



Mulvihill, N., Richards, H. K., Yapp, E., & Birdsall, N. (2024). *Religious leaders and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. University of Bristol.

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

License (if available):
CC BY

[Link to publication record on the Bristol Research Portal](#)
PDF-document

University of Bristol – Bristol Research Portal

General rights

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the reference above. Full terms of use are available:
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-policy/pure/user-guides/brp-terms/>



Powerful Perpetrators

Religious leaders and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature

Dr Natasha Mulvihill

Dr Hannah Richards

Dr Emma Yapp

Dr Nathan Birdsall



UK Research
and Innovation



University of
BRISTOL

Citation for this briefing:

Mulvihill, N., Richards, H., Yapp, E., and Birdsall, N. 2024. *Religious leaders and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.

Powerful Perpetrators is a five-year project (2023-2028) looking at sexual misconduct and abuse perpetrated by professionals, and the regulatory and administrative justice mechanisms used to investigate and sanction their behaviour. The project team are Dr Natasha Mulvihill (principal investigator); Dr Nathan Birdsall; Dr Emma Yapp and Dr Hannah K. Richards. More information is available at: www.powerfulperpetrators.org

Stage 1 of the project (May 2024 to October 2024) involved searching and synthesising the available literature on professional sexual misconduct. This work is collated in the following open access briefings:

- Yapp, E., Birdsall, N., Mulvihill, N., and Richards, H. 2024. *Doctors and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.
- Richards, H., Yapp, E., Mulvihill, N., and Birdsall, N. 2024. *The legal profession and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.
- Richards, H., Yapp, E., Mulvihill, N., and Birdsall, N. 2024. *The military and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.
- Birdsall, N., Mulvihill, N., Richards, H., and Yapp, E. 2024. *The police and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.
- Mulvihill, N., Richards, H., Yapp, E., and Birdsall, N. 2024. *Politicians and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.
- Mulvihill, N., Richards, H., Yapp, E., and Birdsall, N. 2024. *Religious leaders and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.
- Richards, H., Yapp, E., Birdsall, N., and Mulvihill, N., 2024. *Professionals (general) and sexual misconduct: A summary of the literature*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol.

The briefings and our 'literature summary interactive tool' to compare our findings for each profession is available on our website: www.powerfulperpetrators.org/publications



What is the nature and extent of sexual misconduct and abuse by religious leaders in the UK and internationally?

The academic literature on sexual misconduct by religious leaders is dominated by Christian clergy abuse of children (1). Minimal work refers to sexual misconduct against adults (2,3) or to leaders of established faiths outside Christianity (4) (excluding cults (5) and new spiritual movements (6)). The invocation of spiritual authority to abuse has a distinct and harmful impact for victims (7–10). The extent of religious leader abuse has been measured using population surveys (11,12); religious leader self-report surveys (13–15); treatment programme data (16,17), disciplinary data (18); or local records (15).

What administrative justice mechanisms do religious groups currently have in place to respond to sexual misconduct and abuse by their members?

The weight of literature here relates to the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. Anglican and Catholic clergy are accountable under their respective bodies of canon law, administered by separate legal systems (19). A range of actions, including no further action, deferral, penance, rebukes/censures, injunction/orders, prohibitions/deprivations are offered (20,21). Religious legal processes do not preclude or substitute secular criminal or civil proceedings (22–25). In the Anglican Church, allegations of misconduct are managed under the 2003 Clergy Discipline Measure (CDM) (21,26–28). The most serious sanction is ‘defrocking’, a lifetime ban on a priest being able to officiate (CDM section 24(1)(a) (28)), although the status of priest is retained. The Bishop has significant decision-making power within the CDM process in how allegations are triaged. Sexual misconduct allegations relating to adults require the President of Tribunals to make an assessment of the victim’s ‘vulnerability’ (21). In the Roman Catholic Church, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) exercises disciplinary responsibility and oversight for canonical crimes and related moral issues. These are managed through a penal process (29). The ultimate sanction for a Catholic priest is laicisation, which means losing all rights of the clerical state but remaining ordained. Guidance issued in 2021 by the Catholic Church in England and Wales makes specific reference to adult victims, and not just adults deemed ‘at risk’ (30).

How do (a) perpetrator characteristics; (b) victim characteristics; and (c) the context of sexual misconduct and abuse, compare across religious leaders?

Sexual offenders who are religious leaders could have similar risk profiles to offenders in the general population (31,32). Pre-seminary sexual or dating experiences may indicate perpetration risk (16,33). Offenders are likely to have served at an above average number of places of worship (14); display particular character traits (14–16); and are commonly termed ‘situational’ offenders (15,34). Work on female perpetrators is required (35). Identified victims in the Catholic Church were disproportionately male and adolescent, reflecting in part the opportunity structures presented by female separation and exclusion. However, recent research recognises victimisation of adult women and girls (7,36–40), including sexual relations leading to pregnancy (41), and within the confessional space (42,43). At all ages, and across faiths, victims describe confusion and a struggle to identify or report abuse (44) since perpetrators commonly inspire reverential fear (45,46), groom their victims over time (32,47,48), and enjoy trust and respect from the family and wider faith community (49).



How do social relations of power operate and intersect with context and opportunity at the (a) individual (b) organisational-professional and (c) socio-cultural level, to account for the perpetration of sexual misconduct and abuse by religious leaders?

Research on religious leader misconduct has often focused on individual characteristics and psychological interventions (17). More analysis is needed at the systemic and institutional level (50–55). Religious leaders are unique in their ability to leverage divine authority and compound sexual misconduct with spiritual abuse (1,56). ‘Clericalism’ describes both the exercise of power by religious leaders, and the instrumental deferral to - and deepening of - that power, by lay members operating in the clerical orbit. Clericalism relates to hierarchicalism (57) and lack of democratic accountability (58). The commission and/or concealment of sexual misconduct have been linked to purity cultures (59), vows of celibacy (60), belief in complementarianism (61) or the fetishisation of suffering or sacrifice (6). Secrecy and minimisation can be enhanced where the faith community is isolated or marginalised, and speaking out risks undermining the group reputation (62–65). The requirement to comply with secular regulations does not necessarily reflect a change in community beliefs (62). Focus on abuse of adult women has increased since #MeToo, #ChurchToo (66,67) and #UsToo (68), but there is a tendency to position adult sexual relationships foremost as ‘affairs’ (2) rather than abuse of power (69). Recent work suggests that religious organisations may need to adopt a more radical understanding of vulnerability, which is not prescribed by legal characteristics, but is a common human condition (53,70).

How effectively do current administrative justice mechanisms (a) sanction past sexual misconduct and abuse and (b) seek to deter future sexual misconduct and abuse?

The volume of sexual misconduct cases reaching formal proceedings in the Anglican and Catholic churches each year is low. In relation to the Anglican Clergy Discipline Measure, some critical commentary focuses on the role of Bishops in the disciplinary process and issues of procedural justice (71–75). In the Catholic Church, the entire tribunal process is subject to secrecy (76), including between parties to the tribunal (77). Victims have often been asked to sign non-disclosure agreements (3). The bishop places papers either relating to cases not actioned or not required for the penal process in the secret archive of the curia (Canon 1719 (20)). No public transparency is required - except in cases involving credible allegations of child sexual abuse - although there are recent efforts at change (58). The position of adult victim-survivors remains unclear (3). The use of civil law (22,78), including mass tort (79), and appeals to other forms of justice (80–85), suggest that victim-survivors believe prevailing tribunal structures are neither sufficiently effective nor deter (79,86,87). Preventive efforts have focused on selection (34,88,89) and training (90) for the religious life, but others argue that ongoing formation post-ordination is required (91), as well as action within faith communities (92–96). There is little evidence of monitoring recidivism, despite evidence that high repeat offenders (31) account for a disproportionate share of abuse overall (97).



References

1. Farrell DP. Sexual abuse perpetrated by Roman Catholic priests and religious. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*. 2009 Jan;12(1):39–53.
2. De Weger SE. Unchaste Celibates: Clergy Sexual Misconduct against Adults—Expressions, Definitions, and Harms. *Religions*. 2022 Apr 24;13(5):393.
3. De Weger SE. Insincerity, Secrecy, Neutralisation, Harm: Reporting Clergy Sexual Misconduct against Adults—A Survivor-Based Analysis. *Religions*. 2022 Mar 31;13(4):309.
4. Rashid F. Why the Focus of Clerical Child Sexual Abuse has Largely Remained on the Catholic Church amongst Other Non-Catholic Christian Denominations and Religions. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*. 2019;28(5):564–85.
5. Dayan H. Sexual abuse and charismatic cults. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*. 2018 Jul;41:25–31.
6. Keul H. Vulnerability, Vulnerance and Resilience—Spiritual Abuse and Sexual Violence in New Spiritual Communities. *Religions*. 2022 May 8;13(5):425.
7. Demasure K. The Loss of the Self—Spiritual Abuse of Adults in the Context of the Catholic Church. *Religions*. 2022 Jun 2;13(6):509.
8. Heggen CH. Sexual Abuse by Church Leaders and Healing for Victims. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*.
9. Mescher M. Clergy Sexual Abuse as Moral Injury: Confronting a Wounded and Wounding Church. *Journal of Moral Theology*. 2023;3.
10. Sperry L. Psychotherapy alone is insufficient: Treating clergy sexual abuse and sacred moral injury. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice*. 2023 Dec;10(4):350–7.
11. Chaves M, Garland D. The Prevalence of Clergy Sexual Advances Toward Adults in Their Congregations. *Scientific Study of Religion*. 2009 Dec;48(4):817–24.
12. Witt A, Brähler E, Plener PL, Fegert JM. Different Contexts of Sexual Abuse With a Special Focus on the Context of Christian Institutions: Results From the General Population in Germany. *J Interpers Violence*. 2022 Mar;37(5–6):NP3130–51.
13. Calkins C, Fargo J, Jeglic E, Terry K. Blessed be the Children: A Case–Control Study of Sexual Abusers in the Catholic Church. *Behavioral Sci & The Law*. 2015 Aug;33(4):580–94.
14. Francis PC, Baldo TD. Narcissistic Measures of Lutheran Clergy Who Self-Reported Committing Sexual Misconduct. *Pastoral Psychology*. 1998;47(2):81–96.
15. John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Catholic Church. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. The nature and scope of sexual abuse of minors by Catholic priests and deacons in the United States, 1950-2002 : a research study conducted by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the City University of New York : for the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. [Internet]. Washington, D.C.: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops; 2004 p. 291. Available from: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2019667266/>
16. Kappler S, Talitman E, Cavaliere C, DeLonghi G, Sy M, Simpson M, et al. Underdeveloped affective maturity and unintegrated psychosexual identity as contributors to clergy abuse and boundary violations: Clinical observations from residential treatment of Roman Catholic clergy at the Southdown Institute. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice*. 2020 Dec;7(4):302–9.



17. Warberg BW, Abel GG, Osborn C. Cognitive-behavioral treatment for professional sexual misconduct among the clergy. *Pastoral Psychol.* 1996 Sep;45(1):49–63.
18. Clergy Discipline Commission. Clergy Discipline Commission Annual Report [Internet]. London: General Synod; 2024 p. 10. Available from: <https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2024-06/gs-misc-1386-clergy-discipline-commission-annual-report-2024.pdf>
19. Neustein A. A Single-Case Study of Rabbinic Sexual Abuse in the Orthodox Jewish Community. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse.* 2008;17(3–4):270–89.
20. Roman Catholic Church. Code of Canon Law [Internet]. Available from: https://www.vatican.va/archive/cod-iuris-canonici/cic_index_en.html
21. The Church of England. Clergy Discipline [Internet]. The Church of England; (no date). Available from: <https://www.churchofengland.org/about/leadership-and-governance/legal-resources/clergy-discipline>
22. O'Reilly JT, Chalmers MSP. The clergy sex abuse crisis and the legal responses. New York: Oxford University Press; 2014.
23. Tarnacka A. Sexual abuse of minors by clergyman - selected criminal aspects in the canonical and Polish legal order. *JoMS.* 2022 Jul 31;48(1):437–60.
24. Graff G. Separation of Church and State: Dina De Malkhuta Dina in Jewish Law, 1750-1848. Alabama: University of Alabama Press; 2012.
25. Voll JO, Sonn T, DeLong-Bas NJ, editors. Islamic studies - Oxford bibliographies. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2009.
26. Iles A. The Clergy Discipline Measure 2003: A Canter Through its Provisions and Procedures. *Eccles law j.* 2007 Jan;9(1):10–23.
27. Iles A. The Clergy Discipline Measure 2003: A Progress Report. *Eccles law j.* 2014 Jan;16(1):3–17.
28. Church of England. Clergy Discipline Measure 2003 [Internet]. Available from: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukcm/2003>
29. Catholic Safeguarding Standards Agency. Information Sheet - Disciplinary Penal Process for Clerics [Internet]. Catholic Safeguarding Standards Agency; 2022. Available from: <https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fcatcholicsafeguarding.org.uk%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2023%2F05%2FInformation-Sheet-Disciplinary-Penal-Process-for-Clerics-10.05.22.docx>
30. Catholic Safeguarding Standards Agency. Management of Allegations and Concerns: Policy [Internet]. Catholic Safeguarding Standards Agency; 2021. Available from: <https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fcatcholicsafeguarding.org.uk%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2023%2F05%2FPolicy-Management-of-Allegations.docx>
31. Perillo AD, Mercado CC, Terry KJ. Repeat Offending, Victim Gender, and Extent of Victim Relationship in Catholic Church Sexual Abusers: Implications for Risk Assessment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior.* 2008 May;35(5):600–14.
32. Winters GM, Jeglic EL, Terry KJ. The Prevalence of Sexual Grooming Behaviors in a Large Sample of Clergy. *Sex Abuse.* 2022 Dec;34(8):923–47.
33. Fischer J. I thought I was being blessed. *J Analytical Psychology.* 2022 Feb;67(1):119–29.
34. Isacco A, Ingram PB, Finn K, Dimoff JD, Gebler B. A novel approach to examining personality risk factors of sexual offending in clergy applicants. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice.* 2020 Dec;7(4):246–61.



35. Haker H. Censorship, Silence, and the Voices of Catholic Feminist Theologians. *jfs*. 2023 Sep;39(2):155–70.
36. Khosa-Nkatini HP, Mofokeng JT. The paradox of safety between pastors and female congregants. *Khazanah Theologia*. 2022 Nov 3;4(3):159–72.
37. Xhinti SL, Khosa-Nkatini HP. Black women’s bodies as sacrificial lambs at the altar. *HTS Theologies Studies / Theological Studies*. 2023 Apr 13;79(1).
38. Pooler DK, Barros-Lane L. A National Study of Adult Women Sexually Abused by Clergy: Insights for Social Workers. *Social Work*. 2022 Mar 14;67(2):123–33.
39. Quarshie ENB, Davies PA, Acharibasam JW, Owiredua C, Atorkey P, Quarshie DA, et al. Clergy-Perpetrated Sexual Abuse in Ghana: A Media Content Analysis of Survivors, Offenders, and Offence Characteristics. *J Relig Health*. 2022 Aug;61(4):3028–54.
40. Flynn KA. *The sexual abuse of women by members of the clergy*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co.; 2003.
41. Reisinger D. Reproductive Abuse in the Context of Clergy Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church. *Religions*. 2022 Feb 24;13(3):198.
42. Desmazières A. Le crime de sollicitation réinventé: Le Saint-Office face aux crimes sexuels des clercs (1916-1939). *assr*. 2021 Apr 22;(193):177–98.
43. Werner G. Asymmetry in Confession as a Cause of Sexual and Spiritual Violence—Dogma Historical Resources for Making Changes to Confession in Terms of Clerical and Sacramental Theology. *Religions*. 2022 Mar 31;13(4):307.
44. Chowdhury R. “I thought in order to get to God I had to win their approval”: a qualitative analysis of the experiences of Muslim victims abused by religious authority figures. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*. 2022;28(2):196–217.
45. Benkert M, Doyle TP. Clericalism, Religious Duress and its Psychological Impact on Victims of Clergy Sexual Abuse. *Pastoral Psychol*. 2009 Jun;58(3):223–38.
46. Spraitz JD, Bowen KN. Religious Duress and Reverential Fear in Clergy Sexual Abuse Cases: Examination of Victims’ Reports and Recommendations for Change. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*. 2021 Jun;32(5):484–500.
47. Han HH. The body as the space in which power operates: Sexual violence of clergymen in the Korean church. *Review & Expositor*. 2020 May;117(2):222–34.
48. Krinkin Y, Dekel R. Sexual grooming processes carried out by offending rabbis toward religious men and their families. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 2023 Dec;146:106491.
49. Firestone P, Moulden HM, Wexler AF. Clerics Who Commit Sexual Offenses: Offender, Offense, and Victim Characteristics. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*. 2009 Jul 22;18(4):442–54.
50. Damberg W. Missbrauch: Die Geschichte eines internationalen Skandals. In: Aschmann B, editor. *Katholische Dunkelräume*. Brill | Schöningh; 2021. p. 3–22.
51. Becka M, Huang B, Montaldi G. *Abuses in the church*. London: SCM Press; 2023.
52. Clites BJ. In Search of a Historiography of Clergy Sexual Abuse. *US Catholic Historian*. 2023 Mar;41(2):79–102.
53. Fernández S. Victims Are Not Guilty! Spiritual Abuse and Ecclesiastical Responsibility. *Religions*. 2022 May 9;13(5):427.
54. Jeanrond W. Abuse, Cover-Up, and the Need for a Reform of Church and Theology. *Journal of Moral Theology*. 2023 Mar 16;3(CTWEC Book Series, No. 3).
55. Wirth M, Noth I, Schroer S, editors. *Sexualisierte Gewalt in kirchlichen Kontexten | Sexual Violence in the Context of the Church: Neue interdisziplinäre Perspektiven | New Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. De Gruyter; 2021.



56. Krinkin Y, Enosh G, Dekel R. The religious implications of being sexually abused by a rabbi: Qualitative research among Israeli religious men. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 2022 Dec;134:105901.
57. Keenan JF. Hierarchicalism. *Theological Studies*. 2022 Mar;83(1):84–108.
58. O'Brien PM. Transparency as a means to rebuild trust within the Church: a case study in how Catholic dioceses and eparchies in the United States have responded to the clergy sex abuse crisis. *Church, Communication and Culture*. 2020 Sep 1;5(3):456–83.
59. Meyers D, Barnett MS. *Hating Girls: An Intersectional Survey of Misogyny* [Internet]. BRILL; 2021 [cited 2024 Sep 24]. Available from: <https://brill.com/view/title/60315>
60. Sipe AWR. *Celibacy in crisis: a secret world revisited*. New York: Brunner-Routledge; 2003. 351 p.
61. Hanson Woodruff K. A calculated attack on clergy abuse: challenging patriarchal power at Willow Creek Community church. *Theology & Sexuality*. 2024 Jan 2;30(1):32–49.
62. Feit A. Modesty From Cats, Sexual Morality From Doves: Orthodox Jewry's Silence in the Face of Sexual Misconduct. *International Journal of Psychoanalytic Self Psychology*. 2013 Apr;8(2):154–72.
63. Chipumuro TT. Pastor, Mentor, or Father? The Contested Intimacies of the Eddie Long Sex Abuse Scandal. *Journal of Africana Religions*. 2014 Jan 1;2(1):1–30.
64. Oliveira G, Segel M, Barbieri O, Alex V. Exploring elasticity and shielding in the Catholic Church: priests' relationships with Latino worshippers. *Religion, State and Society*. 2022 Jan 1;50(1):96–117.
65. Reynolds SB. "I Will Surely Have You Deported:" Undocumenting Clergy Sexual Abuse in an Immigrant Community. *Religion and Am Culture*. 2023;33(1):1–34.
66. Bogen KW, Haikalis M, Meza Lopez RJ, López G, Orchowski LM. It Happens in #ChurchToo: Twitter Discourse Regarding Sexual Victimization Within Religious Communities. *J Interpers Violence*. 2022 Feb;37(3–4):1338–66.
67. Colwell K, Johnson S. #MeToo and #ChurchToo: Putting the movements in context. *Review & Expositor*. 2020 May;117(2):183–98.
68. McGinity KR. *#UsToo: How Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Women Changed Our Communities*. 1st ed. London: Routledge; 2023.
69. Kleiven T. Sexual Misconduct in the Church: What Is it about? *Pastoral Psychol*. 2018 Jun;67(3):277–89.
70. Leimgruber U. Vulnerance of Pastoral Care. *Religions*. 2022 Mar 17;13(3):256.
71. Baudon R. Reforming the Clergy Discipline Measure 2003 in Light of Parties' Right to a Fair Trial. *Eccles law j*. 2020 Sep;22(3):328–42.
72. Bursell R. Turbulent Priests: Clerical Misconduct Under the Clergy Discipline Measure 2003. *Eccles law j*. 2007 Sep;9(3):250–63.
73. Bursell R. More Turbulence? Clerical Misconduct under the Clergy Discipline Measure 2003. *Eccles law j*. 2009 May;11(2):154–68.
74. Consorti P. La responsabilità della gerarchia ecclesiastica nel caso degli abusi sessuali commessi dai chierici, fra diritto canonico e diritti statuali. 2013;(17).
75. Horsman S, Nash A, Wright M, Barley L, Senior C. In the shadow of the Clergy Discipline Measure (CDM): clergy experiences of 'informal' and safeguarding complaints. *Theology*. 2021 May;124(3):200–7.
76. Cafardi NP. Discovering the Secret Archives: Evidentiary Privileges for Church Records. *Journal of Law and Religion*. 1993;10(1):95.



77. Matenaer PM. “But Instead Expose Them”: Public Access to Criminal Trials in U.S. Law and Canon Law. *The Jurist*. 2022;78(1):75–106.
78. Hornbeck P. Respondeat Superior Vicarious Liability for Clergy Sexual Abuse: Four Approaches. *Buffalo Law Review*. 68.
79. Balboni JM. *Clergy Sexual Abuse Litigation: Survivors Seeking Justice*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2011.
80. Jackson-Meyer K. A Clergy Abuse Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Journal of Moral Theology*. 2023;230–46.
81. Keast-O’Donovan K. Convicting the clergy: Seeking justice for residential school victims through crimes against humanity prosecutions. *Manitoba Law Journal*. 2022;45(4):42–90.
82. Markowitz L, Hedley M, Puchner L. Clergy Sexual Misconduct and Competitive Sensegiving Frames: Loyalist, Rebel, Rationalist and Processor. *Sociological Focus*. 2021 Jul 3;54(3):186–200.
83. Niebauer A. *The Diocese’s Darkest Chapter: Cultural Trauma and the Making of the Catholic Abuse Crisis in America*. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland; 2023.
84. Noll DE, Harvey L. Restorative Mediation: The Application of Restorative Justice Practice and Philosophy to Clergy Sexual Abuse Cases. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*. 2008 Oct 2;17(3–4):377–96.
85. Thomas EK, Sutton GW. Religious Leadership Failure: Forgiveness, Apology, and Restitution. *Journal of Spirituality in Mental Health*. 2008 Nov;10(4):308–27.
86. Balboni JM, Bishop DM. Transformative justice: survivor perspectives on clergy sexual abuse litigation. *Contemporary Justice Review*. 2010 Jun;13(2):133–54.
87. Calitz K. The liability of churches for the historical sexual assault of children by priests. *PER*. 2014 Nov 14;17(6):2452–86.
88. Isacco A, Finn K, Tirabassi D, Meade KA, Plante TG. An examination of the psychological health of applicants to the Catholic priesthood and diaconate. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice*. 2020 Dec;7(4):230–45.
89. McGlone G, Sperry L. Psychological evaluation of Catholic seminary candidates: Strengths, shortcomings, and an innovative plan. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice*. 2020 Dec;7(4):262–77.
90. Ashby Jr. HU, Hepokoski C. “Can We Talk?”: Boundary Crossing and Sexual Misconduct in Seminary Teaching. *Teaching Theology & Religion*. 2002 Apr;5(2):80–9.
91. Beste J. Envisioning a Just Response to the Catholic Clergy Sexual Abuse Crisis. *Theological Studies*. 2021 Mar;82(1):29–54.
92. Melesky Dante C, Levand MA, Ross K. Power Literacy in Abuse Prevention Education: Lessons from the Field in the Catholic Safeguarding Response. *Journal of Moral Theology*. 2024 Jan 6;13(1).
93. Outland R, Dobmeier R, Mason A, Partrick J, Williams D, Mogent K. Playing with Fire : Meanings and Perceptions of Clergy Sexual Abuse. *Counseling and Values*. 68(235–264).
94. Renzetti C, Yocum S. *Clergy Sexual Abuse : Social Science Perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press; 2013.
95. Russell DH, Stewart J, Higgins DJ. Safeguarding in Church: Children and Young People’s Perceptions of Safety in Religious and Other Faith-Based Settings. *J Interpers Violence*. 2023 Feb;38(3–4):4459–85.
96. Terry KJ. Understanding the Sexual Abuse Crisis in the Catholic Church: Challenges with Prevention Policies. *Victims & Offenders*. 2008 Jan 15;3(1):31–44.



97. Mercado CC, Tallon JA, Terry KJ. Persistent Sexual Abusers in the Catholic Church: An Examination of Characteristics and Offense Patterns. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*. 2008 May;35(5):629–42.

