and a societal level which involves institutions
and organizations having a moral compass in the world whether that is business-related or
deviant behavior that affects society. Abuse that is ignored within an organization because they
expect the organization to uphold morality and accountability. When deviance or sexual abuse
occurs that is not handled accordingly this is when moral collapse happens within an
organization. Moral collapse happens when the organization does not respond or act when
something occurs within the organization. “Moral collapse is more likely to happen in
organizations in which accusing individuals of misconduct creates significant social and
economic cost for the organization or moral community within which it operates” (Shadnam &
Lawrence 2011, Pg. 396). This makes sense as to why organizations will not take ownership or
address alleged abuse until the public becomes informed about what happened within their
organization. Morally collapsed organizations will not morally handle the situation until they
expect or receive moral backlash of wrongdoing from society.

Organizational theories can also explain how an institution responds to deviance. As
mentioned above, organizational misconduct does not just impact the organization itself but it
impacts the public. Therefore, the organization needs to be strategic in how they respond to
deviance. Successful responses model accountability, preserve reputation, and set standards for
future cases within the organization. So how they respond shows the rest of the world how they
are moving forward addressing these issues and how they are taking accountability. This is
important for the Catholic Church to keep parishioners and organizations keeping members,
stakeholders, or customers to continue being a part of the organization. Corrective actions can
happen in different forms depending on organizational structure; for example, stakeholders might
add pressure for those in powerful roles to step down or for the Catholic Church it might be an
Archdiocese putting a priest on suspended leave or taking away their priesthood. Another form
of corrective action is a policy change to help regain the trust of stakeholders and the public to maintain support for the company (Hersel et. al, 2019). For example, “Organizations can signal their commitment to preventing further misconduct by establishing procedures and rewards for employee whistleblowing” (Hersel et. al 2019, Pg. 561). The institutional response is critical for all parties moving forward because while they might not be able to fix what previously happened but taking ownership and responding to what happened is one of the only ways to make the situation better long-term.

The consequences of non-response have also garnered a rich body of theorizing which further links organizational characteristics to systematic misconduct. Unlike institutional response that publicly shows efforts of improvement and ownership, institutional betrayal is the exact opposite. Institutional betrayal occurs when an institution causes harm to an individual who trusts or depends upon that institution (Smith et. al. 2014). This keeping-it under-the-radar approach only causes more issues and more levels of deviance to occur. Failing to report, lack of accountability, and negligence to the victims involved create an environment for deviance to continue and betrayal to the individual by the organization of which they were a part. When institutions decide to take this approach, it is mainly a defensive approach to the accusations or allegations that occur within their institution, and rather than handling the manner with care, they develop a defensive mechanism. For example, the case of Lizzy Seeburg at Notre Dame where she was sexually assaulted. It was completely mishandled by the college police and Norte Dame put up a defensive front about the allegations. This left Lizzy feeling completely betrayed and hurt by an institution that is not only supplying them with an education but also supposed to handle these situations with resources and care. By having this response to Lizzy’s case it can lead to others not wanting to come forward. “For example, women who considered coming
forward to report sexual assault involving Notre Dame students after Lizzy’s story became public might be aware of systemic problems at Notre Dame, whereas those who experienced sexual assault prior to Lizzy’s case may be less aware” (Smith et. al. 2014, Pg. 579). This type of betrayal indicates that the institution cares more about the reputation and standing by the public and not the victim when this approach happens. Such a dynamic organization that festers abuse and deviance, rather than approaching the problem with proper care at addressing issues within their organization to make it a better and safer institution.

These generalized characteristics and different theories as to why organizations either respond or take part in deviant behavior shapes an understanding as to why CSA happens, goes unnoticed, or is addressed decades later. The type of organization plays a huge role in how CSA allegations are responded to and handled. Other components such as social capital play a major role in how and when an organization chooses to address CSA. This can lead to CSA abuse and allegations being prolonged and unchecked by the Criminal Justice System. Institutions like Notre Dame University or the Catholic Church coercing victims to stay silent about abuse leaves a huge impact on victims wanting to come forward and report it to the Criminal Justice System. Victims are not going to want to come forward if the organization they have trusted and belonged to makes them feel guilty, silences them, or mishandles the situation. Organizational structure is important in understanding how organizations handle these situations with care or neglect and understanding their social capital cost is important for understanding why deviance continues to happen within these organizations.

CHAPTER 3
RELIGIOUS CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

What Makes CSA in the Catholic Church Unique?

The act of sexual abuse may happen the same across religious and secular settings but there are also unique features of the Catholic church, and religious institutions in general, that may shape the extent of and institutional response to CSA.

First, religious scholars have noted that a key difference may be that the abuse is not just simply physical and emotional, but also "spiritual abuse" (Demasure, 2022). Spiritual abuse involves a religious authority abusing their victim using their divine power over the victim and threatening their spiritual relationship with the divine power of God. One of the only researchers on this topic is Jacques Poujol, who "defines spiritual abuse that is not necessarily linked to sexual abuse. "Spiritual abuse is an abuse of authority that is further aggravated using divine authority to dominate one or several persons" (Poujol 2015, p. 12).

Spiritual abuse was first developed to describe how clergy members groom victims (Applewhite 2014; Farrell and Taylor 2000; Joulain 2018; Spraitz and Bowen 2019). However, its reach is not just related to CSA, but also to abuse against adults and the overall likelihood of reporting by any member. Two general characteristics must be present for spiritual abuse to occur. First, Poujol notes that there is a domination of power over the victim. While this situates the church similarly to other hierarchical organizations, it is unique in that spiritual abuse also involves the presumed divine authority of clergymen. As Demasure notes, "Divine authority may have its origin in the use of biblical texts or theological arguments to justify the abuse, but the divine authority can also be found in the position of the abuser" (2022, pg.3).
Spiritual abuse is an especially important distinction for the response of the church and the CJ system more generally because it shapes the experience of the victim and the process for attributing blame. For example, in a description of her experience of trying to report the abuse, Sophie Ducrey expressed that the church made her feel as if the abuse happened because she was sinful. Furthermore, her attempts to report were equally shameful, as in doing so, she would be contributing to a negative reputation for both her abuser and the church writ large. In the case of Ducrey, it was pointed out by a fellow Brother that, if there was no rape, it was a shared "weakness." Thus, she should ask for forgiveness for her part in the abuse and stop slandering the reputation of Brother Lamorak who was widely respected. By slandering the Brother, Ducrey was told, she was besmirching the whole community, as well as the Church" (Ducrey, 2019, Pg. 79). In such an instance, the ability of the Church and its authorities to utilize spiritual power over a victim makes it particularly susceptible to the characteristics that shape CSA including wide power differentials and a clear pathway for shifting blame such as institutional betrayal or institutional response. Moreover, such instances fit squarely into conceptions of institutional betrayals that further victimize those experiencing abuse.

The Catholic church also differs from other institutions concerning its presumed absolute moral authority. Under Catholic theology, priests hold the power of attaining an individual for their sins and whether they are forgiven for them. Catholic theology believes that to be forgiven of your sins, you cannot ask God for forgiveness yourself but you must go through the practice of confession with the priest. This is important to understand moral authority, even though an individual commits their own sins through their freedom of will they do not have moral authority over themselves in forgiveness. “The priest plays the important role of mediator between the sinner and God and acts in a jurisdictional capacity-penance implying a penalty imposed by the
priest for a committed unconscious sin” (Worthen 1974, pg. 277). Therefore, if the priest is the offender who holds moral authority over the victim, victims can experience shame, worry, and confusion. Because they might feel guilty for “sinning” by having sex out of marriage and homosexuality because they cannot forgive themselves but rather they are left in this dynamic state of being a victim. “The priest-confessor views sin as a weak human act that lacks the ultimate goodness-that of striving to attain conformity with the divine mind. Sin is the cause of unhappiness. The psychotherapist often views sin or egocentrism as the end result of an involuntary process contrary to the individual's will” (Worthen 1974, pg. 280). This religious construct and belief can leave the victim to believe that they are not victims but rather they fell into sin themselves. This looming power dynamic of the offender also being in control of your morality is distinctive from other abusers that have a power position over their victim.

Finally, the Catholic church’s relationship with the criminal justice system separates it from more secular organizations. First, its established jurisdiction of Vatican City provides it additional power in negotiating with the Criminal Justice system. Because Vatican City (Holy See) is international the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (FSIA) deprives the U.S. federal courts of jurisdiction over defendants in foreign countries. Under FSIA sovereign states are equals therefore one sovereign state cannot exercise any judicial authority over another. Because the Vatican City is a sovereign state this applies to them under FSIA. The U.S. Court System could assert its jurisdiction over any foreign nation but if the alleged actions of that nation fall under two exceptions under the FSIA Act, “the commercial activities of foreign states (including expropriations and disputes over rights in property in the United States)12 and personal injury or death occurring in the United States caused by the tortious act or omission of the foreign state or any official or employee” (Martinez 2009, pg. 125). Because the Catholic Church is governed by
a sovereign state it makes it completely unique and different when comparing and contrasting secular groups being handled in the justice system. Secular groups in the United States are simply U.S. organizations that do not have federal foreign acts that protect them.

Second, there are a range of Constitutional protections afforded to religious institutions that make it more difficult to investigate and prosecute crimes occurring within the bounds of the Catholic Church. Under the First Amendment Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution, this is any law that is “sect preference” meaning is constitutionally infirm. For the court to decide if the law interferes with religious violations under the Establishment Clause, the “Lemon test” is conducted to see if it's constitutionally invalid. “(1) the law in question has a secular purpose; (2) the law must not have the primary effect of either advancing or inhibiting religion and (3) the law must not result in an excessive entanglement between government and religion” (Nowak & Rotunda 2004, pg. 602). In short, if a law fails in any of these three aspects it is constitutionally invalid. It is the Supreme Court’s responsibility to look if there is any effect or issue with a statute to decide whether there are any issues with government and religion.

Finally, the Vatican has the unique fiscal ability to negotiate civil resolutions that are often beyond the purview of the criminal justice system (Liebreich, 2019). For example, Pruzan documents the prolonged abuse of over 500 minors from the 1940s to 1990s occurring within the Los Angeles Archdiocese (2012, Pg.594). It was not until 2007 that 15 civil trials came up against the Los Angeles Archdiocese. But days leading up to the case, a settlement was reached by mediation, therefore no prosecution would come about against these allegations. This settlement was the largest monetary figure awarded to sexual abuse victims in the history of the United States. This amount was over 660 million dollars or approximately 1.3 million dollars per victim involved in this case (Mozingo & Spano, 2007).
Church victim mediation looks slightly different from other mediation cases. Usually, a Bishop or other high-ranking clergy member will represent the Church and on the victim's side either an attorney or a mediation professional will represent the victim. There are certain times when a church mediator from the Catholic Church will participate in the mediation process. Usually, the victims involved will provide statements that recount their abuse and other experiences that inflicted them either physically or emotionally, then the Church officials or lawyers will respond. During this process, the option of mediation usually occurs and this includes monetary and non-monetary awards such as the Los Angeles case.

On some occasions, non-monetary conditions allow for greater transparency regarding CSA cases in the church. Such conditions might include "statement[s] concerning pedophile pastors in a newsletter or other news outlet explaining what happened and alerting other possible victims to seek help. It might [also] include a discussion of adequate punishment [for the abusers], such as seeking criminal punishment, defrocking, or removing [the priest] from any setting where children are involved" (Pruzan, 2012, Pg. 597). This is used as a way for the Catholic Church to “fix” what happened in their parish and to try to keep the victims from prosecuting alleged abuse. It is always a tool to keep members believing that they are taking care of the issue. This is a way for the church to try to keep it within its walls and to mediate the cost between the victim and the church’s reputation and out of criminal liability.

In summary, while the church shares many qualities with other organizations, it also has a number of features that likely influence CSA cases and the ways they are resolved. The features of sovereign status, Constitutional protections, unique financial solvency, and established moral authority among its members all likely contribute to the resolution of CSA within the Catholic Church.
CHAPTER 4

THIS STUDY

Current Study

Given that organizations provide important context for the occurrence of CSA and responses to it, this thesis asks three interrelated research questions. (1) Are there observable organizational features that influence the nature of CSA cases within the Catholic church and similarly situated secular organizations? (2) How similar or different are CSA characteristics occurring in the Catholic church and similarly situated secular organizations? (3) Do CSA cases in the Catholic contexts differ from secular organizational contexts concerning formal criminal justice outcomes?

Drawing from prior research and theorization on organizations and misconduct, this thesis hypothesizes the following:

1.) The features of large organizations, namely power differentials, communications norms, and procedures will be identifiable in stories about CSA across both secular and Catholic contexts (Vaughan, 1999).

2.) While there are likely to be some similarities with the nature and handling of CSA cases, the specific elements unique to the Catholic church – such as the notion of Spiritual Abuse and the unique moral authority of the church will be visible in narratives about the case (Worthen, 1974).

3.) Given the unique relationship between the criminal justice system and the Catholic, cases occurring in the Catholic church will be less likely to have formal criminal justice intervention, and more likely to result in mediation.
CHAPTER 5

Methodology

Procedure

Research that involves the examination of child sexual abuse crimes in the news media has heavily relied on different methods, yet content analysis is a powerful methodology for exploring themes and patterns (Chermark, 1995). As claimed by Berg (2004), a researcher can learn how authors with recorded materials look at the larger scale through the social world by using content analysis. "[Content Analysis] is a passport to listening to the words of the text and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words" (Berg, Pg. 269). There are two dimensions of text available for content analysis: manifest content and latent content. Manifest content explains "those elements that are physically present and countable" and the latent content refers to "the deep structural meaning conveyed by the message" (Berg, Pg. 269). Given the scope of the present research questions – specifically the focus on comparing and contrasting the extent of legal intervention across Catholic and secular organizations, this study takes a manifest content analysis orientation.

This study focuses on child sexual abuse that occurred in the Catholic Church and secular organizations and whether the prosecution of child sexual is the same or different. Investigating the influential power of the Catholic Church not only on the victims but also their influential power in the U.S. Justice System. The Catholic Church is not only the largest denomination of Christianity but it is also a multimillion-dollar enterprise. This also comes with power and influence in societal and economic contexts. This also applies to secular organizations but the historical and economical status of the Catholic Church is different from the secular organizations.
My research is to uncover any differences in child sexual abuse case outcomes in the legal system between the Catholic Church and secular organizations. By looking at the similarities and differences in characteristics they both share or do not share the same. There will be obvious differences between the two because the Catholic Church being a religious entity and secular organizations being non-religious.

**Data Collection**

Early Content analyses using newspaper articles were usually based on small sample sizes with short periods (Chermak, 1995; Meyers, 1994). This study will be using a mix of national newspapers and local newspapers to cover the scope of attention and awareness that is compared throughout the country. Some cases get mass media coverage depending on how large the case might be, and some cases are only followed by local media because the scope of a case not being as large. The purpose of this study is to identify the connection between secular and Catholic Church child sexual abuse cases by using newspaper articles for content analysis methods to assess cases between the time frame of 2000-2020. Certain types of incidents were omitted from the sample. Specifically, cases were excluded that were allegedly done by a female counterpart of the church or any other role besides a Priest. Further, I omitted any sexual abuse that was only virtual or no-contact, such as the Priest being alleged of possessing child pornography. An exhaustive keyword search was conducted (see Table 1) using the Georgia Southern Library and Google Scholar to maximize retrieving all articles about child sexual assault in the Catholic Church by priests from the newspaper within the years of interest.

The span of years studied was from 2000 to 2020 to show if there were any patterns or relationships within this timeframe of reporting from media outlets. The outlets I used to find eligible newspaper articles were ProQuest, EBSCO, and Google Scholar. I used these search
engines because they hold millions of databases and I could find credible newspaper sources within both of them.

**Analysis**

The inclusionary criteria for finding newspaper articles for this study. The case involved a child victim at the time CSA occurred, which included adults coming forward with sexual abuse that occurred when they were a child. The article had to be reported between 2000 to 2020 even if the abuse happened before that timeframe. Victims had to be abused by male offenders that held certain power roles within the secular group and Priests were the only male offenders involved in the Catholic news articles. For secular groups, the criteria of males in positions of power were chosen to show similarities between power structure with secular and Catholic abuse. The secular organizations chosen were large national groups like the Olympics and national non-profit organizations like the YMCA or Boys and Girls Clubs of America. The Catholic Church is a big religious organization; therefore, I chose big well known national organizations that also have social capital involved like the Catholic Church. Another similarity between these secular groups and the Catholic church is the executive board members that are in charge of these organizations which is the closest to comparing the hierarchy of the Catholic Church leaders.
**Keyword Searches Catholic Church**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catholic Church priest child</th>
<th>Priest and child victim</th>
<th>Catholic Church Priest charged child S.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child S.A. Priest victim</td>
<td>Child S.A. victim Priest</td>
<td>Catholic Archdiocese child S.A. case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A. Catholic Church</td>
<td>Altar boy S.A.</td>
<td>Former altar server S.A. w/ Priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Priest child S.A.</td>
<td>Child S.A. Archdiocese</td>
<td>Priest guilty child S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegations S.A. Priest</td>
<td>Charged priest child S.A.</td>
<td>Sex offender priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement Child S.A. Priest</td>
<td>Plea Guilty Priest child S.A.</td>
<td>Child S.A. victim priest settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archdiocese ignored S.A.</td>
<td>Allegations Priest S.A.</td>
<td>Lawsuit against Catholic C. Child S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple victims Priest</td>
<td>Priest guilty child S.A.</td>
<td>Underage S.A. Priest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Keyword Searches Secular Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization child S.A.</th>
<th>Coach child S.A.</th>
<th>Olympic minor S.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coverups child S.A.</td>
<td>Boy Scouts S.A.</td>
<td>Ignored child S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decades S.A. coverup</td>
<td>Ignored scout leader</td>
<td>Settlement Boy or Girl Scouts S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troop leader child S.A.</td>
<td>Files hid child S.A. abuse</td>
<td>Boys &amp; Girls club child S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach child S.A.</td>
<td>Lawsuit boy scouts S.A.</td>
<td>Known S.A. abuse in the organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child S.A. victim scouts</td>
<td>Multiple victims S.A.</td>
<td>Trusted leader child S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl Scouts male S.A. abuse Guilty coach child S.A.</td>
<td>Allegations Olympics/scout child S.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported child S.A.</td>
<td>Removal of coach/troop leader</td>
<td>Adults come forward of child S.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transfer of Data into NVivo for Coding**

The second stage for my data collection and coding was loading the PDF versions of the newspaper articles into a coding database. Folders were compartmentalized to then import each newspaper by title and file classification by the cases criminal justice outcome. This is to showcase relationships and patterns in matters of prosecution or lack of prosecution. The coding instrument was constructed for this study to obtain information from news sources on the Catholic Church's child sexual abuse and secular organizations on the following characteristics from both types of cases. Victims included are all minors at the time of the sexual abuse either
male or female victims. I also code the specific nature of the offense and the case status as communicated by the article.

Candidate newspaper articles were pre-assessed before in-depth coding to redefine and define already existing attributes within the newspaper articles themselves. Base attributes containing the qualifying criteria were coded at this stage.

Each of the newspaper articles was read through at least once and then assigned within the coding criteria based on the information contained in the newspaper articles. If the information for any of the file attributes was unclear or not present in the article it was therefore coded as missing or used any further based on key characteristics and case criteria due to coding.

**Patterns**

Recognizing patterns in the timeline of the content analysis was important in understanding the social response and connections that these cases had with overlapping secular and religious child sexual abuse case reporting. Perhaps this issue was becoming more talked about and getting media attention like the movie *Spotlight* (2015) which brought attention to real sexual abuse cases that happened in the Catholic Church (Figure 3). For both sets of articles, the timelines show five-year cycles, whereby the media covered multiple cases within one year. The trajectory for Catholic CSA reporting, particularly in the mid-2010s, increased steadily, while secular. Organizations received little to no news reportings of sexual abuse until a sharp increase in the mid-2010s. In 2018, the U.S. Olympics sexual abuse cases as well as the Boy Scouts CSA cases generated much of the increase shown in Figure 3. Importantly, this does not necessarily suggest that child sexual abuse was on the rise. Rather individuals are coming forward reporting, talking, and spreading awareness about their previous abuses. It could also be that the laws have
changed for individuals to now report their previous abuse as a child. Relatedly, the broader culture around sexual assault, addressing it in the context of large organizations and the Catholic Church, and challenging large and powerful institutions shifted (Shead, 2014).

Chapter 6

Key Variables of Comparison

Dependent Variables

My first dependent variable is the extent and nature of the resolution of the CSA cases in the Criminal Justice System. Potential outcomes include cases being dismissed, offenders paying settlements, and the organization or church failing to report sexual abuse. The outcome of these cases is my main dependent variable to see if there is any difference between the secular and the Catholic Church. In addition to the factual outcomes of the reported cases, I also seek to explore the similarities and differences in how cases are represented in the media. Consistent with prior work in media representation, I used Altheide’s (1996) approach to qualitative media analysis. This approach allows for the open coding of news stories in a recursive style that continues until new themes cease to appear. In addition, this study broadly conceptualizes news coverage as an important indicator of how sexual abuse allegations are handled in the public forum. Measuring news coverage by the number of articles within the time frame from 2000 to 2020.

Comparison Variables

To strengthen the comparisons made in the analyses, a number of controls are necessary to ensure that the sole difference between cases is whether they occur in a Catholic Church or secular organizational setting. Case inclusion criteria were consistent across organization types. Both male and female victims were key characteristics in data collection.
Another key independent variable is any discussion of the statute of limitations. As prior work in the prosecution literature has described, time from the abuse has an impact on the victim’s likelihood of reporting as well as the likelihood of filing charges. This is extremely important for victims to be able to report and formally charge allegations against their offenders and to understand why adults come forward to report their abuse as a child. It also shows how and why prosecution can or cannot happen depending on the state it occurs in and the benefits of the statute of limitations being overturned.

While the hope is to provide as much similarity in circumstances between secular and Church abuse cases, I further coded for intractable differences that may influence both media representation and case resolution. Specifically, organizations may vary in how they handle the allegations or prosecution (O’Reilly, 2008). Whether or not the secular organization favored the victim rather than the offender is an important consideration because, as organizational deviance theory proposes. Organizations may only support helping victims if it will not negatively impact the institution's social capital. This is found in both religious and secular responses to addressing child sexual abuse (O’Reilly, 2008).

**Findings**

Understanding themes that were developed through the content analysis from these newspaper articles is important for understanding the prevalence and patterns of similarities, between cases that were religious or non-religious. The first theme is the *Case Resolution* (Table 1) by the court system. This theme is with focuses on how these cases ended either in prosecution, settlement, lawsuit, etc, subsequently using manual coding. This first theme is crucial for recognizing or understanding if there is a theme or pattern of case resolution between these two entities. Out of all the themes case resolution was the hardest to code because case resolution often unfolds slowly over time and across multiple articles. I was still able to find the
second theme was the similarities in the **Number of Victims** abused by the same offender or offenders. This theme will help understand how long and how many victims were abused throughout a period of time that was not reported. The number of victims abused by either the same or multiple offenders shows the influence of power and neglect from both the Catholic Church and organizations. The number of victims for coding is only based on the number of individuals that came forward. Therefore, the theme is only representative of reported victims from the articles included in the study. The third theme that emerged is the **Social Response** once the abuse is reported. This theme of response for how organizations and the Catholic Church respond to allegations and convictions is important to recognize any similarities or patterns between the two. The response shows how their social capital and organizational structure may influence the type of response given. Out of all the themes, this was the most successful to code because the timelines of reportings show the social response within the United States.

**CHAPTER 7**

**Research Questions**

**Research Question One**

Are there observable organizational features that influence the nature of CSA cases within the Catholic church and similarly situated secular organizations? My hypothesis was that large organizations, power differentials, communications norms, and procedures would be identifiable in stories about CSA across both secular and Catholic contexts (Vaughan, 1999). My hypothesis was correct in being able to recognize and identifiable across both secular and Catholic CSA cases. Just by looking at (Figure 1), the Catholic case resolutions are identifiable by the outcome of settlement and lawsuits compared to the secular (Figure 1). This could be that
the Catholic Church has more money to settle because they have their own lump of sums compared to the secular groups' money coming from members and government funds. The fiscal ability that the Catholic Church holds is powerful when CSA cases are handled in the criminal justice system. Settlements are usually handled through mediation because of the fiscal ability of the Catholic Church. Because the Catholic church is a sovereign nation, they have control over the money they receive from their members, unlike secular organizations. Another observable organizational feature is the Vatican City (Holy See) has the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (Martinez, 2009), which means one sovereign state cannot exercise judicial power over another. The biggest organizational feature of the Catholic church from secular organizations is it being a sovereign nation. An organization does not hold any similar organizational features as a sovereign nation when looking at the organizational features of both entities. The last organizational feature is the constitutional protection that the Catholic Church has unlike organizations like the YMCA, Boy Scouts of America, and the U.S. Olympics included in this study. The constitutional protection is under the First Amendment Establishment Clause which does not apply to the secular organizational features. The Catholic Church has total control of how they handle their clergy members within their organization. As mentioned above when a priest is undergoing allegations. The church handles CSA allegations through their own processes and decision making if the priest can still hold and practice his priesthood. Organizations have policies and procedures that they are suppose to follow if an individual within their organization is involved in a CSA case.

**Research Question Number Two**
How similar or different are CSA characteristics occurring in the Catholic church and similarly situated secular organizations? I hypothesized that the secular and the Catholic church had similarities in the nature and handling of CSA cases. However, the Catholic church has a different characteristic being spiritual abuse (Demasure, 2022). Spiritual abuse can not be used on secular victims because the offenders do not hold divine authority over their victims. This is a different characteristic from secular organizations because they do not involve religion. Another different main characteristic was when the victims came forward about their abuse. After reviewing my data from the newspaper articles, the victims that came forward from the Catholic church were predominately all adults coming forward about their CSA abuse as a child. Unlike, the secular group victims, the majority of them were all still children or young adults coming forward about their abuse. The only secular groups that were similar to the Catholic Church victims were victims from the Boy Scouts, this could be because of them having an older establishment compared to the YMCA. Some similarity of victims between the two is multiple victims under the same offender. In (Table 1 & 2), there was the same number of cases for the multiple victims frequency for the Catholic Church and secular groups.

**Third Research Question**

Do CSA cases in the Catholic contexts differ from secular organizational contexts concerning formal criminal justice outcomes? I hypothesized that the Catholic church would be less likely to have formal charges or criminal justice intervention and be more likely to result in mediation through settlement. Looking at (Figure 1) the case resolution shows that settlements and prosecution were the biggest results in formal charges. There were thirty-three cases (Table 1) by the Catholic Church that reached a settlement. Only thirteen cases (Table 2) resulted in a
settlement in the secular organizations. Out of the two hundred newspaper articles, only one case (Table 1) was the priest not being found guilty formally through the justice system. Compared to the secular organizations with forty-one cases of the offender being found or pleaded guilty. The number of cases formally charged and being prosecuted differ from the number of cases found. The results from case resolution in (Table 1) shows that secular organizations have more formal charges in prosecution and lawsuits. My hypothesis was correct through the results that the Catholic Church uses monetary mediation which results in settlement. In conclusion, staying out of the courtroom and letting the Catholic Church handle the CSA case on their own terms concerning formal outcomes.

Some emergent themes that happened during this study were the number of male victims for both the secular and the Catholic church (Figure 2 & 3). For the Catholic church, this could be because of the positions the church offer for altar servers are for males predominantly. For the secular groups like the Boy Scouts of America and the YMCA they mainly had male victims. The female victim portion comes from the USA Olympic organizations with womens gymnastics and swimming scandals. The 11 victims from the Catholic church table in (Figure 2) were victims of their priests due to family relations outside the church with the priests involved. Another theme was both secular and the Catholic church had multiple victims under the same offender. This could be because usually the priests, coach, or individual in power was around children for a long period of time before they were reported according to these newspaper articles.

Discussion
This study was to find out if the Catholic church and secular groups that are accused of CSA are treated differently in the court system, media, and how the organizations themselves handle the accusations of CSA. My research question’s objective was to go into further detail on finding the differences and similarities between the secular and Catholic newspaper articles regarding CSA. CSA has been an issue for both secular and the Catholic church for the last few decades as mentioned above in the literature. My objective was to find patterns and themes from 2000 to 2020 in published news articles to help define and recognize the handling of these CSA not only within their organization but also publicly as a nation. In my timeline chart of reporting (Figure 3 & 4), shows the number of reporting and the pattern of different influxes of CSA newspaper articles being in high and lows of publications. This timeline shows the Catholic church has more reporting over the period of 2000 to 2020 (Figure 2). In (Figure 3) there is an overlap for the secular and Catholic church CSA publications. This could be because of the large number of cases coming out of the Catholic church, therefore more victims on the secular side feel more comfortable coming forward or it could be that publicly as a society we are ready to address this issue. According to the data of case resolution (Figure 1), the Catholic church has a much higher number of cases resulting in settlements than the secular CSA cases during 2000 to 2020. The secular (Figure 1) cases had more lawsuits than the Catholic church did during this period, which could be because the secular groups were not as likely to give settlements because of the difference in funding between secular and the Catholic church. My sample frequencies (Table 1 & 2) have different characteristics because certain characteristics are important to point out between the secular groups and he Catholic church. For example, if the priest (Figure 1) accused was allowed to continue to practice, moved to another parish, or was stripped of their priesthood showed how the Catholic church handled CSA during different cases and during the
duration of 2000 to 2020. In (Figure 2), I focused on the action of how the organization handled the offender and how they responded to the public. I went into further detail with the Catholic church because the Catholic church can control more of the accused priest than organizations for example. If an offender is accused as a scout leader, YMCA leader, etc. the organization has a different process of handling these issues than the Catholic Church. The Catholic church leaves Bishops and the Archdiocese have control over how they handle their accused. Rarely have you seen the Pope himself address a specific accused priest. Therefore, the sample frequencies (Table 1 & 2) have their own characteristics for the Catholic church and secular groups rather than the same when researching how the offenders were handled. For the number of victims and the sexes (Table 1 & 2) of the victims were both applied characteristics for the sample frequencies to show similarities and differences in sexes and number of victims affected under the same or multiple offenders. This was important to have the same characteristics in order to see if there were any differences or similarities between the two groups.

Limitations to actually knowing the true number of victims is complicated due to the this study looking at newspaper articles; therefore, the victims had to be publicly open about being a victim. Because the victims were identified by the newspaper articles they had to be very open and willing to go public with their victimization. Therefore, the number of victims is hard to truly know when you can only count the ones that are reported. Especially when it comes to CSA, the CSA that happened in the Catholic church were all adults coming forward decades later. Therefore, some victims could have died, not wanting to visit their childhood trauma, deal with the formal normalites, or are ready to come forward about their victimization. Unlike the secular victims, where the victims that came forward were either still underage or were young adults. Limitations to the data of victims is always hard to accept when trying to get justice for
the victims and more coverage on the CSA issue in these organizations. Limitations to offenders is complicated as well because they are only caught if victims come forward, it is also complicated when the offender is deceased and can not get an investigation for the victim or clear the offender’s name if they are innocent.

Further research is critical to understanding and learning how to recognize CSA in not only the Catholic church or secular groups but also any victim of CSA. As mentioned above the scope of CSA in the United States is a big issue, one in five girls and one in twenty boys are victims of sexual abuse in the United States (Perez-Fuentes et. al., 2013). This national estimate are likely underestimated as mentioned above about the difficulties of reporting and the issues of victims coming forward. It is difficult for any victim of sexual abuse to come forward and recognize their victimization through a traumatic process through the formal process (Roth & Friedman, 1998). There needs to be further research on signs, training, and education on recognizing not only victims but offenders as well. This can be challenging because children are so trustworthy and the relationship to the offender is crucial in understanding and recognizing when sexual abuse is occurring. From the literature above, the importance of having third parties around children is highly crucial for catching perpetrators and helping victims (Shead, 2014).

There needs to be more resources and research to help victims not feel guilty for what has happened to them. That factor of guilt does nothing but worsen the situation for helping the victim feel protected or helped when trying to come forward (Shackel, 2009). There are many hurdles and challenges to further the understanding of helping victims and finding offenders but I have hope that with learning for decades of mistakes that future researchers will help more victims and catch more offenders.
Figure 1
Themes: Case Resolution

Case Resolutions

Table 2
Sample Frequencies - Catholic Church

107 articles were retrieved
3= Priest accused priest is deceased
1= Priest found not guilty
32=Altar Server Boys
18= Bishop or Archdiocese took ownership/spoke publicly about the abuse
13= Victims came forward after the Statute of Limitations was removed
34= Diocese knew about abuse happening but failed to report or remove a priest
11= Female victims
20= Lawsuits
77= Male victims
6= Multiple Priests assaulted the same victim
64= Multiple victims involved
12= Priest was moved to a different parish after alleged/suspicious abuse
38= Priest found or pleaded guilty
7= Priest became a registered sex offender
20= Priest was not removed but put on suspension
18= Removed from priesthood
33= Victims received a settlement
4= Statute of limitations prevented reporting

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Table 3
Sample Frequencies- Secular

100 articles were retrieved
32= Lawsuit
1= Multiple offenders abused the same victim
41= Offender was found or pleaded guilty
1= Offender found not guilty
53= Organization ignored or hide abuse instead of reporting
19= Organization took ownership of abuse happening
47= Female victim
36= Male victim
64= Multiple victims involved
13= Settlement to the victim

---

Table 4
Code Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawsuit</td>
<td>A civil legal action by one person or entity (the plaintiff) against another person or entity (the defendant), to be decided in a court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple offenders abused the same victim</td>
<td>Multiple offenders that sexually abused the same victim either at the same time or through different timeframes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Priests assaulted the same victim</td>
<td>Multiple Priests victimized the same victim either at the same time during the physical abuse or through different timeframes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender/Priest was found or pleaded guilty</td>
<td>If the offender either pleaded to be guilty themselves or formally charged guilty in the court of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender/Priest was found not guilty-</td>
<td>The offender was formally found not guilty in the court of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization Ignored or hide abuse instead of reporting</td>
<td>The organization failed to report or address alleged abuse either within their organization or publicly. Hide alleged sexual abuse with their own members, parents, or other victims. Or hid the abuse from media sources or law enforcement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization took ownership of abuse happening</td>
<td>Organization publicly addresses the ongoing allegation or issue within their organization. Or publicly apologized to the victims and those impacted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female victim</td>
<td>Victim that is reported to be a female victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male victim</td>
<td>Victims that is reported to be a male victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple victims involved</td>
<td>If one or more individuals were involved in the alleged sexual abuse by the same offender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altar Server Boys</td>
<td>An altar server is a lay assistant to a member of the clergy during Catholic mass. Altar servers that were identified as boys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest accused priest is deceased</td>
<td>Priest that is accused of child sexual abuse cannot be prosecuted due to them being deceased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop or Archdiocese took ownership/spoke publicly about the abuse</td>
<td>The bishop of the church involved in the allegation or the Archdiocese that is involved in allegations publicly takes ownership of the abuse that occurred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victims came forward after the Statute of Limitations was removed</td>
<td>After the law changed victims that could not report their previous abuse came forward after the Statute of Limitations being removed in their state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statute of limitations prevented reporting</td>
<td>The Statute of Limitations prevented victims being able to report or press charged on abuse that happened as a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest was moved to a different parish after alleged/suspicious abuse</td>
<td>The priest that was accused or rumored to be sexually abusing children was sent to a different parish to either silence victims or to “fix” the problem in the parish abuse was happening in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest became a registered sex offender</td>
<td>The priest became a registered sex offender formally through the Justice System.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest was not removed but put on suspension</td>
<td>The priest was put on suspension by archdiocese during trial or alleged allegations. Still holds position and title in the Catholic Church but is cannot perform mass or other church engagements for the time being.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removed from priesthood</td>
<td>The priest loses his title of priest in the church and can no longer practice or call himself a priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement to the victim</td>
<td>An agreement made between a plaintiff and a defendant outside of the courtroom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2

Newspaper Coverage Timeline (Catholic)

Figure 3

Newspaper Coverage Timeline (Secular)
Summary of Yields
2000-2020 Newspaper Articles (Catholic Church)

(n=6,490)
933=Priests
900=Child Sexual Abuses Cases
621= Roman Catholic Church
1,463= Child Sexual Abuse
520= Priests Investigations
628=Priest Cases
330=Bishops
262= Child Sexual Abuse by Clergy
293=Sexual Misconduct by Clergy

Summary of Yields
2000-2020 Newspaper Articles (Secular U.S. Olympics)

n=(3,476)
1,115= U.S. Gymnastics Committee
377= USA Olympic Swimming
142= Larry Nassar
81= Physicians
43= Gymnastics
43= United States Olympic Committee -- officials and employees
37= U.S. Gymnastics-Crimes against
35=Child sexual abuse -- cases
19= Athletes
16= Coaches (athletics) -- cases
10= Whistle blowing

Summary of Yields
2000-2020 Newspaper Articles (Boy Scouts)

n=(1,062)
178=Child sexual abuse
173= Child sexual abuse-case boy scouts
86=Boy scouts of America-cases
62=Boy scouts of America
54=Boy scouts
39=Boy scouts-crimes against
37=Investigations
Summary of Yields
2000-2020 Newspaper Articles (Boys & Girls Club)

n=(245)
113=Sex crimes
81=Child & youth
70=Boy clubs
55=Youth organizations
38=Rape
27=Pedophilia  26=Women
22=Criminal sentences
22=Girls club
21=Criminal Investigations
17=Non-profit
16=leadership

Criteria Exclusion/ Inclusion Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Inclusion</th>
<th>Exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publication Date</td>
<td>2000 to 2020</td>
<td>Before 2000 or After 2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Geography</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Outside the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search Engines</td>
<td>ProQuest, EBSCO, &amp; Google Scholar</td>
<td>Search engines other than these databases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Type</td>
<td>Newspaper Articles</td>
<td>Anything that is not considered a newspaper article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Author wrote original story</td>
<td>Author was republished/reprinted onto another media outlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Original Newspaper article</td>
<td>Duplications/Reprints of the same article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Anything other than English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Catholic Church</td>
<td>Other religions that are not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular Group</td>
<td>National Non-Profit Groups (Boys scouts, U.S. Olympics, Boys &amp; Girls of America, &amp; YMCA)</td>
<td>GMO’s or other groups that do not fit the criteria of non-profit organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Child Sexual Abuse</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Child pornography or any realm of cyber crime pertaining to child sexual abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Minors</td>
<td>Adult victims at the time of the sexual abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offender</td>
<td>Male Offender</td>
<td>Female offenders</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


