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SEX OFFENSES AT PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCHES: A TYPOLOGY AND
EXAMINATION USING SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY

By

Andrew Stephen Denney
B.A., Western Kentucky University, 2009
M.S., University of Louisville, 2012

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Justice Administration

Department of Justice Administration
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

May 2015

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A Dissertation Approved on

March 26, 2015

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Charles Stephen Denney and Mrs. Terri

Anne Denney,

and

to my grandparents, Mr. Thomas Joseph Evans and Mrs. Susan Anne Evans,

who have given me numerous opportunities to advance my education.

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I would like to thank Dr. Richard Tewksbury for his continued guidance throughout my graduate-level career. He has given me both opportunities and continued guidance when no one else would. I thank him for setting me on a path to continue my passion for lifelong learning. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Dr. Viviana Andreescu, Dr. Theresa Hayden, and Dr. Ryan Schroeder for their continued help throughout this process. Additionally, I would like to thank my wife, Niki, for her continued patience, understanding, and companionship throughout my graduate studies.

ABSTRACT

SEX OFFENSES AT PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCHES: A TYPOLOGY AND EXAMINATION USING SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORY

Andrew S. Denney

May 8th, 2015

The focus of this study is two-fold. First, using data obtained via content analyses of published news articles, this study examines sexual offenses that have occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches in the US. Drawing upon 326 identified cases spanning from 1999 until 2014, this study aims to explore common offense, offender, and victim characteristics of sex offenses that occur at these locations. Moreover, this study aims to create a typology of offenders and victims at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. Second, using the data from the content analyses and social disorganization measures from Census tracts of the individual church where an offense(s) occurred, this study examines which social disorganization characteristics contribute to a greater/lesser likelihood of certain offense characteristics (i.e., alleged offender was a *Pastor* or other role, alleged offender was *Youth Minister* or other role, offenses occurred on church grounds or off, victim was male or female, and if there was only one reported victim or multiple in a case) being present. This study provides valuable information to scholars and practitioners on a rarely examined topic.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Sex offenses at churches have been at the center of media attention since widespread accusations of sexual abuse and cover up by the Roman Catholic Church first emerged in 2002. Since this time, there have been approximately 16,000 confirmed victims of sexual abuse involving 3,700 clergy within the Roman Catholic Church (Bishop Accountability, 2011). Polarizing events connected with the abuse and cover up by the Roman Catholic Church has led some to question the frequency of sex abuses and offenses occurring inside Protestant Christian churches in the United States (Bailey, 2013). Many concerns center around the sheer number of Protestant churches and individuals identifying themselves as Protestant Christians at 314,000 churches and 134,000,000 potential members (Grammich, Hadaway, Houseal, Jones, Krindatch, Stanley, & Taylor, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2007).

Pressures from outside groups demanding to know the proactive measures being taken by the more sizeable Protestant Christian denominations¹ in the US, has led such groups as the single largest US Protestant denomination - the Southern Baptist

¹ Southern Baptist, United Methodist Church, Church of God in Christ, National Baptist Convention, Evangelical Lutheran Church, National Baptist Convention of America, Assemblies of God, Presbyterian Church, African Methodist Episcopal Church, National Missionary Baptist Convention of America, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS), Episcopal Church, Churches of Christ, Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Rainer, 2013)

Convention - being forced to respond with detailed plans of action for preventing and reacting to sex offenses within member churches (SBC, 2008). Although some of the largest Protestant Christian associations (i.e., Southern Baptist Convention, Assemblies of God, the United Methodist Church, etc.) have significant influence upon their member churches, they have relatively little power to investigate, discipline, and enforce policies towards issues, such as sex abuse, among their member churches. Consequently, this lack of oversight hinders the ability to both uncover and control sexual abuse.

Despite the lack of knowledge on if, and to what extent, sex offenses occur within Protestant Christian churches, there are some estimates available. One of only a few estimates regarding the frequency of sex abuse at Protestant Christian churches is based on numbers released to the Associated Press by three insurance companies² that provide various insurance coverage to Protestant churches. Collectively, these three insurance companies insure approximately 165,500 churches, with most being Protestant churches, in addition to 5,500 other religious-oriented organizations (e.g., schools, camps, etc.) (Seattle-Post Intelligencer, 2007). These insurance figures suggest that approximately 260 claims are made each year involving individuals under 18 being sexually abused by either church clergy, staff, congregation members, or volunteers, resulting in a collective \$4 million payout (Seattle-Post Intelligencer, 2007). Although these numbers give some indication of the extent of sex abuse, these estimates almost certainly do not include every instance of abuse, victims 18 or older, nor does it separate churches from faith-based primary/secondary schools. Furthermore, these numbers do not include churches insured by other companies or even those without insurance. However, what these

² Church Mutual Insurance Company, Brotherhood Mutual Insurance Company, and GuideOne Insurance Company.

numbers do suggest is that sex abuse and offenses do, in fact, occur at Protestant Christian churches and with some frequency rivaling the numbers over the past decade found in the Roman Catholic Church (Bishop Accountability, 2011).

When considering reasons as to why sex abuse/offenses occur at Protestant Christian churches, there are numerous potential explanations. However, there are three likely key factors that prime Protestant Christian churches to be conducive environments for sex offenses. These three reasons are (1) the lack of a unifying structure within many Protestant churches, (2) the sheer opportunity for such offenses to occur based on the number of individuals interacting with one another on a relatively frequent basis, and (3) the surrounding community of a church being socially disorganized.

The first primary reason as to why sex offenses are likely to occur at Protestant Christian churches is the structure of such churches. That is, the structure of the vast majority of Protestant Christian churches may indirectly facilitate both individual and ongoing instances of sexual abuse. In contrast to Roman Catholicism, Protestant Christian organizations - even major establishments such as the Southern Baptist Convention - have very little authority over member churches. The vast majority of authority within national congregations is to reach agreement regarding key doctrines of the respective denomination's belief(s), stances on controversial political issues, and other theological/political issues. Also, national congregations exist to exclude individual church congregations from inclusion in their membership in efforts to protect their brand/reputation for a multitude of reasons. For example, an individual church may allow openly gay congregants to attend; however, the overarching national congregation may

revoke that church's individual membership if it conflicts with the national congregation's policies.

Despite the significance of such groups, these associations have very little authority to enforce individual policies (i.e., hiring/termination, employment background screening, adult-youth contact policies, etc.). This does not even apply to churches unaffiliated with a national congregation or association, oftentimes referred to as *independent* or *non-affiliated churches*. The lack of a unifying structure among Protestant Christian denominations is even further highlighted when one considers that independent/non-affiliated churches are in the top five of religious groups in 48 states and Washington D.C., represented by approximately 35,000 individual churches (Thumma, 2012). Thus, the structure of the vast majority of Protestant Christian churches makes the detection and investigation of individual sex offenses - especially patterns -problematic. Moreover, the mere structure of many Protestant Christian churches allows for inconsistent adult-youth contact policies, differences for who can/cannot volunteer, and even the ability for an alleged offender to transfer from church-to-church within the same community with relative ease. Consequently, the structure and overall lack of cohesiveness among many Protestant Christian churches creates an environment conducive for the potential of sexual abuse - both individual and ongoing instances. The structure of a church becomes even more influential when considering the second primary issue that may explain why sex offenses occur at Protestant Christian churches, that is, the opportunities present for such offenses.

A second key issue for why sex offenses are likely to occur at Protestant Christian churches is the sheer number of individuals who participate in church services throughout

the US, thus creating numerous opportunities for sex offenses to occur. In 2010, there was an estimated total of 314,000 Protestant churches in the US (Grammich et al., 2012). Moreover, according to the Pew Research Center (2007), 44.4% (134,176,800) of all US adults identify as being of the Protestant Christian faith. Although precise numbers for how many adults are actual members of Protestant Christian denominations are unknown, within this group, 58% of Evangelical Christians questioned reported attending church one or more times per week with 34% of mainline Protestants³ doing so (Pew Research Center, 2007). With this large amount of churches and potential members, then this leads to the likely interaction of millions of people - as clergy, staff, and/or congregational members - on a weekly or more basis (Hartford Institute for Religion Research, 2012). As such, the mere interaction of this sizeable number of individuals creates numerous opportunities for sex offenses to occur. This may particularly be the case for child sex offenses with 20% of non-familial offenders in one study reporting having victimized children in an organized youth-centric setting with 8% joining the organization for the sole purpose of sexual victimization (Wortley & Smallbone, 2006). Issues surrounding opportunities for sex offending holds true when one considers what is known regarding the majority of reported sex offenses and characteristics of victims and offenders alike.

One of the key characteristics known regarding sex offenses is that most are committed by individuals known to the victim (Rennison, 2001; Rennison & Rand, 2003). Specifically, 57% of adult female victims were sexually abused by individuals known to them that were not family members where 52% of adult male victims were

³ Mainline Protestants refer to those that historically have been considered to constitute the majority of Protestant Christians within the US that include the following: American Baptists, Episcopalians, Evangelical Lutheran Church, Presbyterian Church, United Church of Christ, and United Methodist Church.

(Rennison, 2001; Rennison & Rand, 2003). Although the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) does not collect victimization data on children younger than 12 years of age, 74% of child sex abuse victims in one study reported knowing their abuser (Snyder, 2000). Furthermore, the age range with the highest victimization rate for a sexual offense are those between the ages of 16 and 19 at 5.5 per 1,000 individuals, followed by 20 to 24 year olds at 2.9 per 1,000, and 12-15 year olds at 2.1 per 1,000 (Rennison & Rand, 2003). With adolescents (i.e., 10-19) in the US consisting of approximately 14% (41,800,000) of the total US population, 23% (9,614,000) of youth identify as being of the Protestant faith with half of all adolescents (4,807,000) estimated as participants in youth groups (Smith, Denton, Faris, & Regnerus, 2002). Within this group, youth with Protestant and Evangelical parents are more likely than all other religions/faiths to participate in youth groups (Smith et al., 2002). Furthermore, among 8th, 10th, and 12th graders, 38% report attending weekly with 16% reporting attending once or twice per month (Smith et al., 2002). When taking the above into consideration, then there are potentially millions of adolescents (i.e., 10-19) involved in youth ministry activities - not even including children under the age of 10 - throughout Protestant Christian churches on a regular basis that could be placing youth in potentially vulnerable situations conducive for sexual victimization.

This issue becomes even more plausible when considering the guardianship role of youth ministries (i.e., youth minister, youth volunteers, etc.). In general, youth ministries operate as a power position over children with the designed purpose of serving as a positive influence over children as they transition/experience adolescence.

Nonetheless, power and control have been identified as two key characteristics of male

rapists of female victims (Saunders-Wilson, 1992; Ward, 1995). Moreover, when one considers that socially disorganized areas have higher overall rates of crime - violent, sexual, and other - then this increases the likelihood that Protestant Christian churches in such areas are being impacted by this issue, thus leading to the third primary reason (Mustaine, Tewksbury, Corzine, & Huff-Corzine, 2014a; Mustaine, Tewksbury, Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Marshall, 2014b; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002).

The third primary reason for why sex offenses are likely to occur at Protestant Christian churches is if a church resides in a socially disorganized neighborhood. *Social disorganization* refers to a theoretical perspective developed by Shaw and McKay in 1942. In essence, social disorganization refers to various characteristics (i.e., low socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, high residential instability) found within a community that, when present, reduce the community's ability to create/enforce informal social control. It is through the reduction in a community's ability to create/enforce informal social control that increases the proclivity for crime to occur in that particular community (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Although traditionally applied to property and violent crimes (e.g., robbery), it has also been applied to understand the prevalence of sex crimes finding that social disorganization does, in fact, have an influence on sex crimes occurring (Baron & Strauss, 1989; Gentry, 1989; Hughes & Kadleck, 2008). Specifically, social disorganization measures of economic disadvantage and housing density have been found to be positively related to preteen sexual assault victimization (Mustaine et al., 2014b).

Another important consideration that needs to be made in regards to the potential for socially disorganized communities having a positive influence on sex offenses

occurring at Protestant Christian churches is the concentration of sexual offenders residing within these communities. Since the passage of legislation, such as the Adam Walsh Act, convicted sex offenders are often indirectly forced to reside in areas that are likely socially disorganized (Gordon, 2013; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2008, 2009; Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Stengel, 2006; Suresh, Mustaine, & Tewksbury, 2010; Tewksbury, 2007; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006; Walker, Golden, & VanHouten, 2001). With the presence of registered sex offenders found to be positively related to teen sexual assault (see Mustaine et al., 2014b), then churches that reside-in and attract adolescents to youth group activities on a weekly or more basis could serve as a potential source of attraction for some sexual offenders. Considering that socially disorganized areas already have a higher proclivity for crime - both violent and sexual- and do not have the informal social control in place to counter such issues, then it is safe to assume that Protestant Christian churches within these areas are likely to also suffer from higher overall levels of sex offenses.

When taking the above into consideration, being the lack of a clear/unified structure, the sheer amount of opportunities by the millions of individuals interacting with one another on a frequent basis within Protestant Christian churches, and the potential influences of social disorganization, then it seems plausible that sex offenses at Protestant Christian churches are indeed an issue. Moreover, with the millions of adults, teenagers, and children interacting on at least a weekly basis, then numerous opportunities for sexual victimization exist. This is especially likely for teens and children who participate in youth ministry activities in Protestant Christian churches, since they represent two of the highest victimization age ranges. As such, there is a

significant need to study the characteristics of sex offenses, victims, and offenders at Protestant Christian churches in addition to social disorganization characteristics of communities in which these churches are located. Findings from this study will help scholars and law enforcement have a better understanding on the nature and extent of sexual abuse and other sex offenses in Protestant Christian churches. Additionally, findings will assist individual Protestant denominations in crafting internal policies that will assist in reducing the opportunity for such victimization to occur. Lastly, findings have the potential to assist law enforcement and prosecutors in investigating and successfully prosecuting such offenses.

Purpose, goals, and objectives.

The purpose of this study is to gain knowledge pertaining to sex offenses, victims, and offenders at or through activities by Protestant Christian churches and what role social disorganization plays in these offenses occurring. Findings from the study will assist practitioners in developing appropriate prevention, intervention, and response measures for victims of sex offenses at Protestant Christian churches. Specifically, findings will help practitioners have a better overall understanding of the extent of sex offenses that occur at Protestant Christian churches in addition to common offender and victim characteristics/relationships of those involved. Additionally, it will provide information for large church organizations, such as the Southern Baptist Convention, to potentially develop policy recommendations to member churches for employment/volunteer screening, adult-youth contact, and other vital issues. Furthermore, findings from the study will help establish a foundation for future scholars

to conduct further research on sex offenses/offenders at Protestant Christian churches. To achieve this overall purpose there are four specific goals.

Goals.

There are four specific goals of the study. The first goal is to understand what types of sex offenses occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. The second goal is to understand what roles sex offenders assume within the church. The third goal is to understand which individuals are more likely to be victims of sex offenses at Protestant Christian churches. The fourth and final goal is to understand what role social disorganization plays in the likelihood of particular offense characteristics (i.e., pastor vs. other offender role, youth minister vs. other offender role, number of victims, victim sex, and location of offense).

Objectives.

In order to achieve the four identified goals, there is a set of nine specific objectives that must be met. Objectives for the study are identified below:

- 1) Collect information regarding the specific sex offense(s) charged (e.g., rape, child sexual abuse, sexual assault, etc.)
- 2) Collect information where the alleged offense occurred (e.g., on church premises or off, church office, Sunday school room, etc.)
- 3) Collect demographic information of the alleged offender (e.g., age, race, sex, etc.)
- 4) Collect information regarding the role of the alleged offender within the church (i.e., pastor, youth minister, volunteer, etc.)
- 5) Collect available demographic information of the victim (e.g., age, sex, etc.)

- 6) Collect available information regarding the role of the victim within the church
(e.g., church member, youth ministry student, volunteer, etc.)
- 7) Record the specific address and analyze key demographic and neighborhood characteristic measures for each of the Protestant Christian church location's Census tract central to measuring levels of social disorganization including: % 18 years or younger, % White, % foreign born, % population who have lived in the same house for the previous 5 years, % graduated HS, % of population who have obtained a 4-year or higher college degree, % unemployed, % of families below the poverty line, % women 18-64 with disabilities, % homes owner occupied, % homes vacant, median household income, median housing value of Census tract, and % female-headed households.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Despite the importance of sexual victimization that occurs at and through activities at Protestant Christian churches, relatively little research has been conducted on the topic. With the exception of a few loosely related studies that have examined clergy sexual abuse (see Chaves & Garland, 2009; Garland & Argueta, 2010; John Jay College, 2004), examination of this phenomenon has been sparse. This is especially the case for the study of sexual offenses and offending that only occurs within Protestant Christian churches. Although there is a dearth of research on this topic, substantial research does exist on related topics. As such, prior research on related topics is crucial to understanding the research questions examined in the present study. Therefore, this chapter is organized by discussion of relevant literature in the following subsections: *overview of sexual victimization (adult sexual victimization, child sexual victimization, effects of sexual victimization, offender characteristics and typologies (offenders of adults and typologies, female sex offenders, offenders of children and typologies, planning and grooming strategies of sex offenders, and attraction to youth-centric organizations), clergy sexual abuse (overview of clergy sexual abuse, clergy sexual misconduct, known clergy offender characteristics, known victim characteristics, clergy planning and grooming strategies, and offense locations), and social disorganization theory (social disorganization theory models, social disorganization theory as applied to sexual*

offending, social disorganization theory and child sexual assault, relegation of registered sex offenders to socially disorganized communities, and interaction effects of environmental stimuli and sexual offending).

Overview of Sexual Victimization

Sexual victimization has been the subject of numerous studies for the past approximate half-century. Moreover, the study of sexual victimization has followed the ebb and flow of what are deemed *moral panics* since the early 1900s with the most recent moral panic following several high profile child sexual abuse cases in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Adam Walsh, Jacob Wetterling, and Megan Kanka) (see Terry, 2013). The result of such cases has been increased media attention and legislative sanctions. Furthermore, this rise in media and political attention has also increased the study of instances of sexual victimization and common victim/offender characteristics. As such, much information has been gained on who is more likely to victimize, who is more likely to be victimized, and how such victimization occurs. Therefore, through these efforts and the collection of official statistics on sexual victimization with the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), researchers now have a clearer picture on the extent of sexual offending.

Historically, there have been two primary sources of official statistics that contribute to our understanding of the extent of sexual victimization. These two sources of information are the Uniform Crime Report (e.g., UCR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (e.g., NCVS). The first source, the UCR, is an annual collection of arrests for sexual and other offenses by most local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies within the United States, grouped by major crime category (e.g., violent,

property, drug, etc.). The second source, the NCVS, is a self-report survey conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics where a nationally representative sample of all U.S. households is surveyed annually. Through this process of both self-reported data for individuals 12 and above and UCR data on official rape/sexual assault arrests, there still remains an incomplete picture of the true extent of rape and sexual assault that occurs within the United States (see Miller, 2010).

Adult sexual victimization. The most recent figures on both sexual assaults and rape reported to the police show that 79,770 total instances were reported to police in 2013 (Uniform Crime Report, 2013). However, there were an estimated 300,170 instances of both sexual assault and rape that occurred in 2013 (Truman & Langton, 2014). Moreover, this figure does not include individuals under the age of 12 years old. When compared to the total incidents of sexual assault and rape that occurred in 2012 (n = 346,830), this represents a 13.45% decrease, resulting in the specific rate of forcible rape on adults at 1.1 rapes per 1,000 individuals (Truman & Langton, 2014).

Sexual assault and rape are also not spread evenly across sexes, as females are significantly more likely than males to be victims of either rape or sexual assault (Truman & Rand, 2011). Although there are differences between sexes, no significant differences exist between different races/ethnicities. Specifically, Whites have a rate of sexual victimization of 0.8 per 1,000, Blacks at 2.5 per 1,000, and Hispanics at 0.7 per 1,000 (Truman & Rand, 2010). Despite no significant differences between different races/ethnicities, there are significant differences depending on the age of the victim, especially if the victim is a child.

Child sexual victimization. It has been estimated that as many as 25% of all children in the United States will have experienced some form of sexual assault prior to turning 18 years old (Spinazzola, Ford, & Zucker, 2005). Despite this high percentage of sexual victimization, significant differences in the overall likelihood of child sexual victimization have been shown to exist between sexes. In particular, girls are vastly more likely to be victims of sexual abuse during childhood when compared to boys (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999; Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis, & Smith, 1990; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005; Levenson & D'Amora, 2007; MacMillan, Fleming, Trocme, Boyle, Wong, & Racine, 1997; Russell, 1984; Spinazzola et al., 2005). Specifically, it has been estimated that as many as 40% of all girls have been sexually assaulted by an adult (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999). However, studies have more commonly placed estimations for the total percentage of girls that are sexually abused at the 20% to 30% range (Levenson & D'Amora, 2007; Finkelhor et al., 1990).

For boys, the likelihood for sexual victimization during childhood is generally believed to be much lower than girls. One study examining the differences between sexes in victimization found that 12.8% of girls were abused compared to 4.3% of boys (MacMillan et al., 1997). Moreover, the same study that estimated the percentage of girls being sexually abused at as high as 40% found that only 13% of boys during their childhood were sexually victimized (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999). Despite this significant difference between the two sexes, this may be an issue related to the disclosure of such abuse and not the actual prevalence. This issue is because girls are generally more likely to disclose their sexual abuse than boys (Brochman, 1991; Finkelhor, 2008; Tewksbury, 2007a; Walwrath, Ybarra, & Holden, 2003).

There have been several factors attributed to why an individual waits for a period of time to disclose their abuse, if they even disclose their abuse at all. Some reasons attributed to this discrepancy in the likelihood to disclose sexual abuse have been the victim and the offender's relationship, especially since most sexually abused children know their offender (Arata, 1998; Smith, Letourneau, & Saunders, 2000), with it being reported as high as 74% in one study (see Snyder, 2000). Moreover, abuse is not limited to solely sexual abuse, but children who are sexually abused oftentimes are subjected to other forms of abuse (e.g., physical, malnourishment, etc.) (Horwitz, Widom, McLaughlin, & White, 2001; Widom, Czaja, & Dutton, 2008). One study by Finkelhor (2008) found that as high as 49% of youth sampled have experienced multiple forms of victimization. Additionally, female child sexual abuse victims, in particular, have been shown to be more likely than non-victims to face sexual, physical, and psychological abuse into adulthood (Messman-Moore & Long, 2000). Therefore, child sexual abuse may predispose individuals, primarily females, to be subjected to multiple forms of abuse throughout their lifetimes. Although abuse, both physical and sexual, is prevalent in a large minority of all children, the rates of sexual victimization do vary by age.

Age and sexual victimization. Across all ages, there are three age ranges, in particular, that have the highest known rate for sexual victimization. The age range with the highest victimization rate are individuals between the ages of 16 and 19 with a rate of 5.5 per 1,000 (Rennison & Rand, 2003). The second highest victimization age range is between 20 and 24 years of age at 2.9 sexual assaults per 1,000 individuals in the population, followed by the third highest age range of 12 to 15 years of age at 2.1 per 1,000 (Rennison & Rand, 2003). However, sexual victimization is also known to be one

of the most underreported crimes (Finkelhor, 2008). As such, these numbers do not include sexual victimization not reported to police, those that were reported and did not lead to a subsequent arrest, and self-reports of victims under the age of 12.

It has been estimated that just 31% of all rapes/sexual assaults were actually reported to police between 1992 and 2000, leaving approximately 69% of all rapes/sexual assaults left unreported (Hart & Rennison, 2003). Moreover, males are less likely than females to disclose their sexual victimization, resulting in an even further lack of understanding of the actual prevalence of male sexual victimization (Brochman, 1991; Finkelhor, 2008; Tewksbury, 2007a; Walrath et al., 2003). This lack of disclosure of one's sexual victimization is crucial. This is not only because the lack of disclosure leads to unknown instances of sexual victimization, but failing to disclose one's victimization can also be detrimental to a victim's physical/mental health. This is because victims who do not disclose their victimization cannot be referred to appropriate social services (e.g., hospital, mental health practitioner, social worker, etc.) by respective law enforcement agencies.

Effects of sexual victimization. Numerous negative effects have been attributed with being the victim of sexual abuse. Notable identified effects include, but are not limited to, the following issues: depression, increased anxiety, suicidal thoughts, suicide, increased substance abuse, anti-social behavior(s), suffering from an eating disorder(s), posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and questioning one's sexual orientation (see Bensley, Van Eenwyk, & Simmons, 2000; Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, DaCosta, & Cassavia, 1990; Briere & Runtz, 1988; Dube, Anda, Whitfield, Brown, Felitti, Dong, & Giles, 2005; Gold, 1986; Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993; Macmillan &

Munn, 2001; Najdowski & Ullman, 2009; Rossow & Lauritzen, 2001; Simpson & Miller, 2002). Although studies have examined victim characteristics and the effects of sexual victimization to gain a better understanding of the impact of this crime, studies have also focused on the characteristics of sex offenders to assist with this understanding.

Offender characteristics and typologies. The overwhelming majority of sex offenders are adult males (Rennison, 2001; Rennison & Rand, 2003). Moreover, the majority of victims (73%) report knowing those who victimized them (US Department of Justice, 2005). This is the case for both male and female victims. It has been estimated that as high as 69% of female victims knew their offenders compared to 52% of male victims (Rennison & Rand, 2003). Furthermore, the vast majority of offenders were non-familial. That is, offenders are likely to be a friend, family friend, or an acquaintance (Rennison & Rand, 2003).

Sex offenders are often believed to be a homogenous group with many similarities between them, no matter the offense-type. Despite this perception, sex offenders have been shown to come from a diverse background with varied personal and criminal histories (Gordon & Porporino, 1990). As such, it is difficult to group sex offenders into distinct, mutually exclusive/exhaustive, categories. Even further adding to this difficulty in categorizing sex offenders into distinct groups is the fact that sex offenders are more likely to be *generalists* (i.e., opportunistic in nature for victim selection), as opposed to *specialists* (i.e., targeting a specific sex, age-range, hair color, etc.) (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004; Lussier, LeBlanc, & Proulx, 2005; Smallbone & Wortley, 2004; Zimring, Piquero, & Jennings, 2007). Although it is difficult to categorize offenders based upon their oftentimes-diverse offense histories and personal backgrounds, prior literature has

traditionally grouped sex offenders according to their primary victim preference (i.e., adult or child victims) and offender characteristics (see Robertiello & Terry, 2007).

When comparing sex offenders based upon their primary victim preference (i.e., adult versus child victim(s)), child sexual abusers have been found to be more likely than those who primarily sexually abuse adult victims to truly specialize in their victim selection (Miethe, Olson, & Mitchell, 2006; Simon, 2000). In one study examining this issue, it was found that those who predominantly sexually victimize children were twice as likely to have a prior conviction for child molestation when compared to other offenders (Simon, 2000). Although this may be the case, other studies have attempted to find generalizable characteristics of certain offender-types (i.e., adult or child victims) in order to make an offender typology for easier classification (see Finkelhor, 1984; Gould, 1994; Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Marshall, Laws, & Barbaree, 1990; Scully, 1990). As with the above, these have typically been separated upon the primary victim of choice, either adult or child victims, or dominant offender characteristics.

Offenders of adults and typologies. Through prior research, multiple characteristics have been found to be present in offenders that are more likely to rape adult victims. These characteristics range from low self-esteem to negative views of women (Marshall, 1989; Marshall & Barbaree, 1990; Marshall et al., 1990; Scully, 1990). Other common characteristics that have been identified of adult sex offenders (primarily male rapists) of adult victims (primarily female) is the mismanagement of aggression, misinterpreting social/verbal cues of women, and the embodiment of hyper-masculine beliefs/attitudes (Groth, 1983; Lipton, McDonel, & McFall, 1987; Marshall et al., 1990; Scully, 1990; Stermac, Sega, & Gills, 1990). However, the two characteristics of 1)

power and 2) control tend to be the strongest traits present in these offenders (Brownmiller, 1975; Stermac & Segal, 1989). Power refers to the authority received by the sexual assault, whereas control refers to the application of the power received by the offender to maintain the victim's position within society. Moreover, the majority of these offenders are believed to have taken their first steps towards sexual victimization prior to turning 18 years of age (Abel & Rouleau, 1990; Epps, 1993; Groth, 1983). Therefore, adult sex offenders who rape and sexually abuse adults typically have engaged in a series of actions related to this offense at earlier points within their life.

Through a summary of prior literature, Robertiello and Terry (2007) found that the vast majority of typologies of rapists fall into four main categories of offenders. The first category is that of *compensatory*. Offenders within this group tend to only use the minimal amount of physical force required to achieve their intended result of being sexually gratified, an end goal that largely separates them from other types of sex offenders who victimize adults. The second category of *opportunistic* offenders refers to the offender being highly impulsive in nature, thus generally only offending when the perceived *right* opportunity presents itself. Therefore, these offenders are largely sexually motivated and will capitalize on an opportunity to sexually offend when they are alone with a victim. For example, an offender may sexually abuse an identified victim once alone in a restroom together. However, this category is strikingly different when compared to the third category of *power/control*. This category refers to the sexual offense being non-sexual in nature.

Although it is non-sexual in nature, the primary aim of the offense is to dominate and humiliate the victim. Therefore, offenders in this category achieve sexual and other

gratification through carrying out their domination and control of their victim. The fourth and final primary category of *sadistic* offenders refers to those who use extreme physical force whereby the chief goal is to cause fear and/or substantial pain to the victim. Similar to the power/control offender, sexual gratification is not the sole goal of the sadistic offender either, but it is the mix of extreme torture/physical pain and sexual gratification that is the aim of offenders within this category (Robertiello & Terry, 2007). Perhaps due to the nature of the offense(s) and who the victims are, more scholarly attention has generally been given to the next major category of sexual offenders of children.

Offenders of children and typologies. When compared to those who primarily sexually victimize adults, those who tend to focus on sexually victimizing children have been shown to share some key characteristics. Some examples of these shared characteristics are offenders having a low self-esteem and feeling inadequate (McKibben, Proulx, & Lusignan, 1994; Terry, 2013; West, 1987). However, child sex offenders are typically not as aggressive as adult rapists (West, 1987). The reasoning for this is that child sex offenders often are seeking a relationship (beyond sexual) with children because of social, psychological, and/or emotional issues that generally disrupt their ability to form both platonic and sexual relationships with fellow adults (Groth, 1983; West, 1987). With these known characteristics, efforts have been made, similar to those with adult sexual offenders, to create a typology of such offenders (see Groth, Hobson, & Gary, 1982; Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Knight & Prentky, 1990).

Some attempts to create a typology of child sex offenders have focused on whether the victim is a family member (i.e., intra-familial) or the victim is not blood-related to the offender (i.e., extra-familial) (see Gould, 1994). However, since the present

study removed offenses that included family members, as they are not directly related to offenses that occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches, discussion will be placed upon typologies that are extra-familial. Although a variety of typologies have been created to help understand various offender/victim characteristics/preferences, a recent work by Miller (2013) provides a summary of two primary categories with individual subcategories of child offender typologies, similar to the typologies of child molesters used by the FBI (Robertiello & Terry, 2007; Terry & Tallon, 2004).

The first major category identified by Miller (2013) of those who sexually offend against children is the *situational child molester*. Similar to the *opportunistic* typology of adult sexual offenders, this category refers to those who sexually victimize child victims primarily because a perceived opportunity presents itself. Moreover, these individuals may also target other, seemingly helpless individuals besides children, such as disabled and/or elderly individuals. Within this primary category, Miller (2013) also identified four subtypes of offenders.

The first subtype of offender is the *regressed pedophile*. This category refers to offenders who occasionally will be sexually involved with an adult; however, will target primarily female children when they perceive their ego to have been threatened in some manner. Moreover, these offenders are widely characterized as having poor coping skills to various life stressors (Terry & Tallon, 2004). As such, they will often target easily accessible children to relieve these stressors and related feelings (Robertiello, & Terry, 2007; Terry & Tallon, 2004). The second subtype of offender within the situational child molester is the *morally indiscriminate pedophile*. This subtype refers to an adult offender

who sexually abuses children through force and typically will fantasize about such actions using pornography involving bondage to aid in the construction/reinforcement of the fantasy. However, these offenders are not exclusively fixated on children as many may also engage in occasional sexual relations with and abuse adults (Terry & Tallon, 2004).

The third subtype of offender within the situational child molester category identified by Miller (2013) is the *sexually indiscriminate*. These offenders generally sexually abuse children as a mere extension of other sexually deviant practices, oftentimes victimizing their own children or family members out of opportunity. Additionally, individuals within this category may choose to offend out of mere boredom (Terry & Tallon, 2004).

The fourth and final subtype of the situational child molester is the *naïve/inadequate* molester. In particular, individuals who compose this category are unable to form sexual relationships with adults, and likely have some form of cognitive disorder. As such, these individuals will sexually abuse children with little-to-no understanding and/or remorse of/for their actions.

The second major category of child sexual offender identified by Miller (2013) and Terry and Tallon (2004) is the *preferential child molester*. Generally, these offenders will have preference for children, as opposed to adults, when choosing sexual partners. Similar to the situational child molester, the preferential child molester also has multiple identified subtypes that comprise it.

The first subtype of the preferential child molester is the *seductive molester*. What separates this category of offender is that they typically use strategies to attract victims.

Oftentimes, these strategies are referred to as *grooming behaviors*, discussed in more detail in the following section. Moreover, these offenders likely feel that the child enjoys their relationship and that mutual benefits are gained. Also, offenders within this category are least likely to use violence to sexually offend, as perceived *affection* is a key trait of this offender-type, in addition to likely abusing several children within a close time frame.

The second subtype of preferential child molester is the *fixated molester*. Specifically, this offender is the mental equivalent of a child. As such, they find children sexually attractive as pseudo-equivalents, and use grooming strategies as well to abuse a child. Similar to the seductive molester, fixated molesters are also likely to be abusing several children during the same time-span. However, fixated molesters are also likely to use the Internet as a means to *recruit* and stay in contact with their victims (Miller, 2013).

The third and final subtype of preferential child molesters is the *sadistic pedophile*. Generally, offenders within this subgroup are the most likely of all to use violence to achieve their sexual and other gratification. Moreover, they typically have a preference for younger boys. Additionally, the sadism aspect of their paraphilia oftentimes involves extreme physical/sexual torture and even death.

Together, the two above major categorizations of male child molesters (i.e., situational child molester and preferential child molester) and each subtype help shed light on common characteristics of those who sexually offend against children. Furthermore, these primary categories and subtypes of child molesters also highlight the heterogeneity of this group of offender. Even though males make up the majority of sex offenders who offend against children, female adults also offend (Giguere & Bumby,

2007; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Tewksbury, 2004; Vandiver & Walker, 2002). As such, typologies of female sex offenders have been developed to better understand this phenomenon.

Female sex offender typologies. Despite female sexual offending identified as less prevalent than male sex offending, it is also important to understand. Terry (2013) provided a summary of typologies of female sex offenders with three main categories. The first category is the *teacher/lover*. This category is characterized as female offenders sexually abusing primarily adolescent males. Moreover, they do not view their actions as either abuse or particularly damaging to their victim(s) with the belief that it is a loving and/or romantic relationship. In contrast to the first category, the second category, *male coerced/male accompanied*, is generally initiated by a male who then recruits the female to join in on or carry-out the offending. Offenders within this category are typically characterized by low self-esteem, drug and/or alcohol abuse, and are also oftentimes the victims of abuse (sexual and physical).

The third and final category of female sex offenders is the *predisposed* offender. Offenders within this category generally have a history of both sexual and physical abuse. Additionally, these offenders will generally both initiate the sexual abuse and often target their own children. Some offenders within this category may also suffer from some form of psychological disorder (Terry, 2013). Although such categories and subtypes help provide understanding to those who sexually offend against children, more detail needs to be provided regarding the planning and grooming that sex offenders use to target/attract their victims to fully understand the extent some offenders take to sexually offend, as is the focus of the next section.

Planning and grooming strategies of sex offenders. Sex offenders often make a series of decisions prior to committing a sex offense. These decisions can range from what has been referred to as *seemingly irrelevant decisions to grooming*⁴ (Terry, 2013). Seemingly irrelevant decisions refer to a series of decisions that lead to a sexual offense (e.g., consuming drugs and/or alcohol); however, offenders are generally not self-aware of how these decisions lead to an offense. Conversely, grooming refers to an *intentional* series of actions, such as compliments or gift giving, with the primary intention of attracting/maintaining a victim to sexually abuse. As summarized by Terry (2013), planning/grooming typically involves the three primary stages of 1) *seduction*, 2) *surprising the victim*, and 3) *verbal or physical coercion*.

For *seduction*, offenders will test their victim prior to committing a sexual abuse by touching them in some non-sexual manner (e.g., tickling) in order to see how they react. Over time, the offender then, depending how the victim reacts, increases the physical touch towards a sexual focus. Moreover, as long the child does not resist the offender's efforts, then offenders within this category will advance to more sexualized touching.

For *surprising the victim*, offenders will create a situation where they are alone with the victim. For example, if the offender is a teacher, they may take a child on a bathroom break, thus creating a situation whereby they are alone with the victim in order to commit the offense. Additionally, offenders that surprise the victim may capitalize on a perceived opportunity that presents itself. An example of this situation would be if a

⁴ Grooming refers to the offender enticing or providing some form of manipulation to their victim(s) in order to achieve their sexual offense.

child asks an adult to assist them with fastening their belt and the offender uses that as an opportunity to touch the child sexually.

The third main category of planning/grooming, of *verbal or physical coercion*, refers to an offender physically and/or verbally threatening the victim to be cooperative in order to begin/continue the sexual abuse. One example of this behavior would be an offender threatening to tell the child's parent that they did something wrong, so that the child would comply with their requests. A second example of this is if an offender threatened to kill a child's pet in order for the offender to carryout their sexual offense. It is through the use of verbal/physical coercion that the offender uses the threat of some form of harm (e.g., emotional, physical, etc.) to either the child or a loved one (e.g., parent, sibling, pet, etc.) in order to commit the sexual victimization.

One relatively recent work by Beauregard, Rossmo, and Proulx (2007) examined the descriptive models of the offense processes for serial sex offenders of adults. Through conducting interviews with 69 serial sex offenders, Beauregard et al. (2007) found that over half of the offenders (57%) hunted their victim in a specific place. Moreover, 45% of the offenders stated that the most important factor that contributed to a particular individual becoming a victim was due to both the availability and location. Also, 19% of the offenders would become involved in an occupation or volunteer that would bring their desirable targets to them. Oftentimes, meeting victims through one's occupation was seen and described as an effortless activity. Furthermore, the characteristics of low socioeconomic status neighborhoods, geographic isolation, houses with large windows, and easy victim access were identified as crucial to an individual being victimized (Beauregard et al., 2007). Location tends to play a crucial role for offenders choosing

their victim as Wortley and Smallbone (2006a) found that 20% of non-familial offenders joined a youth-centric organization with 8% specifically joining these organizations to sexually victimize. As such, organizations that are primarily youth-centric (i.e., providing activities for mostly children) can potentially act as primary targets for some individuals looking to sexually offend.

Attraction to youth-centric organizations. Some research has suggested that sex offenders who offend against children specifically seek-out organizations that are primarily for youth (e.g., Boy Scouts, Big Brothers Big Sisters, Churches, etc.) in order to sexually victimize. Moreover, the vast majority of all sexual victimizations are committed by an individual(s) known to the victim, as discussed above. Coupled with this issue is that both power and control are two of the key characteristics associated with sexual assaults. With most youth-centric organizations focused on adults serving in some mentorship capacity over children, then the potential for sexual victimization is strong. Furthermore, unguarded access to children, a common occurrence in many youth-centric organizations, has been shown as a key contributor to instances of child sexual abuse (Colton, Roberts, & Vanstone, 2010; Sullivan & Beech, 2004; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006a). Together, these issues suggest a potential problem for sexual victimization likely occurring in Protestant Christian churches, especially when other types of youth-centric organizations (e.g., childcare, athletic organizations, Boy Scouts of America, and Big Brothers Big Sisters) have been shown to be susceptible to multiple instances of child sexual abuse.

One of the first types of youth-centric organizations that have been the focus of child sexual victimization studies are childcare facilities, such as daycares. Finkelhor and

Williams (1988) was one of the first studies to have examined instances of child sexual victimization within childcare facilities. Through analyzing 270 institutions between 1983 and 1985, they found that there were 382 total offenders and 1,639 total victims of sexual abuse within childcare facilities during this three-year timespan. Moreover, they found that overall rates of sexual victimization were higher within institutions with lower staff-to-children ratios (Finkelhor & Williams, 1988). Subsequent studies have been conducted since Finkelhor and Williams (1988) with similar findings that the more informal the setting and younger the workers present were more likely to have more instances of sexual victimization (see Colton et al., 2010; Margolin, 1991; Moulden, Firestone, & Wexler, 2007; Sullivan & Beech, 2004).

A second type of youth-centric organization known to be susceptible to instances of child sexual victimization are athletic organizations. Athletic organizations are generally an official entity tasked with providing and officiating organized sports (e.g., football, basketball, baseball, etc.) to individuals under the age of 18. Although relatively few studies have examined this issue, it has been found that coaches are the most common perpetrator within this setting, followed by other authority positions (e.g., sports medicine officials) within these organizations (Brackenridge, 1997; Bringer, Brackenridge, & Johnston, 2001). Furthermore, those who abuse within these settings have been found to groom victims based on success/failure in the sport, thus making victims fearful to disclose their victimization (Stirling & Kerr, 2009). Additionally, offenders within these settings have been known to select children who are perceived as vulnerable (Stirling & Kerr, 2009). Therefore, power and control over individuals within

these environments seem to be a strong contributor towards sex abuse occurring within these environments.

A third youth-centric organization that has been suspected of high rates of child sexual victimization, although academic research has been scant, is the Boy Scouts of America (BSA). Through examination of official BSA records, Boyle (1994) found 1,151 total cases of sexual abuse reported to the central office between 1971 and 1989. Within these 1,151 cases, the vast majority of instances occurred during BSA-sponsored camping trips with the offenders primarily being adults who volunteered to lead such activities. Furthermore, the victims commonly ranged in age from 11 to 17 years of age (Boyle, 1994). Besides this sole look into official records of the BSA, little else is known regarding sexual abuse within the BSA.

A fourth youth-centric organization suspected of high rates of child sexual victimization is Big Brothers Big Sisters (BBBS). Focusing on providing mentorship to approximately 220,000 children who are generally economically disadvantaged, BBBS is centered on adult volunteers who mentor children identified by the organization. Typically, these mentorships involve the mentor and child participating together in a wide-range of activities (e.g., going to sporting events, movies, etc.). As such, there are substantial periods of time where there is no other supervision to a mentor and child, resulting in the potential for sexual victimization. Little is known regarding the instances of child sexual victimization that occur through activities under the auspices of the BBBS. However, BBBS did release data in 2002, reporting that they receive less-than 10 reports of sexual abuse each year with half resulting in an admission of guilt and/or a criminal conviction (Bennett, 2002; Bono, 2004). Together, the four above youth-centric

organizations suggest that other youth-centric organizations, such as churches, may perhaps be susceptible to similar instances of sexual victimization due to the opportunities provided, the power/control position, the general lack of guardianship and other key characteristics associated with child sexual victimization that accompanies guardianship roles within the church.

Clergy sexual abuse. Although sexual abuse among clergy (primarily Catholic) has been the focus of widespread media attention for over the past decade (see Bailey, 2013; Clayton, 2002; The Boston Globe, 2004; Pew Research Religion and Public Life Project, 2010; The New York Times, 2015), discussed further below, relatively few academic studies have been conducted on this topic. Moreover, the vast majority of studies that have been published on this topic have focused on either individual cases of abuse, how to stop such abuse from occurring, how to recover from such sexual abuse, or some combination of each (see Benson, 1994; Bradshaw, 1977; Capps, 1993; Flynn, 2003; Fortune, 1989; Fortune & Poling, 1994; Horst, 1998; Kennedy, 2003; Liberty, 2001; Muse, 1992; Poling, 1999; Rediger, 1990; Steinke, 1989). Although such study is crucial, there exists a large gap in knowledge pertaining to who offends, who is victimized, and where such victimization occurs. The focus of this section will be an overview of literature pertaining to clergy sexual abuse, known offender characteristics, victim characteristics, and known locations of sexual assault.

Overview of clergy sexual abuse. Clergy sexual abuse, as a topic, first began receiving widespread media coverage in 1983 with the Catholic Reverend Gilbert Gauthier, from Louisiana, being convicted for the molestation of several child parish members. Since this point, numerous other cases involving primarily Catholic clergymen

have come to the forefront of media attention. However, the case credited with bringing about the most media attention and related change was Reverend John Geoghan, from Boston, who molested 130 boys over a period of approximately three decades (1962-1993) (The Boston Globe, 2004). With the revelation of the Geoghan case, this led to further examination on the prevalence of this issue. In a comprehensive report detailing sexual abuse within the Catholic Church from 1950 to 2002, John Jay College (2004) found that 4% of all priests within the U.S. had some form of sexual abuse allegation(s) made against them. Moreover, the alleged abuse involved nearly 11,000 children with only 72% of the allegations receiving some form of investigation by the church and a mere 3% referred to law enforcement (Terry & Tallon, 2004). After widespread media attention since this point, approximately 36 Christian denominations and two states (i.e., Minnesota and Texas) have taken legislative steps to address the issue of clergy sexual abuse (Bromley & Cress, 2000; Garland & Argueta, 2010; Shupe, 1998). Although this issue received widespread media attention, few academic studies have examined this issue beyond a theological or media focus (see Adams, 2003; Chan & Scott-Ladd, 2014; Mancini & Shields, 2014; Ronan, 2008; Wirenius, 2011). Additionally, most studies addressing these issues have focused on clergy sexual misconduct, not abuse. Despite key differences between clergy sexual misconduct and abuse, understanding who and why certain clergy engage in sexual misconduct can be potentially valuable for understanding sexual abuse within these environments.

Clergy sexual misconduct. Several academic studies have attempted to understand the prevalence of sexual misconduct among Protestant clergy, not abuse (see Cooper, 2002; Francis & Stacks, 2003; Meek, McMinn, Burnett, Mazarella, & Voytenko,

2004; Seat, Trent, & Kim, 1993; Thorburn & Whitman, 2004). Sexual misconduct refers to clergy who have engaged in some form of adultery, sexual relations with a congregant, or some other related type of sexual action that, although it is deemed improper/unethical in these environments, involves consenting adults. As such, information found in each respective study may mostly include clergy who have engaged in some form of sexual misconduct and not abuse. Such studies have revealed estimations from as little as 1% to as much as 38.5% of all clergy (across numerous denominations) engage in sexual misconduct (Francis & Stacks, 2003; Meek et al., 2004; Seat et al., 1993; Thorburn & Whitman, 2004). Therefore, such studies do not address the issue at hand of sexual abuse that involves force or some coercive tactics that is the emphasis of this study. Despite these differences, information related to sexual misconduct among Protestant clergy is useful in shedding some light on what, perhaps, makes an environment more conducive to sexual misconduct and potentially sexually abuse.

One study to have examined clergy sexual misconduct is a 1984 survey (see Cooper, 2002) of 1,100 Protestant Clergy that found that 38.5% admitted to some form of sexual contact that they deemed *inappropriate*. Moreover, 12.7% of respondents within this study admitted to engaging in the identified inappropriate sexual contact with a church member (Cooper, 2002). In another study by Francis and Baldo (1998), they examined 1,000 clergy who were members of one of three Lutheran denominations (i.e., Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, or Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Church). They found that of the 42% of individuals who responded to their survey, 3.9% admitted to engaging in some form of sexual misconduct (6.6% including sexual intercourse; 3.9% excluding sexual intercourse). Moreover,

32.6% of clergy admitted to engaging in the sexual misconduct with a member of their church with 46.5% engaging in sexual misconduct with a non-member. In a third study, similar to the prior two, Thoburn and Whitman (2004) surveyed 500 Protestant clergy who were graduates of a large Doctor of Ministry seminary program within the United States. Of the 136 surveys returned (37%), 4% reported having a church-related affair with 3% having an affair outside of the church. Specifically, 84.3% of these affairs were identified as brief and most were identified as beginning out of the clergy's marital dissatisfaction (Thoburn & Whitman, 2004). Moreover, Protestant clergy who responded stated that they would actively seek out known individuals within their church because of both the emotional component of being involved with them in a church-related capacity and the physical characteristics of the selected individual. Together, these two components served as an added motivator for the sexual misconduct.

Prevalence of sexual abuse within Protestant Christian churches. Despite the potential for sexual abuse to occur at or through activities at Protestant Christian churches, there is a dearth of research on the topic. This lack of research includes sexual offenses in general, sexual abuse of minors, and sexual abuse of adults. As such, only general estimates exist for how widespread of an issue that sexual abuse is within Protestant Christian churches. One of the few available estimates that detail the extent of child and adult sexual abuse within insured Protestant Christian churches is an article by the Associated Press that appeared in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (2007). In particular, this report examined sexual abuse cases that involved minors and adults among three of the largest insurance companies (i.e., Church Mutual Insurance Co., GuideOne Insurance Co., and Brotherhood Mutual Insurance Co.) that insure the vast majority of Protestant

churches within the United States. The first major church insurance company - Church Mutual Insurance - reported that they provided insurance for approximately 95,000 total church-worship centers as of 2007⁵. On average, Church Mutual Insurance Co. reported 100 sexual abuse claims, on average, per-year involving children over the ten-year span of 1997 to 2007. Additionally, this company revealed that it received an additional 100 claims, on average, of adult sexual abuse during the same time period. As such, over the period of one decade, this company reported receiving approximately 1,000 claims involving child sexual abuse and an additional 1,000 (approximately) claims involving adult sexual abuse. In total, Church Mutual Insurance received an estimated report of 2,000 instances of both child and adult sexual abuse. However, this company did not disclose how much financial compensation was paid out from all claims as the two other insurance companies (i.e., GuideOne Insurance and Brotherhood Mutual Insurance) did (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 2007).

The second major insurance company of GuideOne Insurance provides insurance for around 45,000 religious groups with 43,495 including church-worship centers⁶. Reporting figures from a twenty-year span from 1987 to 2007, GuideOne Insurance states that they received an average of 160 claims of child sex abuse per year and an average of 40 reports of other sexual misconduct involving adults each year during this twenty-year time period. In total, GuideOne received an estimated total of 4,000 combined reports of

⁵ Breakdown of top five denominations insured by Church Mutual Insurance Co. are as follows: United Methodist (10,000), Southern Baptist (9,600), Assemblies of God (4,000), Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (3,300), and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (2,600).

⁶ Of the top five denominations insured by GuideOne Insurance Co., the top five denominations are as follows: Baptist (10,922), Presbyterian (2,812), Lutheran (2,665), Methodist (1,742), and Disciples of Christ/Christian Church of America (1,391).

sexual misconduct. In contrast to Church Mutual Insurance, GuideOne Insurance reported financial claims paid, with a total of \$4 million per year (approximately \$80 million total⁷) in both child sex abuse and other sexual misconduct claims.

The third and final major insurance company that provided information on sexual abuse claims - Brotherhood Mutual Insurance - has approximately 30,000 (27,000 church worshiping-centers, 3,000 other types of religious groups) clients. For a period of the prior 15 years of this company's report of the years from 1992 to 2007), the company reported receiving an annual average of 73 reports of sexual abuse that includes both child sexual abuse and other sexual misconduct per year. This results in a total of approximately 1,095 claims of sexual abuse. However, the company did not report on how many of the approximately 1,095 claims involved strictly children and how many involved solely adults, as their data did not allow for separation. Nevertheless, the agency reported that it paid out a total of approximately \$7.8 million in claims for both child and other sexual abuse during this 15-year period (1992-2007) (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 2007).

Taking the above insurance information into consideration, then among the top three insurance providers for Protestant Christian churches reported a total of approximately 7,095 cases of sexual abuse - including both children and adults - over the period of two decades (1987-2007). Moreover, only including the financial estimates of the latter two insurance companies, a total of approximately \$87.8 million in total sexual abuse claims were paid during this period. Although these figures could include cases that would not hold up in a court of law, together, these figures suggest that there is an

⁷ However, this figure does not include any attorney fees paid for these claims.

issue of sexual abuse within Protestant Christian churches. Furthermore, these figures do not include instances of sexual abuse that occurred in churches not insured by these insurance companies, insured by other insurance companies, or uninsured altogether. Together, these figures represent approximately 53% (n= 165,495) of the total estimated number of Protestant Christian churches in operation within the United States (Grammich et al., 2012). Additionally, these figures do not include sexual abuse that remained undisclosed. As such, both the numbers and total monetary amount of claims paid suggests that sexual abuse in Protestant Christian churches is a sizeable issue. Even though little information is known regarding the prevalence of sexual abuse within Protestant Christian churches, more information is known regarding the perpetrators of such offenses, albeit not primarily Protestant clergy.

Known clergy offender characteristics. One key characteristic that has been found regarding clergy who engage in sexual abuse is that only a small minority is believed to have a paraphilia⁸ (e.g., pedophilia, hebephilia, etc). In particular, 2% of priests are believed to be diagnosable as pedophiles (i.e., have a sexual focus on prepubescent children), while 4% are diagnosable as ephebophiles (i.e., having a sexual focus on individuals 15 to 19) (Sipe, 1990; 1995). Other psychological issues have also been attributed to priests who have engaged in child sexual abuse, such as depression, addiction, and cognitive dysfunction, among others (see Blanchard, 1991; Haywood, Kravitz, Grossman, Wasylw, & Hardy, 1996; Plante & Aldridge, 2005). However, priests who abused were not significantly more likely to have a personality or mood disorder when compared to priests who did not sexually abuse (John Jay College, 2004).

⁸ A paraphilia is an extreme fixation on a certain individual, object, or situation that results in intense sexual arousal (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Similar to the above issue of the prevalence of sexual abuse, what is known regarding clerical offenders is of sexual misconduct (not abuse) and has not been differentiated based upon the offender's religious affiliation (i.e., Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, etc.) or individual Christian denomination (e.g., Southern Baptists, Lutheran, Methodist, etc.). Nearly all identified offenders of sexual misconduct and sexual abuse in prior studies have been male (Francis & Baldo, 1998; Friberg & Laaser, 1998; Garland & Argueta, 2010; Thoburn & Whitman, 2004). This should come to no surprise, as males, in the vast majority of religious denominations, are the only individuals allowed to assume a leadership position within the institution in addition to comprising the overwhelming majority of known sexual offenders. For example, a recent study from 2010 found that 88% of Protestant congregations have a male as their head clergy/pastor with women in this role only constituting 12% of all congregations (Cooperative Congregations Studies Partnership, 2010).

One important characteristic that has been found is that clergy who have reported to have engaged in some form of sexual misconduct have been shown to have higher-than-normal levels of narcissism using Raskin and Hall's (1979) Narcissistic Personality Inventory, potentially conducive to a higher proclivity of sexual abuse being in such a position of power (Brock, & Lukens, 1989; Francis & Baldo, 1998; Hands, 1992; Muse, 1992; Muse & Chase, 1993; Rediger, 1990; Seat et al., 1993; Steinke, 1989). Francis and Baldo (1998) found that most of the offenders of sexual misconduct were between the ages of 51 and 60. However, ministerial experience seems to be the more common indicator recorded as a study by Friberg and Laaser (1998) found that those who had engaged in sexual misconduct had been in the ministry at least for 25 years. Additionally,

a study by Blackmon (1985) found that those who had engaged in an extra-marital affair with a church member, 12.6% of their sample, had more experience in the ministry (i.e., 13 to 18 years) when compared to the rest of their sample (i.e., 11 to 15 years). This is a similar finding to Thoburn and Whitman (2004) that the highest percentage of those who reported engaging in sexual misconduct held the position of associate pastor. Similar findings were reported in the John Jay College (2004) report regarding Catholic clergy who sexually abused children that 42% held the role of associate pastor and 25% were the head priest of their parish. Therefore, it appears that clergy who engage in sexual misconduct are largely middle-aged, and are in middle-tier positions within their church.

Clergy planning and grooming methods. Due to the inherent power and control in many clerical roles, it has been posited by some scholars that both *power* and *control* are key characteristics leading to the potential for sexual abuse within this environment (Brownmiller, 1975; Stermac & Segal, 1989). For example, Capps (1993) suggested that religious leaders have three key components that give them the strong potential to engage in sexual abuse being 1) power of access throughout the church and victim accessibility, 2) power from not being under the surveillance of others, and 3) power over congregants by having certain knowledge over them that one would otherwise not have. Garland and Argueta (2010) have since expanded the above reasoning proposed by Capps (1993) in one of the few comprehensive studies of clerical sexual misconduct to date that focuses on how sexual misconduct from clergy within church environments occurs.

Garland and Argueta's (2010) study examined experiences of 46 identified victims of clergy sexual misconduct. Through interviewing primary (i.e., those victimized) and secondary victims (i.e., family and friends of primary victims), they

found that there are six main themes that describe why a church environment can make sexual misconduct conducive. These six themes are that 1) *family members, friends, and victims ignored warning signs*, 2) *the niceness culture*, 3) *ease of private communication*, 4) *no oversight*, 5) *multiple roles*, and 6) *inherent trust in the sanctuary*.

For the first theme of family members, friends, and victims ignoring warning signs, clergy members would openly engage in misconduct in both private and public settings. However, family members, friends, and victims would ignore these signs of sexual misconduct because a trusted leader of religious faith was committing such behavior. This may be because nearly half of Garland and Argueta's (2010) sample reported relying upon the trust of the clergy instead of their intuition that a sexual advance was being made. As such, the power and trust inherent in such a position is argued to lead victims, family members, and friends to ignore such warning signs.

The second theme - *niceness culture* -, is where both victims and family/friends did not speak up because of fear that it would betray the cultural expectation of being *nice* in the religious setting. For the third theme of the *ease of private communication*, relationships that made sexual misconduct more conducive by clergy were made even easier due to advances in technology. In particular, clergy used both cell phones and e-mail to communicate with victims in order to keep the sexual misconduct more secretive - either from family and friends or other congregants.

For the fourth theme of *no oversight*, the discretion that is afforded to many religious leaders is argued to help facilitate their sexual abuse because many do not have to report, regularly or at all, to a non-deity superior. As such, their daily activities can occur with near absolute discretion and little-to-no oversight. The related, yet distinct,

fifth theme of *multiple roles* demonstrates how clergy often transcend numerous positions within the church. For example, clergy may be the identified leader of the church, a personal/religious counselor, and also a friend. Consequently, clergy are often privy to many aspects of a church-member's personal life, thus making them potentially vulnerable to sexual exploitation. For example, a clergy member may offer faith-based marital counseling where marital issues among congregation members are learned, then potentially exploit these issues to their advantage. Moreover, the dependency demonstrated by some church congregants can also lay a foundation for potential sexual exploitation because they can become dependent upon clergy fulfilling these supportive roles (e.g., counselor, confidant, etc.) within their life.

The sixth and final theme identified by Garland and Argueta (2010) is that of *trust in the sanctuary*. Specifically, this theme deals with the issue that places of worship are viewed as *sacred*. As such, individuals typically do not feel the need to engage in self-protection. Consequently, congregants may let their guard down, thus making congregants more vulnerable to sexual misconduct within this setting. This is especially argued to be a major contributor as 57% of the offenders were identified as a "friend, confidant, or family-like figure." Together, these six themes identified by Garland and Argueta (2010) demonstrate how sexual misconduct can occur, and perhaps be even more conducive, within a religious setting.

Grenz and Bell (2001) adapted typologies of offenders from related sexual abuse literature and applied them to instances of clergy sexual abuse. Specifically, they posited that there are three primary categories of clergy sexual offenders that exist, being the 1) *predator* 2) *wanderer*, and 3) *lover*. The first typology of a *predator* is an individual who

will actively seek-out opportunities to abuse those they come into contact with within their congregation. The second category - *wanderer* - is characterized as those who typically will not sexually offend; however, does so out of a life crisis (e.g., marital struggles) whereby they sexually offend to alleviate such stress/guilt/anxiety. The third and final category of a *lover* is an individual that believes to have fallen in love with an individual from their congregation. Moreover, the *lover* is not someone who has experienced a crisis and is attempting to alleviate these feelings, as with the wanderer - but, these individuals fell in love through normal interaction.

Known victim characteristics. As with the above, the John Jay College (2004) report is one of the sole thorough efforts to have examined sexual abuse within religious environments, albeit solely within the Catholic Church, especially for victim characteristics. In their study, they found that 81% of the victims were male with most (51%) being between the ages of 11 and 14. Several other studies have examined victim characteristics, although indirectly, of clergy sexual abuse and misconduct (see Chaves & Garland, 2009). However, such studies have only focused on adult victims and not child victims. One study that did examine the prevalence of clergy abuse (i.e., physical, mental, and sexual) was Stacey, Darnell, and Shupe (2000). Through surveying residents who lived within the Dallas/Ft. Worth, Texas area, they found that 2.8% of all female respondents reported experiencing some form of sexual abuse from clergy. Moreover, 4.6% of respondents reported that they knew a close friend, relative, or co-worker who had experienced some form of abuse by a clergy (Stacey et al., 2000).

In a second related study, by Chaves and Garland (2009), they interviewed 15% of the 2008 GSS respondents in regards to sexual advances made towards them by clergy.

In total, only 1.59% (n= 50) of the 3,151 adult respondents interviewed reported facing some form of sexual advance by a clergy. Moreover, only 5 (1%) of the 50 that reported sexual advances being made towards them were male. Through only focusing on the females that reported being the victim of a sexual advance, they determined that 3.1% of adult women who attended a religious service monthly had experienced a sexual victimization. As such, Chaves and Garland (2009) concluded that 1 in 30 women who have attended church as an adult have had sexual advances made towards them by a clergy member. They also found differences between the race/ethnicity of the victim and education-level. For race/ethnicity 9.2% of African-American women compared to 1.7% of White women experienced a sexual advance. Moreover, 8.5% of African-American women reported having a family member or close friend that had experienced a sexual advance by a clergy compared to 3.7% of White women. For educational-differences, 3.9% of regularly attending women with less than a bachelor's degree reported being the victim of a sexual advanced compared to 1.3% of women having obtained at least a bachelor's degree (Chaves & Garland, 2009). Yet another important characteristic that needs to be examined is where such sexual misconduct takes place.

Offense locations. Very few studies examining both clergy sexual abuse and misconduct have disclosed where the alleged sexual misconduct took place. Some of the exceptions to this are that Calkins-Mercado, Tallon, & Terry (2008) found that Catholic Priests who had more than one victim were more likely than those had had just one known victim to abuse individuals within the offender's home. Moreover, the John Jay College (2004) report found that 41% of all instances of alleged sexual abuse occurred within the priest's home. However, a second study by Garland and Argueta (2010)

interviewing 46 individuals who had been victims of clerical sexual misconduct/abuse found that the majority of sexual misconduct/abuse occurred within the church office during a counseling session⁹. Furthermore, Chaves and Garland (2009) identified that fully 92% of all instances of sexual misconduct occurred in a private setting. This occurrence has led some scholars to reach the conclusion that sexual abuse within the church environment appears to be opportunistic in nature, as they often are committed in a relatively private location (Fegert, Rassenhofer, Schneider, Seitz, Konig, & Sprober, 2011). Moreover, it is the *power* derived from certain situations, such as confessional and/or counseling session, that may lead to sexual abuse being more likely to occur in relatively private situations.

When one takes into consideration what is known about perpetrators and victims of sexual abuse, grooming methods, locations of offenses, the known prevalence of sexual misconduct within religious settings, and the ways in which such misconduct can occur, then the role that social disorganization plays, if any, in the overall likelihood of individual offense characteristics occurring need also be explored. This is especially the case since the environment has been shown to play a key role in victimization, for both the victim and overall situation, and of who offends (Wortley & Smallbone, 2006a). Specifically, child sex offenders have been shown to use their environment in order to commit their offense. Moreover, they found that the two most common factors present in sex offenses against children are 1) that it occurs in a private setting and 2) that the private setting chosen to commit the offense is usually the offender's home (Wortley & Smallbone, 2006a.). However, what remains unknown is what role, if any, social

⁹ Specific percentages or numbers of incidents occurring within the church office were not provided in the study.

disorganization characteristics present within certain environments plays in the likelihood for sexual victimization at Protestant Christian churches.

Social Disorganization Theory

The social disorganization perspective stands today as one of the most important theoretical contributions to the entire discipline of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Throughout the approximately 80 years that the social disorganization perspective has been around, it has seen many modifications and has been applied to numerous forms of delinquency and/or crime. However, prior to discussion on social disorganization theory, it is crucial that one understands the work by Parks and Burgess (1925) that laid the foundation for the eventual development of social disorganization theory. In 1925, Parks and Burgess' seminal piece discussed the value of *concentric zones theory* whereby crime was found to dissipate the further one moved out from the center of the city. For example, *Zone 1* was the business district with the areas immediately surrounding the business district referred to as *zones of transition*. It is within these zones of transition that crime was at its highest. Conversely, the further removed from the zones of transition, crime gradually tapered-off into relatively low-levels, ultimately reaching *Zone 5* (i.e., suburbs). Moreover, Parks and Burgess (1925) used the perspective of *social ecology*, that a community is a living and breathing organism where fluctuations in the designated area of the city, perhaps, had an impact on the presence of and extent to which crime was occurring. It is through this perspective championed by Parks and Burgess (1925) that built the foundation for Shaw and McKay (1942) to develop what was to become the *social disorganization perspective*.

Shaw and McKay (1942) are credited with the formation of what was to become *social disorganization theory*. Although the intention of Shaw and McKay (1942) was not necessarily to develop a new theory to explain criminal behavior, their work is often credited with ushering in social disorganization theory and the social disorganization perspective as a whole (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). In essence, social disorganization refers to the structural elements of a particular community that influence the presence/absence of criminal behavior within a specific community. Specifically, social disorganization theory - as argued by Shaw and McKay (1942/1969) - contains three structural features that are crucial to explaining why a particular community does/not have delinquency and/or criminal issues. These are the three components of 1) low socioeconomic status, 2) residential mobility, and 3) racial/ethnic heterogeneity.

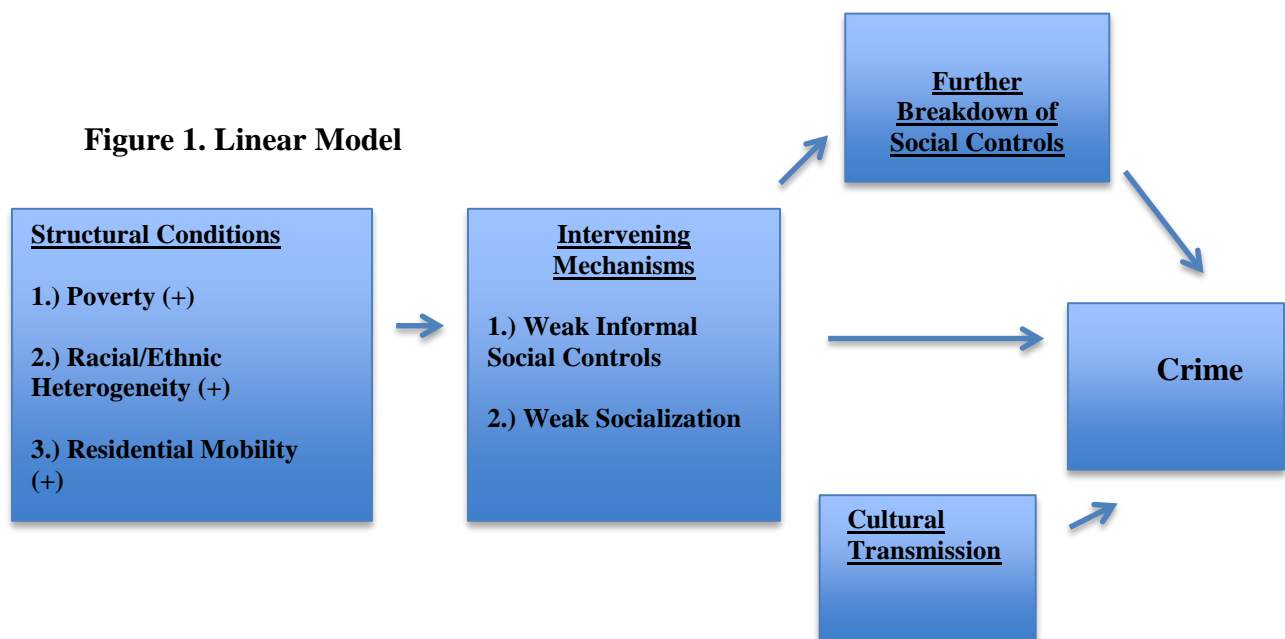
The first component of low socioeconomic status refers to high concentrations of poor individuals within a particular community. The second component of residential mobility refers to a substantial number of individuals persistently moving in and out of a particular community. Consequently, this constant flux of incoming and outgoing residents disrupts the development of informal social control, theorized as crucial to controlling delinquent and/or criminal behaviors. The third and final component refers to concentrations of racial/ethnic minorities and immigrant populations. Combined, these three structural features of a community are argued to debilitate a community's ability to develop/enforce informal social control to disrupt delinquent/criminal behavior(s). As such, communities with a strong concentration of individuals with low socioeconomic status and racial/ethnic minorities - along with high amounts of residential turnover - lead

to a community having a stronger overall likelihood of delinquent and/or criminal behavior (Shaw & McKay, 1942/1969; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974).

Since Shaw and McKay first introduced the social disorganization perspective in 1942 and later modified it in 1969, now referred to as the *linear development model* (see Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974), the perspective as a whole has gone through some substantial changes. The most significant additions to the social disorganization perspective include the *systemic, concentrated disadvantage*, and *collective efficacy* models. Together, these additions have simultaneously altered the original proposed model of social disorganization theory (see Shaw & McKay, 1942). As such, the following section discusses the linear, systemic, concentrated disadvantage, and collective efficacy models of the social disorganization perspective in how they are similar to and different from one another.

Social disorganization theory models. Although the original model for social disorganization theory has changed since its inception in 1942, it still remains crucial for understanding both the perspective itself and the later changes made through subsequent models. As proposed in 1942 and later revised in 1969, Shaw and McKay developed the social disorganization perspective (see Figure 1 below) to have three key exogenous (i.e., external) variables. These three exogenous variables are 1) poverty 2) racial/ethnic heterogeneity and 3) residential mobility. As each of these three exogenous variables increase (i.e., poverty rises, racial/ethnic heterogeneity increases, and greater numbers of individuals move-in/out of a community), then this leads to a breakdown of intervening mechanisms within a particular community that control an individual's behavior from committing acts of delinquency/crime. Specifically, the intervening mechanisms of weak

informal social controls develop, leading to the weak socialization of inner-city youth. Consequently, this combination of the breakdown of community-level social control and the cultural transmission of delinquent/criminal values from one generation to the next, leads to an increase in delinquent/criminal behavior within a particular community for subsequent generations.



Though the original model was described above, further explanation is needed to fully understand its intricacies. Specifically, this model operates under the assumption that as the population size of a particular community increases – typically due to increased industrialization -, then the internal workings and dynamics of that community change for the worse (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). This change being that a particular community no longer has the ability to impart informal social control upon its youth that keeps them from committing delinquent/criminal acts. This represents the *moral decay* of

a community (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Then, this community is viewed as not being able to develop mechanisms to control and/or supervise juveniles, thus leading to the *cultural transmission* of delinquent/criminal values to subsequent generations of juveniles (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942/1969). This model proposed by Shaw and McKay (1942/1969) has since been coined the *linear development model* (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). That is, as the exogenous variables of poverty, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility of a community increase, then so too does the delinquent/criminal behavior of that community due to a breakdown in informal social controls and weak socialization. It is through this characterization of the original model of social disorganization theory by Shaw and McKay (1942/1969) as a *linear development model* that one can better understand the next modification to the social disorganization perspective, the *systemic model*.

The second key modification to the social disorganization perspective is what is referred to as the *systemic model* (see Figure 2 below). Though similar to the linear model, the systemic model has seemingly subtle, yet important, differences. The systemic model states that as the same three key exogenous variables of the prior model of 1) poverty 2) racial/ethnic heterogeneity and 3) residential mobility increase within a community, then this leads to weak informal social control being present. Consequently, delinquent/criminal behaviors occur because of a community's inability to impart informal social control upon its youth.

Figure 2. Systemic Model



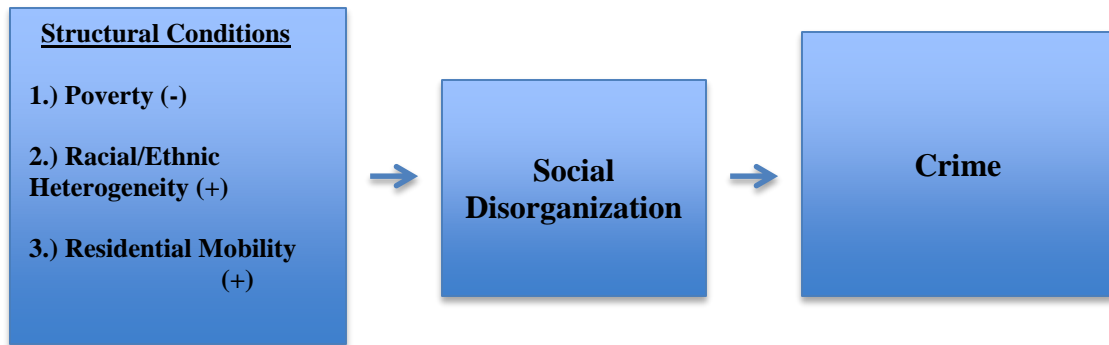
In essence, the systemic model removes any aspect of culture. Kornhauser (1978) is credited with ushering in the systemic model by removing the role of culture and focusing on social disorganization as strictly a control theory. In Shaw and McKay's (1942/1969) linear development model, culture is represented as cultural transmission, being the act that results from social disorganization where successive generations of juveniles transmit delinquent values favorable to delinquency/crime.

In contrast, the systemic model removes all aspects of culture (i.e., cultural transmission) by focusing on the inability of a community to control its youth (i.e., weak informal social control). As such, each generation is assimilated into a structural context unable to cultivate and enforce informal social control (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). That is, it is not that individuals *learn* (i.e., culture) delinquent/criminal values, but that the structure (i.e., poverty, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility) of a community creates weak informal social control that then leads to delinquent/criminal acts. Thus, the systemic model views a community as a system of friendship, kinship, and/or associational ties and not solely the result of an increase in exogenous structural variables and moral decay (Bursik, 1988; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda & Janowitz,

1974). Furthermore, under this perspective, a community is not seen as entirely unable to reduce delinquency/crime if population density has occurred, thus giving each community the capacity to change their situation. Although communities are seen as having the ability to change delinquency/crime issues through the systemic model, this perspective largely does not apply to the next model of *concentrated disadvantage*.

The third key modification to the social disorganization perspective is *concentrated disadvantage* (see Figure 3 below). In essence, concentrated disadvantage refers to the concept developed by Wilson (1987) that the combination of various factors (e.g., extreme poverty, lack of access to education and/or job opportunities, etc.) and historical factors (e.g., racism) coalesce to socially isolate a particular community from other social classes and communities. The end result of this process being that a group of the most severely disadvantaged - primarily young African-Americans- are left in undesirable areas and are socially isolated from mainstream American values (Wilson, 1987). Therefore, it is the end result of this process of the combination of extreme poverty, social isolation, and other issues that crime is more conducive in these communities. With the development of this concept and acknowledgment that poverty during the latter-half of the twentieth century was fundamentally different than that of the 1930s and 1940s when Shaw and McKay were developing the original propositions of the social disorganization perspective, the model changed accordingly.

Figure 3. Concentrated Disadvantage Model

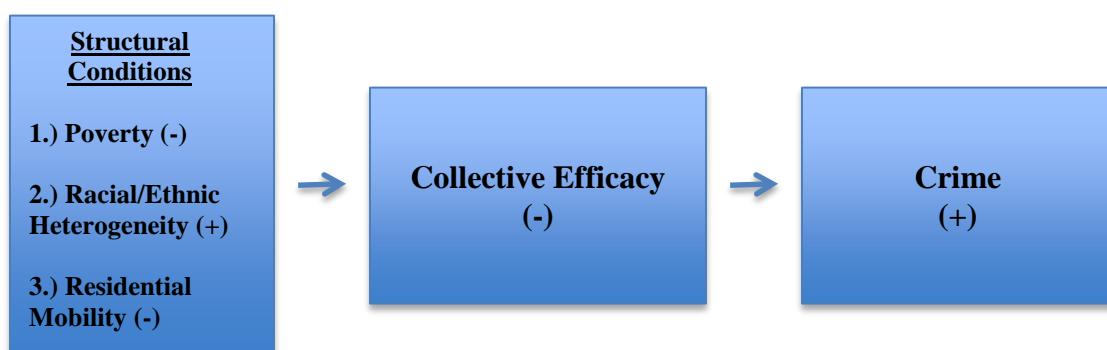


Unlike the linear and systemic models of social disorganization, the concentrated disadvantage model does not have the same correlation direction for the exogenous variables upon the intervening and dependent variable. Both the linear and systemic models argue a positive correlation between the exogenous variables and crime with an increase in poverty, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility leading to an increase in crime, although the intervening mechanisms are different. However, the concentrated disadvantage model differs in the direction of the correlation of the exogenous variables and the dependent variable of crime. Specifically, concentrated disadvantage proposes that an *increase* in poverty, *decrease* in racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and *decrease* in residential mobility leads to an *increase* in social disorganization, in turn, leading to crime. That is, poverty increases in areas where people are increasingly the same race/ethnicity and living for longer periods of time, which leads to social disorganization and eventually crime. Thus, the concentrated disadvantage is in direct opposition to the linear and systemic models. Although in opposition to approximately 40 years of research, the concentrated disadvantage model has had strong support with two key works of Warner and Pierce (1993) and Krivo and Peterson (1996). Furthermore, even though the social disorganization perspective had already experienced

substantial change with the concentrated disadvantage model and related research, this change continued with the development of the *collective efficacy model*.

The fourth and final social disorganization model is that of *collective efficacy* (see Figure 4 below). Collective efficacy refers to the ability of residents within a community via 1) trust and 2) cohesion to engage in social control to address a particular problem and/or concern (e.g., burglaries, thefts, etc.) (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Similar to the concentrated disadvantage model of social disorganization, the collective efficacy model also is in opposition to the linear and systemic models. However, the opposition is more pronounced than the concentrated disadvantage model. Specifically, the exogenous variables of poverty and residential mobility are negative correlations, whereas racial/ethnic heterogeneity is a positive correlation. Thus, as poverty and residential mobility decrease, crime increases. However, as racial/ethnic heterogeneity increases, crime increases as well. Yet, there is another key difference between this model and prior models. This key difference is the intervening mechanism of *collective efficacy*.

Figure 4. Collective Efficacy



The intervening variable of collective efficacy is a fundamentally distinct concept than the intervening mechanisms proposed in the prior three models. For the linear and concentrated disadvantage models, the intervening mechanism was the concept of social disorganization that referred to weakened informal social control and weak socialization that was then transferred to a subsequent generation. For the systemic model, the intervening mechanism was simply weak informal social control. However, the collective efficacy model places *collective efficacy* as the intervening mechanism between structure and crime. Although this model may seem similar to the systemic model, the key difference is that the collective efficacy model refers to the *activation* of social ties and capital, not just that social ties and capital are present (Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson et al., 1997). Furthermore, the collective efficacy model acknowledges the importance of social networks by creating the conditions where collective efficacy may exist and grow, but they are not sufficient to exercise this control by merely existing (Sampson, 2002). Thus, social networks do not have to be dense to be effective -as is assumed under the systemic model-, but need to have the ability to be *activated* when a perceived issue arises (Browning, Dietz, & Feinberg, 2004).

Despite the changes to social disorganization perspective over the past approximate 40 years, measures of social disorganization, such as concentrated disadvantage and racial heterogeneity, have consistently shown to be among the strongest predictors of crime (Pratt, 2001). Moreover, social disorganization theory remains one of the strongest and most supported of all macro-level criminological theories (Pratt, 2001). As such, the social disorganization perspective has been applied to understand various criminal behaviors ranging from homicide case outcomes (see Emerick, Curry, Collins, &

Fernando Rodriguez, 2014) to child sexual abuse (see Mustaine, Tewksbury, Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Marshall, 2014). With the focus of the present study on understanding the role that social disorganization plays upon the overall likelihood of various sex offenses that occur at or through events facilitated by Protestant Christian churches, the final section of this chapter will focus upon social disorganization theory when applied to understanding instances of sexual offending.

Social disorganization theory as applied to sexual offending. Since social disorganization theory's inception, it has been applied to understand and successfully explain many types of crime, as discussed above. Perhaps the most common form of crime that social disorganization theory has been applied to is violent crime (e.g., murder, robbery, etc.) concentrated in particular communities (see Hannon, Knapp, & Defina, 2005; Morenoff et al., 2001; Pratt & Cullen, 2005; Pridemore, 2002; Sampson et al., 1997). However, social disorganization theory has also been applied to understand the prevalence of sex crimes (Baron & Strauss, 1989; Gentry, 1989; Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Tewksbury, Mustaine, & Covington, 2010; Whaley, 1999).

Some of the first works examining social disorganization and the presence of sexual offenses primarily dealt with rape (see Baron & Strauss, 1989; Gentry, 1989; Peterson & Bailey, 1992). Specifically, Peterson and Bailey's (1988) work examined the relationship between poverty and economic inequality in large urban areas in regards to its relationship with forcible rape, ultimately finding that one key social disorganization measure of poverty within a community is the main contributor to the occurrence of forcible rape. However, racial-economic inequality was not found to be a contributor to forcible rape. Continuing this theme of examining the role of social disorganization in

regards to the prevalence of rape, Baron and Strauss (1989) found similar results to Peterson and Bailey (1988), that the three key components of more urbanized areas, higher levels of economic inequality, and higher overall rates of unemployment were significantly and positively related to incidents of rape.

Gentry (1989) further tested the relationship between social disorganization and incidents of rape. She found that the social disorganization measures of divorce, greater proportion of youth in the population, and increased residential mobility were the most powerful predictors of rape within a community. In contrast to Peterson and Bailey (1988) and Baron and Strauss (1989), Gentry (1989) found that poverty, income inequality, and racial income inequality were minimal in their effect on rape rates.

Yet another work by Whaley (1999) further examined the role that various social disorganization measures play in the overall prevalence of rape, finding that the two social disorganization measures of family poverty and racial/ethnic heterogeneity were the only two measures significantly related to rates of rape. Therefore, community-level structural characteristics, commonly used to measure social disorganization, have been found to influence the overall proclivity of some sexual violence to occur in certain communities. Despite some differences in these findings, poverty seems to be the strongest predictor of the prevalence of rape within a particular community. This predictive nature of high-levels of economic deprivation is a theme continued in another application of social disorganization theory in relation to sexual offending, regarding child sexual assault.

Social disorganization and child sexual assault. Another line of social disorganization and sexual offending research has focused on the presence and

prevalence of child sexual assault in socially disorganized communities. An early study by Zuravin (1989) that examined neighborhood structural factors and their relationship to child abuse, not just sexual abuse, demonstrated that high levels of poverty were a significant indicator of increased rates of child abuse. Building upon this theme, a relatively recent study by Paulsen (2003) examined community-level characteristics and the presence and proclivity of child abuse (e.g., maltreatment, physical, sexual, etc.). Paulsen (2003) found that census tracts that have more poverty and a larger percentage of Blacks within the population are more likely to have a higher overall prevalence of child abuse cases. Moreover, precisely 25% of all variation in child abuse rates were found to be explained by the same two factors of 1) poverty and 2) the percent of population that is Black. However, residential stability was found to not be significant. Although Zuravin (1989) and Paulsen (2003) did not focus solely on child sexual abuse, they did demonstrate that structural characteristics of a community could perhaps be an important explanation for higher rates of general child abuse, including sexual abuse, within particular communities.

With the above referenced studies showing the relationship between neighborhood structural factors (e.g., poverty) and child abuse, the role that these factors play upon the proclivity of child sexual abuse became the focus of subsequent studies (see Tewksbury et al., 2010, Mustaine, Tewksbury, Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Marshall, 2014a; Mustaine, Tewksbury, Corzine, & Huff-Corzine, 2014b). The first study to test this direct relationship, Tewksbury and colleagues (2010), examined the role of social disorganization theory in explaining certain community-level characteristics of sexual offenses. They found that the social disorganization measures of community stability,

cohesion, economic deprivation, informal social control, available opportunities, and presence of known offenders are useful for identifying census tracts that have high rates of sexual offending. These findings led Tewksbury et al. (2010) to conclude that social disorganization theory is particularly useful for explaining sexual offenses with adult victims; however, this was not found to be the case with sex offenses with child victims.

Since this initial examination of the role of social disorganization specifically on child sexual assault, subsequent studies have been conducted also examining this relationship. The first of these subsequent studies to have examined social disorganization as applied to child sexual offending is by Mustaine and colleagues (2014a). Specifically, they examined the role that social disorganization plays, if any, in explaining community rates of child sexual assault. Utilizing 1,172 incidents of child sexual assault in Orange County, Florida, they found that some measures of social disorganization do, in fact, help explain the presence and frequency of child sexual assault in particular areas. Specifically, they found that census tracts that had higher overall levels of economic disadvantage also had greater numbers of sexual assault cases involving preteen victims. However, another common social disorganization measure of immigrant presence was significant, yet it was a negative relationship. That is, the greater concentration of immigrants residing in census tracts led to fewer instances of child sexual assault. Moreover, population density was found to be a negative predictor of child sexual assault.

For teen victims (13-17 years of age), the authors concluded that neighborhood factors should not be as influential as they are for younger victims due to mobility and activities, taking place away from the home, of many teens. These findings led the

authors to conclude that the levels of social disorganization within a community do, in fact, moderately explain community variance in the total amount of both preteen and teen sexual assault. Furthermore, social disorganization does aid in the general understanding of why certain communities have higher overall incidents of preteen and/or teen sexual assault victimization when compared to other communities.

A second study that examines the role of social disorganization as applied to child sexual assault is Mustaine and colleagues (2014b). Specifically, this study examined if social disorganization is useful in explaining differences between single and multiple victims of child sexual abuse. Similar to Mustaine et al. (2014a), this study too examined 1,172 instances of child sexual abuse with 159 having multiple victims in Orange County, Florida. However, Mustaine et al. (2014b) concluded that social disorganization is not a good explanation for the explanation of differences in sources and patterns of multiple child sexual assault cases versus single child sexual assaults. Despite this conclusion for differences between single and multiple victims of child sexual assault, social disorganization is still believed to be vital to understanding what areas child sexual abuse is more likely to occur. This is especially the case since community notification and registration laws for sex offenders (e.g., Adam Walsh Act) placing restrictions on where sex offenders can live has led to the higher overall concentration of Registered Sex Offenders (RSOs) residing in socially disorganized areas (see Gordon, 2013; Hughes & Burchfield, 2008; Hughes & Kadleck, 2008; Mustaine et al., 2006a, 2006b; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2008; Socia, 2011; Socia & Stamatel, 2010; Suresh, Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Higgins, 2010; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008; Tewksbury et al., 2010; Walker, Golden, & VanHouten, 2001; Zandbergen & Hart, 2006). As such, this concentration of

known sexual offenders in socially disorganized areas, already known to be ineffective in controlling a range of delinquent and/or criminal behaviors, may lead to more instances of sexual victimization.

Relegation of registered sex offenders to socially disorganized communities.

Since the early 1990s, the United States has experienced a dramatic shift in policy both with the punishment and management of convicted sex offenders. With high profile cases involving extreme examples of sexual violence, resulting in the death of several children (e.g., Adam Walsh, Jacob Wetterling, Megan Kanka, Polly Klaas, etc.) by individuals already known to be sex offenders, calls for more extreme means of managing known sex offenders increased as a result. As such, legislation requiring the registration and increased monitoring of sex offenders with the requirement to register with a public registry was passed in some form in every state and Washington, D.C. by the close of the 20th century (Matson & Lieb, 1997). Some examples of such legislative acts include the Community Protection Act (CPA) passed in Washington State in 1990, the Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children and Sexually Violent Offender Registration Act in 1994, and Megan's Law in 1996 (Matson & Lieb, 1997). Moreover, these are federal mandates that require states to adopt such measures in order to receive certain federal funds, thus leading to widespread adoption by many states.

The combination of above legislation and similar local/state laws also placed restrictions on where offenders can reside within a community. For example, registered sex offenders are generally not allowed to live near¹⁰ the following types of areas:

¹⁰ Typically sex offenders are restricted to live within certain distance, measured by footage (e.g., 1,000 feet, 2,000 feet, etc.), away from a specific area; however, the exact footage varies by state and local legislation.

playgrounds, schools, parks, gyms, daycares, churches, or some other place where children are likely to congregate (Hughes & Burchfield, 2008). Consequently, many registered sex offenders have since faced - due to residency restrictions and offense-based stigma(s) - difficulties in securing housing (Levenson & Cotter, 2005). Another issue is that landlords have been shown to be less inclined to rent to registered sex offenders (Clark, 2007; Loving, Singer, & Maguire, 2008). As such, the combination of residency restrictions and stigma(s) of being a sex offender has led to the relegation of registered sex offenders released from incarceration to communities with high levels of social disorganization. With such knowledge, relatively recent research has examined this issue, finding that registered sex offenders have been mostly relegated to live in socially disorganized areas largely due to these residency restrictions (Gordon, 2013; Hughes & Burchfield, 2008; Hughes & Kadleck, 2008; Mustaine et al., 2006a, 2006b; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2008; Socia, 2011; Socia & Stamatel, 2012; Suresh et al., 2010; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2008; Tewksbury et al., 2010; Walker et al., 2001; Zandbergen & Hart, 2006).

Examination into RSOs most likely residing in socially disorganized areas has revealed a number of trends important to the present study. First, sex offenders upon release are more likely to enter socially disorganized areas when compared to other types of offenders (Hipp, Turner, & Jannetta, 2010). Second, as the overall levels of social disorganization within a census tract increase, so too does the concentration of RSOs who reside within the community (Hughes & Kadleck, 2008; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2008; Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Stengel, 2006a; Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Stengel, 2006b; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, 2007). Third, the higher concentrations of RSOs in certain

communities are characterized by the following social disorganization measures of higher percentages of the population who are unemployed, lower overall educational achievement, higher poverty rates, higher percentage of non-white residents, and lower rates of home ownership, among other factors (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2008; Mustaine et al., 2006a; Socia & Stamatel, 2012; Suresh et al., 2010).

Adding to this issue is that the densest communities (i.e., urban) tend to have the most restrictions due to increased restricted areas where children may congregate; yet densest neighborhoods tend to be the most financially affordable areas for recently released RSOs to reside (Socia, 2011). Fourth, as RSOs move from their initial residence upon release from incarceration, they are likely to move to communities characterized with even higher levels of socially disorganization (Hipp et al., 2010; Mustaine et al., 2006b). This large presence of RSOs in socially disorganized areas has even led one author to conclude that RSOs can serve as a marker of social disorganization within a community in-and-of-themselves (Gordon, 2013). The same has shown to be mostly true with RSOs residing in rural areas; however, there is only a minimal amount of support for the increased presence of RSOs in socially disorganized areas in rural communities (Tewksbury, Mustaine, & Stengel, 2007). Even though this may be the case, Socia (2011) discusses that more residency restrictions in urban areas may lead to an increased proportion of RSOs moving to rural areas already characterized by high levels of social disorganization.

Three potential arguments exist for this occurrence as thoroughly discussed by Socia and Stamatel (2012). First, RSOs could be returning to socially disorganized because these areas are where they happen to be from originally. As such, it is a natural

progression for them to return to areas in which they are familiar with upon their release. A second potential reason for why RSOs are concentrated in socially disorganized communities is that these areas are the most financially affordable for recently released RSOs to reside (Socia & Stamatel, 2012).). A third and final explanation is that RSOs may choose to live in socially disorganized neighborhoods where they will have greater opportunities to re-offend due to close proximity to targets, and low-levels of informal/formal social control. Regardless of the reasons for residing in socially disorganized areas, the presence of RSOs - being individuals known to have already sexually offended - within an a socially disorganized area with low levels of informal/formal social control, leads to the increased possibility for sexual offending within these areas. This is especially the case when taking into consideration that churches in socially disorganized areas could potentially be sought-out by motivated offenders because they may perceive opportunities to sexually victimize. Yet another important consideration for socially disorganized areas and the proclivity for sexual offending is that certain stimuli present within socially disorganized areas may contribute to higher levels of certain sexual offending.

Interaction effects of environmental stimuli and sexual offending. One final consideration in regards to social disorganization that needs to be made is that certain stimuli present with socially disorganized communities may *trigger* individuals from *potential* offenders to *motived* offenders. Using a routine activities theory framework, Mustaine and Tewksbury (2009) examined a sample of sex offenders in Louisville, Kentucky finding that the number of massage parlors, strip clubs, adult bookstores, and liquor stores have a negative overall impact on the rate of sexual victimization within

census tracts. However, the presence of RSOs and the number of bars within a census tract seems to interact, leading to an increased rate of sexual victimization. As such, the presence of bars within a community may lead to more RSOs drinking outside of their homes, as opposed to liquor stores, resulting in increased opportunities to sexually offend. Thus, the increased presence of bars within an already socially disorganized area may lead *potential* offenders to become *motivated* offenders.

Taking all of the above into consideration, a strong potential exists for sexual offenses to occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. This may especially be the case for Protestant Christian churches in socially disorganized communities. Although churches have been referenced as a key force within communities to develop/enforce informal social control (see Bursick & Gramisck, 1993; Krivo & Peterson, 1996; Pattillo, 1998; Shaw & McKay, 1942/1969), it is perhaps that churches, due to the dynamics that accompany socially disorganized communities, serve as an attraction for some sex offenders to sexually offend because of the perceived opportunities present. Moreover, churches that operate within socially disorganized communities may be more conducive to victimization for a number of other important reasons.

First, clergy within these churches mostly consist of males in power and authority positions. Second, most churches generally have a sizable population of youth of all ages due to children and teen ministries that are provided. Third, these activities require frequent interaction on a weekly or more basis, both on-campus and off-campus, between these adults in an authority position and the children and adolescents over whom they have such authority. Fourth, children and adolescents in socially disorganized

communities generally lack adequate parental supervision. Fifth and final, many activities within the church require clergy to be one-on-one with children, adolescents, and adults on a fairly frequent basis to provide spiritual and/or other forms of counseling. Taken together of what is known regarding victims, offenders, and locations of sexual victimization in addition to the higher prevalence of certain crimes in socially disorganized communities, then it is plausible that sexual victimization is likely to occur in Protestant Christian churches, especially those located in socially disorganized communities. As such, the focus of the present study is to understand what types of sexual offenses occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches, common victim and offender characteristic, locations where sexual offenses occur, and what role, if any, social disorganization characteristics play in the overall likelihood of certain sexual offenses occurring.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter covers the methodology employed in the current study. As stated above, there are four goals of the present study being to understand 1) what types of sex offenses occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches?, 2) what roles sex offenders assume within the church?, 3) which individuals are more likely to be victims of sex offenses at Protestant Christian churches?, and 4) what role social disorganization plays in the likelihood of particular offense characteristics to occur? To meet the four goals of the present study, a mixed-methods approach that utilizes both qualitative and quantitative methods was most appropriate.

For the first three goals, to create a typology of sex offenses that occur at Protestant-Christian churches in the United States, a content-analysis of various news articles dealing with sex offenses occurring at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches in the United States was conducted. For offense, offender, and victim characteristics, methodology used was purely descriptive in nature. However, a grounded theory approach was utilized when examining the data for the formation of offender and victim typologies (Charmaz, 1983, 2006).

For the fourth and final goal of measuring the role that social disorganization plays on the likelihood of these offenses occurring, scales for common social

disorganization measures (i.e., *Concentrated Disadvantage*, *Index of Immigrant Concentration*, and *Residential Instability*) developed by Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley (2001) were used to create factors via Principal Components Analysis. Then, these factors were tested with dependent measure characteristics from the content analysis in the five logistic regression models.

This chapter is organized into two main sections being the *Description of the Sample and Sampling Techniques* and *Data Analysis Strategies*.

Description of the Sample and Sampling Techniques

The sample for the present study consists of a collection of online news articles for local news outlets that have reported on instances of sexual victimization that have occurred at or through activities involving Protestant Christian churches. Specifically, three individual websites were used to identify news articles that reported on instances of sexual victimization that occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian Churches. The websites selected were 1) www.reformation.com, 2) www.stopbaptistpredators.org, and 3) www.mojoey.blogspot.com/p/the-morally-corrupt.html. These websites were chosen due to each functioning as a depository for news articles featuring the subject of the present study submitted by site administrators and/or user submissions. Furthermore, each website operated at a distinct time frame that, when combined, had news articles that covered a period across 32 total years¹¹ (1982-2014).

¹¹ The time frames for each individual website are as follows 1) www.reformation.com (1982-2003), 2) www.stopbaptistpredators.com (2002-2012), and 3) www.mojoey.blogspot.com/p/the-morally-corrupt.html (2009-2014).

Each news article contained varied information pertaining to the alleged sex offense (e.g., type of offense, situations surrounding the offense, etc.), victim information (e.g., age, sex, and role within the church), offender information (e.g., name, age, sex, role within church, etc.), and the name of the church. In total, there were 2,240 individual cases that appeared on all three websites across 32 total years. However, some cases present on these websites were either a duplicate, involved offenses at non-Protestant churches, reported on civil lawsuits, took place outside the United States, or some combination of each.

With the present study's focus on individuals *arrested* for sex offenses that occurred at or through activities of Protestant Christian churches within the United States only, all other cases were dropped. Cases only involving individuals arrested were the sole focus because follow-up information was not available for many cases, whether the individual was found guilty or not. Additionally, any news articles that reported on cases that were outside the statute of limitations and/or were the subject of a civil lawsuit were dropped. Cases involving incest were also removed from inclusion. Incest was dropped from inclusion because it involves family dynamics outside the focus of the present study. Furthermore, U.S. Census and American Community Survey data used to test the fourth goal of the present study are not readily available prior to 1999. As such, all articles that referred to instances prior to 1999 were also dropped from inclusion. The final sample used for the content analysis spanning from 1999 to 2014 was 326 individual cases.

Data Analysis Strategies

Content Analysis. For the first three goals of the present study, a content analysis was performed on news articles about the 326 individual cases selected for this study. When links to archived news articles did not contain all relevant information (e.g., offense location, victim's sex, victim's age, etc.), search terms that included the alleged offender's name, church, and/or a combination of each were used in Google™ and/or Google News™ to identify other news articles that perhaps reported on the case. Similar methods have been used in other qualitative studies that utilized a content analysis of news articles (Denton, 2010; Stinson, Liederbach, Brewer, Schmalzried, Mathna, & Long, 2013). News articles used were typically from local news agencies or newspapers near where the alleged offense(s) took place. The typical case involved an average of three news articles to record the identified information needed for the present study, yielding a total of 969 news articles being reviewed.

Once all news article per case were identified, all articles were read multiple times to draw the necessary data from them in order to meet all goals and objectives of the present study. Specifically, each article was read to obtain the following information: specific sex offense(s) charged (e.g., rape, child sexual abuse, sexual assault, etc.), where the alleged offense took place (e.g., at the church, offender's home, etc.), alleged offender demographic information (e.g., age, sex, race/ethnicity, etc.), victim(s) demographic information (e.g., age, sex, etc.), offender role within church (e.g., *Pastor, Youth Minister, Volunteer*, etc.), victim(s) role within church (e.g., *Church member, Church Visitor*, etc.), name of the church where alleged offense occurred and/or was facilitated, and other contextual information surrounding the offense. Once all possible data was obtained from multiple readings of identified news articles, data for each respective

category was entered into an Excel spreadsheet document for organization and analyses purposes.

After all possible data was organized into an Excel spreadsheet document, a content analysis was then performed on the extracted data to meet the first three goals of the present study. For the development of offender and victim typologies, a content analysis on the data, obtained from the news articles, was performed using a grounded theory approach and principles of analytic induction to identify key themes and concepts (Charmaz, 1983, 2006). A grounded theory approach was best for studying this particular phenomenon, as not enough prior research has been conducted on this particular topic in order to apply a pre-existing theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978). In particular, grounded theory is a valuable research tool that enables a researcher to both seek out and conceptualize latent social patterns and structures of one's area of interest through the process of simultaneous comparison. Moreover, applying another theoretical lens to this phenomenon for the formation of offender and victim typologies may place limitations upon the data in this understudied area, thus hindering the theoretical explanations that could potentially arise from subsequent analyses (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Studies examining understudied sex offenses, offenders, and related issues have also applied a grounded theory approach (Gannon, Rose, & Ward, 2010; Gee, D.G., Devilly, G.J., & Ward, T., 2004; Meloy, 2006; Webster & Beech, 2000). Thus, a grounded theory approach to examine the offender and victim typologies of sex offenses that occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches is appropriate.

No cases involving sexual misconduct were included. Moreover, all criminal sexual offenses that met the above criteria were included for analysis, including but not

limited to, child sexual abuse, adult sexual abuse, child pornography downloaded at the church, and more. Attention now turns to the second focus of the present study, the logistic regression analyses of social disorganization measures.

Logistic Regression Analyses. For the second component of the present study, being to understand what role social disorganization plays in the likelihood of particular offense characteristics to occur, logistic regression analyses were employed. Two steps were taken to achieve this. First, a search of addresses for all 326 identified churches was conducted using a combination of Google™ and Yellowpage.com™. However, 18 church addresses could not be located, resulting in a final sample for the subsequent logistic regression analyses of 308 total cases.

Second, the address of each church was entered in the American FactFinder site operated by the United States Census Bureau. Then, the U.S. Census and American Community Survey (ACS) for the closest corresponding year the alleged offense(s) took place were used to obtain the social disorganization measures discussed below. For example, if an individual was arrested in 2007, but the alleged offense(s) occurred in 2005, then the closest available data for the individual census tract of *2005 ACS 5-year estimates* was used for that case. Then, information from each church's respective Census tract was utilized to obtain the social disorganization measures.

Common measures for social disorganization found to be the strongest predictors of crime in the community include residential stability, poverty, family stability, concentrations of young, ethnic/racial heterogeneity, and income/housing values (Almgren, Gues, Immerwahr, & Spittle, 1998; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Crutchfield, Glusker, & Bridges, 1999; Jobes, Barclay & Weinand, 2004; Krivo & Petterson, 1996;

Messner & Tradiff, 1986; Sampson et al. 1997). Each of the above will be specifically measured by the following items available on the United States Census (2000, 2010) and ACS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011) for the respective year as has been done in prior studies examining social disorganization and sex offenses/offenders: % 19 years or younger, % White, % Latino, % Black, % population lived in same house for five years, % graduated high school, % population having obtained a four-year college degree or higher, % unemployed, % of families below poverty line, % of families on government assistance, % female headed households, % homes owner occupied, median household income, and median housing value in Census tract (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2009; Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Stengel, 2006; Mustaine, Tewksbury, Corzine, & Huff-Corzine, 2014a, 2014b; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, 2008, 2009).

Measures.

There were a total of five logistic regression models for the present study.

Dependent measures. Five dependent measures were used in the analysis: 1) whether the alleged offender was a *Pastor* or other role within the church, 2) whether the alleged offender was a *Youth Minister* or other role within the church, 3) whether the victim was a male or female, 4) whether there was one or multiple victims, and 5) whether the alleged offense occurred on church grounds or off-site¹². The first dependent variable, whether or not the alleged offender was a *Pastor* or other role, was a dichotomous measure that distinguished between whether an alleged offender was a *Pastor* (coded as 1) or another role (e.g., *Youth Minister*, *Sunday School Teacher*,

¹² A sixth logistic regression model examining differences between contact and non-contact offenses was desired from the outset of the project. However, there were not enough cases of non-contact offenses to run a logistic regression model. As such, it was omitted from the present study.

Deacon, etc.) (coded as 0). In the sample, 34.9% (n= 110) of all alleged offenders held the role as *Pastor*, whereas 65.1% (n= 205) held a role other than a *Pastor*.

The second dependent variable, whether or not the alleged offender was a *Youth Minister* or other role, was also a dichotomized measure where if an alleged offender was a *Youth Minister* was coded as 1 and all other roles were coded as 0. Fully 31.4% (n= 99) of alleged offenders were *Youth Ministers*, whereas 68.6% (n= 216) of offenders held some other role within the church.

The third dependent variable, whether it was a male or female victim, was also dichotomized. If the victim was a male, it was coded as 1, whereas if the victim was female, it was coded as 0. Fully 40.4% (n= 190) of victims were identified as male with 59.6% (n= 280) of victims identified as female. With the fourth dependent variable of whether or not there were one or multiple victims, this measure was dichotomized with one victim (coded 0) and multiple victims (coded 1). The vast majority of cases (61.7%; n= 205) involved only one known victim, whereas a minority of offenses (38.3%; n= 116) involved more than one victim.

For the fifth dependent variable of whether or not the alleged offense occurred on church grounds or off-site, this measure was also dichotomized. Specifically, if the alleged offense occurred on church premises (e.g., church office, parking lot, etc.) it was coded as 1. However, if the alleged offense occurred off church premises (e.g., *offender's home*, *victim's home*, etc.), it was coded as 0. Fully 38.9% (n= 121) of offenses occurred on church grounds compared to 61.1% (n= 190) off church grounds.

Independent Measures. The majority of social disorganization measures fit into indices developed by Morenoff et al. (2001) and Sampson et al. (1997, 2002) that have

been used and modified to test social disorganization measures (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2009). The three main indices are *Concentrated Disadvantage*, *Index of Immigrant Concentration*, and *Residential Instability*.

Concentrated disadvantage index. Using the index created by Morenoff et al. (2001), a Principal Components Analysis was made to create a factor utilizing the following measures: % of families receiving public assistance, % of families below poverty, % unemployed, % of female-headed households with children, and % of black residents. Similar to Morenoff et al. (2001) and Mustaine and Tewksbury (2011), all measures load on one factor with values of .64 or higher.

Index of immigrant concentration. Using the index by Sampson et al. (2001), a factor using two measures of immigrant concentration of 1) % of Latinos in the population and 2) % of persons who are US born (reverse coded). Both measures load onto one factor, each with values of .91, similar to Sampson et al. (2002).

Residential instability. A factor was also created with two variables representing residential instability, being the % of population in renter occupied homes and % of persons living in a different household 5 years ago. Measures loaded onto one factor with values of .82, respectively.

Other social disorganization measures. Other social disorganization measures that have been identified and used in prior studies testing social disorganization in relation to sex offenses/offenders are as follows: % 19 years or younger, % graduated high school, % of population who have obtained a 4 year or higher degree, % of women 18-64 with disabilities, % homes vacant, median household income, and median housing value of census tract (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2009; Mustaine et al., 2006; Mustaine et

al., 2014a, 2014b; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, 2008, 2009). However, these variables could not be included in the five logistic regression models because of an insufficient number of cases.

Logistic Regression Analysis Strategy. In order to examine the ways in which social disorganization measures may differentially predict whether or not certain sex offense(s) and characteristics occur, logistic regression techniques were utilized. Logistic regression techniques were the most appropriate analytical tool as all five dependent measures were dichotomous. Furthermore, all assumptions for binary logistic regression were met as a linear relationship between dependent and independent measures and normal distribution of variable values are not assumed (Pampel, 2000). Tolerance levels of all measures showed no issues with all tolerance levels being at 0.82 or higher (Menard, 1995).

CHAPTER 4: OFFENSE CHARACTERISTICS AND OFFENDER/VICTIM TYPOLOGIES

This chapter presents the findings for the first analysis of the present study. Specifically, this chapter presents findings for the characteristics of offenders, victims, and sex offenses that occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. Moreover, this chapter is designed to meet the first three goals of the present study being to understand 1) what types of sex offenses occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches, 2) what role sex offenders assume within the church, and 3) which individuals are more likely to be victims of sex offenses at Protestant Christian churches. In total, there were 326 individual cases¹³ of sexual abuse at or through activities facilitated by Protestant Christian churches from 1999 until the close of 2014. Moreover, 41 total states were represented (see Table 1.1) with the top five states being: Florida (9.6%; n=32), Texas (8.4%; n= 28), California (7.5%; n= 25), Illinois (5.1%; n= 17), and Alabama and Tennessee, respectively, at 4.2% (n =14). Three sections and ten subsections organize the remainder of this chapter. These sections and subsections are as follows: *offender characteristics (i.e., offender sex, offender race/ethnicity, offender age, and offender role)*, *victim characteristics (i.e., victim sex,*

¹³ Each arrest incident represented a separate unit of analysis.

victim age, and victim role), and offense characteristics (i.e., offense-types and most common locations, and average number of victims per case).

Table 1.1 Cases by State

State	Percentage
Alaska	0.3% (n= 1)
Alabama	4.3% (n= 14)
Arkansas	2.5% (n= 8)
Arizona	1.2% (n= 4)
California	7.7% (n= 25)
Colorado	2.5% (n= 8)
Connecticut	0.9% (n= 3)
Delaware	0.3% (n= 1)
Florida	9.8% (n= 32)
Georgia	3.7% (n= 12)
Iowa	0.9% (n= 3)
Idaho	0.3% (n= 1)
Illinois	4.9% (n= 16)
Indiana	2.5% (n= 8)
Kansas	1.2% (n= 4)
Kentucky	2.1% (n= 7)
Louisiana	3.4% (n= 11)
Maine	1.8% (n= 6)
Maryland	1.2% (n= 4)
Michigan	1.5% (n= 5)
Minnesota	0.9% (n= 3)
Missouri	1.8% (n= 6)
Mississippi	2.1% (n= 7)
Montana	0.6% (n= 2)
North Carolina	3.4% (n= 11)
New Jersey	0.3% (n= 1)
New Mexico	1.2% (n= 4)
New York	2.5% (n= 8)
Ohio	2.8% (n= 9)
Oklahoma	4.0% (n= 13)
Oregon	1.2% (n= 4)
Pennsylvania	2.8% (n= 9)
South Carolina	3.4% (n= 11)
Tennessee	4.3% (n= 14)
Texas	8.6% (n= 28)
Virginia	2.5% (n= 8)
Vermont	0.3% (n= 1)
Washington	2.5% (n= 8)

Wisconsin	1.2% (n= 4)
West Virginia	0.3% (n= 1)
Wyoming	0.3% (n= 1)

n= 326

Offender Characteristics

To meet the second goal of this study, findings of the characteristics of offenders arrested for some form of sex crime that occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches are provided. In total, there were 332 offenders across the 326 cases during the identified time period (i.e., 1999 to 2014). This section is divided into four subsections, being the 1) *offender sex*, 2) *offender race/ethnicity*, 3) *offender age*, and 4) *offender role*.

Offender Sex

Overwhelmingly, offenders were male. Specifically, male offenders represented 98.8% (n= 328) of the entire offender sample with female offenders only comprising 1.2% (n= 4) of the sample. This finding should come as no surprise since the overwhelming majority of sex offenders are male (Rennison, 2001; Rennison & Rand, 2003). Moreover, men are estimated to hold 88% of all leadership positions within Protestant Christian churches (Cooperative Congregations Studies Partnership, 2010). This is key since leadership roles within an organization emphasize the two primary characteristics of male rapists of power and control (Grammich et al., 2012). Although offender sex is highly concentrated in one category, this is not the case for the next offender characteristic of race/ethnicity.

Offender Race/Ethnicity

For the race/ethnicity of offenders, there were five races/ethnicities represented in the offender sample (See Table 1.2). These are the races/ethnicities of *White*, *Black*,

Hispanic, Asian, and Native American. However, in 18.3% (n= 61) of the sample, the race/ethnicity of the alleged offender was not available. Therefore, the following reports percentages of only offenders with a stated race/ethnicity.

Table 1.2 Race/Ethnicity of Offenders

Offender Race/Ethnicity	Percentage
White	73.1% (n= 198)
Black	18.8% (n= 51)
Hispanic	6.6% (n= 18)
Asian	1.1% (n= 3)
Native American	0.4% (n=1)

n= 271

Overwhelmingly, the vast majority of offenders were *White* (73.1%; n= 198). However, a substantial minority of offenders were identified as *Black* at 18.8% (n= 51) of the total sample. Therefore, 91.9% of the sample consisted of *White* or *Black* offenders.

The third most frequent race/ethnicity was *Hispanic* at 6.6% (n= 18), whereas the fourth most frequent race/ethnicity of *Asian*, only had three (1.1%) identified offenders. The least represented race/ethnicity within the sample was *Native American* with only one offender (0.3%). Even though offender race/ethnicity was largely concentrated into two main categories, offender age was more diverse.

Offender Age

In all, there were 56 distinct offender ages represented in the sample, ranging from 18 to 88 years of age¹⁴. Moreover, only 2.7% (n = 7) of offender ages were missing from the sample, resulting in an *n* of 325 total cases. The mean age of the total sample for all offenders was 40.4 with a mode of 35 and a standard deviation of 13.7 years. Valid percentages are reported in Table 1.3.

¹⁴ Offender age refers to the age, in years, of the offender at the time when the alleged offense took place.

Table 1.3 Age of Offenders

Offender Age	Percentage
18	0.6% (n= 2)
19	0.3% (n= 1)
20	0.3% (n= 1)
21	2.5% (n= 8)
22	1.8% (n= 6)
23	1.5% (n= 5)
24	3.1% (n= 10)
25	2.8% (n= 9)
26	1.5% (n= 5)
27	3.1% (n= 10)
28	3.1% (n= 10)
29	3.1% (n= 10)
30	3.1% (n= 10)
31	3.7% (n= 12)
32	3.4% (n= 11)
33	3.7% (n= 12)
34	2.8% (n= 9)
35	5.2% (n= 17)
36	3.4% (n= 11)
37	1.5% (n= 5)
38	2.5% (n= 8)
39	2.2% (n= 7)
40	3.1% (n= 10)
41	1.2% (n= 4)
42	2.2% (n= 7)
43	2.5% (n= 8)
44	1.8% (n= 6)
45	1.5% (n= 5)
46	0.9% (n= 3)
47	2.2% (n= 7)
48	2.2% (n= 7)
49	1.8% (n= 6)
50	1.8% (n= 6)
51	0.6% (n= 2)
52	0.3% (n= 1)
53	3.1% (n= 10)
54	1.8% (n= 6)
55	1.5% (n= 5)
56	1.8% (n= 6)
57	1.8% (n= 6)
58	0.9% (n= 3)
59	0.9% (n= 3)
60	1.2% (n= 4)

61	0.6% (n= 2)
63	1.2% (n= 4)
64	0.9% (n= 3)
65	1.5% (n= 5)
66	0.6% (n= 2)
67	1.2% (n= 4)
68	0.3% (n= 1)
70	0.3% (n= 1)
71	0.3% (n= 1)
72	0.3% (n= 1)
74	1.5% (n= 5)
77	0.3% (n= 1)
88	0.3% (n= 1)

n= 325

mean= 40.5

standard deviation= 13.7

For male offenders (n= 315; 7 missing age), the mean age was 40.5 with a standard deviation of 13.7 years. However, the mean age of female offenders (n= 4) was slightly younger at 23.5 with a standard deviation of 12.8. Furthermore, ages for female offenders ranged from as low as 21 to as high 39. Although age is an important characteristic, the offender's age is oftentimes associated with the role that they hold within the church. Therefore, the offender's role held hold within the church is discussed in the next section.

Offender Role

The specific role that the offender held within the church was available in 92.2% (n= 306) of the cases with 7.8% (n= 26) total missing cases. In all, there were 12 distinct offender roles represented within the sample¹⁵. Moreover, the overwhelming majority (80.1%) of offenders were employed in some official capacity within their respective

¹⁵ The following distinct roles that male offenders held within the church are as follows: *Pastor, Associate Pastor, Youth Minister, Youth Volunteer, Music Minister, Volunteer, Choir Volunteer, Sunday School Teacher, Deacon, Church Member, and Church Camp Worker.*

churches with a sizeable minority (19.9%) of all offenders assuming some form of volunteer role. The remainder of this section is divided into two subsections, being 1) *male offender roles* and 2) *female offender roles*.

Male offender roles. Of the 328 male offenders in the sample, 94.7% (n= 305) of their roles were known with only 4.0% (n= 13) missing (see Table 1.4). The most frequent role that male offenders held was that of *Pastor*, representing 34.9% (n= 110) of the total sample. However, there was not a large difference between the frequency of *Pastors* and the second most common offender role, *Youth Ministers*. Specifically, the role of *Youth Minister* represented 31.4% (n= 99) of the sample, followed by the role of *Youth Volunteer* at 8.3% (n= 26). *Youth Ministers* are those who were officially employed by the respective church, whereas *Youth Volunteers* are purely voluntary. Moreover, *Youth Volunteers* can represent anything from another pastor, who is unpaid, to a young adult (i.e., 18 to 24 years of age) who assists with the youth ministry. Together, those in roles that require direct supervision of and interaction with youth (under 18 years of age) comprise 38.8% of the total offenders within the sample.

Table 1.4 Offender Role within the Church

Offender Role	Percentage
<i>Male Offender Roles</i>	
Pastor	34.9% (n= 110)
Youth Minister	31.4% (n= 99)
Youth Volunteer	8.3% (n= 26)
Associate Pastor	5.4% (n= 17)
Music Minister	4.8% (n= 15)
Volunteer	3.2% (n= 10)
Sunday School Teacher	2.9% (n= 9)
Deacon	2.2% (n= 7)
Church Member	2.2% (n= 7)
Church Camp Worker	0.6% (n= 2)

n= 315	
<i>Female Offender Roles</i>	
Youth Volunteer	50.0% (n= 2)
Youth Minister	25.0% (n= 1)
Pastor's Wife	25.0% (n= 1)
n= 4	

The fourth most frequent offender role was that of *Associate Pastor*, followed by the fifth most frequent offender role of *Music Minister*. For *Associate Pastor*, 5.4% (n= 17) of offenders held this title, whereas 4.8% (n= 5) of offenders occupied the role of *Music Minister*. Although the majority of the above roles, with the exception of one, are employed positions within the church, the remainder of offenders within the sample operated as some type of volunteer.

The sixth most frequent offender role present within the sample is that of a general *Volunteer*. Specifically, *Volunteers* made up 3.2% (n= 10) of the total sample. Some examples of a Church Volunteer range from an individual serving as a sports coach for a Church-affiliated sports team to a bus driver who drives church members/visitors to and from the respective church.

Another form of volunteer was also present, being *Sunday School Teachers*. These individuals who volunteer are tasked with a specific role within the church. Typically, a *Sunday School Teacher* is tasked with both preparing and instructing individuals with religious materials on a weekly or more basis. Moreover, *Sunday School Teachers* can be involved with as young as pre-school aged children to as old as senior adults. Altogether, *Sunday School Teachers* represented 2.9% (n= 9) of the sample.

Two of the final three offender roles present are individuals not employed in an official capacity with their respective church. The first of which, a *Deacon*, is typically an elder or elected member within the church that is generally held within high esteem by fellow congregants. Additionally, *Deacons* traditionally have a wide range of duties from taking financial offering during church services to visiting church members when in the hospital. *Deacons* represented 2.2% (n= 7) of the offenders within the sample.

The second of the final two offender roles that does not include an employee of the church is the role of *Church Member*. Specifically, *Church Members* are not individuals that have a specific role within the church, nor do they hold any official title. As such, individuals, who are *Church Members*, attend with no official role or volunteer component required. Similar to *Deacons*, *Church Members* also represented 2.2% (n= 7) of the sample.

The final two, and least frequent, offender roles represented are *Church Camp Workers* (0.6%; n= 2) and *Choir Volunteers* (0.6%; n= 2). *Church Camp Workers* present within the study were individuals who worked for a short-term camp (e.g., Summer Camp), operated by the Church, whereby children of the church are typically sent for a short period of time (e.g., several days, one-week, two-weeks, etc.) to receive religious instruction and engage-in recreational activities.

Choir volunteers, representing 0.6% (n= 2) of the offender sample, are individuals who engaged in volunteer services specifically with the choir of the church. As with Sunday School Teachers, their services can be directed towards a wide range of different age groups (e.g., pre-adolescents, teens, adults, etc.). With male offenders occupying 10

distinct roles within the church, the next form of offender, female offenders, only held three distinct roles.

Female offender roles. Although only a small number of female offenders were represented in the sample (n= 4), these individuals also warrant discussion. Specifically, female offenders assumed three separate roles. The most frequent of these roles was *Youth Volunteer*, representing 50.0% (n= 2) of female offenders. The two remaining roles of *Youth Minister* and *Pastor's Wife*, respectively, had one case (i.e., 25%). Now that offender characteristics have been discussed, it is imperative to examine the victim characteristics.

Victim Characteristics

To meet the third goal of this study, characteristics of victims for sex crimes that occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches are presented. In total, there were 634 victims across the 326 cases in the identified time period. However, demographic characteristics were only available for 470 (74.1%) total victims, though some individual demographic characteristics have fewer cases than others. The remainder of this section is divided into three subsections, being the 1) *victim sex*, 2) *victim age*, and 3) *victim role*.¹⁶

Victim sex. The majority of victims with known characteristics were *female*. Specifically, 59.6% (n= 280) of the sample of victims is female. Although females made up the majority of the sample, *male* victims closely followed at 40.4% (n= 190).

¹⁶ Due to the vast majority of victims being minors (i.e., under the age of 18), the race/ethnicity of the victim was rarely available; therefore, victim race/ethnicity was excluded from analysis.

Victim age. Similar to issues regarding the race/ethnicity of victims, the specific age of victims was not released in every category. Moreover, oftentimes, general age ranges (e.g., 3 to 7, 12 to 15, etc.) were provided. As such, victim ages were categorized based on the four main categories used by the NCVS of *Children* (0-11), *Pre-Teens* (12-14), *Teens* (15-17), and *Adults* (18 and above) (see Table 1.5).

Table 1.5 Age of Victims

Age Category	Percentage
Children (0-11)	23.4% (n= 94)
Pre-Teens (12-14)	23.8% (n= 96)
Teens (15-17)	45.8% (n= 184)
Adults (18 and above)	7.0% (n= 28)

n= 402

In total, the age was known for 402 (63.4%) of the victims. Moreover, victims ranged in age from as young as three to as old as 38. Even though there was a diverse age range, the overwhelmingly majority of victims (93%; n= 374) were minors, under the age of 18. For victims that were minors, they were further divided into the three categories of 1) *Children* (0-11), 2) *Pre-Teens* (12-14), and 3) *Teens* (15-17).

Both *Children* and *Pre-Teens* each made up nearly a quarter, respectively, of all known victim ages. Specifically, *Children* comprised 23.4% (n= 94) of the total sample, compared to *Pre-Teens* consisting of 23.8% (n= 96) of the entire sample. Although *Children* and *Pre-Teens* represented approximately 50% of the known victim ages, the third category of minors, *Teens*, comprised 45.8% (n= 184) of the total sample.

Therefore, the majority of the victims were those likely in High School, between the ages of 15 and 17.

Fully 7.0% (n= 28) of the sample was comprised of adult victims. These victims ranged in age from as young as 18 years of age to as old as 39. Although the age of the victims sheds light on this understudied topic, the specific role of the victim further contributes to this understanding by further helping form a context for their sexual victimization.

Victim role. Unlike offender roles within the church (10 roles for male offenders and three roles for female offenders), victims only assumed two roles. The two roles present are 1) *Church Member* and 2) *Church Visitor*.

The overwhelmingly majority of victims were reported members of their respective churches at 96.4% (n= 452). Therefore, these are individuals who have been officially recognized by the church, likely along with their parents/guardians and other potential family members, as being a recognized part of the church family. Moreover, these individuals are likely to be actively involved in various aspects of the church, ranging from mere attendance to participation in various Church-sponsored activities (e.g., youth group membership, enrolled in Sunday School classes, Choir membership, etc.).

The second victim role category present was that of a *Church Visitor*. *Church Visitors* entail individuals that are not officially recognized members of the respective church; however, they are individuals who are still participating in some church activity (e.g., worship service, church-sponsored event, etc.) by themselves or in conjunction with a member of the church. Some examples of church visitors include individuals who are attending church services with a friend, receiving personal/spiritual counseling from a pastor employed by the church, or visiting a food bank offered by the church. In total,

only 3.6% (n= 17) of the victims with a known role made up this victim role category.

With the offender and victim findings having been presented, attention will now turn to findings for the types of offenses and locations of offenses.

Offenses

In total, there were 454 separate offenses across all offenders within the present study¹⁷. Moreover, these 454 separate offenses are spread across the 634 known victims within the study. This section refers to the offense(s)¹⁸ for which each offender was arrested. Furthermore, this section is divided into three primary sections of 1) *victims per case*, 2) *offense-type* (i.e., *contact offenses*, *non-contact offenses*, *property offenses*), and 3) *offense locations*.

Victims per case. The total number of victims per case ranged from as low as one individual to as many as 20 individuals¹⁹ (see Table 1.6). However, the overwhelming majority (61.7%; n= 205) of cases included only one known victim. Despite most cases only involving one known victim, 38.3% of the cases involved more than one victim.

¹⁷ Multiple counts per offense are not included in this figure.

¹⁸ As with any individually arrested for a crime, a charge(s) for a particular offense(s) can be added or dropped throughout multiple phases of adjudication. Since the offenders that comprise this data only include those that were arrested and not necessarily found guilty, offenses included refer to those where probable cause had been found by an individual officer, police department, or grand jury (via indictment) to arrest an individual suspected of a sexual offense that occurred at or through activities provided by a Protestant Christian church.

¹⁹ Cases involving child pornography were not included in this part of the analysis. Therefore, the *n* of cases is 321.

Table 1.6 Mean Number of Victims by Case

Average Number of Victims	Percentage
1	61.7% (n= 205)
2	19.0% (n= 63)
3	7.2% (n= 24)
4	2.7% (n= 9)
5	1.8% (n= 6)
7	0.9% (n= 3)
8	0.9% (n= 3)
9	0.3% (n= 1)
10	0.6% (n= 2)
15	0.3% (n= 1)
16	0.3% (n= 1)
20	0.9% (n= 3)

n= 321

The second most frequent number of victims per case was two victims at 19.0% (n= 63) of the cases. The remainder of the categories representing the total number of known victims decreases with each additional victim. The specific breakdown of the number of known victims per case is as follows: 3 victims (7.2%; n= 24), 4 victims (2.7%; n= 9), 5 victims (1.8%; n= 6), 7 victims (0.9%; n= 3), 8 victims (0.9%; n=3), 9 victims (0.3%; n= 1), 10 victims (0.6%; n= 2), 15 victims (0.3%; n= 1), 16 victims (0.3%; n=1), and 20 victims (0.9%; n= 3).

Offense-type. With 41 individual states being represented in the present study, then all alleged offenses occurred in a multitude of state and local jurisdictions. As such, a name for an offense in one jurisdiction may be completely different in definition, severity, and scope than an offense with the same or similar name in a different jurisdiction. For example, *statutory rape* in Tennessee would be if an individual 18 or older engaged in a sexual behavior with a minor (under 18 years of age), regardless if consent was present, due to minors not legally being able to give their consent. However, in Kentucky, statutory rape, by Tennessee's standards, is labeled *Rape in the Third-*

Degree and is defined as when an adult engages in sexual intercourse with someone less than 16 years of age. Moreover, there are exceptions in Kentucky (e.g., “Romeo and Juliet” exception) where sexual activity is not criminalized when someone is older than 12, but younger than 16, that engages in sex with someone under the age of 16. However, such an exception in Tennessee’s statute is reserved for a minor 13 or older with a defendant who is no more than four years older (i.e., 13-17). Taking the above example into account, each state and individual jurisdiction typically has a wide range of different laws and degrees of what they consider sexual misconduct.

Because of this variety in offense names and definitions, sexual offenses within this section have been categorized into two main categories of 1) *contact offenses* and 2) *non-contact offenses* (see Table 1.7). Similar categorization has been carried out in other studies examining sexual offenses (see Aslan & Edelman, 2014; Babchishin, Hanson, & VanZuylen, 2015; MacPherson, 2003). A third category, referring to *property offenses*, was also developed to account for property offenses (e.g., burglary, possession of criminal tools, etc.) that occurred during the commission of the alleged sexual offense.

Table 1.7 Type of Offenses

Offense Category	Percentage
Contact Offenses	80.0% (n= 363)
Non-Contact Offenses	18.9% (n= 89)
Property Offenses	1.1% (n= 5)

n= 454

Contact offenses. Contact offenses refer to those where the alleged offense involves direct physical and/or sexual contact between the offender and the victim(s)

(Mair & Stevens, 1994; Sugarman, Dumughn, Hinder, & Bluglass, 1994). Across all 326 cases, contact offenses represented fully 80.0% (n= 363) of all offenses at the point of arrest. Therefore, the vast majority of all offenses included direct physical and/or sexual contact between the offender and the victim(s). Some examples of contact offenses are rape, sexual assault, and groping. Although the overwhelming majority of all offenses at the point of arrest included contact offenses, a sizeable minority also included non-contact offenses.

Non-contact offenses. Non-contact sexual offenses refer to offenses where the alleged offender did not have physical and/or sexual contact with any victim(s) (Mair & Stevens, 1994; Sugarman et al., 1994). Examples of non-contact sexual offenses are sexual harassment, stalking, and possession of child pornography. Across all cases in the present study, non-contact offenses represented fully 18.9% (n= 89) of all offenses at the point of arrest. However, it is important to point out that the vast majority (79.1%; n= 258) were charged in conjunction with a contact offense. Moreover, 13.5% (n= 44) were charged with both contact and non-contact offenses at the time of arrest. Yet, only 7.4% (n= 24) were charged exclusively with a non-contact offense. This is important because this suggests that those who offend at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches engage mostly in contact sexual offenses; however, a sizeable minority also engage in a mix of contact and non-contact offenses, not just one particular type.

Property offenses. Although relatively rare, some individuals within the present study were also arrested for property offenses at the point of arrest. However, these charges were all in conjunction with some type of sex offense charge (i.e., contact or non-

contact) to have been included. In total, only 1.1% (n= 5) of the total offenses at the point of arrest were for property crimes. Examples of the property crimes present were for burglary, various forms of theft (e.g., articles of the victim's clothing, etc.), and possession of criminal tools. The majority of these offenses were associated with offenders breaking into their minor victim's home to engage in their offense.

Offense locations.

Understanding where an offender chooses to victimize their victim(s) is valuable information. Moreover, it is valuable information not only for understanding the circumstances of the offense, but also for victimization prevention efforts. Across all 326 cases in the present study, an offense location was available in 70.9% (n= 231) of the cases with the remaining 29.1% (n= 95) not having a specific location reported. Among the cases with a reported location²⁰ (n= 231), 62.3% (n= 144) had only one stated location, whereas 37.7% (n= 87) had multiple identified locations of sexual victimization.

Another crucial aspect to examine is where generally and specifically the alleged offense(s) took place. Generally, it is important to understand if the majority of the victimizations took place on or off church grounds. This is crucial because it helps shed light on the overall nature of the offense. For example, if the majority of the offenses take place on church grounds, then it would perhaps suggest that the sexual offending was opportunistic in nature. However, if the majority of offenses take place off church grounds, then it may suggest a higher level of overall planning and victim(s) grooming on behalf of the offender. Additionally, if offenses take place *both* on and off church grounds, then this perhaps suggests an ongoing relationship between the offender and the

²⁰ Offenses that did not require a location (e.g., child pornography) were not included.

victim whereby multiple opportunities for sexual victimization have occurred. The remainder of this section is divided into two primary subsections of 1) *General offense locations* and 2) *Specific offense locations*.

General offense locations. General location was designated into three distinct categories of the offenses occurring either exclusively 1) on church grounds, 1) off church grounds, or 3) *both* on and off church grounds. Through examining each individual case as the unit of analysis, this revealed that the majority of offenses took place off church grounds. Specifically, among cases with a reported location (n= 231), 45.5% (n= 105) occurred exclusively off-site. That is, most of the cases with a reported location occurred in the offender's home, victim's home, or some other off-site location (e.g., hotel/motel room, offender's car, etc.). More detail of the specific breakdown of the most common offense locations, for both on-site and off-site, is discussed below.

Even though the majority of offenses with known locations occurred off church grounds, this was not by a large margin. Fully 35.5% (n= 82) of cases with a known location occurred exclusively on church grounds. Examples of locations where offenses reportedly took place on church grounds include general locations on the church campus, church offices, and the church parking lot.

A sizeable minority of offenses with reported locations took place *both* on and off the church grounds. Specifically, 19.0% (n= 44) of the total reported offense locations occurred *both* on and off the church campus. For example, an offense may have occurred multiple times with some occurring within the offender's church office and other instances taking place at the offender's home.

Specific offense locations.

Across all 326 cases, there were 311 reported offense locations. Moreover, cases ranged from no locations (n= 29.1%) being reported to as many as four individual locations. Among the 311 offense locations, five unique offense locations were reported. All five specific offense locations, their percentages, and total numbers are found in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8 Offense Locations

Location	Percentage
At the Church	38.9% (n= 121)
Offender's Home	31.2% (n= 97)
Off-Site	12.9% (n= 40)
Off-Site Church-Sponsored Activity	10.6% (n= 33)
Victim's Home	6.4% (n= 20)

n= 311

The most frequent of all specific offense locations reported was that the offense(s) occurred someplace *At the Church*²¹. In total, 38.9% (n= 121) of all reported offense locations allegedly took place at the church premises. As such, this finding perhaps suggests that a sizeable minority of these sexual offenses is, in fact, *opportunistic* in nature.

It is also important to recognize that 15.4% (n= 48) of all reported individual locations, the offense allegedly occurred within the personal office of the offender located on Church premises. This finding suggests that these offenses were perhaps opportunistic in nature. Moreover, this suggests that these offenses took place in perhaps the most private of all locations within an individual church whereby the offender has

²¹ Specific locations where offenses took place at the church were available in 73 cases (60.3%) of the known locations. The specific offense locations are as follows: *Office* (9.3%; n= 29), *Building Annex* (4.8%; n= 15), *Basement* (1.6%; n= 5), *Parking Lot* (1.3%; n= 4), *Bathroom* (1.0%; n= 3), *Gym* (1.0%; n= 3), *Music Room* (1.0%; n= 3), *Sanctuary* (1.0%; n= 3), *Sunday School Room* (1.0%; n= 3), *Kitchen* (0.6%; n= 2), *Rectory* (0.6%; n= 2), *Attic* (0.3%; n= 1), *Woods* (0.3%; n= 1).

both 1) the most privacy and 2) relative control over the environment. This finding is similar to Garland and Argueta (2010), that the majority of sexual misconduct/abuse among clergy that occurred at the church setting took place in a church office. However, data in the present study does not permit to examine whether these events took place during counseling sessions, as was done in Garland and Argueta (2010).

The second most frequent specific offense location reported was at the *Offender's Home*. Specifically, 31.2% (n= 97) of all offenses occurred at the offender's place of residence (i.e., house, apartment, etc.). This finding suggests some degree of planning and/or grooming by the offender in order to isolate the individual to the offender's personal residence. Moreover, this finding suggests that sexual offenses at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches are not necessarily *opportunistic* in nature, as they mostly do not occur on church grounds.

The third most frequent offense location category is offenses that took place during a sponsored *Off-Site Church-Sponsored Activity*. Specifically, 10.6% (n= 33) of all cases with a known location occurred during some form of a church trip. Church trips can include a multitude of activities, including but-not-limited-to, Mission Trips²², camping trips, and Church-sponsored Spring Break trips. Although information was not available for where precisely the alleged offense took place during the church trip, the fact that the act occurred during a church trip is important for several reasons. First, this perhaps suggests that the offense took place when guardianship was perceived to be at a low level. Second, this perhaps suggests that the offender was waiting for the perceived

²² Mission trips are activities organized by a church that typically require travel and volunteer work by all parties involved. Moreover, individuals who typically participate in a mission trip can range from youth groups to senior Sunday school classes.

right opportunity to sexually victimize their victim when they were likely spending considerable time with one another. Even though four of the five most frequent offense locations took place where the offender had considerable control over their environment, this is not the case with the sixth most frequent specific offense location.

The fourth most frequent offense locations are those that allegedly took place at an *Off-site*²³ location. Fully 12.9% (n= 40) of the known offense locations allegedly took place at an individual off-site location. Within this category, the vast majority of these offenses took place inside the offender's car. Oftentimes, it was reported that the sexual offense that took place inside the offender's car was while it was parked in the church's parking lot. As such, this suggests that, similar to the church office, the offender is attempting to have the victim in an environment whereby they have relative control. Thus, an off-site location, such as the offender's car, allows the offender to carry out the offense with little perceived possibility of discovery.

The fifth and final specific offense location reported was inside the *Victim's Home*. Fully 6.4% (n= 20) of the total known offense locations occurred at the victim's place of residence. This finding is important for several reasons. First, unlike most of the previously mentioned locations, the alleged offense has taken place where the offender does not have relative control of the environment. Second, with the overwhelming majority of victims being minors, this suggests that the offender is familiar enough with the family to where their presence at their house is not necessarily out of the ordinary. This may be due to a combination of what Garland and Argueta (2010) found that that

²³ Specific off-site offense location breakdown includes the following: *Offender's car* (60%; n= 24), *Hotel/Motel Room* (15%; n= 6); *Church Member's Home* (2.5%; n=1); *Offender's Work* (2.5%; n= 1); *Victim's School* (2.5%; n=1).

sexual misconduct/abuse can be conducive in religious environments because of 1) family members, friends, and victims ignored warning signs and 2) offender's assuming multiple roles (e.g., Youth Minister, friends with the parents, etc.).

Offender/Victim Typologies

The second part of this chapter presents the typologies for those who sexually offend at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. Additionally, the remainder of this chapter presents the typologies for those who are the victims of these offenses. As such, it is designed to further meet the second and third goals of the present study. The remainder of this chapter is divided into two main sections and five subsections. These sections and subsections are *Offender Typologies (Opportunist, Groomer, and Serial Offender)* and *Victim Typologies (Adolescent Church Member and Child Church Member)*.

Offender Typologies

Three individual typologies separated offenders in the present study. Even though it is difficult to categorize offenders based upon their oftentimes-diverse offense histories and personal backgrounds, prior literature has traditionally grouped sex offenders according to their primary victim preference (i.e., adult or child victims), offender, and offense characteristics²⁴ (see Robertiello & Terry, 2007). As such, offenders in the present study were separated from one another based on a total of three key offender, victim, and offense characteristics available in the data.

²⁴ Since the location(s) where sex offense(s) take place have been identified as important in prior research (see Beauregard et al., 2007 and Colombino, Calkins-Mercado, Levenson, & Jeglic, 2011), offense location(s) were used as a key proxy for offense characteristics in the construction of offender typologies.

First, cases were separated on if they involved male or female offenders. Second, cases were further separated on if they involved one or multiple known victims. Third, cases were split by if the offense(s) occurred 1) exclusively off-site (i.e., *Off-site*, *Offender's Home*, and *Victim's Home*) and not through a church-sponsored activity or 2) *at the church*, *off-site through a church-sponsored activity*, or some combination of *at/through the church* and an *off-site* location (i.e., *Off-Site*, *Offender's Home*, and/or *Victim's Home*). The three typologies for male offenders that emerged from the data are the 1) *Opportunist*, 2) *Groomer*, and the 3) *Serial Offender*²⁵.

Opportunist.

An *opportunist* was initially characterized as an offender who had only one known victim. Moreover, an *opportunist* was an offender who did not specialize in committing their offense(s) at a particular location-category (e.g., *at the church*, *offender's home*, etc.), as opposed to the *groomer*. That is, an *opportunist* was one who primarily chose to offend *at the church* or during an *off-site church-sponsored activity*. As such, these individuals predominantly committed their offense(s) while serving in their respective capacity within the church (e.g., *Pastor*, *Youth Minister*, *Sunday School Teacher*, etc.). These individuals were never known to have committed their offense solely at their house (i.e., *Offender's Home*), the *Victim's Home*, or a general *off-site*

²⁵ Typologies could not be created for female offenders since there were only four female offenders in the data. However, from the four cases that involved female offenders, two key patterns emerged that matched Vandiver and Kercher's (2004) female sex offender typologies of the 1) *Romantic/Lover* and the 2) *Male-Aided/Persuaded*. Fully 75% (n= 3) of the female offenders were in a leadership role over youth. Each had one known victim with all three victims being 15-year-old males, respectively. The remaining female offender could be classified as the *Male-Aided/Persuaded* offender, as she was the Pastor's wife, who had engaged in a sexual offense with her husband against an unknown victim.

location. Therefore, these individuals did not specialize in *creating* situations outside of the church setting, as opposed to *groomers*, to sexually victimize. *Opportunists* predominantly took advantage of perceived opportunities, when presented, through their role within the church to sexually victimize those in which they had direct contact with and/or control. It is also possible that the remaining offender typologies (i.e., *groomers* and *serial offenders*) began their offending as an *opportunist*.

To illustrate the *opportunists*' typology further, several examples from the data are provided. One of the first examples is an individual named Reginald Robinson, a 24-year-old *Youth Volunteer* at Beth Judah Ministries Church of God in Christ, located in Kansas City, Missouri. Robinson was arrested in 2002 for allegedly molesting and sodomizing a 13 year-old church member (victim sex unknown) in the basement of the church. The offense occurred while the victim was attending regular church services. Therefore, the victim was someone whom Robinson had direct contact with in a supervisory capacity as a *Youth Volunteer* within the church. Moreover, the alleged sexual assault took place *at the church*. As such, Robinson seemingly took advantage of a perceived opportunity, through his official role, to sexually assault the victim while the victim was present at the church for church services.

A second example of an offender who is categorized as an *opportunist* is Mark Michaels. Michaels, a 53-year old *Music Minister* at Bethany Baptist Church (Montclair, California), was arrested in June 2007 for *Lewd or Lascivious Acts with a Child of 14 or 15 Years of Age*. Michaels allegedly molested a 15-year old boy, who was in the Michaels' led choir, both at the church and inside his car when it was parked in the church's parking lot. As with the previous example, Michaels allegedly took advantage of

a perceived opportunity to sexually offend only while carrying-out official duties of his position within the church.

A third and final example of an offender who is categorized as an *opportunist*, is Travis Payne. Payne, a 67 year-old pastor at South Texarkana Baptist Church (Texarkana, Arkansas), was arrested in March of 2012 for *Second-Degree Sexual Assault* against a three-year old female church member. Payne allegedly was sexually assaulting the three-year old female church member in the church bathroom while her mother was attending church services. The girl's mother walked into the bathroom, finding Payne with her daughter. Upon this discovery, the victim's mother contacted police. This example demonstrates how the *opportunist*, like Payne, does not necessarily have direct control/supervision of those they choose to victimize as part of his specific job duties, as was with the first two examples. However, the *opportunist* takes advantage of a perceived opportunity to sexually offend against minor church members while carrying-out various functions of their role within the church.

In total, *opportunists* represented 33.5%²⁶ (n= 85) of all offenders²⁷ (see Table 1.9). The average age of the *opportunist* was 39.8 years-of-age with a mode of 21 and a standard deviation of 13.5 years (see Table 1.9). The race/ethnicity was known for 80% (n= 68) of the *opportunists*. In regards to the collective offender population, *opportunists*

²⁶ In total, 23% of *opportunists* committed offenses at an off-site location (i.e., *offender's home, victim's home, or a general off-site location*), in addition to *at the church* and/or through an *off-site church-sponsored activity*. These individuals were not considered to be *groomers* since they had been known to commit their offense(s) while carrying-out various functions of their official role within the church. Therefore, they did not specialize in creating an opportunity(ies) to be with the victim away from the church, as the *groomers* did.

²⁷ A total of 254 offenders were available to draw characteristics from in order to create the typologies once certain criteria (e.g., known offense location(s), victim number, etc.) was applied.

mostly mirrored the general trends for race/ethnicity. Fully 77.9% (n= 53) of *opportunists* were White, followed by 17.6% (n= 12) Black, and 4.4% (n= 3) Hispanic.

Table 1.9 Opportunist Offender Characteristics

Measure	%	M	SD
<i>Offender Age</i>		39.8	13.5
<i>Offender Race</i>			
White	77.9%		
Black	17.6%		
Hispanic	4.4%		
<i>Offender Role</i>			
Pastor	45.1%		
Youth Minister	33.3%		
Youth Volunteer	5.9%		
Associate Pastor	5.9%		
Sunday School Teacher	4.9%		
Music Minister	3.7%		
Volunteer	3.7%		
Church Member	2.5%		
Deacon	1.2%		
Choir Volunteer	1.2%		
Church Camp Worker	1.2%		
<i>Offense Location</i>			
At the Church	57.4%		
Off-Site Church-Sponsored Activity	18.9%		
Off-Site	8.2%		
Offender's Home	13.1%		
Victim's Home	2.4%		
<i>Victim Sex</i>			
Male	35.7%		
Female	64.3%		
<i>Victim Age</i>			
Children	9.4%		
Adolescents	88.2%		
Adults	2.4%		

n= 85

For the roles that *opportunists* assumed within the church, there was a tie for the top offender role represented. Specifically, 30.6% (n= 26) of the *opportunists* were *Pastors* and *Youth Ministers*, respectively. The second most represented *opportunist* role within the church was that of a *Youth Volunteer* at 11.8% (n= 10). Therefore, two of the three top categories of an *opportunist* offender role was one who had direct contact with and/or supervision over adolescents, who are a part of the respective church's youth group.

For victim preference, the majority (64.3%; n= 54) of *opportunists* chose a female victim, compared to 35.7% (n= 30) who selected a male victim. Moreover, the overwhelming majority (88.2%; n= 75) of the victims chosen by *opportunists* were adolescents (between 12 and 17 years of age). However, a small minority (9.4%; n= 8) of the victims were children (0 to 11 years of age). There were only two (2.4%) known adult victims of *opportunists*. One of the adult victims was a 'young adult' who had improper sexual comments made to her, whereas the second adult victim was a 30-year old female church member who had been raped. Therefore, most *opportunists* are those that occupy a role whereby they have direct control of and/or interaction with mostly adolescent church members, whom are the individuals typically selected for victimization. Victimizing those whom one has control over and/or interaction with is also evident when examining the offense locations of *opportunists*.

In total, there were 122 total offense locations reported across all 85 offenders identified as *opportunists*. Fully 73.8%²⁸ (n= 45) of all offenses took place exclusively *at the church* or through an *off-site church-sponsored activity* with the remaining 26.2% (n=

²⁸ A total of 61 cases had a known offense location. Therefore, location settings report the valid percentages.

16) taking place *both at the church and/or off-site church-sponsored activity* and an *off-site* location (i.e., *Offender's Home, Off-site, or the Victim's home*). When examining the specific location of offenses, the vast majority of all offenses took place *at the church*, representing 57.4% (n= 70) of all offense locations. Therefore, most offenses occurred on the church grounds (e.g., church office, Sanctuary, Church Basement, etc.).

The second most frequent offense location among *opportunists* were those that took place at an *off-site church-sponsored activity*. Specifically, 18.9% (n= 23) took place during an officially sanctioned off-site church trip/activity. Examples of *off-site church-sponsored activities* include, but are not limited to, church camping trips, mission trips, and spring break vacations. Therefore, this suggests that the vast majority of *opportunists* offend exclusively *at the church* or during an *off-site church sponsored-activity*; however, a sizeable minority (26.2%; n= 16) also offended when an opportunity presented itself at an off-site (i.e., general *Off-site, Offender's Home, Victim's Home*) location.

It is also important to discuss what role that social disorganization, within the area surrounding the church, potentially plays in an *opportunists'* likelihood of offending. Since an *opportunist* capitalizes on various perceived chances to sexually offend, predominately while carrying-out various facets of their role within the church, it is unlikely that social disorganization plays a substantial role in their decision on whether to/not offend. That is, since an *opportunist* is one who capitalizes on perceived opportunities to offend while carrying-out various facets of their official role within the church, then they are not necessarily seeking out specific churches where it is perceived to be easiest to initially/continually sexually offend. Therefore, social disorganization should likely play little-to-no role in an *opportunists'* overall proclivity to offend. As

such, the role that social disorganization plays in this offender typology stands in stark contrast to the remaining offender typologies of the *groomer* and *serial offender*.

Groomer.

The second typology for male offenders that emerged from the data was the *groomer*. Similar to the first typology of an *opportunist*, a *groomer* had only one known victim. However, the key difference between the *opportunist* and the *groomer* is that the latter offended exclusively *off-site*. That is, *groomers* ' committed their offense(s) exclusively at their home (i.e., *Offender's Home*), the *Victim's Home*, or a general *off-site* location. Therefore, none of the alleged offenses were known to have occurred *at the church* or at an *off-site church-sponsored activity*.

It is important to separate *groomers* from *opportunists* for several reasons. First, *opportunists* are those who capitalize on perceived opportunities to sexually offend while carrying-out various functions of their church role, whereas *groomers create* opportunities to sexually offend. Therefore, by creating opportunities, opposed to capitalizing on them, this perhaps reveals a higher degree of planning and overall predatory behavior on behalf of the *groomer*. Second, offenders who create opportunities to sexually offend, displaying a higher degree of overall planning and/or predatory behavior, have the potential to repeat this behavior. This repetition could either be with the same victim, or perhaps eventually lead to an additional victim(s), thus becoming the third typology of a *serial offender*.

As with the *opportunist* typology, it is important to illustrate the *groomer* with several examples. One example of an offender who occupies the *groomer* typology is Michael Babcock, a 29-year old *Youth Minister* at Sunrise Chapel located in Everett,

Washington. Babcock was arrested in December of 2000 for *First-Degree Child Molestation* for allegedly molesting a 10-year old male church member after having the child over to his house for a sleepover. Therefore, the child was not victimized while at the church or when attending a church-sponsored activity. However, the offender created a situation to sexually offend (i.e., having a sleepover), whereby he could isolate the child to an environment that could be controlled.

A second example of an offender who occupies the typology of a *groomer* was James Harris, a *Sunday School Teacher* at Brookwood Baptist Church in Lawrenceville, Georgia. Harris, 33 years old, was arrested in January of 2011 for sexually abusing a 14-year old male church member on multiple occasions over a three-year period. Specifically, Harris allegedly would use his position as the Sunday School Teacher of the victim to take the boy to the mall, baseball games, and other off-site, non-church sanctioned, activities. Harris also took the victim to a motel room on several occasions. Additionally, Harris purchased a cell phone for the victim so that he could stay in contact with him when they were not together. Therefore, in contrast with an *opportunist*, a *groomer*, like Harris, created numerous opportunities with one victim over the course of several years in order to sexually victimize him, yet was never known to have committed any offenses *at the church* or through an *off-site church-sponsored activity*.

A third and final example of an offender classified as a *groomer* was Michael Mohler. When Mohler was a 26 year-old *Youth Minister* at the First United Methodist Church in Troy, Ohio, he was arrested in July of 2013 for engaging in sexual activities multiple times with a 15-year old female. This 15-year old female was a member of his youth group.

In 2012, the girl had come to Mohler to discuss relationship issues that she was having with her boyfriend at the time. Soon after, Mohler began taking the girl out to dinner, tutored her in math, purchased her gifts, and would invite her over to his house to watch movies. It is at the offender's home, under the guise of watching movies, where the alleged sexual offenses took place. Therefore, as with the previous two examples, Mohler *created* an opportunity in an environment (i.e., his home) where he could isolate the chosen victim, but not after a lengthy period of grooming behaviors (e.g., dinner, listening to her relationship issues, gifts, etc.) to earn her trust.

In total, 21.6% (n= 55) of all offenders with available characteristics were identified as a *groomer* (see Table 1.10). In comparison to *opportunists*, *groomers* were slightly younger with a mean age of 38.2. However, the mode age was substantially older (i.e., 35) when compared to the *opportunists'* mode of 21 years of age. The standard deviation was slightly less at 11.8 years. Moreover, the racial/ethnic composition of the two groups was roughly the same with 66% (n= 31) of offenders being White, 25.5% (n= 12) Black, and 8.5% (n= 4) Hispanic.

Table 1.10 Groomer Offender Characteristics

Measure	%	M	SD
<i>Offender Age</i>		38.3	11.8
<i>Offender Race</i>			
White	66.0%		
Black	25.5%		
Hispanic	8.5%		
<i>Offender Role</i>			
Pastor	45.1%		
Youth Minister	33.3%		
Associate Pastor	5.9%		
Music Minister	5.9%		
Deacon	3.9%		
Volunteer	3.9%		
Choir Volunteer	2.0%		
<i>Offense Location</i>			
Offender's Home	67.3%		
Off-Site	16.4%		
Victim's Home	16.4%		
<i>Victim Sex</i>			
Male	18.5%		
Female	81.5%		
<i>Victim Age</i>			
Children	12.7%		
Adolescents	87.3%		

n= 55

Although roles occupied by *opportunists* were mostly those who had direct contact with and/or supervision over youth (e.g., *Youth Minister*, *Youth Volunteer*), the same does not hold true with roles occupied by *groomers*. The most frequent *groomer* role present was that of *Pastor* (45.1%; n= 23), followed by *Youth Minister* at 33.3% (n= 17). The remaining roles, in order of frequency, are as follows: *Music Minister* (5.9%; n=

3), *Associate Pastor* (5.9%; n= 3), *Volunteer* (3.9%; n= 2), *Deacon* (3.9%; n= 2), and *Choir Volunteer* (2.0%; n= 1). Besides the role of *Youth Minister*, no other roles occupied by *groomers* was someone who had direct interaction with and/or supervision over youth of any age as part of their specific job duties. Therefore, this suggests that the vast majority of offenders (66.7%; n= 34), classified as *groomers*, had to create a situation whereby they were alone with the victim that was outside of their typical job duties. As such, this suggests planning is actively involved in the commission of these offenders, thus demonstrating their further need for separation from *opportunists*.

For victim-selection, *groomers* and *opportunists* generally selected the same percentage of each victim category. The overwhelming majority (87.3%; n= 48) of victims selected by a *groomer* were adolescents (12-17), followed by children (0-11) at 12.7% (n= 7). Moreover, the vast majority of victims selected were female at 81.5% (n= 44), compared to just 18.5% (n= 10) being male. As with *opportunists*, *groomers* had no known adult victims.

For offense locations, there were a total of 61 locations across the 55 cases. The overwhelming majority (62.3%; n= 38) of the offenses took place at the *Offender's Home*. Therefore, the majority of *groomers* created situations at their own home whereby they could isolate the victim in order to sexually victimize them. The remaining two offense locations were *groomers* who offended at a general *Off-site* location (21.3%; n= 13) and/or at the *Victim's Home* (16.4%; n= 10).

Compared to *opportunists*, *groomers* are likely to be more prevalent in areas characterized by higher overall levels of social disorganization. In order to carry out an offense(s) against their victim, it requires them to be alone at a private location with their

selected victim for a certain period of time. For example, having a victim over to an offender's house for a 'sleepover.' This is crucial because it suggests that either the victim, all under 18 years of age, did not have a parent and/or guardian with a strong or active role within their life, or that the *groomer* has earned the trust of the guardian of the adolescent whereby suspicion is not aroused. This is perhaps due to the offender purportedly fulfilling a mentorship role within the victim's life, which may be more inclined to happen in areas with a higher percentage of female-headed households.

It is also important to note that the *groomer's* offenses were generally not isolated incidents. That is, many occurred multiple times over a period of weeks, months, or even years. This is another example as to why *groomers* are more likely to be employed at a church in a socially disorganized community, when compared to *opportunists*. This is because of the offense location (e.g., *Offender's Home*, *Victim's Home*, and/or *Off-site location*) and the characteristics needed for continued victimization (e.g., lack of active parental guardianship). Although *groomers* may be more likely than *opportunists* to offend in socially disorganized areas, it is the final male offender typology, *serial offenders*, that has the highest likelihood of all typologies of taking place in areas characterized by social disorganization.

Serial Offender.

The third and final offender typology is the *serial offender*. In contrast to the two other typologies, *serial offenders*²⁹ are those who have more than one known victim at

²⁹ There has been debate regarding how *serial sex offenders* are operationalized (see Deslauriers-Varin, 2014). However, serial offenders in the present study were operationalized as the offender having committed at least two known and similar crimes as has been done in prior research examining general serial offenders (see Bennell & Canter, 2002; Grubin, Kelly, & Brunson, 2001; Markson, Woodhams, & Bond, 2010).

the time of their arrest, not just one as *opportunists* and *groomers* had. Another sharp contrast to the first two offender typologies is in regards to the location of where the alleged offense(s) took place. Whereas the first two typologies separated those who committed their offense(s) (i.e., exclusively *off-site*, solely *at the church*, or a mix of *off-site* and *at the church*), this typology only applies to those who had more than one known victim, regardless of the offense location.

Those who have been known to sexually offend multiple individuals, compared to one, are intrinsically different for several reasons. First, those who have sexually victimized multiple victims suggests that they may have been carrying out such behavior for an extended period of time. Moreover, they have been able to develop experience and an overall *expertise* in selecting, grooming, and victimizing individuals without being detected. Therefore, *serial offenders* are *groomers* that have developed experience. Second, it is possible that *serial offenders* may have offended at multiple churches or other youth-centric organizations, but have been able to escape detection through their experience gained. Third, it is also possible that serial offenders began as *opportunist* or *groomers*; however, their behavior may have escalated to include multiple victims once they were able to avoid detection after their first offense.

A fourth reason as to why it is crucial to separate *serial offenders* from the rest of offenders is that these offenders may be more likely than the previous two typologies to suffer from a paraphilia. That is, instead of offending when the perceived opportunity presents itself (i.e., *opportunists*), individuals who are *serial offenders* may be offending as an attempt to fulfill a deeper sexual desire that is part of a diagnosable condition (e.g., pedophilia, endophilia, hebephilia, etc.). As such, being in a position of power and

control within the church may serve solely as a means to sexually offend, not something that emerged as part of fulfilling typical duties of one's role.

The fifth and final reason as to why this typology is intrinsically distinct is that *serial offenders* may be more likely than the prior two typologies to actively seek positions in churches whereby the community is characterized by social disorganization. This is because they may know from past experience that being in a position within a church that is located in an area with social disorganization characteristics (e.g., extreme poverty, high percentage of unemployment, transient populations, higher percentage of female-headed households, etc.) provides them the best chance of initializing/continuing their victimizations with the lowest possible chance of detection.

As with the previous two typologies, three examples of *serial offenders* are provided to illustrate those who are characterized by this typology. The first example of an offender classified as a *serial offender* is Marty Meadows, arrested in June of 2002. Meadows, a 34-year old *Youth Minister* at the Sunset Lane Baptist Church in Bessemer City, North Carolina, was arrested for the alleged sexual victimization of seven female youth group members. Meadows would recruit the youth group girls, all under the age of 15, into his 'singing group.' Once he had them alone for practices for the 'singing group,' he would engage in sexual truth or dare where the alleged sexual victimizations took place. As one can see, Meadows likely formed the 'singing group' in order to isolate the chosen victims for considerable periods of time on multiple occasions under the guise of a church-related activity, so that he could sexually offend. It is unclear in this case how long this behavior continued.

A second example of an offender who is classified as a *serial offender* is James Souder. Souder was a 42-year old *Church Member* at the First Baptist Church in Farmersville, Texas. He was arrested in April of 2007 for the sexual molestation of three adolescent boys, aged 14, 15, and 17. Souder had recently moved to the community, was noted as not being married, nor did he have any children. However, he became involved in the church's choir and a men's Bible study that was held at the church. Through his participation in the church, he befriended several of the adolescents that were a part of the church's youth group. He then offered them money to do chores and other miscellaneous tasks around his house. After several visits to his house, Souder told each adolescent that he was studying to be a nurse. As part of his alleged nursing classes, he stated that he needed to 'examine' willing participants for practice. Souder then used this as an opening to sexually assault each of the adolescents.

As one can see with the Souder case, Souder meets the classification of a *serial offender* for several reasons. First, he used his position within the church, albeit as a Church Member, to befriend adolescent boys that were a part of the Church's youth group. Second, he created opportunities at his house where he had relative control, yet it was still under the guise of helping the adolescents by giving them various paid jobs. Third, he used the appearance of being enrolled in nursing classes to sexually assault each of the adolescents. Thus, all of these behaviors distinctly separate him from the *opportunist* and the *groomer*.

A third and final example of a *serial offender* is David Pierce. Pierce was a *Music Minister* for 29 years at the First Baptist Church of Benton, Arkansas. It was alleged that Pierce would single out certain males, typically 11 or 12 years of age, within his choir to

be their ‘mentor.’ Moreover, it was noted that he would generally target kids that had troubled backgrounds or other perceived family problems. Throughout being their ‘mentor,’ he would begin taking measurements of each boy. This was a behavior he referred to as ‘charting,’ whereby he would measure their height, weight, and penis length on multiple occasions during each year. In order to gain a boy’s initial and continued trust, Pierce would reference an older youth group member, trusted by each boy, to give him greater perceived credibility in the eyes of the victim. This credibility gained was then used to initially and continually sexually victimize.

Oftentimes, Pierce would take a group of boys on camping trips where many of the sexual assaults took place. One example of this is making the boys stand naked in a nearby stream. Additionally, Pierce would often make boys engage in masturbation, by their selves and with Pierce, while in his church office. This behavior even occurred with the boys once they reached their early-to-mid 20’s. When one victim, who was targeted when he was 12, told Pierce he was getting married, Pierce instructed him to have sex with a sex toy in his office. It is thought that Pierce sexually victimized at least 12 different boys across his 29 years; however, he was only charged for crimes with four boys due to the statute of limitations of the jurisdiction.

In the case of David Pierce, he was able to single out and create numerous opportunities for substantial periods of time to be alone with youth that were a part of his choir. Under the guise of providing ‘mentorship’ church youth perceived as troubled, he was able to continue this behavior for nearly three decades. Even though one victim had disclosed some of the behavior to church leadership several years before his arrest,

church leadership allowed him to remain in his position where he continued the behavior for some time.

In total, 114 (n= 44.9%) offenders were *serial offenders* (see Table 1.11). When comparing *serial offenders* to the two other offender typologies, *serial offenders* were the oldest overall typology with a mean age of 41.8. However, they had a slightly older mode than *opportunists* (i.e., 21) and a substantially younger mode than *groomers* (i.e., 35) with a mode of 25 years of age. Moreover, the standard deviation in age was the largest of all groups at 14.8 years. As such, this suggests that *serial offenders* are overall older, having held a position in the church for an extended period of time. Additionally, this suggests they have been able to navigate their offending, both within the church and in the surrounding community, for some time without detection.

Table 1.11 Serial Offender Characteristics

Measure	%	M	SD
<i>Offender Age</i>		41.8	14.8
<i>Offender Race</i>			
White	74.7%		
Black	14.3%		
Hispanic	9.9%		
Native American	1.1%		
<i>Offender Role</i>			
Pastor	37.6%		
Youth Minister	28.4%		
Youth Volunteer	12.8%		
Sunday School Teacher	4.6%		
Associate Pastor	3.7%		
Volunteer	3.7%		
Deacon	2.8%		
Music Minister	2.8%		
Church Member	1.8%		
Church Camp Worker	0.9%		
<i>Offense Location</i>			
At the Church	37.6%		
Off-Site Church-Sponsored Activity	11.0%		
Off-Site	11.9%		
Offender's Home	33.9%		
Victim's Home	5.6%		
<i>Victim Sex</i>			
Male	47.3%		
Female	52.7%		
<i>Victim Age</i>			
Children	30.7%		
Adolescents	64.9%		
Adult	4.4%		

n= 114

As with the first two typologies, the racial/ethnic breakdown for *serial offenders* is roughly the same. The overwhelming majority of offenders are White at 74.7% (n= 68). The remaining racial/ethnic breakdown of *serial offenders* was Black (14.3%; n= 13), Hispanic (9.9%; n= 9), and Native American (1.1%; n= 1).

Similar to *groomers*, the most prevalent role for *serial offenders* was the *Pastor* at 37.6% (n= 41). Thus, suggesting that those who engage in such grooming behaviors, either once or multiple times, occupy the senior most position within their church. As such, this is likely experience gained over a period of time once acclimated to the church and surrounding community. Also similar to the *groomer* typology, the second most represented offender role were *Youth Ministers* at 28.4% (n= 14).

The third most frequently represented role was also one who had direct supervision over and/or interaction with youth, being a *Youth Volunteer* at 12.8% (n= 14). Therefore, two of the three most prevalent offender roles of *serial offenders* are those who have direct contact with and/or control over a church's youth. This is precisely the same as *groomers*. As such, it is possible that if a *groomer* is able to avoid detection, then they may become *serial offenders*. The remaining offender roles for *serial offenders* - in order from most to least prevalent - are as follows: *Sunday School Teacher* (4.6%; n= 5), *Music Minister* (2.8%; n= 3), *Volunteer* (3.7%; n= 4), *Associate Pastor* (3.7%; n= 4), *Deacon* (2.6%; n= 3), *Church Member* (1.8%; n= 2), and *Church Camp Worker* (0.9%; n= 1).

For victim-selection, *serial offenders* still slightly preferred to target female victims, representing 52.7% (n= 58) of case victim preference. However, among this group of offenders, it had the highest percentage of male-only victims at 47.3% (n= 52)

of all cases. This is a substantial difference when you compare it to the two other typologies' representations of male-only victims being 35.7% (n= 30) for *opportunists* and 18.5% (n= 10) for *groomers*. Therefore, these findings suggest that *serial offenders* may, in fact, suffer from a paraphilia where they offend to fulfill their sexual urges for one specific group of victims (i.e., young males), serving as a key distinction to the two previous typologies.

In regards to victim-age, *serial offenders* largely reflected the other two typologies in their victim-preference. Specifically, *serial offenders* preferred adolescent (55.3%; n= 63) victims, as opposed to child (18.4%; n= 21) victims. There were also a total of 24 (21.2%) cases that included both child and adolescent victims. In contrast to *groomers*, there were adult victims present for *serial offenders*. Only 4.4% (n= 5) of the victims for *serial offenders* were adults. However, all but two of the cases involved young adult (i.e., 18 to 22) who were minors when the offense took place. Only two offenders specialized in adult victims.

A total of 109 individual offense locations were known for the 114 *serial offenders*. Overwhelmingly, *serial offenders* committed their offenses at two location categories. The most frequent location where *serial offenders* committed their offenses was *at the church* at 37.6% (n= 41). Although this was the most frequent location reported, the *Offender's Home* was not far behind at 33.9% (n= 37).

The third most frequent offense location for *serial offenders* was at a general *Off-site* location (11.9%; n= 13), followed by an *Off-site church-sponsored activity* (11.0%; n= 12) and the *Victim's Home* (5.6%; n= 6). Therefore, there was an even-split of where *serial offenders* chose to victimize with 51.4% (n= 56) occurring away from the church

(i.e., *Offender's Home, Off-Site, or the Victim's Home*), and 48.6% (n= 53) occurring while fulfilling their role within the church (i.e., *at the church, or an off-site church-sponsored activity*).

In contrast to the first two typologies, *serial offenders* are the likeliest of all to be employed at churches located in socially disorganized areas. This is for several reasons. First, holding a position inside of a church for an extended period of time requires knowledge of the area and surrounding community members. This could be from both living/working in the area to getting more familiar with congregants, where they come from, and how best to reach them. Moreover, such knowledge of the surrounding community may come useful when planning community-outreach programs, as is often the focus of many Protestant Christian churches. As was reflected in the data, *serial offenders* were the oldest group and had the highest percentage of *Pastors*, the senior-most position in Protestant Christian churches. Therefore, experience and knowledge of the area go hand-in-hand.

A second reason as to why *serial offenders* are the likeliest of all to be employed in churches located in areas characterized by social disorganization is that, due to the nature of their offenses, they carried them out for an extended period of time. As such, they had to learn how to groom, isolate, and continue a pattern of offending against congregants while still successfully navigating their role within the church. Moreover, all of this was achieved while avoiding detection for a certain period of time. This suggests that *serial offenders* had to exercise caution in selecting their targets, in the creation of scenarios to isolate their chosen victims, and how they managed interaction with their victims within the church setting. All of which may be perceived as presumably easier

from the offender’s standpoint when in areas characterized by social disorganization traits (e.g., poverty, unemployment, residential instability, etc.). For example, in the Pierce case it was noted that he specifically selected troubled youth in order to be their mentor. Therefore, it could be that these victims, in the eyes of other church members, need a mentor, thus providing an opportunity and cover for *serial offenders* to victimized multiple individuals for an extended period of time. Now that the offender typologies have been discussed, the victim typologies will now be presented.

Table 1.12 Summary of Criteria for Typologies

Typology	Criteria
<i>Opportunist</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One known victim • Offended exclusively <i>at the church</i> and/or through an <i>off-site church-sponsored activity</i> OR offended at the prior two locations in addition to some off-site location(s) (i.e., <i>offender’s home, off-site, and/or victim’s home</i>)
<i>Groomer</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One known victim • Offended exclusively at the <i>offender’s home, victim’s home, and/or general off-site</i> location
<i>Serial Offender</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple Victims • No particular offense location

Victim Typologies

For victims, there were two typologies that emerged from the data. Data used to form victim typologies were the victim sex, age, and role. The two typologies that emerged from the data were the 1) *Adolescent Church Member* and 2) *Child Church Member*. The remainder of this chapter discusses these two victim typologies.

Adolescent Church Member.

The overwhelming majority of victims in the data, for which information was available, were adolescent (12 to 17) church members. Fully 72.1% (n= 235) of all cases, for which characteristics were available (n= 326), involved adolescent church members. Additionally, 7.4% (n= 24) cases involved both child and adolescent victims. For cases involving only adolescents, the majority were female adolescents at 67.1% (n= 155) with males occupying 32.9% (n= 76) of all victim characteristics known.

Adolescent church members being the vast majority of the victims in the present study is interesting for several reasons. First, approximately 70% of offender roles per typology were roles that did not have direct interaction with and/or supervision of adolescent youth. This suggests that most offenders went out of their way to interact with and/or target adolescents that they typically did not have interaction with as part of their normal role duties. This is especially the case for offenders occupying the role of *Pastor*, being the primary role represented in all but one of the offender typologies. As such, this suggests that adolescents within the church are especially vulnerable.

It may be that offenders find these victims the most sexually desirable; therefore, they may do whatever is necessary to capitalize on or create opportunities to sexually offend this subgroup of the congregation. It may also be that those who are familiar with the surrounding characteristics of the community know that these individuals are the most ideal targets due to a lack of parental guardianship, being new to the area (i.e., residential instability), or some combination of these or other social disorganization characteristics.

Child Church Member.

Although the vast majority of victims with known characteristics were adolescent church members, a sizeable minority of victims were children (0 to 11 years of age).

Specifically, 12.9% (n= 42) of the cases involved exclusively victims between the ages of 3 to 11 years old. As with adolescent church members, the majority (67.5%; n= 27) of cases involved exclusively female, followed by 32.5% (n= 13) being male-only.

Similar to *adolescent church members*, the majority of positions of the offenders against *child church members* were those that did not have roles with direct interaction and/or supervision over these individuals. With the exception of *Youth Ministers*, *Youth Volunteers*, and *Sunday School Teachers*, no other role within the church should have direct interaction with and/or supervision over child church members. Therefore, as with *adolescent church members*, this suggests that the majority of offenders are seeking or creating ways to have interaction with this subpopulation of the church congregation in order to sexually offend. As such, the same potential explanation for social disorganization characteristics of the surrounding community for *adolescent church members* applies to *child church members*.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND OFFENSE, OFFENDER, AND VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter presents the findings for the second analysis of the present study. As such, this chapter is designed to meet the fourth and final goal of this study, being to examine what role, if any, the three core social disorganization measures (i.e., concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration, and residential instability) play in the likelihood of particular offense, offender, and victim characteristics to occur in sex offenses at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. Using data obtained from the first analysis, located in Chapter 4, this chapter tests five separate Logistic Regression models that examine the role of social disorganization in certain offense (i.e., Offenses that Occurred on Church Property), offender (i.e., Pastor as the Offender and Youth Minister as the Offender), and victim (Male as the Victim and Multiple Victims per Case) characteristics. Five subsections presenting the findings from each logistic regression model organize the remainder of this chapter. These subsections are as follows: *Pastor as the Offender*, *Youth Minister as the Offender*, *Male as the Victim*, *Multiple Victims per Case*, and *Offenses that Occurred on the Church Property*³⁰.

Pastor as the Offender

³⁰ Examination of differences between cases involving only Non-Contact versus exclusively Contact offenses could not be conducted since only six total cases involved exclusively Non-Contact offenses.

Pastors occupied over one-third (34.9%; $n= 110$) of all offender roles within the sample. As such, cases involving offenders who occupied the role of *Pastor* were compared against cases that involved all other offender roles in regards to what function, if any, social disorganization plays in the likelihood of offense (i.e., location) and victim (i.e., sex, age, and total number) characteristics being present. Table 2.1. presents the results for the first logistic regression model with the dependent measure of an offender who occupied the *Pastor* role, compared to cases where offenders occupied all other roles. The model is significant with one of the seven measures being statistically significant ($p < .05$) predictors of a *Pastor* being the offender in a case³¹.

Table 2.1 Logistic Regression Model for Predictors of an Offense by a Pastor

Measure	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Tolerance</i>
Victim				
Sex	0.36	0.37	1.43	0.91
Number	-0.26	0.38	0.77	0.91
Offense				
Location	-0.14	0.35	0.83	0.95
Social Disorganization				
Concentrated Disadvantage	0.40*	0.19	1.49	0.86
Immigrant Concentration	-0.08	0.19	0.92	0.91
Residential Instability	-0.24	0.19	0.79	0.84
Constant	-0.60	0.28		

Note. $\chi^2 = 6.66$ ($p = .05$). $df = 8$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .055$. $n = 162$.

* $p < .05$.

³¹ The Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients showed that the model was not a good fit; however, this is likely due to the small sample size (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000). As such, the *Hosmer-Lemeshow* test was used, which demonstrated a goodness-of-fit for the model.

The only significant measure in this model is one of the three social disorganization measures, *concentrated disadvantage*. Specifically, as the factor for concentrated disadvantage increased by one, there was a 49% ($\text{Exp}(b) = 1.49$) greater overall likelihood of an offender occupying the role of *Pastor* when compared to all other roles. Moreover, when controlling for all other social disorganization measures, victim, and offense characteristics, no other measures were significant predictors of *Pastors* being the offender. Although concentrated disadvantage was significant when comparing *Pastors* against all other roles assumed by offenders, this social disorganization measure did not remain significant in the next model with offenders who occupied the role of *Youth Minister* as the dependent variable.

Youth Minister as the Offender

The second logistic regression model for the present study examines the relationship of social disorganization measures in cases upon the presence of a *Youth Minister* being the offender compared to all other offender roles. Table 2.2. presents the findings for this model. In contrast to the first analysis, the social disorganization measure of concentrated disadvantage was not significant. However, the social disorganization measure of *residential instability* was significant at the .05-level.

Table 2.2 Logistic Regression Model for Predictors of an Offense by a Youth Minister

Measure	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Tolerance</i>
Victim				
Sex	-0.58	0.41	0.65	0.91
Number	0.25	0.40	1.23	0.91
Offense				
Location	-0.28	0.37	0.76	0.95
Social Disorganization				
Concentrated Disadvantage	-0.38	0.21	0.68	0.86
Immigrant Concentration	-0.13	0.20	0.88	0.91
Residential Instability	0.65*	0.21	1.92	0.84
Constant	-0.68	0.29		

Note. $\chi^2 = 12.63$ ($p = .05$). $df = 6$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .107$. $n = 162$.

* $p < .05$.

Specifically, when the factor for residential instability increased by one unit, then likelihood of a *Youth Minister* being the offender increased by 92% ($Exp(B) = 1.92$) when compared to all other offender roles. No other social disorganization, victim, or offense measures were significant in the model. Although two separate social disorganization measures proved crucial in differentiating cases between what roles within the church the offender occupied in the first two models, social disorganization measures did not show to be significant indicators of differences in the two subsequent models that examine victim characteristics (i.e., victim sex and victim number per case) as the dependent variable.

Male as a Victim

The third logistic regression model in the present study examines the sex of the victim(s) in each case in relation to differences in the three core social disorganization characteristics being present. With the majority of identified victims (59.6%; $n = 280$)

being exclusively female victims, over one-third of the victim sample (40.4%; n= 190) involved only male victims. One interesting note is that of the 326 individual cases, only two cases involved victims of *both* sexes. That is, 324 cases involved exclusively one victim sex -either male or female- not both³². Therefore, this suggests those who sexually offend at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches generally have a victim preference that perhaps forms where and how they target potential victims. As such, the dependent variable in this logistic regression model examined differences in the likelihood of the three core social disorganization measures being present in cases that involved exclusively a male victim(s) compared to those involving solely a female victim(s).

Table 2.3. presents the findings for the logistic regression model that examines differences between cases with exclusively male and female victims. In contrast to the previous two models, no social disorganization measures were found to be significantly different in their overall likelihood of being present when comparing cases involving entirely a male victim(s) against those with exclusively a female victim(s). Although no social disorganization measures were significant in this model, the control measure of *victim number* (i.e., the total number of victims being reported in a case) was significant. Specifically, cases involving multiple known victims had a 212% ($\text{Exp}(b) = 3.12$) greater overall likelihood of being male when compared to female victims. This is a relationship that holds true in the next logistic regression analysis that examines differences in the number of overall known victims per case.

³² The two cases that involved victims from both sexes were excluded from this analysis.

Table 2.3 Logistic Regression Model for Predictors of a Male Victim

Measure	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Tolerance</i>
Victim				
Number	1.14*	0.35	3.12	0.97
Offense				
Location	-0.50	0.35	0.60	0.97
Social Disorganization				
Concentrated Disadvantage	-0.25	0.20	0.74	0.87
Immigrant Concentration	-0.12	0.19	0.89	0.92
Residential Instability	0.13	0.20	1.14	0.84
Constant	-0.77	0.25		

Note. $\chi^2 = 15.97$ ($p = .05$). $df = 5$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .124$. $n = 169$.

* $p < .05$.

Multiple Victims per Case

The fourth logistic regression analysis in the present study examines differences between cases that involved more than one victim compared to cases that had only one known victim. Fully 38.3% ($n = 116$) of all cases involved more than one known victim with the remaining 61.7% ($n = 205$) cases that had only one known victim. As such, Table 2.4 displays the findings for the logistic regression model that examines social disorganization differences between cases that involved multiple known victims compared to cases that only involved one known victim.

Table 2.4 Logistic Regression Model for Predictors of Cases involving Multiple Victims

Measure	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Tolerance</i>
Victim				
Sex	1.14*	0.35	3.11	0.97
Offense				
Location	0.27	0.36	1.31	0.96
Social Disorganization				
Concentrated Disadvantage	-0.25	0.20	0.79	0.87
Immigrant Concentration	-0.26	0.22	0.77	0.92
Residential Instability	0.14	0.20	1.14	0.84
Constant	-1.33	0.29		

Note. $\chi^2 = 15.92$ ($p = .05$). $df = 6$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .125$. $n = 169$.

* $p < .05$.

Similar to the previous model examining victim sex, this model also did not have any significant differences in the three key social disorganization characteristics being present. However, the victim characteristic of *victim sex* was significant at the .05-level. In particular, while controlling for the three primary social disorganization measures, victim age, and offense location, cases involving exclusively male victims were 3.11 times more likely to have occurred in cases with more than one victim. Despite the two models with victim characteristics as the dependent measure not showing significant differences between social disorganization characteristics, the final logistic regression model, examining location differences where offenses occurred, did have a significant social disorganization measure present.

Offense Occurred on the Church Property

The fifth and final logistic regression analysis examined differences between cases that occurred on church property compared to those that occurred exclusively off

church property. Fully 35.5% (n= 82) of the cases occurred on church grounds, whereas the majority (45.5%; n= 105) happened exclusively off the church grounds³³. At the church grounds only pertained to offenses that took place at the physical church. As such, those that occurred *off-site through a church-sponsored activity* were not categorized as taking place on church grounds. Table 2.5. presents the findings for the logistic regression model that examined the differences between cases that occurred on church property compared to those that happened exclusively off-site.

Table 2.5 Logistic Regression Model for Predictors of Offense Location

Measure	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Tolerance</i>
Victim				
Sex	-0.52	0.35	0.60	0.92
Number	0.28	0.36	1.33	0.91
Social Disorganization				
Concentrated Disadvantage	0.03	0.17	1.03	0.86
Immigrant Concentration	-0.41*	0.19	0.67	0.94
Residential Instability	-0.05	0.18	0.95	0.84
Constant	-0.19	0.21		

Note. $\chi^2 = 8.66$ ($p = .05$). $df = 6$. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .061$. $n = 169$.

* $p < .05$.

When controlling for the victim characteristics of sex, age, and total number of victims, only one social disorganization measure was significant in the model³⁴.

Specifically, the social disorganization measure of *immigrant concentration* was

³³ Offenses that occurred on church property were those that had either occurred *at the church*, or a combination of *at the church* and *off-site* (coded as 1). Those that occurred exclusively *off-site* were coded as 0.

³⁴ The Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients showed that the model was not a good fit. Similar to the first model, the *Hosmer-Lemeshow* test was used, which demonstrated a goodness-of-fit for the model.

significantly and negatively related to if the offense occurred on the church grounds. That is, as the factor for immigrant concentration increased by one unit, then the overall likelihood of the offense having occurred on church grounds decreased by 33% ($\text{Exp}(b)=0.67$). Across all models, the present model examining offense location was the only one where the key social disorganization measure of immigrant concentration was significant.

CHAPTER 6:

DISCUSSION

Prior literature has rarely examined sex offenses in religious settings. Moreover, prior literature has rarely applied social disorganization theory to examine sex offense characteristics in religious settings. The present study contributes to this dearth of research by providing knowledge regarding sex offenses, victims, and offenders at Protestant Christian churches. This knowledge included what types of sex offenses occur within this setting, offender/victim roles held within the church, and common locations where such offenses take place. Additionally, this study contributes to the understanding of what role social disorganization plays in various offense, offender, and victim characteristics being present in cases. As such, the four established goals of the present study were met. The remainder of this chapter is separated by discussion of the following sections: *Offender, Victim, and Offense Characteristics; Typologies* (i.e., *Offender Typologies* and *Victim Typologies*), *the Role of Social Disorganization, Limitations, Policy Implications, and Conclusions*.

Offender, Victim, and Offense Characteristics

Examination of the data revealed that males were overwhelmingly represented at 98.8% (n= 328) of the total offender sample. This should come as no surprise since the vast majority of known sex offenders are adult males (Rennison, 2001; Rennison & Rand, 2003). Moreover, nearly all clergy offenders in prior studies on both sexual

misconduct and sexual abuse have been identified as male (Francis & Baldo, 1998; Friberg & Laaser, 1998; Garlands & Argueta, 2010; Thoburn & Whitman, 2004). This phenomenon is likely due to a number of factors. First, male offenders are those most likely to sexually victimize in wider society. Second, males are estimated to occupy the head pastor position at 88% of all Protestant congregations in the U.S., compared to just 12% of females (Cooperative Congregations Studies Partnership, 2010).

For offender-age, the average age for offenders in the present study was 40.4. This is considerably younger than the age range of 51 to 60 for clergy involved in sexual misconduct in a study by Francis and Baldo (1998). However, this finding does mirror the average age of registered sex offenders found by Ackerman, Harris, Levenson, and Zgoba (2011). The considerable difference in age between the present study and findings by Francis and Baldo (1998) could be for several reasons. First, there may be an inherent difference between those who engage in sexual misconduct compared to sexual abuse within these settings. Second, the second most commonly represented offender role in the present study were *Youth Ministers* at 31.4% (n= 99). With individuals who occupy the role of *Youth Minister* being generally younger in overall age due to their perceived expertise/ability of 'reaching' church youth, likely being straight out of seminary school, and/or a combination of these and related factors, then this likely attributes for the lower mean age of offenders in the present study.

Offenders in the present study were also found to be predominately White, representing 73.1% (n= 198) of the total sample. This should also come as no surprise since the majority of sex offenders are believed to be White adult males (Ackerman et al., 2011; Greenfeld, 1997). Moreover, the majority of those who identify with the Protestant

Christian faith within the U.S. are also predominantly White (Pew Research Center, 2007).

For roles that offenders occupy within the church, there were a total of 10 distinct roles represented in the present study. Despite 10 distinct roles being represented, nearly two-thirds of all offenders held the roles of *Pastor* or *Youth Minister*. Specifically, *Pastors* represented a slight majority of all offenders at 34.9% (n= 110). This is in contrast to findings from Thoburn and Whitman (2004) that found those holding the position of *Associate Pastor* engaged in the most sexual misconduct. However, findings closely resemble those from John Jay College (2004) that 25% of offenders held the position of head priest, which is the equivalent of *Pastor* within most Protestant Christian churches.

It may be that those in the primary position of power and control within their church are also those most likely to sexually offend within this environment. Perhaps those in this position view sexual offending as a mere extension of their ultimate power and control over their environment and congregants, especially with power and control representing two of the strongest traits for sex offenders (Brownmiller, 1975; Stermac & Segal, 1989).

Even though *Pastors* generally hold the most power and control within the Protestant Christian environment, *Youth Ministers* also hold substantial power/control over their own groups. In essence, they are the head pastor of all youth activities whereby they organize, supervise, and have a direct hand in nearly all youth group activities at their respective church. In total, *Youth Ministers* represented 31.4% (n= 99) of all offenders. As with *Pastors*, there is considerable power and control inherent in their role

within church. Consequently, sexual offending may arise as an extension of this power/control inherent in their role, especially when ruling over church members that are under the age of 18. Moreover, the power/control innate in one's position may coalesce with the characteristics of the surrounding community (e.g., social disorganization) of where the church is located, perhaps increasing the overall proclivity to offend. This is a possibility discussed further below. Future research needs to explore specific mechanisms of how power and control inherent in one's position within a church are utilized by the offender to sexually victimize a congregant(s).

The third most frequent offender role found in the present study is that of *Youth Volunteer*. Fully 8.3% (n= 26) of offenders were *Youth Volunteers*. As with the *Youth Minister* role, these are individuals that likely have considerable power/control over youth group activities and youth group members. However, they likely do not have near the level of control as many *Youth Ministers*, since they are in a volunteer capacity. One key distinction is that these individuals may be more likely than *Pastors* and *Youth Ministers* to actively seek-out these positions within churches in order to sexually offend. This is especially the case with unguarded access to children being identified as a key characteristic of child sexual abuse (Colton et al., 2010; Sullivan & Beech, 2004; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006a).

All but three of the remaining seven offender roles (25.7%) held a volunteer position within the church. As with the *Youth Volunteer* position, this is perhaps indicative that these individuals actively sought-out positions within the church in order to sexually offend. This may be because of unguarded access to a youth-centric organization and/or activities, similar to offenders who have been known to target the

youth-centric organizations of daycares, youth athletic organizations, the Boy Scouts of America, and Big Brothers Big Sisters (Brackenridge, 1997; Bringer et al., 2001; Finkelhor & Williams, 1988; Stirling & Kerr, 2009).

Future research needs to explore the motivations for why those who assume a volunteer role within the church fulfill such positions initially. It could be for non-sexual reasons originally, and that the sexual offending develops over time with one's increased access to unguarded children. However, it may also be that these are individuals who are actively seeking such positions in youth-centric organizations for the sole purpose of sexually offending, especially those seeking particular victim characteristics.

Victims characteristics found in the present study also largely mirrored those believed to be the most likely of individuals sexually victimized in the general population. Specifically, 59.6% (n= 280) of all victims in the present study were girls compared to 40.4% of all victims being boys. This should not serve as a surprise since females - both as adults and minors - are more likely than males to be victims of rape and/or sexual assault (Truman & Rand, 2011; Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999; Finkelhor et al., 1990; Finkelhor et al., 2005; Levenson & D'Amora, 2007). Although supported in some prior research on victims of rape/sexual assault in wider society, this finding is in contrast to the John Jay College (2004) report on Catholic sexual abuse that found boys were the most likely of victims. However, the difference apparent in the present data may be due to disclosure issues since female victims are more likely than male victims of sexual violence to disclose their victimization (Brochman, 1991; Finkelhor, 2008; Tewksbury, 2007a; Walwrath et al., 2003).

The vast majority (93%) of victims in the present study were under 18 years of age. This should also not be a surprise once one compares this finding to the age ranges with the highest sexual victimization rates in the general society. In larger society, those between the ages of 16 and 19 years of age have the highest rate for sexual victimization at 5.5 per 1,000 individuals (Rennison & Rand, 2003). This closely resembled the most frequent victim age group represented in the present study of *Teens* (15-17) at 45.8% (n= 184). This group of victims also made up the bulk of the first victim typology of *Adolescent Church Members*.

In general society, the third highest age range for sexual victimization are individuals between the ages of 12 and 15 years of age at 2.1 per 1,000 (Rennison & Rand, 2003). As with the earlier presented findings, this closely resembled trends in wider society with this age range representing the second most frequent found in the present study at 23.8% (n= 96) of the victim sample. This group also represented a substantial portion of the remaining victim typology of *Child Church Members*.

Although the first and third highest age ranges for sexual victimization in wider society were represented in the present study at first and second, respectively, the second highest (i.e., 20 to 24 years of age) was not represented in the present study (Rennison & Rand, 2003). This is likely for several reasons. First, individuals in their 20's are those that have the lowest likelihood of all age groups of actively attending a Protestant Christian church (Pew Research Center, 2010). Therefore, on the whole, this group is not physically present and/or active in a church to become targets of victimization compared to the 4.8 million youth (under 18 years of age) who are estimated to participate in Protestant Christian youth groups throughout the U.S. (Smith et al., 2002).

Second, nearly half of all offenders held roles with direct contact and/or control over youth as part of various functions of their role. With power and control being identified as key traits for sexual offenders (see Brownmiller, 1975; Stermac & Segal, 1989), then such a power position generally does not apply to young adults who attend Protestant churches. This may especially be the case if a lesser emphasis on a perceived need of mentorship is placed upon this group, as opposed to those under the age of 18, thus removing a substantial portion of the power and/or control seemingly key for most offenders in the present study.

As with the general offender and victim characteristics, the offender-victim relationship in the present study generally holds true as for what is known regarding most sex offenses. Specifically, the present study found that victims held two general roles, that of a 1) *Church Member* or 2) *Church Visitor*. Fully 96.4% (n= 452) of the victims in the present study were identified as *Church Members*. As such, these are individuals that likely not only knew their offender, but also interacted with them on a fairly frequent basis. This finding is similar to other studies examining children who have been sexually abused, that most child victims know their offender (Arata, 1998; Smith et al., 2000; Snyder, 2000). However, it is important to note that offenders in the present study largely not only victimized individuals they knew, but also individuals that they generally had direct control over as part of their job duties. Future research needs to explore the specific dynamics of the relationships between offenders and victims within church settings to examine if sexual victimization is something that develops solely as an extension of one's role, or if additional factors (e.g., the offender is a friend of a victim's parent, the offender has children the same age as the victim, etc.) may be at play.

The second and final victim role in the present study, *Church Visitors*, only represented 3.6% (n= 17) of victims in the sample. Although these individuals are visitors and not church members, the same power/control relationship of the offender role and victim likely still applies. This is because all of the individuals who were identified as *Church Visitors* were attending a church service/activity, receiving some form of spiritual/personal counseling, visiting a food bank offered by the church, or a similar activity/service. As such, all were still actively receiving a service and/or good that an individual within the church (i.e., the offender) was providing. Therefore, these individuals were still placed in the same inferior power position as a *Church Member*. Consequently, the same control and power imbalance likely fuels many instances of sexual victimization for *Church Visitors* as it does for *Church Members*.

For general offense characteristics, the present study found that the overwhelming majority of offenses that occurred at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches were contact offenses at 80.0%. This means that most offenses involved direct physical contact between the offender and their victim(s) for crimes such as rape, sexual assault, and groping. Non-contact offenses were also present in the study at 18.9%. However, only 7.4% (n= 24) of the cases involved offenders that were charged exclusively with a non-contact offense, such as child pornography or stalking. Additionally, a small percentage, 1.1% were charged with property offenses (e.g., burglary, theft, etc.). Unlike non-contact offenses, all property crimes were charged in conjunction with either a contact or non-contact offense. It is important to point out that the cases in the present study were across 41 states in conjunction with the wide scope of the research goals. As such, individual differences between specific offense-types at the

state-level were not examined. Future research should explore specific crimes using cases from only one state to see if differences exist in the overall type of crime present beyond a general category of contact or non-contact.

The present study also found that the location of offenses was primarily *off-site* at 45.5%. However, the difference between off-site and on-site was small. Specifically, 35.5% of cases occurred exclusively *at the church* or through an *off-site church-sponsored activity*. Additionally, a small minority, 19.0%, occurred both on and off-site.

When examining where specifically offenses took place, five individual location-types emerged. In order of greatest to least frequency, these were the location types of *at the church*, the *offender's home*, *off-site*, *off-site church-sponsored activity*, and at the *victim's home*. Although examination of clergy sexual abuse has been sparse, some prior research has studied locations where these offenses commonly take place. Prior literature that examined sexual abuse by Catholic priests found that 41% of all offenses took place inside the offender's home (Calkins-Mercado et al., 2008). However, it is important to note that many Catholic Priests live in a Rectory that is on the same grounds as the church. Even excluding this contextual difference, these findings are in contrast to Calkins-Mercado et al. (2008) with the *offender's home* being the second most prevalent location in the present study (Calkins-Mercado et al., 2008).

Additional prior studies examining sexual misconduct within this environment found that 92% of sexual misconduct occurred in a private setting within the church with most having occurred in the offender's church office (Chaves & Garland, 2009; Garland & Argueta, 2010). These findings were echoed in the present study. Thus, when examining solely the offense location(s), the present study largely supports Fegert et al.'s

(2011) conclusion that sex abuse within the church setting is opportunistic in nature. However, when examining other key victim and offense characteristics in the formation of offender typologies, then only approximately one-third of cases were opportunistic in nature.

Typologies

The second main part of the analysis for the present study examined what offender and victim typologies were present in sex offenses that occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. The first offender typology found in the present study were *opportunists*. These were male offenders who only had one victim and chose to commit their offenses *at the church*, during an *off-site church-sponsored activity*, or through some combination of the previous two locations and some off-site location (i.e., *offender's home*, *victim's home*, and/or general *off-site*). In total, *opportunists* represented 33.5% of the offender sample.

Although sex offenders, as a whole, have been found to be more likely to be generalists than specialists, those that target children have been shown to be more likely to specialize in their overall victim selection (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004; Lussier et al., 2005; Miethe et al., 2006; Simon, 2000; Smallbone & Wortley, 2004; Zimring et al., 2007). *Opportunists* primarily targeted female adolescent church members.

It is likely that *opportunists* are similar to Miller's (2013) typology of the *situational child molester* that sexually victimizes children solely because a perceived opportunity presents itself. It is also possible that *opportunists*, like *situational child molesters*, target other outwardly helpless individuals (e.g., elderly, adults with mental and/or physical disabilities, etc.). Additionally, it possible that *opportunists* may be one

of four individual types of *situational child molesters* being the 1) *regressed pedophile*, 2) *indiscriminate pedophile*, 3) *sexually indiscriminate*, or 4) *naïve/inadequate* (see Miller, 2013). However, data did not allow for such analysis. Future research should further examine offenders who meet the criteria of an *opportunist* within this environment to see if the four subtypes of *situational child molesters* also apply to *opportunists* in this environment.

The second offender typology found in the present study were the *groomers*. Similar to *opportunists*, these are male offenders who had only one known victim. However, whereas *opportunists* committed their offenses either exclusively at the church or through an *off-site church-sponsored activity*, *groomers* were those that committed their offenses exclusively off-site (i.e., *Offender's Home*, *Victim's Home*, or general *off-site* location). Moreover, like *opportunists*, *groomers* also preferred victims who were female adolescent church members. Fully 21.6% (n= 55) of all offenders with available characteristics met the criteria for *Groomers*.

When comparing *groomers* to prior typologies that have been developed for those who sexually victimize children, these offenders most closely resemble that of the *seductive molester* (Miller, 2013; Tallon, 2004). *Seductive molesters* were identified as those that utilize grooming behaviors to initially and perhaps continually sexually victimize their chosen victim. Moreover, some degree of mutual attraction, between the offender and the victim, is believed by the offender as being present (Miller, 2013; Tallon, 2004). Data did not allow for examination at this level, nor did it allow the ability to differentiate between the two types of *seductive molesters* being the 1) *fixated molester* and the 2) *sadistic pedophile*.

The third and final offender typology found in the present study were the *serial offenders*. *Serial offenders* were characterized as those who had more than one known victim at the time of their arrest. Moreover, no criteria were established on where the offenses took place, only that there were multiple known victims at the time of arrest. As a whole, *serial offenders* also preferred female adolescent church members. However, this typology had the highest percentage of both male and child victims. In total, 44.9% (n= 114) of all offenders met the criteria established for *serial offenders*.

Across all offender typologies, *serial offenders* were the most represented. This is important for several reasons. First, this suggests that most offenders that are arrested for sexually offending at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches have allegedly victimized multiple individuals within this environment. Moreover, it may suggest that others within the offender's church have been privy of these offenses in the past, yet have allowed offenders to retain their position. Thus, placing these individuals in a continued position to sexually victimize congregants. It is also possible that the final offender typology of *serial offenders* originally began as *opportunists* or *groomers*, and that their victim preferences and tactics progressed as they continued to avoid detection. Future research should examine this relationship further, paying particular attention to if, and to what degree, a sexual offender within this environment progresses.

A second reason as to why this is important is that it suggests that these individuals may have actively sought out this position to sexually offend. One prior study by Beauregard and colleagues (2007) that examined serial sex offenders found that 57% of their sample of serial offenders hunted their victims in a specific place. Moreover, 19% had become involved in an occupation where they would have ready access to desired

victims. Additionally, 20% of these offenders joined a youth-centric organization with 8% joining these organizations to specifically sexually victimize. Therefore, it is possible that *serial offenders* are the most likely of all offender typologies to have actively sought-out positions within the church for the sole purpose to sexually offend.

Future research needs to examine the backgrounds and motivations of *serial offenders* to attempt to understand how these offenders originally became involved within these environments, and when their sexual offending began. Prior research also found that serial offenders would also actively target neighborhoods characterized by low socioeconomic status as it was viewed as a means for easier, unguarded access, to potential victims (Beauregard et al., 2007). As such, the role of social disorganization characteristics within the surrounding community where the church is located may be crucial for *serial offenders* in their victim selection.

The Role of Social Disorganization

For the third and final part of the analysis, a total of five logistic regression models were ran. Specifically, analyses examined a total of five distinct offender, victim, and offense characteristics and what role key social disorganization characteristics (i.e., *concentrated disadvantage*, *residential instability*, and *immigrant concentration*) play in the overall likelihood of the above characteristics occurring. The five models ran were cases with: 1) a *Pastor* as the offender, 2) a *Youth Minister* as the offender, 3) a Male as the Victim, 4) Multiple Victims, and 5) if the offense(s) occurred On-Church Property compared to off-church property.

Offenses with *Pastors*, compared to all other roles, were found to have a greater overall likelihood of occurring in areas characterized by concentrated disadvantage³⁵. However, no other social disorganization or control measures were significant indicators of having a *Pastor* as the offender. This is likely for several reasons. First, Pastors occupy the senior-most position inside many Protestant Christian churches. As such, it generally requires someone who is older, more experienced, and/or has been employed within a/the church for an extended period of time. Therefore, *Pastors* who sexually offend have likely held a position within their particular church and general community setting for several years. This is information and experience not yet gained by younger individuals, who may occupy the role of *Youth Minister* or other positions within the church.

Pastors know the area, and they know who and what characteristics comprise the surrounding community (e.g., higher percentages of poor, Black, and female-headed households with children). Such information may prove vital as part of the job skills with many community outreach programs being a core component of numerous Protestant Christian churches, especially evangelical churches. It may be that *pastors* are more likely to offend in these areas because they may perceive targets to be easy. For example, with higher percentages of female-headed households with children, then a *pastor*, as the head of the church, may also occupy the traditional male head-of-household figure generally emphasized by Protestant Christian beliefs. This fulfillment of the male head-of-household role may be either direct or indirect. Therefore, they may use this position to their advantage to sexually offend against both *adolescents* and *child church members*.

³⁵ *Concentrated Disadvantage* was a factor, created to measure one key component of social disorganization theory (i.e., poverty), that is comprised of the following Census tract characteristics: % families receiving public assistance, % families below poverty, % unemployed, % female-headed households with children, and % black residents.

A second reason as to why *pastors* are more likely to offend in areas characterized by *concentrated disadvantage* when compared to all other roles is that there is an overall lack of community and individual resources, personified by higher percentages of families receiving public assistance, families below the poverty level, unemployment, and higher percentage of black residents. Moreover, using Wilson's (1987) construct of *concentrated disadvantage*, the black residents that are generally left within these areas are those least likely to seek out various resources (e.g., police), have poor education, and little-to-no job skills. Thus, these are areas that are comprised of the most truly disadvantaged members of society. Therefore, with this knowledge, that develops over-time/experience, *pastors* have a greater overall-likelihood of victimizing in these areas because of their knowledge/perception of these areas and the individuals who reside there, in addition to little perceived risk of being caught. This is knowledge/perception that is simply not yet gained by *Youth Ministers* or other roles with less overall experience.

The second logistic regression analysis compared *Youth Ministers* against all other offender roles. This analysis found that offenses with *Youth Ministers* as the offender are more likely than all other offender roles to occur in areas characterized by higher levels of *residential instability*³⁶. No other social disorganization or control measures were significant in this model. This finding makes sense because areas characterized by more individuals moving into and out of a particular community neutralizes many of the techniques used by *groomers*, thus leading to the lower

³⁶ *Residential Instability* was a construct that measured the second key component of social disorganization theory by the same name. This factor is comprised of the two measures of 1) % of population in renter occupied homes and 2) % of persons living in a different house in the previous five years.

representation of *Youth Ministers* in the *groomer* typology when compared to the *opportunist*.

A greater percentage of *Youth Ministers* occupied the offender typology of *opportunists*, as opposed to *groomers*. Therefore, *youth ministers* are more likely than *pastors* to sexually offend populations that they already have direct contact with because of their job duties, requiring less perceived need/reason to create opportunities to be alone with the chosen victim that is indicative of *groomers*.

Overall, *Youth Ministers* are more likely to sexually offend in areas characterized by higher levels of *Residential Instability* for several reasons. First, it may be that adolescents are moving into and out of the area at higher overall levels when compared to other areas. As such, this population of adolescents may be prone to moving on a fairly frequent basis, thus placing them at a higher risk for sexual victimization as Finkelhor (1991) found that those with unavailable or altogether absent parents have a higher overall risk for sexual victimization. Moreover, adolescents in these areas may be actively seeking to be a part of a group, such as a local church's youth group, in order to feel a sense of *belonging* to their new community. This is especially the case with the high percentages of 8th, 10th, and 12th graders in the U.S. that report being an active part of a Church youth ministry group (Smith et al., 2002). *Youth ministers* who sexually offend may recognize this need/feeling to belong and provide extra attention to such individuals, as perceived functions of their job duties. Additionally, this position generally requires more interaction, supervision, and mentorship between the *youth minister* and an *adolescent* - compared to a *Pastor* and another congregant. As such, a *youth minister's* job duties inherent in their position create numerous opportunities to be

alone, whereby some choose to sexually offend. Future research need explore the life histories of victims chosen by *youth ministers* to provide further understanding to the role that *residential instability* plays in this relationship.

The third and fourth logistic regression analyses examined 1) when a male was the identified victim and 2) if there were multiple victims in the case, respectively. No social disorganization measures were significant indicators in the each of these models. However, the control measure for multiple victims present was significant in the model with male victims as the dependent variable, and the control measure of male victims was significant when multiple victims present was the dependent variable.

Therefore, cases involving exclusively male victims are more likely than those involving exclusively females to involve multiple victims. This finding makes sense because sexual offenders who target child victims are more likely to truly *specialize* in this behavior when compared to those who sexually victimize adults (Miethe et al., 2006; Simon, 2000). Additionally, individuals with a sexual paraphilia for male children - most likely *serial offenders* - may offend wherever they perceive to have the opportunity to do so. As such, the surrounding community characteristics may not factor into their decision to offend.

Moreover, social disorganization measures were not significant the models examining differences between victim sex and the number of victims. This could be for several reasons. First, those who were characterized by the *serial offender* typology had a greater proportion of individuals in the volunteer role compared to the other two typologies of *groomers* and *opportunists*. As such, individuals who occupy some volunteer within the church may again be seeking volunteer opportunities wherever they

can in order to be in direct contact with their victims of choice. Therefore, for victim-selection by those in a volunteer role, it may not matter where they seek these volunteer opportunities (i.e., communities characterized by social disorganization or not), but simply that these volunteer opportunities are present.

Although volunteers held a higher proportion of roles in the *serial offender* typology, when compared to *groomers* and *opportunists*, the two primary positions were still that of *pastor* and *youth Minister*. Social disorganization measures not being significant for those who have been known to sexually victimize more than one victim makes sense. This is because those who repeatedly sexually victimize children are likely to suffer from a paraphilia, unlike those who do so once. As such, they may sexually offend regardless of the location or surrounding community characteristics to simply fulfill their sexual desire(s).

The final logistic regression model examined the differences in the overall likelihood social disorganization and other control measures being present for cases that occurred exclusively on-site at the church compared to those that occurred exclusively off-site. Similar to the first two models, only one social disorganization measure was significant, whereas no control measures were significant.

Offenses that occur exclusively on the church campus were significantly less likely to have occurred in areas characterized by a higher concentration of immigrants than when compared to those that occurred exclusively off-site. This is likely due to several reasons. First, higher percentages of Latinos in Census tracts have been shown in prior research to be indicative of lower crime rates being concentrated in particular areas, commonly referred to by some as the ‘Latino Paradox’ (Sampson, 2008; Velez, 2006).

The original propositions of social disorganization theory (see Shaw and McKay, 1942/1969) suggest that as the population of immigrants increase in an area, then the crime in that area should also increase. This is because it is the belief that a greater presence of immigrants from different cultures/backgrounds leads to a disruption in cultural transmission, identified as key to forming informal social control within a community, to control crime. However, recent research (see Sampson, 2008; Velez, 2006) has shown that Latino immigrants have been the exception over the past few decades.

Second, higher concentrations of immigrants in certain communities may serve as an extra form of guardianship at the church that reduces an offender's ability to offend on campus. This could be because many churches serve as meeting places, information centers, and/or offer programs (e.g., Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service) for immigrants new to their respective community in order to become acclimated. Such services include not only church-related activities, but also assistance with getting a driver's license, employment, access to legal services, and enrolling their children in a local school. As such, it may be that the extra presence of these individuals seeking such services at churches decreases an offender's ability to be alone with a victim(s), thus thwarting one's ability to sexually victimize at the church campus within areas characterized by higher concentrations of immigrants.

Although the present study found that each of the three key social disorganization measures were significant indicators of differences between offender and offense location characteristics, findings indicate that social disorganization theory is not necessarily a useful explanation when examining various characteristics of sex offenses that occur at or

through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. Future studies with larger sample sizes should examine/control for social disorganization measures that could not be examined in the present study due to an insufficient sample size for such analyses. For example, future research should examine characteristics found by Mustaine et al. 2014a, 2014b and others, such as *% of 19 individuals years of age or younger, % of women 18 to 65 with disabilities*, and proxies for alcohol use per Census tract, to see if the inclusion of such measures allows for a better application/examination of social disorganization theory to sex offenses in the area of question.

It is possible that social disorganization theory is not a useful explanation for various characteristics present in these environments because it may simply be a behavior that emerges out of typical interactions within the church. That is, sexual offenses may emerge as a byproduct of the power and control attached to many roles over youth through general interactions, regardless of the characteristics of the surrounding community. Moreover, it may be that other criminological theories are better suited at explaining this phenomenon.

Limitations

Although the present study contributed to the dearth of literature on sex offenses that occur at Protestant Christian churches, this was not achieved without limitations. Specifically, there are three main limitations of the present study. The first limitation of the present study is with the websites where news articles reporting on the alleged offense(s) were obtained. It is possible that the entity and/or individual that operated each website had their own biases or agenda(s) that determined which news articles for particular cases were posted. For example, a website that wanted to make such behavior

more 'shocking' to the general public may have omitted posting cases involving solely adult victims, thus only posting news articles that involved cases where there were child/adolescent victims. As such, this may have attributed to the small number of cases involving adult victims in the present study.

The second limitation of the present study is that data included news articles that reported on individuals who had been arrested for the alleged offense(s). Therefore, not all offenders in the present study had been or were found guilty of the offense(s) in a court of law. Additionally, the veracity of claims made by the alleged victim(s) was not verified by the respective law enforcement agency beyond the probable cause stage. Future research examining this issue should explore the possibility of obtaining official court documents from trial proceedings involving only those found guilty of committing offenses at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches.

The third and final primary limitation of the present study is that the total sample size did not allow for the testing of all social disorganization measures that have been demonstrated in prior research as significant contributors when examining the relationship of social disorganization theory to sexual offending and offense characteristics. That is, measures that include, but are not limited to, *% of individuals 19 years old or younger*, *% of females with disabilities 18-65*, and proxies for alcohol use per Census tract could not be tested and/or controlled in the present study (see Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2009; Mustaine, Tewksbury, & Stengel, 2006; Mustaine et al., 2014a, 2014b; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2006, 2008, 2009). This is due to both the inadequate sample size for such analyses and overall type of data available.

Future research with larger sample sizes should explore the possibilities of including all measures identified in prior research as associated with certain sexual offending patterns/characteristics. Although there were limitations in the present study, this study does contribute to the dearth of research on sexual offenses that occur in and through religious institutions. Additionally, findings from the present study provide a strong foundation for future research conducted on offense, offender, victim, and location characteristics of sex offense that occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches.

Policy Implications

Despite the above limitations, there are two key policy implications of findings for the present study. The first primary policy implication of the present study is that it provides information to major Protestant Christian organizations (i.e., Southern Baptist Convention, United Methodist Church, The Church of God in Christ, National Baptist Convention, Lutheran Church Missouri-Synod, etc.) regarding the types of sex offenses that occur in Protestant Christian settings, common victim/offender/offense characteristics, and where such offenses take place. As such, major Protestant Christian denominational organizations can use this information to develop actual and model policies to help prevent, intervene, and respond to sex offenses that occur at individual member churches.

Moreover, findings from the present study are available for individual Protestant Christian churches that are not part of a major denominational organization in order to develop appropriate policies within their specific church. For example, churches can attempt to prevent *opportunistic*, *groomers*, and *serial offenders* by not allowing those

occupying any role within the church from hosting overnight youth-centric activities at an individual's home without additional guardianship present, as there is a delicate balance between enforcing such policies and encroaching on the necessary activities of a church.

The second primary policy implication is that findings from the present study can assist law enforcement agencies investigating alleged sex offenses that occur at or through activities provided by Protestant Christian churches. By knowing where offenders generally target their victims (e.g., *at the church*, in the *offender's home*, at *off-site church-sponsored activities*, etc.) or a specific location within the church (e.g., church office, basement, attic, etc.), then law enforcement can examine such locations for evidence. Moreover, by examining various offender, victim, and offense characteristics, law enforcement can determine which offender typology an offender most closely resembles. This may prove especially crucial when attempting to determine if there are other victims, either at the offender's current or prior church.

Conclusions

Though there is a dearth of research examining sex offenses that occur at or through activities at Protestant Christian churches, this examination of offense, offender, and victim characteristics revealed several important themes. First, sex offenses do, in fact, occur at Protestant Christian churches. Therefore, this is not a phenomenon exclusive to the Roman Catholic Church. Second, males who hold positions of power within the church - primarily *pastors* and *youth ministers* - are those who predominantly offend. Third, the vast majority of victims targeted for sexual abuse are female *adolescent church members* or *child church members*, while male *adolescent* and *child church members* make up a sizeable minority. The fourth and final theme found is that

social disorganization characteristics of the community immediately surrounding the church do play some role in the overall likelihood of various offense and offender characteristics being present; however, the role is not substantial.

Continued examination of this topic is crucial. With the millions of youth who are estimated to participate in Protestant Christian church-sponsored activities at a weekly or more basis throughout the U.S., in addition to thousands of males in power positions over these youth, then the potential remains for sexual victimization in Protestant Christian churches to continue. With the known effects of sexual victimization including, but not limited to, anxiety, depression, suicide, potential exposure to sexually transmitted diseases/infections, then continued examination of this phenomenon is imperative. This is especially the case since sexual victimization during childhood and/or adolescence can set someone on a path for continued physical and sexual victimization throughout their life-course. Without continued examination of the topic, then effective prevention, intervention, and investigation methods cannot be fully developed to thwart such instances of sexual victimization within these environments from occurring.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Institutional Corrections
- Community Re-entry
- Faith-Based Programming
- Sexual Deviance

EDUCATION

PH.D. UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Administration of Justice MAY 2015

Dissertation: *Sex Offenses at Protestant Christian Churches: A Typology and Examination Using Social Disorganization Theory*
Dr. Richard Tewksbury, Chair

M.S. UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Administration of Justice MAY 2012

Thesis: *Backgrounds and Motivations of Faith-Based Prison Organization Volunteers*, Dr. Richard Tewksbury, Chair
Graduate Dean's Citation Recipient

B.A. WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY, History, Sociology DECEMBER
2009

Summa Cum Laude
Minor in Criminology

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- Vito, G.F., Higgins, G.E., & Denney, A.S. (In Press). Transactional and transformational leadership: An examination of the Leadership Challenge Model. *International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*.
- Tewksbury, R., Connor, D., & Denney, A.S. (In Press). Disciplinary infractions behind bars: An exploration of importation and deprivation theories. *Criminal Justice Review*.
- Denney, A.S., Tewksbury, R., & Jones, R. (2014). Beyond basic needs: Social support and structure for successful offender reentry. *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice and Criminology*, 2(1), 39-67.
- Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2013). Motivations and the need for fulfillment among faith-based halfway-house volunteers. *Justice Policy Journal*.
http://www.cjck.org/uploads/cjck/documents/denney_et_al.pdf
- Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2013). Characteristics of successful personal ads in a BDSM on-line community. *Deviant Behavior*, 34(2), 153-168.
- Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2013). How to write a literature review. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 24(2), 218-234.
- Tewksbury, R., Higgins, G.E., & Denney, A.S. (2013). Validating a measure of work stress for correctional staff: A structural equation modeling approach. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 24(3), 338-352.
- Tewksbury, R., Higgins, G.E., & Denney, A.S. (2012). Measuring work stress among correctional staff: A Rasch measurement approach. *Journal of Applied Measurement*, 13(4), 394-402.

Book Chapter

- Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2014). Men who use the internet to engage in bareback sex (and quest for HIV). In E. Dretsch (Ed.), *Sexual Deviance Online*. Carolina Academic Press.

Encyclopedia Articles

- Denney, A.S. (forthcoming, 2015). Chaplains. *Encyclopedia of Corrections*. Boston: Wiley- Blackwell.
- Denney, A. S. (forthcoming 2014). Bondage and discipline. *Encyclopedia of Social Deviance*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Tewksbury, R., & Denney, A.S. (2013). Homophobic assault. *Encyclopedia of Street Crime in America*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Tewksbury, R., & Denney, A.S. (2013). Exposure, indecent. *Encyclopedia of Street Crime in America*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Book Reviews

Denney, A.S. (July, 2012). Review of *Homies and Hermanos: God and Gangs in Central America* by Robert Brennehan (2012). Available from http://clcjbooks.rutgers.edu/books/homies_and_hermanos.html

Denney, A.S. (Forthcoming). Review of *Religious Faith in Correctional Contexts* by Kent R. Kerley (2014). Available from <http://clcjbooks.rutgers.edu/book>

Manuscripts Under Review

Vito, G.F., Higgins, G.E., & Denney, A.S. (Revise and Resubmit). Using the Leadership Challenge Inventory to assess leadership abilities and performance of police managers. *Police Practice and Research*.

PRESENTATIONS

Vito, G.F., Higgins, G.E., & Denney, A.S. (2015, March). *Using the Student Leadership Challenge Inventory to assess the leadership abilities and performance of police managers*. Research findings presented at the annual Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Orlando, FL.

Denney, A.S. (2015, March). *Sex offenses at Protestant Christian churches: A typology of offenders, victims, and locations*. Research findings presented at the annual Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Orlando, FL.

Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2014, November). *Reasons for returning to prison: Sex offenders as technical violators*. Research findings presented at the annual American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Jones, H., Denney, A.S., Connor, D.P., & Schaefer, B. (2014, September). *Transitioning to and experiencing a Ph.D. criminology/criminal justice program: Perspectives from current students*. Roundtable presented at the annual Southern Criminal Justice Association, Clearwater, FL.

Denney, A.S., Tewksbury, R., Jones, R.S. (2014, February). *Beyond basic needs: Social support and structure for successful offender reentry*. Research findings presented at the annual Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Philadelphia, PA.

Connor, D., Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2013, November). *Disciplinary infractions behind bars: Exploring inmate demographics and prison experience*. Research findings presented at the annual American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Denney, A.S., Connor, D., & Vito, A. (2013, September). *Tips for First-Time Teachers in Criminology/Criminal Justice*. Roundtable chair presented at the annual Southern Criminal Justice Association, Virginia Beach, VA.

Denney, A.S. (2013, March). *Successful Tips for Transitioning from a Criminology/Criminal Justice Master's Program to a Ph.D. Program*. Roundtable chair presented at the annual Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Dallas, TX.

Denney, A.S. (2012, November). *Motivations and the need for fulfillment of faith-based halfway-house volunteers*. Research findings presented at the annual American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

Denney, A.S., & Andreescu, V. (2012, September). *Fear of violent victimization and its impact on Israeli quality of life*. Research findings presented at the annual Southern Criminal Justice Association, Atlantic Beach, FL.

Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2012, September). *Characteristics of successful personal ads in a BDSM online community*. Panel chair and research findings presented at the annual Southern Criminal Justice Association, Atlantic Beach, FL.

Denney, A.S., & Tewksbury, R. (2012, February). *Desired partner characteristics and self-presentation in an online BDSM community*. Research findings presented at the annual American Association of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Las Vegas, NV.

COURSES TAUGHT DESCRIPTIONS (Primary Instructor)

1.) Crime and Justice in the U.S. (JA 200)

Fall 2014 (2 sections), Summer 2014, Fall 2013 (2 sections), Spring 2013

Course Description: A basic survey course covering all agencies involved in the administration of criminal justice. Topics included are: modern concepts of law, crime, the judicial process, punishment, and rehabilitation; criminal justice, police, and corrections history and practice; organization of local, state and federal agencies; courts and criminal procedures; and comparative criminal justice.

2.) Organized Crime (JA 421)

Spring 2014

Course Description: Interdisciplinary exploration of major issues related to organized crime. Topics include historical aspects, theoretical perspectives and criminal activities commonly associated with organized crime efforts.

3.) Corrections in the U.S. (JA 202)

Spring 2015

Course Description: An introduction to the history, practices, and issues related to the correctional function in American criminal justice. Topics included are: history of prisons; inmate subcultures and institutions; correctional issues such as overcrowding, stress, sexual violence, and administrative problems. Both adult and juvenile corrections will be covered.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Graduate Teaching Assistantship Appointment 2012-2015
Department of Justice Administration
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, KY

Graduate Dean's Citation
SPRING 2012
School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, KY

Graduate Research Assistantship Appointment 2011-2012
Department of Justice Administration
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, KY

Strategic Plan Tuition Award FALL 2012/ SPRING 2013
School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies FALL 2013/ SPRING 2014
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, KY FALL 2014/ SPRING 2015

Faculty Favorite: An Outstanding Professor Nominated by Students 2013-2014
Delphi Center for Teaching and Learning

Red & Black Scholar Mentor SPRING 2014
University of Louisville Athletics Department
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, KY

SERVICE ACTIVITIES

SIGS Graduate Student Ambassador 2012-2015
School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, KY

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE REVIEWER

Journal of Criminal Justice Education 2012

Archives of Sexual Behavior 2013

Criminal Justice Policy Review 2013

Criminal Justice Studies 2013

Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology 2014