I write to express my gratitude to all of those who participated in this remarkable report.

I come to the presidency of Fordham after a long career advocating for the survivors of sexual abuse. Like the authors of this work, I have learned more than I can describe from those survivors and from the searing pain of their experiences. And I have worked and struggled to understand the causes of violence and abuse, of what makes a person capable of such cruelty.

But in all of my years of legal and political advocacy, what has frustrated me the most is the denial—the ways that too many turn away, refuse to help, or choose not to believe out of a very human desire not to see what they cannot imagine. They leave survivors with excruciating choices about whether to speak out, knowing they might not be believed by the rest of us, worried they might be punished for telling the truth.

We have learned with horror the consequences of that denial. I write with the depressing news of how common that denial remains across society. Too many are still determined to disbelieve reality—that child sexual abuse remains rampant in many institutions with trust over children—from churches to schools to youth groups to families.

I spent years representing the survivors of domestic violence in family court and discovered the frequent overlap between domestic violence and child sexual abuse (from batterers who felt they could do what they liked with every member of the family.) I also experienced the hostility of a legal system determined to disbelieve something so unpleasant. As I heard one family court judge announce, “litigants know not to bring claims like that into my court.”

We have a deep-seated desire to reject unimaginable horror, especially when people we have once trusted are accused. But the result is the failure to protect our children.

Now is not the time to turn away, nor to think that abuse occurs only where it has finally been uncovered. We have a moral obligation to pay attention to the lessons our Church learned in such a deservedly painful way. We have to apply those lessons and stop abuse everywhere, across institutions, and across society.

I ask you to read this report not just for the sake of accountability and justice, but also with the humility necessary to learn crucial lessons. Each of us has failed a moral lesson at some point; each of us has heard the cock crow three times. It is time to wake up and be vigilant.

For all of those who researched and wrote these pages, for all of those brave enough to speak up and push for better, we owe you our eternal gratitude. But we can never properly describe in words the gratitude we owe to the survivors with the courage to speak out.

Tania Tetlow
President, Fordham University
This report introduces and summarizes the aims, participants, projects, and outcomes of Fordham’s Taking Responsibility Initiative, a multi-year, multi-disciplinary, and multi-institutional effort during which collaborating scholars and practitioners at ten Jesuit colleges and universities across the country conducted original research focused on better understanding and addressing the causes and legacies of clergy and church-related sexual abuse.

Rather than trying to provide a unified theory for addressing this complex topic, we invited scholars from diverse fields of research at U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities to pursue topics meriting greater attention. Thanks to our research partners’ work:

- The lives and stories of survivors of abuse remained at the center of these investigations.
- Individual perpetrators and patterns of corporate malfeasance were investigated in terms of institutional coverups, whistleblower practices, and new legal strategies of criminal accountability.
- Studies of sexual trauma and moral injury were explored as resources for individual survivors and for members of their interconnecting circles of relationships who also suffer from the consequences of abuse.
- Long-overlooked patterns of sexual abuse in Black, Latinx, Indigenous, and poor communities, suffering from compound infractions of colonialism and injustice, received heightened attention.
- New areas of research have also included not only studies of the abused and abuser, but also topics such as priests in formation, restorative justice efforts in communities, and the effects of the abuse crisis on “secondary victims” ranging from family members to Catholics as a whole.

Several decades of research and advocacy, to which the Taking Responsibility Initiative has aspired to contribute, have yielded a good working understanding of the ways that power in the church, as in other areas, operates to allow the powerful to act often with complete impunity, leaving their victims to suffer without much recourse and to bear much of the weight of advocacy. But for all of us engaged in the Initiative, it is crystal clear that the abuse scandal is in no way “over” or “old news.” On the contrary, we anticipate that the topic will continue to unfold in new directions: for example, we see the abuse of adults (especially women, but also male students, seminarians, and others) as a major emerging area in the study of clergy sexual abuse.

Finally, while we are gratified at ongoing efforts to break down patterns of clericalism, we remain concerned that after many decades of progress in the cooperation of the laity and the clergy on these sensitive matters, transparency and collaboration on colleges and universities between survivors, faculty and researchers, administrators and boards of trustees, as well as with Jesuit superiors, remains, at best, limited. We hope that the conversations we have initiated through this project will be able to contribute to the necessary work of breaking down these barriers.

Bradford E. Hinze
Karl Rahner, SJ, Professor of Theology
Fordham University
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Acknowledgments
Frederic Shrady, “Peter the Fisherman,” 1965, Fordham University-Lincoln Center Campus
THE PAST FOUR DECADES have witnessed horrifying revelations concerning sexual abuse within the Roman Catholic Church. The long-lasting harm and suffering inflicted on vulnerable victim-survivors, the evil and scandal perpetrated by abusers, and the sorry record of silence, denial, or cover-up on the parts of church leaders have precipitated a crisis of faith, trust, and moral and spiritual credibility.

LIKE OTHER RELIGIOUS ORDERS around the world, the Society of Jesus in the United States has been called to account for its own part in this scandalous history. Since December 2018, all of the U.S. Jesuit provinces have publicly disclosed the names of members and former members credibly accused of sexual abuse of minors, and many Jesuit high schools, colleges, and universities have responded by undertaking self-reflection and self-criticism concerning their own histories.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY’S TAKING RESPONSIBILITY INITIATIVE has aimed to respond to this historical moment, yoking rigorous study to practical change. Its overall aim during the period from June 2020-December 2022 was to fund research both at Fordham and at other Jesuit institutions that would explore the relationship between the structures of the Roman Catholic Church (including though not limited to the structures of Jesuit institutions) and the phenomena of clergy sexual abuse and its systematic concealment. We were interested in learning more about the structural, cultural, and other features of Catholic institutions that, in the past, facilitated both abuse and concealment. We wished to gain insight that would enable us to recommend methods, including changes in culture and policy, that Jesuit educational institutions may use to repair the harms caused by sexual abuse and its concealment, as well as to move into the future as leaders in ensuring the protection and well-being of children and vulnerable adults.

Our key goals included the following:
1. support for rigorous, focused investigations into aspects of clerical sexual abuse as they have manifested at Jesuit institutions;
2. the production of resources aimed at assisting Jesuit administrators, faculty, staff, students, and others to examine the causes, history, and consequences of sexual abuse, as well as ethical considerations about our responsibility in the present day;
3. the facilitation of ongoing conversation for researchers at US Jesuit institutions, including through regular online and offline meetings for consultation and study and a major conference in Spring 2022; and
4. the development of a network of Jesuit educational institutions through which this work can continue.

THIS REPORT, along with other resources available on our website, responds to these goals by presenting summaries of the work performed by our research teams, as well as the project’s overall key findings. This document also includes several short resources that we hope will be helpful to administrators at Jesuit institutions as they seek reforms; to those who wish to conduct further research into clergy sexual abuse; and to those who hope to learn and teach more about the causes and consequences of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church as part of an overall project of “taking responsibility.”

While we have organized reports alphabetically by university, if you wish to examine them thematically, here are some suggestions:
- **On Jesuits and Jesuit Education**: Creighton, Fordham (Colt Anderson, John Fortunato, Patrick Hornbeck, John Seitz), Loyola Chicago, Santa Clara
- **On Education**: Georgetown, Marquette, Santa Clara
- **On Institutional Reform**: Fordham (Miguel Alzola and Oyku Arkan, Colt Anderson, John Fortunato), Georgetown, Santa Clara
- **On Moral Injury and Spiritual Struggle**: Fordham (Lisa Cataldo), Loyola Maryland, Marquette, Xavier
- **On Race and Colonialism**: Fordham (Bryan Massingale), Gonzaga, Loyola Maryland
- **On Survivors and Survivor Stories**: Georgetown, Rockhurst, Xavier
Key Findings & Ongoing Agendas
While a separate document later in this report offers recommendations that are aimed at administrators, faculty, trustees, provincial officials, and others in positions of responsibility at Jesuit institutions, here we offer some of the key findings of our research teams, both individually and collectively, with suggestions for how Jesuit institutions in particular might proceed.

1. Practices of Safeguarding and Historical Memory Work Are Complementary

WE SEE A DIVIDE EMERGING in research and practice between those focused primarily on “safeguarding” and those focused on what we are calling “historical memory work.” Safeguarding is the vital work focused on putting best practices in place to prevent present and future abuse. Historical memory work, on the other hand, continues to produce new research on what happened in the past, in many cases performing a very close analysis of instances of abuse. This research is not impractical even if, in many cases, the abusers in question are elderly or dead, new policies have been put into place over the last two decades, and/or many are convinced that it is time to “move forward.” Nor is it redundant, telling us things we already know. It is, rather, a way of supporting survivors in the present, and of understanding how particular communities’ experiences with abuse have shaped them. We think it is critical, going forward, for these approaches to be complementary. Safeguarding work at any given institution should be paired with a repository of case studies. We should promote the memorializing of the history of Jesuit abuse and all forms of sexual abuse on campuses where the deepest commitments of these educational institutions have been scandalously violated. How can we keep these memories alive liturgically and in our living institutional memory, as an impetus to our ongoing commitments? How can our institutions be accountable in the present for what they have done in the past to dismiss allegations or cover up scandal? Should it include financial reparation to victims (and if so in what form), curricular commitments, liturgical performance, or a mix?

2. Contexts of race and colonialism are critical

VERY LITTLE RESEARCH has been dedicated to clergy sexual abuse perpetrated against persons of color and indigenous populations, including Black, Latin American, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Native American populations. Yet what does exist, including several studies sponsored by Taking Responsibility, indicates that unsurprisingly the colonial context of missionary work, the racial dynamics of the post-1492 era, and the power imbalances created by migration are all critical frames for understanding clerical sexual abuse in modern North America. Jesuit institutions are beginning to study their history with regards to, for example, Native American boarding schools, colonial missions, and African enslavement; these investigations, and the commitments resulting from them, should be seen as overlapping the sexual abuse scandals. This is often because they literally overlap, with the conditions of enslavement or of missions opening many opportunities for sexual abuse by Jesuits and their employees, but it is also because the dynamics of these investigations and Jesuit responses to them have notable similarities. We urge a basic commitment to profound honesty in these investigations, candor in following through on associated commitments, and resistance to the temptation to reject the need for reparative work or for continual improvement regarding both racism and sexual abuse.

3. Lay and Jesuit collaboration is essential

LAY MEMBERS OF THE EXTENDED JESUIT COMMUNITY are often strongly committed to the Jesuit identity and mission of these institutions of higher learning; as such they should be invited to participate with the Jesuit community, administrators, and boards of trustees as collaborators in discernment. While Jesuits and their extended communities – including many with a deep attachment to the Jesuit mission – have learned to work together over the years since control of institutions began passing more into lay hands, the management of and disclosure around sexual abuse is an area where more collaboration is not only possible
but necessary. Jesuit provincials, university, and high school administrators can and should practice transparency with regards to disclosure of old records and invite collaboration with those who want to study them, as discussed in more detail in our recommendations.

4. Jesuit formation programs are critical to addressing clergy abuse

JESUIT FORMATION PROCESSES over the last decades have made great strides in developing programming to both address sexuality more generally and towards preventing sexual abuse in particular. However, we suggest that even greater attention be devoted to “anti-clericalism” – that is, stressing that those in formation must see themselves as equal to others, and as responsible for pain their sexual actions might cause to others (whether men, women, or children).

DURING THE FORMATION PROCESS, Jesuits interact closely with lay peers in graduate school or minstry assignments; with each other in intense relationships forged through living and working together; and with more senior Jesuits responsible for them. All three situations have great promise for forming healthy and life-giving relationships. Yet each of them also carries some risk of peril, as those in formation are in a vulnerable position vis-a-vis supervisors and perhaps some of their peers, as well as in a position to do harm to both Jesuit and lay peers. No program will perfectly address all possible situations, so we urge those responsible to continue to be alert to the structural vulnerability of those in formation, as well as to preventing harm to others.

5. Exploring and addressing trauma and moral injury is unfinished work

DIRECT VICTIMS OF CLERGY SEXUAL ABUSE should always be the main priority, but many other people are impacted: as friends and family members of victims and of abusers, or more distantly as students, alumni, faculty, staff of Jesuit institutions, or simply as Catholics. In different ways, direct victims and these communities experience trauma and may experience what several of our projects call moral injury. Jesuit institutions should attend to this reality in an ongoing way as a long-term project, offering counseling, curricular commitments to teaching about sexual abuse, and regular rituals such as a mass of lament. When a particular case of abuse is disclosed that particularly affects the institution, these ongoing commitments may help the community to handle the disclosure. Regardless, when these cases are disclosed institutions should recognize that many people besides the direct victim(s) are profoundly emotionally impacted. Counseling should be offered and the community should explore ways to move forward together, which should include disclosure of the outcome of the case; discussion of the broader context; and, again, possible ritual responses.

6. Interdisciplinarity is difficult, but essential

OUR REVIEW OF EXISTING RESEARCH on sexual abuse in the Catholic Church, as well as the experience of our research teams, has taught us that it is challenging to form true interdisciplinary teams. Researchers and other parties who may become part of a team, such as advisory committee
members, victim-survivor advocates, and administrators, all bring distinct backgrounds and questions, professional vocabularies, and accepted ways of working to the table, and learning how to ask questions in common takes significant time which can be difficult to come by. At the same time, the phenomenon of sexual abuse in a Catholic context does not conform to disciplinary boundaries. Understanding and addressing sexual abuse means asking questions as psychologists, sociologists, historians, and theologians do, and using professional expertise such as that provided by social workers, management/communications researchers and others in business schools, researchers in law schools, those engaged in training campus ministers and spiritual directors, and likely many others. We urge Jesuit universities to incentivize researchers from multiple departments to assemble projects, providing them with financial resources and the time to grow in companionship among themselves and with the community.
Project Reports
Just One Jesuit: Clergy Abuse Through the Lens of a Singular Priest’s Mission

WHEN BOTH THE MIDWEST JESUITS AND ARCHDIOCESE OF OMAHA released their lists of priests credibly accused of abusing minors in 2018, Daniel Kenney stood out as the most beloved priest on the list. Known throughout Omaha as “the Monkey Priest” since he often carried a monkey hand puppet named “Buford,” Kenney was the founder of the popular philanthropic event “Operation Others” where Omaha Catholic schools collect and distribute food and other needs to economically disadvantaged neighborhoods around the Thanksgiving holiday. He also established “Camp Buford,” the overnight wilderness camp in Wyoming for economically disadvantaged Omaha youth which operates today as Go Beyond.

He is remembered as a charismatic theology teacher and compassionate freshman football coach at Creighton Preparatory High School who often accompanied boys who didn’t fit the stereotypical mold of a Creighton Prep student (hyper-masculine, athletic, affluent, and with a stable home life). Kenney cared about reaching out to students who had experienced significant traumas or disruptive events, and did so under the guise with an air of spiritual ‘healing’—which gave him a mechanism to probe for intimate information from them. Our initial project aimed at researching this “one Jesuit’s” methods of abuse, but also how he maintained admiration and trust within the school and broader community for years after he was dismissed following a credible allegation of abuse.

Our research led us down many paths we did not expect, including numerous public and archival documents that suggested Kenney may not have been a singular ‘rogue’ priest, but that others may have been not only aware of his actions, but helped to facilitate them. In addition, interviews with community members and alumni helped us begin to fill in a picture of both the culpability and pain felt in the broader community of Creighton Prep and the city of Omaha.

Key Findings

1) Kenney’s abuse was not a singular series of abuse incidents by one single person. This finding confirms the increasingly common conclusion that clergy sexual abuse is systemic within and across Catholic organizations, and not a problem particular to a subset or subculture of priests who fit a particular profile. As our study expanded, we discovered investments in and patterns of involvement in excusing, hiding, and rehabilitating the image of the bold and affable Monkey Priest that spanned the Omaha area and secular authorities in Douglas County and the State of Nebraska.

2) The absence of language and practices to construct healthy masculinities contributes to clergy sexual abuse. Kenney carved out an interstitial masculinity within the culture of Creighton Prep that created a logic supporting his “therapeutic” explorations of the “masculine development” of boys within the pool of Omaha’s future leaders. The Jesuits, Prep, and Omaha have yet to challenge the deep conceptual inconsistencies within the Kenney narrative.

3) The closed system of the church makes it incredibly difficult to track cases of abuse that were not actionable in court. Kenney, and we’re sure, other priests like him, operated with
significant stealth, often using the cloak of confession to both create a false sense of security for his victims and to facilitate a mechanism of plausible deniability for himself. Likewise, both school and church administrators are able to use the cover of either “victim privacy” or “personnel matters” as a way to keep helpful information out of the public eye. This means that incidents such as odd or inappropriate behavior, or even church and state systems established to address clergy sexual abuse, were activated in response to credible allegations against Kenney, but absent prosecution, it is unclear to whom and for what they have ‘taken responsibility,’ or if they ever will.

4) Practices of identifying priests through a liberal or conservative lens has both served to mitigate offender behavior and to distract from the issue of clergy sexual abuse. Our interviews revealed a potential conflict surrounding Kenney’s social progressivism and self-disclosure about his alcoholism garnered him sufficient empathy to remain within the fold of Omaha society. He remains for many “a good priest, on balance.” This sympathy serves to distract from the effects suffered by his victims.

5) The Kenney case is ongoing as long as Creighton Prep, the Omaha Archdiocese, the Jesuits, state authorities and large segments of the Omaha community continue efforts to relegate it, and his victim/survivors’ experience, into an unactionable past. We rely on survivors to force accountability, but making allegations against Kenney continues to carry the risks of marginalization from power, opportunity, and belonging in Omaha.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/just-one-jesuit-creighton/

Principal Investigators

Julia Feder, Ph.D., is an associate professor of theology at Creighton University. She received her doctoral degree in systematic theology from the University of Notre Dame in 2014. She specializes in theological anthropology, theologies of suffering, sexual trauma and human evolution. She is a leadership team member of the Catholic Theological Society of America’s “Consultation on Sexual Abuse and the Catholic Church.” Her academic articles appear in Theological Studies, the Journal of Moral Theology, the Journal of Religion and Society, Anthropology News, and Philosophy, Theology, and the Sciences. Her book, Saving Grace: Sexual Violence and Christian Salvation, will be published by Fordham University Press in 2023.

Heather Fryer, Ph.D., is a social and cultural historian of the 20th century US west who was on the faculty at Creighton University from 2004-2022. She is the author of Perimeters of Democracy: Inverse Utopias and the Wartime Social Landscape in the American West, the biography of Servant of God Edward J. Flanagan for the dossier for his Cause for Canonization, and the PBS documentary Shin-machi: Stronger Than a Tsunami. She is past executive editor of Peace & Change: a Journal of Peace Research.

Rebecca Murray, Ph.D., is a Professor of Criminal Justice and an Associate Dean of Social and Applied Sciences at Creighton University. Her research areas include the urban environment and crime, systemic and organizational issues in the criminal justice system and victim advocacy. Through a federal grant from the Department of Justice’s Office for Victims of Crime, she was able to create the first Nebraska Victim Assistance Academy, which brings training to victim advocates across the state. She also holds a certificate in Ignatian Tradition, and has published in the area of Jesuit leadership. Most recently, she is a Co-PI researching how social media contributes to mob creation with a grant from the Department of Defense.
Whistleblowing In The Catholic Church: The Role Of Wrongdoing Characteristics and Ethical Climate

“BLOWING THE WHISTLE” entails using non-public information with which the organization has entrusted the whistleblower or which the whistleblower has come upon while acting for the organization. In this project, we explore organizational characteristics and their relationship to whistleblowing in the Catholic Church. We aim to examine the role of ethical climate and wrongdoing characteristics as the underlying mechanisms of whistleblowing. Our project offers a revised definition and conceptual model of whistleblowing, and an application of the model to compare reactions to the clergy sexual abuse and the financial misconduct scandals in the Catholic Church.

Our project is not about sexual abuse and financial misconduct per se but rather about the silence and concealment that prevented the Church from handling them promptly and properly. It aims to help understand why sexual abuse allegations were resisted and reporting was discouraged but allegations of financial misconduct have been more actively investigated within the Church.

Key Findings

SEVERAL ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS help explain reactions to wrongdoing in the Church.

1) In the sexual abuse scandal, the Church’s interventions addressed individual contributing factors (such as individual sins, pathologies, and crimes) and individual responses (such as the removal, restriction, or rehabilitation of a particular priest, and the implementation of individual-based safety policies and protocols in parishes). It is precisely that focus on individual factors that explains the Church’s failure to handle systemic organizational forces facilitating serial sexual abuse, complicity, and silence.

2) We suggest that members of an ethical organization such as the Roman Catholic Church observing wrongdoing are more likely to stay silent when the wrong appears to seriously threaten the organization’s core ideals (e.g., clergy abuse, which is seen as a major threat to the Church’s ideal of a celibate clergy).

3) Conversely, they will be more likely to blow the whistle when the wrongdoing is seen as less connected to the identity of the organization (e.g., financial misconduct, because the Church is not seen as primarily an economic institution, despite vast financial holdings and payroll).

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/miguel-alzola-and-oyku-arkan/

Principal Investigators

Öykü Arkan, Ph.D., is currently an Assistant Professor of Management at Sabancı Business School. She completed her doctoral studies from Management and Global Business department at Rutgers Business School under a Fulbright Fellowship. In her dissertation, she explored the role of moral character and organizational ethical climate in understanding employees’ whistleblowing behaviors from a virtue ethics perspective.

Miguel Alzola, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Ethics at the Gabelli School of Business at Fordham University. He has published on the philosophy and psychology of character, the integration of empirical and normative research in business ethics, and role morality.
EMPLOYEES ARE WELL AWARE of misconduct long before it becomes a systematic problem that jeopardizes the organization’s reputation. Encouraging employees to speak up is one of the most effective ways to detect and address organizational misconduct early on.

1) Implement effective internal reporting channels

First and foremost, effective reporting channels must exist. Such whistleblowing programs could include confidential reporting channels (e.g., hotlines) as an early-warning mechanism for identifying organizational misconduct.

2) Create a speak-up culture

As discussed in our project “Whistleblowing in The Catholic Church the Role of Wrongdoing Characteristics and Ethical Climate”, for an internal whistleblowing channel to be effective, it is important for organizations to promote a culture of transparency, trust, and accountability. Employees should especially be encouraged to report wrongdoing against the organization’s core ideals.

3) Conduct ethics training

How, when, and to whom can employees report organizational misconduct? Case studies, ethical dilemma scenarios, and role-playing could be useful tools on training and informing employees on proper ways of reporting wrongdoing.

4) No-Retaliation Policies

Despite the availability of whistleblowing channels, employees still fear of retaliation, especially when faced with wrongdoing that could harm the core ideals of the organization. Therefore, regardless of the merits of the case, organizations must prevent retaliation by implementing no-retaliation policies.

5) Take action

Cultivating a culture of whistleblowing does not happen overnight. Organizations must treat all whistleblowing cases seriously and consistently, regardless of the type of wrongdoing or who the wrongdoer is. Showing employees that their reports are taken seriously and there are consequences for the wrongdoing encourages them to blow the whistle and create a culture of transparency.

Further Reading


Identifying and Reforming Institutions in Jesuit Schools and Universities that Foster Sexual Abuse and Its Concealment

This project began with a simple question: “Why is it that the Catholic Church seems unable to respond effectively to the sexual abuse crisis?” When we say that the Catholic Church has been unable to respond effectively, we do not mean to deny progress. There are dioceses, provinces, and Catholic organizations that have improved the implementation, oversight, and enforcement of norms to protect minors. Progress, however, depends on the commitment, knowledge, and character of a local ordinary or superior and can change with a change in leadership. Moreover, there has been little progress in terms of the sexual abuse of non-minor/other vulnerable people such as adult students, staff, and seminarians.

How we think about the church has an impact on how we understand the problem and the types of solutions we can envision. The three models of the church in Lumen Gentium—namely, church as mystery, people of God, and hierarchy—are not useful for understanding systemic and institutional problems. The council framed these models in terms of pastoral care. If we use just these categories, every problem looks like a pastoral problem. Certainly, sin is an aspect of the crisis, but it does not explain why the problem of sexual abuse is so pervasive and persistent except insofar as sin can be invoked to explain all the evils of the world. Starting from “sin” obscures the institutions, structures, and systems contributing to the crisis.

We started by considering the Catholic Church and the Jesuits in terms of the institutional model of the church or what Lumen Gentium identified as the human element of the church. The findings of The Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse provided us with an inventory of conditions that make sexual abuse more likely and that discourage reporting. Some of the most significant factors involved how organizations are perceived as a source of authority, the importance of reputation, and the emphasis placed on loyalty. Organizations that emphasize confidentiality or privacy inhibit reporting, particularly when there is no feedback as to the results of reporting.

We also employed institutional analysis, which comes from the field of economics, to study how formal and informal rules guide decisions related to discipline. Institutional analysis considers how organizations fall into unproductive paths from institutions, understood as rules, that initially provide a benefit but impede future progress by creating incentives to maintain them. Our goal was to identify formal (written) and informal (unwritten) rules that perpetuate the problem of sexual abuse and that undermine reform initiatives over time. Both formal and informal institutions are internalized, customary, and normative.

To identify how these institutions influence disciplinary decisions, we interviewed 39 people who work in Catholic or Jesuit schools and universities, dioceses, seminaries, and in national Catholic youth organizations. Though our focus has been on Jesuit organizations, we also interviewed people who are members of other religious orders. We were fortunate that we found thirteen Jesuits, most of whom have held significant leadership positions, to participate in the study.

Key Findings

WE LEARNED that the rules governing disciplinary decision-making are consistent in Catholic educational organizations, religious orders, and dioceses. Four significant findings are:

1. Pastoral care principles influence disciplinary processes. There is an emphasis on being patient and merciful that allows for infe-
rior performance and outright misbehavior. As a member of a religious order told us, there is confusion between what is simply sinful and what is criminal. One Jesuit noted, “So, there is a discipline, but St. Ignatius talks about the Society as a mother and I find the Society is a pretty patient, tolerant mother. [You can] get away with a lot as a Jesuit.”

2. One “rule”—to keep problems quiet—is commonly framed in pastoral categories. Jesuits emphasize the importance of charitable discretion and profess a desire to save people from embarrassment. As a result, the theme of people “disappearing” was a recurring motif. One subject recounted: “First, I was told that as someone who’s a professor and an administrator this [Jesuit] shouldn’t be teaching undergraduates. So, it’s okay for him to teach graduate courses? I was like, “Why?” And no information and then he disappeared... you know it’s not unusual for an employee just to disappear and for nobody to know why they were dismissed.”

The lack of information about disciplinary matters and the silence surrounding these issues create a disincentive for people to report problems. Our research suggests that disincentives to reporting foster the conditions that make sexual abuse more likely.

3. We found that there are different disciplinary processes for Jesuits, faculty, and staff in Jesuit schools and universities. This creates ambiguity as to how reports will be received or handled. Though Jesuits report that they do not involve themselves in school or university decisions, the interviews with faculty members and administrators showed otherwise. A department chair at a Jesuit university reported, “When we had a Jesuit we were having problems with there was a lot of interest coming from the Jesuit residents and from the president’s office and from others about why are you having a problem with this person.” We received similar reports from other Jesuit high schools and universities that indicate the rule is you must treat Jesuits differently.

4. Jesuits report that they find it difficult to balance the rules of the order with the policies of the schools and universities when they had oversight of other Jesuits in those organizations. One Jesuit remarked, “We’re not going to deal with each other in a legalistic way because we don’t have that kind of a rule in place.... if it were another Jesuit reporting to me, I would have to straddle the two, as a brother, and at the same time, as one bound to the institution, so it’s not as easy or clear cut.”

These and some of our other findings suggest that the research should be extended to include women’s religious orders, diocesan priests, and Catholic organizations that serve vulnerable populations like refugees and migrants. Though we did interview some people from Asia, Africa, and South America, there needs to be more research to see if these rules are present in other cultural contexts.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/identifying-and-reforming-institutions/

Principal Investigator

C. Colt Anderson is full professor of Christian spirituality in the Graduate School of Religion and Religious Education at Fordham University, where he served as academic dean from 2012 to 2017. While much of his work concentrates on the history of medieval reform movements and how they effected change in the face of opposition, he also has a longstanding interest in the intersections between religion and politics, spirituality and leadership, and institutional organizational psychology and pastoral ethics. He has written three books, including The Great Catholic Reformers: From Gregory the Great to Dorothy Day (Paulist Press, 2007), which won a 2008 Catholic Press Association Award, and co-edited a fourth. He has published numerous articles and chapters on reform, ecclesiology, and ecumenism for Theological Studies, Brill, Catholic University of American Press, and others.
TO DISCERN how important written and unwritten rules, norms, and practices of the Society of Jesus might shape the response to clergy sexual abuse I interviewed a variety of Jesuits and lay administrators at Jesuit universities. These recommendations stem from the “pain points” this group identified.

1) Reconsider the relationship of pastoral care and disciplinary processes

My study found that in the Society of Jesus pastoral care principles often influence disciplinary processes, which seems appropriate until we consider the effect on victims. The emphasis on charitable discretion, patience, and mercy can allow for inferior performance and outright misbehavior.

Two examples of material from The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complimentary Norms that should be reconsidered in light of the sexual abuse scandal:

- The statement that matters that might endanger another should be reported to the superior so “he can secretly and prudently provide for both the good of the subject involved and for religious life in general.” (Norms 235:3, p. 263)
- The norms related to fraternal correction direct superiors to “not lightly give credence” to a member reporting another member and instruct the superiors to listen in particular to the one reported. If the subject of the report is found innocent, the one who reported “is to be reprehended or punished.” (Norms 235:5, p. 263)

2) Reconsider ‘confidentiality’ as a higher value and minimize the ‘black box’ of reporting

Jesuit educational organizations must implement and widely advertise clear procedures for reporting abusive behavior, which should include a description of how an investigation will proceed and examples of how previous reports were resolved.

- Clear and simple policies and processes should be established to share the results of disciplinary matters involving sexual abuse with all involved in the incident as well as with the broader school, college, or university.

3) Align disciplinary processes for Jesuits, faculty, and staff at Jesuit universities

In Jesuit schools and universities, Jesuits, faculty, and staff are often disciplined differently. The inconsistency creates power differentials that are a disincentive to reporting.

- Jesuit Provincials should direct their members to abstain from inquiring into issues related to performance or disciplinary matters pertaining to Jesuits because it reinforces the unwritten rule that Jesuits are to be treated differently and deferentially.
- Administrators, faculty, and staff should be instructed to disregard and report such inquiries from the Jesuit community to bodies such as a faculty senate and/or the governing board.

4) Help Jesuits who have oversight of other Jesuits balance the rules governing community life with policies at schools, colleges, and universities

Jesuits with such oversight roles, unsurprisingly, reported emotional stress and difficulty. Policies should be established prohibiting Jesuits from having supervisory roles over other Jesuits in schools, colleges, and universities. If such a policy cannot be implemented immediately, Jesuits should be required to recuse themselves from disciplinary matters and performance evaluations involving other members of the Society.
Bearing Witness When “They” Are Us: Toward a Trauma-Informed Perspective on Complicity, Moral Injury, and Moral Witnessing

THE SEED OF THIS PROJECT was planted in 2018, on the day the Pennsylvania grand jury report on Catholic clergy sexual abuse was published. The report brought to light the fact that despite decades of awareness of Catholic clergy sexual abuse and important efforts toward prevention, the traumatic legacy of abuse remains largely unaddressed and true healing remains elusive. I approached this project as both a scholar of psychology and religion and a practicing psychotherapist, using a relational psychoanalytic lens in conversation with trauma theory and moral philosophy to envision personal and institutional practices of authentic moral witness.

Clinicians know that in order for trauma to heal, there must be a safe space for truth-telling and a trustworthy witness who can receive the survivor’s pain with compassion and recognition. It is also true that trauma is compounded (both individually and communally) when its telling is met with rejection, silence or denial. Finally, those who are participants in a traumatic system often feel the moral weight of occupying the role of “passive bystander” when they fail to intervene. This grant project provided the opportunity to explore these dynamics and how those of us in Jesuit and other Catholic institutions can become authentic witnesses in such a way as to create space for genuine healing.

It is an error to assume the phenomenon of clergy sexual abuse involves only perpetrator and victim. The betrayal of trust and moral standards by a revered institution or its representatives potentially affects all those who have internalized and relied on this narrative of institutional “goodness” as a center of identity. Although we ourselves may not be perpetrators (or even Catholics), we are faced with the dilemma of being in part dependent upon a system that has perpetrated and perpetuated abuse. This internal conflict can generate moral injury, a shame-based response to violation of one’s moral code, either by oneself or a trusted authority figure. Unpacking the underlying shame dynamics of moral injury can shed light on the tendency toward deflection, projection, silence, and denial on the part of the institutional church, but also on the part of the various “implicated subjects” in the complex web of relationships created by clergy sexual abuse. Shame in part fuels the inclination to create a rhetoric of condemnation of “them” (offending priests) that often serves to gloss over complex implication and failed witnessing.

The project draws on the concept of betrayal and the role of the “moral witness” as described by Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit. The moral witness is one who has something real at stake in receiving and sharing the survivor’s truth. For those who work at Catholic institutions, the risks—financial, personal, and more—may be very real, but they establish a position from which to stand as a moral witness that can stimulate meaningful change. The moral witness holds remembering as an ethical obligation, which in the case of the clergy sexual abuse crisis, can combat our desire to relegate the clergy sexual abuse crisis to “the past.”

Committed to placing the experience of victim-survivors at the center, a trauma-informed approach will always be grounded in truth-telling, compassionate and authentic witnessing, and empowerment of survivors. It will encourage and create opportunities for communal memory and moral witnessing. It will account for moral injury and make space for the acknowledgement of disillusionment, narcissistic wounding, and loss. Institutional action can include the establishment of an “office of moral witnessing,” or an “institution of ethical memory” to hold space for taking responsibility.
Key Findings

1) **Solutions to problems created by trauma cannot be fully effective unless the traumatic element of the problem is addressed.**

2) **Situations of oppression require a ‘moral witness’ who will testify to the suffering of the victims and who has something at risk in doing so.**

3) **Genuine moral witnessing challenges participants in Catholic systems to confront our implication in the clergy sexual abuse crisis.** This necessarily challenges us to tolerate a sense of moral injury and loss (of our shattered ideals and trust, and our illusion of moral superiority).

4) **Efforts toward safeguarding are vital, but they are not a substitute for accountability.** True accountability rejects the easy rhetoric of condemnation and the projection of badness onto the “other.”


Principal Investigator

**Lisa Cataldo, MDiv, Ph.D.,** is Associate Professor of Mental Health Counseling and Spiritual Integration at the Graduate School of Religion and Religious Education at Fordham University. She teaches courses in trauma, clinical integration, psychology and religion, and professional ethics to students entering the fields of spiritual care or professional counseling and she is the creator of the Advanced Certificate in Trauma-Informed Care to be launched in the Graduate School of Religion in Fall 2023. Her research interests focus on the intersection of relational psychoanalysis and religion/spirituality, and include issues of trauma and multiplicity, intersubjectivity, and experiences of the other in clinical and religious perspective. Lisa is a faculty member and supervisor at the National Institute for the Psychotherapies in Manhattan, and is on the faculty of the Stephen A. Mitchell Center for Relational studies. She is the recipient of the NIP Educator’s Award, and the Stephen A. Mitchell author’s award for writing in the area of psychoanalysis and religion. She maintains a private practice in New York.
Jesuit University Leadership and Corrective Action: Taking Responsibility for the Sexual Abuse Crisis

THE GENERAL PURPOSE of my research was to study who is responsible for responding to an institutional crisis. Specifically, I examined how one Jesuit university responded to the sexual abuse crisis. The eruption of the 2018 Pennsylvania grand jury report that documented these crimes was the starting point of this examination. I compared the University response to the principles of effective crisis communication, and then focused on the University response in relation to the concept of framing, public relations functions, and thinking through an organization’s mission and social legitimacy as a comprehensive approach that can help an organization properly address a crisis. The appeal of studying a religious-affiliated university is that it serves two missions: as part of the larger religious institution and as a higher education institution. For this work I implemented a case study methodology using key informant interviews and university documents.

An institutional crisis occurs when individuals and organizations fail to perform the routines and roles that produce the collective interests and social order of the institution. The institution of the Catholic Church continues to endure a crisis of priest sexual abuse and those in positions of leadership covering up these incidents. Any organization within the institution could proactively decide that it must respond to maintain its credibility, while also helping repair the reputation of the institution. A response to an institutional crisis should be driven by an organization’s assessment of events as well as its mission, values, and sense of responsibility to its stakeholders. The response should also use the unique skill and resource capabilities of the organization. The university I studied demonstrated a focus on victims’ concerns from the religious mission perspective and is using its capabilities of amassing and disseminating knowledge from the higher education mission perspective. An organization’s mission cannot merely be an aspirational espousal, but rather has to manifest itself as foundational values displayed in real-time decision-making and implemented actions, especially during times of crisis.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/jesuit-leadership-and-corrective-action/

Principal Investigator

1) You do not need to be in immediate crisis in order to communicate.

- Priest sexual abuse and those in positions of leadership covering up these incidents represented an institutional crisis for the Catholic Church. All organizations within the institution need to recognize the severity of the situation and the history of incidents. Any organization within the institution could proactively decide that it must respond to maintain its credibility, while also helping repair the reputation of the institution.

2) You must develop corrective action in order to communicate effectively.

- Crisis response is not only about words; it means developing tangible strategies that mitigate the continued occurrence of the event. Jesuit institutions should be able to clearly articulate how they are supporting victims of clergy sexual abuse; how their current policies will safeguard people in the future; and how an honest reckoning with the past is part of local process.

3) You should draw on your mission and values both in developing and communicating a response.

- Jesuit universities have unique skills and resource capabilities that they can implement to help address the clergy abuse scandal. They serve dual missions; they are part of the larger religious institution and also a higher education institution.
- The religious mission means they should particularly focus on victims’ concerns and on the impact clergy abuse has on the spiritual and moral well-being of other stakeholders.
- Meanwhile, the higher education mission means they have valuable capabilities of amassing and disseminating knowledge. Jesuit universities can serve a valuable local role by making knowledgeable faculty and staff available to consult with high schools and elementary schools, where faculty may not have the time or resources to develop as much expertise.

4) You should identify and prioritize stakeholders who need communication.

- Communication with stakeholders is a vital part of a crisis response. Stakeholders might include victims (whether known or unknown), current students, faculty and staff, alumni, the local civic community, the local Jesuit community, the wider community of Jesuit institutions, and more. These groups will need to be prioritized, with those nearer to the center of the crisis first, and may require different forms of communication. To take two extreme examples, direct victims may require a personal liaison to keep them abreast of developments, while the local civic community might be addressed through statements and news articles.

5) You should lead by example in communicating clearly and honestly over time.

- Jesuit educational institutions should be motivated to respond to the priest sexual abuse crisis because of their mission, values, and a sense of responsibility to their stakeholders. They can fulfill their dual missions and lead by continuing to communicate openly as cases unfold and more information emerges. The best response may also be the best fulfillment of mission—that is, to proactively seek out information and address the issue. However, if previously unknown cases emerge through the media or in other ways, developing and implementing a clear timeline for gathering information and sharing a public response is necessary as part of response.
Apportioning Legal Responsibility: Sexual Abuse Litigation against the Society of Jesus and Its Institutions

THE SO-CALLED “THIRD WAVE” of revelations concerning sexual abuse and sexual misconduct by Roman Catholic clergy and religious has played out distinctively in the U.S. legal system. In both the civil and criminal contexts, Catholic teaching and practice have intersected, and continue to intersect, with secular legal doctrines in complex and surprising ways. But clergy abuse litigation, and scholarly commentary on it, has tended disproportionately to focus on dioceses and allegations of abuse by the ordained and lay ministers they employ, rather than on religious orders and allegations against their members.

In keeping with the overall objectives of the Taking Responsibility initiative, this project takes as a case study litigation against the Society of Jesus and its institutions under the Child Victims Act (CVA), a New York statute that created a “lookback” window for historic claims of sexual abuse. The original goal of the project was to examine records of sexual abuse litigation against members, provinces, and other corporate units of the Society of Jesus to ascertain, first, how proceedings concerning clergy sexual abuse are different when allegations concern religious orders rather than dioceses and, second, how liability associated with abuse should be apportioned between religious orders and the institutions they sponsor.

Because during the project period the New York legislature extended the CVA lookback window from one to two years, a significant number of claims were not filed until July and August 2021. Further, many CVA claims are now only at the “motion to dismiss” stage, when a judge reviews a plaintiff’s complaint and decides whether it plausibly alleges a violation of the law. Losing parties, both plaintiffs and Jesuit entities, have appealed some of these early decisions. For these reasons, it will likely be several more years before these claims are adjudicated on their merits. Thus, these results should be regarded as preliminary.

Key Findings

1) Legally and ethically, it remains an open question whether and when a religious entity’s litigation behavior should be attributed to itself, its lawyers, or both.

2) When a lawyer’s religious commitments are tested by taking on the representation of an entity accused of sexual abuse, the literature on religious lawyering suggests that **lawyers must be ready to stand up to spiritual leaders with regard to both religious and legal matters.**

3) The litigation behavior of defendant entities in New York CVA cases presents a number of dilemmas for lawyers who wish to advance key principles of Catholic social teaching, including whether to permit victim-survivors to sue pseudonymously, whether to draw upon religious ideas concerning the relationships of accused clergy and the institutions for which they work, and whether to engage in confidential settlement agreements.

4) Alternatives to litigation that have emerged in the wake of revelations concerning child sexual abuse include restorative justice practices, truth and reconciliation commissions, and independently administered compensation funds. **Analyzing these alternatives will help identify whether and when the civil legal system is positioned to produce the best outcomes for victim-survivors of clergy sexual abuse.**

Further Information: [https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/apportioning-legal-responsibility](https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/apportioning-legal-responsibility)
Principal Investigator

Patrick Hornbeck, D.Phil., J.D., serves as Professor of Theology at Fordham University. He is on leave and has paused work on the project described above during academic year 2022-2023, while he is serving as a law clerk to the Hon. Denny Chin, Senior Circuit Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. Hornbeck was one of the initial proponents of the Taking Responsibility grant and, during the project’s lifetime, served in a variety of administrative roles at Fordham: chair of the Theology Department (2019-2020), special faculty advisor to the provost for strategic planning (2019-2022), and interim dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (2021-2022). He is the author or editor of eight academic books and some thirty articles in academic journals, law reviews, and edited volumes. The views and opinions expressed here are Hornbeck’s own.
Clergy Sexual Abuse in African American Communities

THREE MOTIVATIONS spurred this research project. First, I am a theological ethicist, a scholar of Catholic (non)engagement with racial justice. My research focuses on the linkages between race, sexuality, and faith. Race and sexuality are deeply intertwined, so much so that conversations about race are inevitably also conversations about sex. Further, the sexual abuse crisis has impacted almost my entire vocation in church service, for example when in the 1990s I was called on in my capacity as the only Black diocesan priest in Milwaukee to help deal with a complaint made in a Black Catholic parish. Finally, in a story I tell in more detail elsewhere, as an altar server in the 1960s and 70s I likely narrowly avoided being a victim of a white priest who the Archdiocese later described as having “a particular penchant for young African Americans” due to the intervention of the parish school’s teachers. The study of Black Catholic victims of the clergy sexual abuse crisis is in its infancy due to a glaring lack of data structured by race. Indeed, as far as I can tell, this project is the only sustained investigation that focuses on Black victim-survivors-copers. My project examined the limited data available, and also drew on my related research competencies to present and discuss some of the issues relevant to understanding and responding to the unique needs of this community.

Key Findings

1) There ARE African Americans Who Have Been Violated

Black victims, survivors, and copers have been erased from the prevailing narratives about clergy sexual abuse. The typical public portrait of a victim is white and often male. Most Catholic advocacy organizations have few Black members, and virtually none in major or visible leadership positions. Yet, their stories are there, scattered throughout the internet. But these stories are only episodically, if at all, present in Catholic discussions. The experiences of the violated are uncovered only after dedicated investigation. But if Black Catholics number 4% of the US Catholic population, one should expect that at least 4% of the sexual abuse would involve a Black American. (In truth, one could and should well suspect that there would more.)

2) But There Is a Dearth of Demographic Information

Although we know that there are African Americans coping with the trauma of clergy sexual violation, the foundational, authoritative, and most often cited literature on the Catholic abuse scandal makes no explicit reference to the racial or ethnic identities of the victims. Only one diocese (Alexandria, LA) has been identified as possessing a spreadsheet of survivors with racial/ethnic demographic information, and it began keeping this data only in 2015. We do know of at least two documented race-specific patterns where Catholic clergy clearly targeted Black men/boys. How many others are there? Without a central database noting race and ethnicity, the true scope of harm suffered by Black persons and other communities of color is unknown and unknowable, which is “an impact” in itself.

3) We need culturally relevant terms to discuss those impacted by clergy sexually abuse

“Victims” has been criticized for connoting a lack of agency, leading to the use of “victim-survivors” to accent the agency of the abused. However, some Black men who have been violated by clergy identify with neither term. One told me, “I don’t like ‘surviving’ I’m coping. I’m getting along. I do what I have to do day by day. I cope.” Coping seems to be a term that resonates with many members of the Black community in the face of systemic racism and the indifference of white society. For example, “You just get along and do what
you have to do.” My research and experience suggest the need for more culturally resonate term(s) if we are to have effective outreach with racially and ethnically minoritized communities. The assumption that “victim-survivor” is a universal descriptor is a concrete effect of the erasure of Black voices and other voices of color in the discussion up to now.

4) There Are Race-Specific Obstacles to Victim-Coper Reporting and Church Engagement

Some of the race-specific forms of vulnerability and precarity that an effective culturally sensitive engagement with the African American community must be aware of and contend with include: a hesitancy and suspicion of law enforcement, esp. if one has a criminal background; lack of financial resources for effective legal representation; literacy and education barriers, particularly an inability to express oneself in standard English; the lack of culturally competent diocesan officials, coupled with a history of suspicion and neglect of the Black community by the wider church; White Catholic paternalism and suspicion of African American agency; fears of diocesan retribution (e.g., parish closure or lack of a priest being assigned); the widespread closures/mergers of Black parishes, which make data collection more difficult; and the stigma concerning interracial same-sex violation, especially in the case of a Black male being violated by a white male.

These realities are unique community factors that must be considered in any discussion of clergy sexual abuse in African American communities. The rest of my work on this project (which will be published in 2023), explores how the shadow of racist beliefs and structures, forged in slavery and developed since, has formed the way white Catholics view Black bodies and persons — and the impact of this legacy for this faith community’s non-engagement with the sexual abuse occurring in Black communities. Until and unless the church confronts its complicity in white supremacy, going beyond lament and apology to effective restitution and reparation, then it will be poorly positioned to hear and respond to Black people who cope with clergy sexual violation. My research grounds a realistic fear that the U.S. church will one day celebrate “turning the corner” on the sexual abuse crisis, while leaving hundreds of Black victim-survivors-copers behind.

Principal Investigator

Bryan N. Massingale is the James and Nancy Buckman Professor of Theological and Social Ethics, as well as the Senior Ethics Fellow in Fordham’s Center for Ethics Education. Prior to his appointment at Fordham, he was Professor of Theology at Marquette University. Professor Massingale is a past Convener of the Black Catholic Theological Symposium and a former president of the Catholic Theological Society of America. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Society of Christian Ethics and serves on the editorial board of Theological Studies, one of the premier Catholic journals of theology. He is a noted authority on issues of social and racial justice and an active participant in a network of Catholic thought leaders striving for fuller inclusion of LGBT persons in society and the faith community.
'He talks to me': Exposure and Knowledge in Jesuit Sex Abuse or, Beyond ‘Clericalism’

WE HAVE BEEN HEARING IT ALL ALONG. Survivors of clerical sexual abuse, time and again, have been telling us that priests were special, elevated, that their power in church and society meant they operated on a different level. This has been a key part of the answer to the question—“how did this happen?” “It happened because of the elevation of priests, because of clericalism.” Rightly, scholars have been outraged on the survivors’ behalf and sought means—through our writing, research, advocacy—to undermine (directly or indirectly) the patriarchal arrangements of twentieth century Roman Catholicism that gave priests this kind of wide berth and deference. We have sought transparency, truth-telling, and accountability. We have sought to lift up survivors, accompany them, respect the voice they were denied, hear them while exposing the hierarchy’s many betrayals. This work, while perhaps not itself healing, is irreplaceable.

But there is more to be done, other pathways to follow as well. What if we listened to the narratives of clerical elevation in a different register? What if we heard them, not only with the ears of memory, but also with the ears of history? This project has taken these other pathways and has attempted to listen to narratives of clerical elevation with the ears of history. That is, it has attempted to situate readers in the period before the abuse, to get at the relational complexities of Catholic life in the company of priests.

In practical terms, this has meant conducting a fine-grained study of two abusive men, John J. Powell and Donald J. McGuire, Chicago-area Jesuits whose abuse of boys, girls, and young adults continued across the span of several decades (from the early 1960s to the early 2000s), all while avoiding consequences even when their superiors knew of their crimes.

My research entailed careful study of the existing records (trial transcripts, interviews, news accounts, Jesuit correspondence) and interviews with several of the men’s surviving victims. I also studied archival records from Jesuit institutions, including those in which Powell and McGuire were trained. In addition, I worked with scholarly literature about the relational and social dynamics of Catholic and other kinds of religious communities, including people’s relationships to people or beings they considered ‘special’ or ‘holy.’

Key Findings

1) Stories of abusive contexts offer evidence of a religious field in which families, bishops, priests, and priests’ future victims sought to carve out meaning and assert control in the flux of their lives. Clerical elevation or “clericalism” was part of that effort. It was not a horror or a sign of brokenness, it was a feature of Catholic religious life. That does not mean that it was not confusing and troubling.

2) In relying on “clericalism” as an explanation of abuse, scholars risk positioning survivors as inhabitants of a “backward” or “old fashioned” Catholicism, which allowed them to be subject to priests’ power. Instead, we should see survivors’ interest in and attraction to clerical power as an integral, if fraught, part of normal Catholic life.

3) Late-twentieth-century U.S. Jesuits in particular cultivated a style of priesthood in which the ideals
of exposure and intimacy are signature elements. Their approach maintained the notion of clerical elevation, but also emphasized the spiritual benefits of sharing, talking, of knowing and being known by others. Jesuit successes in education and spiritual counseling witness to the rewards of this approach. McGuire and Powell’s abuse, as well as their superiors’ complicity in its continuance, reflect the dangers of this style of priesthood.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/healing-secrecy-and-jesuit-priesthood/

Principal Investigator

John C. Seitz, Ph.D., is a scholar of U.S. religion. His research focuses on the historical and ethnographic study of U.S. Catholics and on theoretical questions in the study of religion. Seitz’s publications include No Closure: Catholic Practice and Boston’s Parish Shutdowns (Harvard University Press, 2011) and a co-edited volume entitled Working Alternatives: American and Catholic Experiments in Work and Economy (Fordham University Press, 2020). He has contributed articles to Material Religion, Church History, American Catholic Studies, U.S. Catholic Historian, and Method and Theory in the Study of Religion, among others. Seitz serves as Associate Professor in the Department of Theology and as an Associate Director for the Francis and Ann Curran Center for American Catholic Studies at Fordham University. He is working on a book about priesthood in the United States.
Convening, Consulting, and Advocating for Renewal and Reform

THE INITIATIVE ON CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT AND PUBLIC LIFE at Georgetown University shared in the work of the Taking Responsibility via a project “Convening, Consulting, and Advocating for Renewal and Reform.” As a Catholic and Jesuit university, Georgetown University, like other Jesuit universities, has a deep tradition of inquiry, reflection, and engaging with matters of deep concern to Catholic institutions and the Society of Jesus. The Initiative on Catholic Social Thought and Public Life has led the university in sustained, substantive reflection and responses in addressing the twin crises of the clergy sexual abuse crisis and leadership failure within the Catholic Church.

Key Findings

BUILDING ON THE INITIATIVE’S WORK in addressing the clergy sexual abuse crisis, including a 2019 Convening on Lay Leadership, the Initiative summarized ten lessons learned that we hope will inform our response to the crisis going forward, and serve as a roadmap for Jesuit educational institutions and the entire U.S. Catholic church in responding to the clergy sexual abuse crisis:

1) Put Victim-Survivors at the Center of the Church’s Response

The original sins of the sexual abuse crisis were the failure to listen and believe victim-survivors as they told us what had happened to them and the terrible harm it caused, and the failure to act quickly and decisively to remove the perpetrators and to protect others. These failures occurred over the course of decades, and they continue to occur today. As the Church seeks repentance, justice, reform, and renewal, we must listen to victim-survivors, their families, and all those affected by clergy sexual abuse.

2) Confront Clericalism, Overcome Isolation, and Support Faithful Clergy

Clergy sexual abuse cannot be discussed honestly without recognizing the toxic culture of clericalism. Some clergy are both isolated and arrogant, seeing ministry as a form of status rather than service. This self-reinforcing culture – often exacerbated by failures to embrace contributions from women, those from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, and other underrepresented groups – is too often accepted and reinforced by laypeople ourselves. A culture of clericalism can lead to abuses of power and contributes to and permits institutional cover-up of abuse. We need a new culture of candor that calls on lay people inside and outside of ecclesial structures to challenge the insular and self-reinforcing culture of some chanceries and ecclesial institutions.

3) Hold Leaders Accountable and Insist on Transparency

While much remains to be done, this past year has seen some welcome developments in Church law, practices, and policies aimed at holding bishops accountable for clergy sexual abuse and its cover-up, including the promulgation of Vos estis lux mundi by Pope Francis and related efforts by the U.S. bishops. But these partial steps towards accountability cannot take root unless Church leaders internalize and embrace them, and in the process change ecclesial culture and practice. Lay leaders must be directly involved to hold leaders accountable. Transparency is an essential tool of accountability, and we should insist that bishops tell the truth with candor instead of making excuses or seeking to protect themselves or the institution.

4) Focus on Seminary Formation

Seminary formation needs fundamental review and reform. Seminaries should be less isolating, more connected with the reality of local parish communities, and more open to lay participation,
partnership, and feedback. Seminarians are too often formed in isolation and set apart. Elite seminaries can be a particular problem, sometimes suggesting that priestly ministry is a privilege, and isolating future priests away from family and parish communities. Laypeople should have a significant role in educating and assessing future priests.

5) Promote and Reflect the Church’s Diversity

The diversity of our Church is a source of strength, not weakness. We find unity in this diversity, and this can and should ground our ecclesial life and public witness. The Church needs greater participation from those whose voices are too often underrepresented in Church structures, including women, African Americans, Latinos, those from differing economic groups, and those with different political or ecclesial perspectives. This will strengthen ecclesial decision-making, enrich our voice in public life, and better reflect the experience of in-the-pews Catholicism.

6) Focus on our Gospel Mission & Build Unity

The Church needs to repent and reform not simply to repair its institutional and ecclesial life, but to renew and strengthen its capacity to preach the Gospel, celebrate the sacraments, and care for “the least of these.” The Church’s mission will not be whole or engaging without overcoming the evil of clergy sexual abuse. And it will be the mission of the Church carried out day by day which can ultimately help restore trust and draw the support and confidence of the faithful.

7) New Voices to Share Catholic Principles in Public Life

The sexual abuse and leadership crises have severely damaged the credibility and impact of Catholic hierarchical institutions in American public life. This is especially tragic at a time of national division when it is crucial that the voice of the Church be clear and credible in defense of the poor and vulnerable, the unborn and undocumented, and in advocating for religious freedom and racial justice. New leaders need to step forward to share the Church’s social teaching and everyday experience in order to effectively defend the weak and advance the common good. Lay women and men need to step up to the call to become salt, light and leaven in the world.

8) National Collaboration Among Ministries

The leaders of Catholic ministries that care for the poor, sick, hungry, and homeless around the world and in our communities; who educate the young and care for the old; and who care for pregnant women and their children especially need to be the face and voice of the Catholic Church. These ministries should look for additional opportunities to work together, and consider more effective structures of collaboration, communication, and advocacy. Catholic social teaching offers a principled and unifying framework around which Catholic lay leaders can come out of our respective silos and come together in efforts to resist polarization, protect the vulnerable, and advance the common good.

9) Build Partnerships and Enhance Collaboration Among Clergy and Laypeople

Bishops and clergy must work in partnership and co-responsibility with lay leaders, respecting their different vocations and utilizing their experience and expertise. For this effort to be successful, it will be essential to build trust between lay leaders and the hierarchy, inviting genuine dialogue and sharing of concerns, hopes, and best practices.

10) Be Both Humble and Bold

Convening participants consistently lifted up our need for the virtue of humility rooted in prayer and reflection. All members of the Church need to learn to listen more, reach out to others with differing backgrounds and perspectives, and move beyond ecclesial and ideological divisions to work together for the good of the Church.

Further Information: [https://takingresponsibility](https://takingresponsibility)
Principal Investigators

John Carr is the Founder and Co-director of the Initiative on Catholic Social Thought and Public Life at Georgetown University, which has organized and hosted a dozen Public Dialogues and a National Leadership Convening on Lay Leadership and the Clergy Abuse Crisis. John has dealt with clergy sexual abuse personally, professionally, and institutionally for more than 50 years. He is a survivor of clergy sexual abuse and has lived with this crisis as a lay leader in the Archdiocese of Washington, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Georgetown University, including as Director of the Department of Justice, Peace, and Human Development at the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops for more than 20 years and as Secretary for Social Concerns for the Archdiocese of Washington for nearly a decade.

Kim Daniels is the Co-director of the Initiative on Catholic Social Thought and Public Life at Georgetown University. She was appointed by Pope Francis as a Member of the Vatican Dicastery for Communication in 2016, and in that role was an advisor to the organizing committee for the February 2019 Vatican Meeting on the Protection of Minors in the Church. In August 2021 Kim was also appointed a member of the Synod 2021-2023 Communications Commission. She is also a consultant to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops’ Committee for Religious Liberty, and has advised the U.S.C.C.B. and other Catholic institutions on a broad range of issues where Church teachings intersect with public life, including immigration, human life and dignity, religious liberty, and care for creation.


Telling and Preserving Survivors’ Stories: The Healing Power of Survivors’ Stories

**THIS STUDY ATTEMPTED** to 1) determine the best format for telling a clergy abuse survivor’s story and 2) to measure the effect of that story on several variables. These variables were religious practices/coping, intrinsic spirituality, and institutional betrayal, and some aspects of moral injury. Contrary to popular beliefs and common myths that engaging with survivor stories “destroys faith”, in our study, it actually does the opposite. Religious coping, beliefs, spiritual practices did not change but stayed the same for those who saw a survivor’s story. Most importantly, the levels of spirituality increased, while levels of institutional betrayal and aspects of moral injury (loss of trust, self-condemnation, difficulty forgiving, and loss of meaning) actually went down. These scores are associated with better long term health outcomes. These preliminary findings indicate that exposure to survivors’ stories might be one important way to increase healing while decreasing a sense of institutional betrayal, mistrust, and injury in communities that struggle with this clergy sexual abuse atrocity. The implications for future educational and catechetical training seems to be quite promising and significant.

Participants (n=158) were a national, representative sample, with a large majority of abuse survivors (around 80%). They were asked to choose between two options as to how to view the survivors’ stories—to engage with just one format of a story (3 to 5 minutes) or all four at once (18 to 20 minutes). Formats included video, written, and listening, with both shorter (2 to 3 minutes) and longer (5 minutes) of the audio files available. They also filled in pre- and post-surveys accordingly. Additionally, extensive pre-screening was also necessary in order to be sure that no participant would be re-traumatized while viewing an abuse story. The time commitment was a major factor in recruitment of participants and had limitations in the data set (pre-screening, reading, accepting, and signing an informed consent took an average of 15 minutes).

**Key Findings**

1. Video format where viewers could both see and hear the person telling their story in their own words seemed to be most effective in comparison to the other formats with multiple variables (being helpful, powerful, memorable, inspiring, meaningful, and valuable).

2. After interacting with the stories, there were significant differences in the levels of moral injury and institutional betrayal among the participants, regardless of the form in which the story was being told. This means that stories were able to decrease these realities in these individuals, providing a means of healing that had not been seriously considered beforehand. The < p. values or significance levels were quite high on these variables.

3. Engaging with these stories did not decrease church attendance, beliefs or prayer practices, and instead increased a sense of spiritual groundedness within participants.

4. Overall, the research indicates that survivors’ stories can help individuals heal when injured and betrayed by the institution, especially in this sample wherein over 80% of the participants reported that they were survivors of some form of abuse and that they still practiced their faith. Interestingly, and initially, there seemed to be no difference between survivors and non-survivors, nor men and women. Improvement seemed to occur in both groups at the same levels.

The way forward might be to embrace difficult stories. One can imagine how survivors’ stories when done well, with safety always in mind, could be integrated into the fabric of high school and university/college courses or teaching; university-wide, diocesan, and religious leadership trainings; and the catechesis of this faith community in the future. It is core to our belief in the paschal
mystery, event, and story. If we accept the hypothesis that cultural/ systemic/ institutional change is necessary, restorative justice might demand a new focus on the stories that allow us to enter the pain, the hurt, and woundedness in order to find redemptive healing, justice, accountability, and hope. Future research might well start with these possibilities, realities, and further attempt to recruit a non-survivor, non-practicing survivor pool of participants, a clearer clergy versus non-clergy survivor pool, and a sample that encompasses more expansive demographics, particularly, regarding age, gender, ethnicity, and the marginalized communities.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/georgetown-stories-of-survivors/

Principal Investigator

Fr. Gerard “Jerry” J. McGlone, S.J., Ph.D., is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University. He is a survivor of childhood clergy sexual abuse, as well as adult harassment and sexual misconduct. He leads the Towards a Global Culture of Safeguarding Program, Georgetown University. Over the past two years, the program has offered over 14 different events highlighting survivors’ stories, with particular emphasis on women survivors’ voices, families of survivors, and the crisis in France. Fr. Jerry is a Jesuit priest and trained in both clinical and counseling psychology. He was previously an assistant professor of psychiatry in the Department of Psychiatry at Medstar Georgetown University School of Medicine. He has served as executive director of several major treatment centers for clergy and religious in the United States. He is the author of many peer-reviewed articles and the lead author of over a dozen nationally and internationally recognized sexual abuse prevention programs for male religious in the United States.
‘Our transgressions before you are many, and our sins testify against us’ (Is 59:12a): Re-Imagining Church in Light of Colonization and Catholic Sexual Abuse

THE ROOTS OF THIS PROJECT are found, in part, in Gonzaga University’s desire to confront and wrestle with the ways Catholic sexual abuse has intersected with the university’s own history. In 2018, many on campus were outraged to learn that 1) a large number of Jesuits who had been credibly accused of sexual abuse were moved to Bea House, a Jesuit residence legally adjacent to, but in reality surrounded on all four sides by, the university and 2) that many of those Jesuits had abused children and women at Native American reservations. In response, the university president created a University Commission on Catholic Sexual Abuse. Simultaneously, NPR reported on the so-called “geographic solution” that was used in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, wherein abusive priests were missioned to predominantly Spanish-speaking parishes with high populations of undocumented parishioners, who were unlikely to report abuse to law enforcement. Similarly, new details about abuse in historically African-American parishes began to emerge in news outlets.

THE TAKING RESPONSIBILITY INITIATIVE offered us the opportunity to consider how we might reflect on the ways that systemic and structural realities such as white supremacy, whiteness, Christian supremacy, colonialism, and racialized supersessionism contributed to clergy sexual abuse and its cover-up, as well as the ways that those realities intersected with clericalism and patriarchal domination. We felt that a conference, wherein scholars who have constructively engaged the Christian tradition’s participation in these structural sins previously were invited to explore them in light of the realities of clergy sexual abuse, would open avenues to discover new insights related to the causes and legacy of Jesuit sexual abuse.

Seminar presenters were Samuel B. Torres, Jr. of the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, on “Problematizing Reconciliation as a Justice Framework for US Indian Boarding Schools”; Kelly L. Schmidt (Washington University in St. Louis) on “Sexual Abuse of Enslaved People in the US Catholic Church”; Jeannine Hill Fletcher (Fordham University) on “Deep Roots of Divinized Domination or Thank God for the Grandmothers”; Tracy Sayuki Tiemeier (Loyola Marymount University) on “Church and State of Exception: The Necropolitics of Catholic Sexual Abuse”; Erin Kidd (St. John’s University, Queens, NY) on “Survivor Testimony, Epistemic Injustice, and Theological Harm”; Susan Bigelow Reynolds (Emory University) on “Migrant Survivors of Clergy Sexual Abuse, Unsealed Files, and Between-the-Lines Testimony”; Natalia Imperator-Lee (Manhattan College), on “From an Economy of Secrets to the Synodal Way: What the Church Can Learn from #MeToo”; and Melissa Pagán (Mount Saint Mary’s University, Los Angeles), on “A Feminist Decolonial Theological Response to Catholic Sexual Abuse.”

We also livestreamed two keynote addresses with responses: Kathleen Holcher (University of New Mexico) on “The Catholic Anatomy of a Dumping Ground: Thinking Across the Catholic-ness and Coloniality of Sexual Abuse in Indian Country,” with response by Steven Battin (University of Notre Dame); and Andrew Prevot (Boston College), “Spiritual Resistance to Race-Related Sexual Violence: Black and Native Perspectives,” with response by Jack Downey (University of Rochester).

Key conclusions

1) The classical narrative of Catholic sexual abuse in the United States, with its focus on white (and usually male) victims in Boston and Pennsylvania, has framed the story as a white narrative, ignoring how many historically marginalized communities have been disproportionately affected by Catholic abuse. Therefore, there is a need to tell a
more complete story that examines how the oft-identified causes of clerical abuse and its cover-up intersect with and compound the church’s participation in white supremacy and colonialism.

2) Patterns of clericalism, patriarchy, and hierarchical church order function in ways that are unique to each context. The effects of clericalism are compounded when settler-colonial and white supremacist logics deem entire classes of people more disposable and therefore available for abuse, as well as less likely to be deemed credible witnesses to their own experience.

3) Victims’ narratives and testimony must be seen as theological sources and theologies in their own right. If Catholic theology is going to address the clerical sexual abuse crisis adequately it must diagnose the theological distortions that led to abuse and its concealment. But, it must also recognize spiritualities that allowed survivors to survive as locius of theological reflection.

4) The demand to address the intersectional and structural realities at play in Catholic abuse must lead to a re-framing of the oft-stated aims of responding to the crisis. For instance, we must resist the understandable temptation to suggest that the primary way of responding to Catholic sexual abuse ought to be the implementation of safeguards for children, at least as that has been understood in the US. The only way to adequately address the causes and legacies of clerical sexual abuse is through deep and sustained structural and theological reform. This reform must reach down to the very roots of Catholic church order and the Catholic theological imagination. It must honestly reckon with how the life and mission of the church, which ought to be rooted in the ministry of a Jewish prophet executed by the Roman state for drawing on God’s conventual love to resist the death-dealing logics of the Roman imperial order, have been distorted by intersecting systems of clericalism, patriarchy, misogyny, heterosexism, settler-colonialism, white racist supremacy, supersessionism, and Christian supremacy, to the point that the church has become an instrument of what M. Shawn Copeland calls the new imperial disorder.

5) The type of structural and theological reform needed in the church will be possible only when the insights of feminist, decolonial, and other liberationist theologians drive the church’s agenda for a renewal. But, more fundamentally, as Bryan Massingale notes, no such reform—regardless of the intellectual and theological tools used—will be possible until the church, both the hierarchal church and the whole people of God, learns to recognize Brown and Black persons as beloved children of God.

Further Information: Summaries of the seminar presentations and the livestreamed plenaries are available at [https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/gonzaga-colonization-sexual-abuse/](https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/gonzaga-colonization-sexual-abuse/)

Principal Investigators

Michelle Wheatley, D.Min., served for fifteen years at Gonzaga University in a succession of roles within the University Ministry and Mission offices, including Vice President for Mission Integration. She is the co-founder of the Wheatley Leadership Group and currently works with people and communities focused on unlocking potential through leadership development, executive coaching, and organizational consulting.

Megan K. McCabe, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Gonzaga University. She works in the areas of Catholic moral theology, theological ethics, and feminist theologies. Her current research develops an understanding of “cultures of sin,” specifically in the context of an examination of the problem of the cultural foundation of
sexual violence. Her work has been published in the edited volume *Love, Sex, and Families: Catholic Perspectives* (Liturgical Press – Academic, 2020); the *Journal of Religious Ethics*, the *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*; and *America* Magazine; and is forthcoming in the *Journal of Moral Theology*. She is currently co-chairing a five-year seminar at AAR, “Contextualizing the Catholic Sexual Abuse Crisis,” and co-chaired for three years an interest group at the CTSA, “Theology, Sexuality, and Justice: New Frontiers.”

**B. Kevin Brown, Ph.D.,** is Lecturer of Religious Studies at Gonzaga University. He researches primarily in the areas of ecclesiology, attending to questions raised by Catholic sexual abuse, theologies of ministry and discipleship, feminist and liberation theologies, ecumenism, the Second Vatican Council, and the work of Sandra Schneiders. His work has been published in *Vision of Hope: Emerging Theologians and the Future of the Church* and *So You Say You Want a Revolution?: 1968–2018 in Theological Perspective*. He currently serves as the editor of the Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America.
Entangled Responsibility: Exploring Institutional Accountability for a University’s Past

THE SEXUAL ABUSE COMMITTED BY PRIESTS in the Jesuit Midwest Province who were affiliated with Loyola University Chicago was barely mentioned as a part of the university’s history prior to 2022. This is surprising, since one of the most publicized cases of clerical sexual abuse in the U.S. concerned the late former Jesuit priest Donald McGuire. McGuire not only received his Ph.D. from Loyola in 1976, he also taught at Loyola Academy and developed mission and retreat programs in Chicago and numerous other locations. His official posting and address, however, was always Chicago. He officially lived here during the years 2002-2005, when criminal charges were brought against him, and well-publicized lawsuits followed. McGuire was arrested in 2005, and subsequently sentenced to seven years of prison time in 2006. His sentence was increased to twenty-five years in 2009 after he was additionally convicted of a federal crime. McGuire died in federal prison in 2017. But as recently as 2019, a new victim has come forward.

The grant from the Taking Responsibility project allowed for the creation of a publicly available digital documentation of McGuire’s case, as well as of other cases of credibly accused and/or convicted Jesuits who were at one point in their life affiliated with LUC. These documented cases are limited to publicly available information, but they lend the abstract knowledge of “clergy sexual abuse” faces and narratives, and the latter often include stories of failed responsibility by multiple actors, as well as the indifference of Catholic institutions.

The documentation on our website builds upon the officially published lists of Jesuits credibly accused of sexual abuse that were being released and regularly updated by the Midwest Province. These lists were searched for every mention of Loyola University Chicago in order to identify any priests affiliated with the university. The data were then compared with those provided by the Minneapolis law firm Jeff Anderson & Associates that record Catholic priests credibly accused of sexual abuse in all of the United States. In a third step, bishopaccountability.org, an online archive of clerical sexual abuse, was searched. We examined old course catalogues at the Loyola library in order to find the affiliation and/or position the accused priests held at the university. Research in newspaper archives and some other miscellaneous data repositories rounded out our data collection. In sum, the documentary website details twenty-three cases of Loyola-related priests accused of sexual abuse, with four cases chosen for a comprehensive, in-depth narrative.

Key Findings

WITH RESEARCH COMPLETE, the publicly available information on those cases is now more easily accessible and more comprehensive. Some false and/or misleading data was eliminated through cross-referencing sources and reports. Two facts stand out in the overall findings: first, only a few of the twenty-three Jesuit priests who abused minors did so during their affiliation with Loyola, while the documented cases span over six decades. Second, the accused Jesuits can be found at every level of the university, from undergraduate students who would engage in sexual abuse later in their careers, to faculty, campus ministers, or members of the Board of Trustees.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT CONCLUSION from the project concerns Loyola University Chicago itself: sexual abuse by those Jesuit priests affiliated with the University is part of the institution’s history. It ought to be remembered instead of being forgotten. Clergy sexual abuse ought to be recognized as affecting Loyola directly and indirectly, mostly through the close relationship between Jesuit community and the university. Despite being neither legally or morally accountable for the
M. Lawrence “Larry” Reuter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>M. Lawrence “Larry” Reuter</th>
<th>Jesuit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Ordination</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association with LUC</td>
<td>Late 1970s-1989, 1990-2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of LUC</td>
<td>Board of Trustees member,</td>
<td>campus ministry, vice president</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further Information:
- [https://entangledresponsibility.com/](https://entangledresponsibility.com/)
- [https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/loyola-chicago-entangled-responsibility/](https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/loyola-chicago-entangled-responsibility/)

Principal Investigators

**Hille Haker, Ph.D.**, holds the Richard McCormick S.J. Endowed Chair in Catholic Ethics at Loyola University Chicago. She has taught at Frankfurt University (2005 to 2009), and Harvard University (2003 to 2005) and holds a Ph.D. (1998) and Habilitation (2002) in Christian Ethics from the University of Tübingen, Germany. Hille Haker served on several Bioethics Committees, including the European Group on Ethics in Science and New Technologies to the European Commission (2005-2015). From 2015-2018, she was the President of Societas Ethica, European Society for Research in Ethics. Her publications include four monographs: Towards a Critical Political Ethics. The Renewal of Catholic Social Ethics, Würzburg, Schwabe Verlag (2020); Hauptsache gesund? München, Kösel (2011); Ethik der genetischen Frühdiaagnostik, Paderborn, mentis (2002); Moralische Identität. Literarische Lebensgeschichten als Medium ethischer Reflexion (1999). She is currently working on a book on Recognition and Responsibility.

**Sebastian Wuepper, Ph.D.**, received his Ph.D. in history and M.A. in public history from Loyola University Chicago. A native of Berlin, he wrote his dissertation on 19th-century German-American Chicago newspapers. He currently works as a writer and researcher for a high school history textbook and the lead producer on a local talk radio show out of Chicago. He volunteers as a collections consultant with the D.A.N.K. Haus German American Cultural Center where he researches post-World War II German immigration. He works on the project as a visiting postdoctoral scholar, responsible for the documentation part of the project, including the historical background research and compiling the case studies of LUC-related cases. He is also developing the project website and provides further public and digital history consulting.
Understanding & Addressing the Intersection of Spiritual Struggles and Clergy Sexual Abuse in the Roman Catholic Church in Baltimore

WE INVESTIGATED the psychological and spiritual damage done by clergy sexual abuse in the Roman Catholic Church through a multi-method study of spiritual struggles. Spiritual struggles in the psychological study of religion “refer to pain, anger, fear, doubt, or confusion related to religious and spiritual beliefs, experiences, and practices. Broadly speaking, spiritual struggles refer to distress or conflict in domains of life that individuals perceive as sacred.” We investigated how and under what conditions spiritual struggles are experienced by Catholics and former Catholics related to sexual abuse within the Roman Catholic Church, with particular attention paid to the unique experiences of Black Catholics and former Catholics.

Baltimore, our home, is a city at the foundation of both the Catholic and the Black Catholic traditions in the United States, thus providing a distinctive context for the study.

The research methods entailed a mixed-methods sequential design. In the first phase of the study, quantitative methods were used to survey 248 Catholics and former Catholics. Efforts were made to recruit roughly equal numbers of Black and non-Black Catholics, however only 7% (n = 17) of survey respondents identified as Black Catholics and 17% (n = 41) identified as former Catholics. We also interviewed 32 participants in depth (12 male, 20 female; 4 Black, 28 non-Black; 22 Catholic, 10 former Catholic).

Key Findings, Quantitative Data

Given the significant sample size difference between comparison groups, nonparametric inferential statistics were used for comparative analyses. A significant limitation of these data are the relatively small number of former Catholics (n = 41), Black Catholics (n = 14), and Black former Catholics (n = 3) in the sample.

1) In general, religious and spiritual struggles were common among all participants (n = 248). The most common types were struggles with other religious/spiritual people, doubts about religious/spiritual beliefs, and concerns about personal morality. Struggles with God, demonic forces, and ultimate meaning were present but less prevalent.

2) All forms of spiritual struggle were linked with experiencing greater symptoms of anxiety and depression; however, divine struggles and struggles of ultimate meaning were most highly related to both depressive symptoms and anxiety. The presence of meaning in life was related to fewer symptoms of both anxiety and depression.

3) Perceptions of institutional betrayal by the Catholic Church were related to greater interpersonal struggles, religious and spiritual doubt, perceptions of sacred loss and desecration, clericalism and postconventional religious reasoning.

4) There were no differences between Catholics (n = 207) and former Catholics (n = 41) in perceptions of institutional betrayal regarding sexual abuse within the Catholic church; however, Catholics scored higher on perceptions of desecration related to sexual abuse in the Church and overall meaning in life in comparison to former Catholics. Former Catholics reported more struggles related to morality, religious and spiritual doubt, and ultimate meaning, as well as greater symptoms of anxiety and depression in comparison to Catholics. Former Catholics reported more frequent daily spiritual experiences and greater postconventional religious reasoning than Catholics.

5) Black Catholics and former Catholics (n = 17) scored higher on experiences of racism within their own church, in other religious settings, and in non-religious settings in comparison to non-Black
Catholics and former Catholics (n = 231). Black Catholics and former Catholics also reported greater demonic struggles and lower perceptions of clerical indifference than non-Black Catholics and former Catholics. No other differences were found on study variables between Black and non-Black Catholics and former Catholics.

Key Findings, Qualitative Data

1) Catholics and former Catholics experienced spiritual struggles with the institutional Church as a result of clergy sexual abuse. Current Catholics reconciled these struggles through rationalizations (i.e., clergy are human, and humans are sinful) and focusing on the value of their experiences of Church in their local parish rather than the negatives seen in the broader institution. Former Catholics viewed clergy sexual abuse as one of many hypocrisies of the Church. Although Black Catholics experienced spiritual struggles with the institutional Church related to clergy sexual abuse, the historical and current racism of the Church lessens the intensity of this struggle.

2) Participants interviewed who actively practice their Catholic faith do not often think about sexual abuse. As one participant stated, “I really don’t think about it, you know, it’s not… If it’s something that’s in the news, you know, it may go through my mind, but as a regular routine thing, it’s not there.” Most participants reported thinking about clergy sexual abuse as a response to media coverage. What seemed to influence whether people think regularly about clergy sexual abuse is proximity and specificity: the more specific the event or close to their social networks it is, the more conscious and deliberative reflection will be.

3) Catholics and former Catholics tended to experience spiritual struggles that are interpersonal or with the institution, not intrapersonally or with God or demonic forces. As one participant stated, “I think I would leave out the spiritual struggles with God, because I think for myself, I’ve separated the institutional Catholic Church from God. For me the institution is a seriously flawed human made institution.” Interestingly, struggles with God were rare, as were struggles with one’s own culpability. More common were struggles with the institution (seen as the Archdiocese and more broadly, USCCB, and personalized in bishops, regardless of their behavior) and struggles with other people about remaining Catholic.

4) Current, but not former, Catholics coped with the impact of clergy sexual abuse by working to preserve religious practices and beliefs. One participant stated, “I believe what I believe, regardless of what humans do. And there’s been some bad humans, but some of them had to be priests and some happen to be boy scout leaders, some happen to be other things. It’s a shame, but it doesn’t change what I believe.” Common coping mechanisms that fostered maintenance of religious practices and beliefs were inertia, rationalization, and dividing the church into good and bad actors while identifying as part of the “good guys.”

5) Due to the history of institutional racism within the Catholic Church, the moral failings of the Church were not a spiritual struggle for Black Catholics who already had to carve out their own safe spaces. As one participant said, “I think white Catholic churches were shaken in a way that at least my African American Catholic Church wasn’t because there was already an inherent distrust in the institution to look out for us. Black Catholics already know how the institution has treated them as African Americans in the past. It isn’t threatening to imagine that a racist organization has intractable evil coming from it.” This sense made it easier to adopt a kind of de-facto congregationalism focused only on the local parish as where Church happens. Surprisingly, people did not talk about cases of abuse committed and occurring in predominantly Black parishes, though there have been some well-known cases.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/loyola-maryland/
Table 1. *Spiritual Struggles: Mostly Institutional and Interpersonal instead of Divine and Intrapersonal*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divine Struggles</th>
<th>The majority of participants did not experience struggles with God related to clergy sexual abuse. They did not view clergy sexual abuse as God’s fault. The minority of participants who struggled with God in this way experienced it as a classic theodicy struggle: how could an all-powerful, all-loving God allow this to happen?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonic Struggles</td>
<td>A very small number of participants viewed clergy sexual abuse as Satan attacking the Church, but this was more of a theological analysis than a spiritual struggle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Struggles</td>
<td>All participants experienced struggles with the institutional Church related to clergy sexual abuse, including significant moral outrage and anger. Participants want the institutional Church to apologize and repent for its sins, including facing legal consequences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional/ Interpersonal Struggles</td>
<td>A small but significant number of Catholics and former Catholics expressed a distrust of clergy that included questioning all clergy’s direct and indirect involvement in clergy sexual abuse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Struggles</td>
<td>Some current Catholics struggled spiritually to explain their continued participation in the Church to people they are not close to and some struggled with family and close friends who have different opinions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrapersonal Struggles</td>
<td>Some current Catholics expressed guilt for staying in the Church due to clergy sexual abuse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. *Psychological Strategies to Conserve Existing Faith Life*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spiritual Struggles with the Institutional Church: Coping through Rationalization</th>
<th>Focusing on Spiritual Struggles with the Institution to Manage (Avoid) Intrapersonal and Divine Spiritual Struggles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Perpetrators of abuse are sick.</td>
<td>• If you want change, you have to work from within the Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The institution is not the church.</td>
<td>• My parish is good and does not reflect the institutional Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sin is a part of all human organizations, including the Church.</td>
<td>• I cannot change the institutional problems (i.e., covering up clergy sexual abuse, mal-formation of clergy, clericalism, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• My personal spirituality is more important than the Church’s shortcomings.</td>
<td>• There are good priests and religious, and Pope Francis engenders hope. The bishops are the problem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Principal Investigators

Gina Magyar-Russell, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology at Loyola University Maryland. She is a licensed, practicing psychologist and specializes in psychological and spiritual adjustment following adverse life events, with emphasis on the treatment of anxiety and mood disorders. She has co-authored over 45 scholarly publications on religiousness, spirituality, and health, as well as depression and anxiety, in various populations.

Rev. Jill L. Snodgrass, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Theology at Loyola University Maryland. She is a pastoral and practical theologian, a scholar-activist, and an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ. Her research focuses on spiritual care and counseling with traditionally marginalized populations. She is co-author of *Moral Injury after Abortion: Exploring the Psychospiritual Impact on Catholic Women* (Routledge, 2022), the author of *Women Leaving Prison: Justice-Seeking Spiritual Support for Female Returning Citizens* (Lexington, 2018), the editor of *Navigating Religious Difference in Spiritual Care and Counseling* (Claremont Press, 2019) and *Understanding Pastoral Counseling* (Springer, 2015), and numerous peer-reviewed articles and chapters.

Rev. Joseph Stewart-Sicking, Ed.D., NCC is Professor of Counseling and Chair of the Department of Education Specialties at Loyola University Maryland. An ordained Episcopal priest, he is a counselor, spiritual director, and congregational consultant. His scholarship has focused on the relationship between mental health counseling and spiritual direction and integrating spirituality and religion into counseling in pluralist settings.

He has published numerous scholarly articles and books in the areas of counselor education and supervision, career counseling, religion and spirituality in counseling, and spiritual direction, the most recent of which is *Bringing Religion and Spirituality into Therapy: A Process-Based Model for Pluralistic Practice* (Routledge, 2019).

Rodney L. Parker, Ph.D., is the Chief Equity and Inclusion Officer and an affiliate faculty member of theology at Loyola University Maryland. He holds a Master of Divinity and Master of Theology from Duke University, a Master of Science in Pastoral Counseling and a doctorate in Counselor Education and Supervision from Loyola University Maryland. He is ordained in the Church of God in Christ and his research focuses on the impact of spirituality and cultural forms of coping on racism-related stress of Black male students at Jesuit Catholic institutions.

Rev. Dr. Martin J. Burnham, P.S.S., received his Doctor of Philosophy in Counselor Education and Supervision from the Pastoral Counseling and Spiritual Care Department of Loyola University Maryland in May 2019. As a native of Baltimore, Maryland, Fr. Burnham is a priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and has been a member of the Sulpicians since 2014. Fr. Burnham is currently a licensed professional counselor in the State of Maryland and serves in leadership roles in the American Counseling Association and is also Director of Discernment and Admissions for the US Province, Society of St. Sulpice.
Best Practices for Lay Empowerment: Adult Track

THE ORIGIN OF OUR PROJECT (both the young adult and adult tracks) was rooted in our conviction that the abuse of power was at the heart of the abuse crisis. Recognizing that this abuse of power was only possible as a result of a power imbalance, we identified greater empowerment of the laity as an essential corrective to the conditions that facilitated abuse in the Catholic Church for so long. As members of the laity ourselves, we felt this was a more promising focus for our work than a dismantling of clericalism, which represented another way of undoing the imbalance of power. We also recognized that disempowerment of the laity has been a significant concern for the Catholic Church and needed more attention.

While my colleagues explored lay empowerment for youth and young adults, I researched the question of lay empowerment for adults in the church, to identify resources in the Catholic theological tradition that could support greater equality in the church by elevating the contributions of the laity. This resulted in a focus on the role of conscience and the possibilities for communal discernment. One part of the project developed these resources and explored their potential to serve as a corrective the historical disempowerment of the laity, resulting in a journal article (forthcoming, as of Fall 2022, with Offerings) that shows how these resources can be especially fruitful in light of survivors’ experience of finding spiritual empowerment inside and outside the Catholic Church. The second part of the project produced materials for a parish workshop to lead the laity through a discussion of the role of power in the abuse crisis, the ecclesiological resources supporting equality among the people of God, two different strands of conscience in Catholic theology, and tools for discernment (of conscience) in the Ignatian tradition.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/marquette-adult/

Key Findings

1) Ecclesial models and metaphors are powerful. There is a close connection between ecclesiology—especially the images of the Church—and the disconnect between the power of the laity and the power of the clergy. Survivors’ experiences pursuing spiritual empowerment can help to challenge insufficient ecclesial models, generating a more egalitarian vision for the important role all people can play as members of the body of Christ.

2) There is a real theological dimension to the sexual abuse crisis, both in its roots and its effects. We need to address the spiritual injuries of abuse and the power imbalances in our church on a theological level if we want to move forward together.

3) Lay empowerment is important, but not fully possible without structural reform. Feedback from the parish workshops highlighted parishioners’ frustration with the limited roles for women in institutional leadership in the Catholic Church. For many participants, this gap was a stumbling block to their own hope for lay empowerment and suggested a ceiling for the contributions of a project focused on best practices for lay people without concomitant structural reforms.

4) Laity need more support for collaborative discernment processes. Participants reflected that the time spent reflecting on discernment, using adaptations from the Spiritual Exercises, was especially valuable. They also highlighted, however, the challenges of cultivating a practice of discernment alone and spoke of a strong desire for greater collaborative support for discernment among the laity. Developing additional discernment practices, particularly practices that can be utilized in a group setting and ideally drawing on resources from other spiritual traditions within Catholicism, would therefore be another valuable avenue for future resource aimed at empowering the laity.
Principal Investigator

Conor M. Kelly, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor in the department of theology at Marquette University. His research and teaching focus on cultivating practices for ethical discernment in ordinary life. He has written numerous articles examining applied ethical issues in ordinary life, co-edited Poverty: Responding Like Jesus with Kenneth Himes (Paraclete Press, 2018), and authored The Fullness of Free Time: A Theological Account of Leisure and Recreation in the Moral Life (Georgetown University Press, 2020) and Racism and Structural Sin: Confronting Injustice with the Eyes of Faith (Liturgical Press, 2023). Along with his family, he is a member of St. Joseph’s Catholic parish in Wauwatosa, WI.

Best Practices for Lay Empowerment: Adolescent Track

THE ORIGIN OF OUR PROJECT (both the young adult and adult tracks) was rooted in our conviction that the abuse of power was at the heart of the abuse crisis. Recognizing that this abuse of power was only possible as a result of a power imbalance, we identified greater empowerment of the laity as an essential corrective to the conditions that facilitated abuse in the Catholic Church for so long. As members of the laity ourselves, we felt this was a more promising focus for our work than a dismantling of clericalism, which represented another way of undoing the imbalance of power. We also recognized that disempowerment of the laity has been a significant concern for the Catholic Church and needed more attention.

The adolescent-focused group explored sexual violence prevention materials and safe environment trainings on the local and national levels. We noted a lack of consistency among the educational materials used in dioceses and eparchies across the U.S., with differences in content, length, and theological focus. Across 196 dioceses and eparchies, there were 161 different materials for use with children, with additional training materials for adult volunteers, priests, and deacons. Eleven organizations produced about 51% of materials, with VIRTUS, Circle of Grace, and Praesidium the top three producers (~32%). Of the remaining materials, 49% were not named. When we searched individual diocesan websites for those products, we found many were home-grown products that were not empirically tested. When trying to obtain copies of the commercial materials, we encountered a high degree of resistance and gatekeeping. Barriers ranged from financial inaccessibility to hostility and skepticism.

In response, we developed a workshop for teenagers around the intersection of power and relationships. With these tools, we believe people will be better able to identify abuses of power and have a better understanding of their own autonomy (self-power) in relationships within the culture of
abuse in the Church. To put it simply: knowledge is power. For adolescents in particular, holistic Catholic sexuality education that includes practical and nuanced sexual violence prevention information can help form an integrated sexuality that furthers their moral, spiritual, psychological, and physical growth. This education can empower youth to make more informed decisions about how to enter into relationships with their peers, family members, religious leaders, and other adults in their lives.

**Key Findings**

Despite the barriers to access, we identified some overarching themes in the safeguarding/sexual violence prevention materials that we were able to review (including VIRTUS, the most widely used resource in the US).

1) The current sexual violence prevention curricula is primarily focused on how individuals can prevent abuse by reporting problematic behaviors. Abuse prevention is more than reporting problematic behavior; it also means gaining knowledge and skills for identifying power dynamics in relationships, and tools for constructively interrupting abuse before it gets to a “reportable” stage.

2) While the material we reviewed had relevant bible verses to accompany different lessons, there weren’t any explicit connections to key principles in the Catholic social tradition that would pertain to systems of injustice such as abuse.

3) While there was some reference to the ways abuse of power may take place in relationships, there was not any specific references to the way that gender and power intersect within abusive relationships, and their impact on our behaviors with others.

In light of these findings, we created and tested a workshop for teens that contextualizes power dynamics in relationships, meeting learners where they are to best build knowledge, awareness, and theological reflection. In a 3-hour workshop, students identify relationship power dynamics and naming abusive behaviors in professional and personal relationships. We conclude with an Examen, praying through the content covered with a focus on autonomy in relationships and identifying markers of misuse of power and control.

For further research, we strongly suggest a thorough overview of sexual abuse prevention curricula ensuring the inclusion of developmentally-appropriate power literacy, the ability to identify abuse of power in various relationships, and a more nuanced understanding of how abuses of power have happened historically (including gender, racial, and ability disparities) and how we can change them as a church moving forward. Given both groups’ desires for more information about relationships, we also urge research on best practices in educating this age group on how to seek and maintain healthy relationships.

Further Information: [https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/marquette-youth-track/](https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/marquette-youth-track/)
Marquette University’s Grant

This project supports research designed to produce public facing resources for lay empowerment in the face of the clergy sexual abuse crisis. Funding provided by Fordham University’s Taking Responsibility Initiative: Jesuit Educational Institutions Confront the Causes and Legacy of Clergy Sexual Abuse.

Empowering Adolescents: Resources

Milwaukee Resources for Teens


Walker’s Point. For youth experiencing a crisis, including running away and housing. 414-647-8200. https://walkerspoint.org/


Concerned that someone is being abused?

For Emergencies: 911

To report child abuse in Milwaukee County: 414-220-SAFE (7253), option 4

If someone is suicidal or in a mental health crisis: Child Mobile Crisis Team. 414-257-7621 (24/7)


If someone is abused by a Catholic priest, bishop, or other Catholic church leader: Stephanie Delmore. Victim Assistance & Employee Support Coordinator. 414-769-3332. delmores@archmil.org.

Healthy Relationships

We have relationships with all kinds of people: family, friends, sometimes romantic partners, and other important people in our lives (including ourselves).

Relationships can be healthy, unhealthy, or abusive. In healthy relationships, we love and support each other, listening to each other and doing our best to be there for one another. Unhealthy relationships can cause feelings of anxiety, hurt, or shame.

Abusive relationships involve the abuse of power to make exploit, manipulate, or harm those in the relationship. Recognizing power dynamics in relationships can help us know when we are being loved, when a relationship is unhealthy, and when we are causing or experiencing abuse.

Ignatian Spirituality

Ignatian Prayer Resources:
https://www.ignatianspirituality.com/

Creighton University Online Ministries:
https://onlineministries.creighton.edu/Cooperation/CooperativeMinistry/online.html

Pray as You Go (daily Ignatian prayer):
https://pray-as-you-go.org/

Ignatian podcasts:
https://www.jesuit.ie/podcasts/

Places for Retreat

Jesuit Retreat House, Oshkosh, WI: https://jesuitretreathouse.org/

Bellarmine Jesuit Retreat House, Barrington, IL: https://jesuitretreat.org/

Anima Christi

Soul of Christ, sanctify me.
Body of Christ, save me.
Blood of Christ, inebriate me.
Water from the side of Christ, wash me.
Passion of Christ, strengthen me.
O good Jesus, hear me.
Within your wounds conceal me.
Do not permit me to be parted from you.
From the evil foe protect me.
At the hour of my death call me.
And bid me come to you,
to praise you with all your saints
for ever and ever.
Amen.
Principal Investigators

Karen Ross, Ph.D., is a graduate program director, theology and ethics professor, and yoga and mindfulness instructor. She currently works at Catholic Theological Union, and has spent the past four years in the Theology department at Marquette University. Her research focuses on feminist ethics and Catholic sexuality education, particularly of young women and girls.

Mark Levand, Ph.D., CSE-S, is a sexuality educator, supervisor, and researcher. He researches a wide variety of topics including matters of sexuality in higher education, Catholic sexual theology, consent, therapy, and sexuality educator training.

Cathy Melesky Dante, LCSW, MDiv, is a spiritual director, lay minister, and PhD candidate in Marquette University’s Theology department. Her dissertation topic is an ethical response toward solidarity with survivors.
Writing is Surviving: Memoir as a Response to Clergy Sexual Abuse

THIS PROJECT ENTAILED developing a memoir about my growing up Catholic and being abused by my parish priest. As a professor of literature and writing, I found that working in memoir has been my best way of taking responsibility and, in a very literal sense, my best way of responding to the clerical sexual abuse crisis as it directly impacted and still impacts my life.

I am writing in the memoir genre because I see great value in the particularity of experience and in the reflection on that experience. While there are informative patterns across cases of clergy sexual abuse, it is also true that every experience, every trauma, is unique, and each survivor responds in their own way. When we read a survivor’s account, we watch the story unfold in an actual time and place, and we have an opportunity to understand it from the survivor’s perspective. But I think the most poignant contribution of memoir is in the reflection on the experience, how I as a writer try to understand it now and how I situate the experience within my life’s journey—this is the tension between the past and the present, the reflecting self in contact with an earlier experiencing self.

The grant has allowed me to add new passages to the memoir, particularly memories that surround the abuse, memories of being around the priest in ordinary and sometimes communal settings as well as memories of personal and private interactions that were not abusive but in retrospect were obvious precursors to abuse. One such passage involves a photograph of my Eagle Scout ceremony in which my priest and my father, as our scoutmaster, stand a opposite ends of a group photograph, and the young scout who was me turning his neck to look at the priest who had said something to get the boy’s attention.

In the mental space provided by the grant, I began to think about the way priests have been under- stood as father figures and the way this positioning allowed my priest (and surely many others) to place themselves between parents and the child victim. For me, there emerged a sharp contrast between my father (as humble, selfless, loving) and my priest (as arrogant, egoistic, manipulative). Some of the new work sparked by Taking Responsibility develops a contrast to clerical priesthood by exploring the elements of a nurturing fatherhood embodied very powerfully in my own father. This has been a kind of epiphany for me.

Further Information: https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/rockhurst-writing-is-surviving/

Principal Investigator

Daniel J. Martin, Ph.D., lives in Kansas City, Missouri and writes memoir and creative nonfiction, often focused on nature and the environment. His work has appeared in various journals, including About Place, Ascent, North Dakota Quarterly, Kairos, and Animal: A Beast of a Journal. Dan teaches literature and nonfiction writing at Rockhurst University, where he is a professor of English. Recently, his most meaningful labor has been teaching college composition to incarcerated women. These students have inspired him to be a better teacher, to be a better human, and to value the act of writing with greater hope and deeper respect. He has been interested lately in the writing of Eula Biss and Alexis Wright.
Beyond ‘Bad Apples’: Understanding Clergy Perpetrated Sexual Abuse as a Structural Problem and Cultivating Strategies for Change

CLERICALISM IS OFTEN CITED as a factor contributing to clergy perpetrated sexual abuse (CPSA) in the Catholic Church. But while commentators—from journalists and scholars to Pope Francis himself—acknowledge its influence, definitions of clericalism vary widely, clericalism is usually characterized as an individual phenomenon, and empirical assessments are few.

Rather than describing clericalism as an individual reality—a problem of ‘bad apples’—this study maps clericalism as a structural reality shaped by the interaction of three forces: sex, gender, and power. We define clericalism as a structure of power that isolates clergy and sets priests above and apart, granting them excessive authority, trust, rights, and responsibilities while diminishing the agency of lay people and religious.

Clericalism operates throughout the Church by offering incentives and enablers that enhance the agency of some while restricting the agency of others. It is embodied and performed by many priests and can be internalized by lay people and religious. Certain models of the priesthood, for example, enable priests to manage institutions in an authoritarian manner that suppresses the agency of lay people and religious and dissuades them from raising concerns. Anyone (ordained, religious, or lay) can be clericalist, and anyone can be anti-clericalist. Critiquing clericalism need not oppose priesthood nor demonize priests.

Our principal claim is that clericalism is best viewed as a structural reality rather than an individual vice. This report offers a comprehensive theoretical lens for analyzing clericalism as a structure and discusses findings from an original survey of ecclesial ministers, whose insights enable us to describe how clericalism shapes ecclesial life. Our approach is rooted in sociological theories of power, gender, and sexual violence. This literature points away from individual pathologies and toward analyses of cultures and environments that contribute to sexual violence, including CPSA. Addressing sexual violence in the Church requires that we analyze and dismantle structural clericalism in its essential parts: sex, gender, and power.

Key Findings

1. With respect to sex, clericalism is enabled by a lack of healthy sexual integration and inadequate sexual formation in schools of ministry and compounded by a culture of silence and repression. According to our data, a lack of adequate human formation impedes development of healthy sexual integration for priests and lay people. Because of this lack of sexual integration, many priests are unable to connect in authentically vulnerable ways and sometimes neglect appropriate boundaries. This constitutes a de facto setting apart of the priest because of a gap in his ability to navigate his existence as a celibate, but sexual, person. A lack of spaces for open discussion of sexuality compounds the problem and extends its reach in ecclesial spaces.

2. With respect to gender, clericalism manifests through the performance of harmful forms of masculinity, which research links to domination and violence. According to our data, consciousness of gender construction is generally low, and many still presume a view that perpetuates male privilege. Priestly formation programs rarely provide opportunities for meaningful interaction with lay people and religious, especially women. Priests also receive little education in gender studies and lack familiarity with constructions of masculinity that isolate them and restrict their ability to authentically connect with those they serve.

3. With respect to power, clericalism operates as an invisible backdrop for ecclesial life that sets clergy above and apart from non-ordained members of the Church. According to
our data, the clericalist exercise of power manifests both in authoritarian and disorganized management styles and in theologies of the priesthood that center on the perceived authority and status of ordained ministers. It manifests to a lesser degree in theologies that view priestly authority as service of the Church. It is enabled by priests’ limited training and their lack of experience working alongside and empowering lay people.

4. Clergy sexual abuse cannot be attributed to some “bad apples” and must be analyzed in relationship to the whole of ecclesial life (e.g. using structural analysis). Though our study cannot show that clericalism causes CPSA, our nearly 300 respondents (a unique group of priests, deacons, women religious, and lay ecclesial ministers with decades of experience working in Church settings) stated that CPSA is rooted not in individual pathologies but in systemic problems related to sex, gender, and power. Jesuit institutions generally appear to be ahead of diocesan seminaries and can provide healthier models for formation and ministry.

5. Alternatives to clericalism—what we term “anti-clericalism”—include collaborative approaches to ministry that empower lay people to use their gifts and talents, and strategies that foster healthy sexual integration and raise consciousness about harmful forms of masculinity and femininity linked to patriarchal constructions of gender. Rooted in the Gospel and contemporary theologies of the priesthood, anti-clericalism is already being practiced among some priests and lay people and offers hopeful signs of resistance and transformation.

While effective steps have been taken to create safe environments, educate adults and children, and improve reporting in Catholic institutions, structural work to address the root causes of CPSA remains to be done. Our report concludes with recommendations for developing alternatives to structural clericalism, which we hope will contribute to a reduction in CPSA.

Further Information:
- https://www.scu.edu/ic/programs/bannan-forum/media_publications/beyond_bad_apples/
- https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/santa-clara-structural-clericalism/

Principal Investigators

Julie Hanlon Rubio, Ph.D., is Professor of Christian Ethics at the Jesuit School of Theology of Santa Clara University. Her research brings the resources of social ethics to issues of sex, gender, marriage, and family. She has published four books and two edited volumes. Her essays have appeared in Theological Studies, Horizons, the Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics, and the Journal of Political Theology. She serves on the USCCB’s National Review Board and the board of the Journal of Catholic Social Thought. Her current book project is titled Can You Be a Catholic and a Feminist? (Oxford University Press, 2023).

Measuring and Exploring Moral Injury Caused by Clergy Sexual Abuse

MORAL INJURY RESULTS from a betrayal of trust, disrupting one’s beliefs and moral compass. It comprises persistent psychological and emotional distress, moral confusion, spiritual anguish, social alienation, and distrust for institutions. Moral injury overlaps with and extends beyond post-traumatic stress disorder, which inadequately spans the psychological, emotional, moral, spiritual, behavioral, and relational dimensions of human personhood.

To our knowledge, our instrument is the first to measure moral injury caused by clergy sexual abuse and its concealment. In particular, this pilot study aims to measure moral injury as it relates to the moral conscience, which means “to know together.” For this reason, our instrument explores moral injury on three levels—intrapersonally, interpersonally, and transpersonally—intent on examining the impact of clergy sexual abuse and its concealment by officials in the Catholic Church on relationships and our collective sense of what we “know together.” To deny people the truth of what has happened is to deaden the moral conscience and undercut the moral resources to respond to survivors and all those impacted with compassion and solidarity.

OUR RESEARCH SHOWS that clergy sexual abuse caused moral injury to survivors and that moral injury can be detected among other individuals, including those who work for the church at the diocesan or parish level as well as university students. We measured moral injury by addressing the following dimensions of the moral life: moral identity (the sense of one’s inherent goodness or the experience of shame); moral perception and reasoning (the ability to make sound moral judgments or the experience of moral confusion/disorientation); moral agency (the capacity to exercise free will or the experience of constraint/futility); moral relationships with others (feeling safe and being able to trust others or the experience of betrayal, stigmatization, or isolation); and relationship to God and institutions like the church (feeling connected and finding institutions credible or experiencing abandonment, punishment, and loss of confidence in the authority or credibility of the church).

Key Findings

1. Clergy abuse creates moral confusion in victims, created when their previously held beliefs about the world (their moral reasoning)—for example, “priests are good” or “the world is a safe place”—are contradicted by experiencing abuse. Until moral confusion is resolved, survivors experience a limited sense of moral agency and a negative moral identity, often marked by shame and guilt. Enduring clergy sexual abuse damages one’s relationship with God and for many survivors, severs their relationship with the church. Most if not all survivors have difficulty trusting others or giving credence to the moral authority of the Catholic Church.

2. Moral confusion can be resolved by constructing moral clarity through the acceptance, rejection, or reimagining of previously held beliefs and/or the creation of new beliefs. For example, the belief and experience of contradiction that priests are good, nice, moral, or even sinless, can resolve in multiple ways: (a) Acceptance: priests are good; (b) Reimagination: some priests are good and some priests are bad; or
3. Limited moral agency occurs when survivors are unable to make sense of their experience, leaving them unsure of what they can say or do. When survivors are able to make sense of their experience, they experience moral agency, giving them options for moving forward and reaching out for help.

4. Negative moral identity begins to take hold when a survivor feels they are limited by their situation and lack of relational support. A person might feel shame: “I’m powerless to change this, so I must be weak. I’m disgusted with myself for being so helpless.” Or they might feel guilt: “There must be something wrong with me that caused this.” Positive moral identity can be established when a survivor feels they are able to impact their situation and others. For example: “I am good and able to help others” or “I am able to advocate for change.” (Many survivors indicated their healing resulted from positive responses from others, support from loved ones, and participating in survivor advocacy groups.)

5. Moral reasoning is formed through relationships, lived experience, and one’s social context. Specifically, we found in the interviews that participants formed their sense of right/good and wrong/evil through the traditions of their church, family, culture, faith or relationship with God, and personal reflections.

6. Moral reasoning informs both moral identity and moral agency. Specifically, we found that participants understood their agency (what they could say and do) and identity (self-image as good or bad) through the lens of their moral reasoning (knowledge about self and others, relationship to authority figures/institutions, and ability to self-express through narrative).

7. Our interviews underscored the importance of relationships with others in the formation of the moral self. Not only do other people shape one’s moral identity (beliefs, values, practices) but other people also contribute to and/or constrain one’s moral agency. When survivors experience stigma, silence, and isolation, they are not able to recover a positive moral identity or heal from their abuse. When others reject, minimize, or misinterpret a survivor’s story, it undermines one’s moral value (i.e., sense of being worthy or belonging).

Further Information:
- [https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/xavier-measuring-moral-injury/](https://takingresponsibility.ace.fordham.edu/xavier-measuring-moral-injury/)
- [https://www.xavier.edu/moral-injury-report/](https://www.xavier.edu/moral-injury-report/)

Research Team

Marcus Mescher, Ph.D., Co-Principal Investigator, is associate professor of Christian ethics, specializing in Catholic social teaching and moral formation. In addition to earning his M.T.S. and Ph.D. at Boston College, he worked in parish youth min-
istry and college campus ministry for almost ten years. Dr. Mescher is the author of more than a dozen academic essays and book chapters as well as many popular articles on topics ranging from the ethics of marriage and family life to the moral impact of digital devices to the application of Ignatian spirituality for healthcare settings. His first book, *The Ethics of Encounter* (Orbis, 2020), proposes how to build the “culture of encounter” championed by Pope Francis in the pursuit of an inclusive and equitable “culture of belonging.”

**Kandi Stinson, Ph.D.**, Co-Principal Investigator, is Professor of Sociology in the Department of Race, Intersectionality, Gender, and Sociology. She completed a Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill. Dr. Stinson taught at Xavier University from 1988 through 2022, serving in a variety of leadership positions on campus, including most recently as Program Director of Sociology and Faculty Director of the Center for Teaching Excellence. Her areas of specialty include both quantitative and qualitative research methods, gender, the sociology of health, and the sociology of religion.

**Anne Fuller, Ph.D.**, is an assistant professor in the School of Psychology at Xavier University. She earned her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Loyola University Chicago in 2017. Dr. Fuller’s research interests include community-based prevention and intervention programs as well as risk and resilience factors that influence children’s, adolescents’, and emerging adults’ mental health. She has also conducted research and received clinical training related to experiences of trauma among youth.

**Ashley Theuring, Ph.D.**, is Assistant Professor of Theology, specializing in constructive and practical theologies. She completed her doctorate at the Boston University School of Theology in the Practical Theology program. Her first book, entitled *Fragile Resurrection* (Wipf and Stock, 2021), explores the question “What constitutes hope after domestic violence?” Dr. Theuring’s theological research is informed by past work as an advocate and educator at Women Helping Women of Hamilton County, a rape, crisis, and abuse center. Her research continues to be informed by contemporary communities of trauma survivors and focuses on exploring religious practices, meaning making, and survival in response to trauma.
Resources & Recommendations for Learning and Action
**Introductory Resources for Classes and Reading Groups**

**IN ADDITION TO THE PLETHORA OF ACADEMIC WORK** available on the abuse crisis, we want to share the following list of short, accessible resources (largely journalism and audio-video media) on the abuse crisis. Any would make a good basis for discussion groups among staff or older students who do not plan to plunge deeply into the academic literature.

If you need renewed energy for addressing sexual abuse in the church and church institutions:
- Sam Sawyer, SJ, “Watching ‘Spotlight,’” *America*, November 6, 2015, [https://www.americamagazine.org/content/all-things/watching-spotlight-young-priest](https://www.americamagazine.org/content/all-things/watching-spotlight-young-priest)
  - Sawyer movingly prays to be converted from the desire to have the scandal be “over.”

If you want a refresher on the basics, or a discussion text for a group or course:
  - While an 11-part podcast is not a short read, its relatively brief episodes cover significant historical and present-day ground, including several victim testimonies, in a user-friendly manner.
- Bradford Hinze, *Confronting a Church in Controversy* (Paulist, 2022)
  - This short book, which takes the abuse scandal as its core example, is written as a course text for undergraduates in theology, but would easily adapt to a parish or university discussion group.

If you are involved in administration:
  - This is the odd selection out on this list: it is both an older work, and a book written by an academic. However, any administrator who has tried to hold together the desire to preserve institutions and the desire to acknowledge institutional responsibility for the abuse crisis will find its exploration vital.

For an introduction to the dynamics of abuse perpetrated against racial minorities:
- Associated Press, “Church offers little outreach to minority victims of priests,” January 4, 2020, [https://apnews.com/article/us-news-ap-top-news-ca-state-wire-or-state-wire-the-reckoning-00a7a65248e88cc3e9dcd2b6054bbdc](https://apnews.com/article/us-news-ap-top-news-ca-state-wire-or-state-wire-the-reckoning-00a7a65248e88cc3e9dcd2b6054bbdc)
  - A deeply researched news article on African American victims, a documentary on Native American victims, and a panel discussion looking more broadly at the issue of racism and sexual abuse: these are three highly accessible entry points to thinking about the abuse crisis in an intersectional way.

If you want to know more about cutting-edge youth safeguarding methods:
If you are concerned about clergy misconduct against adult employees:
- Stephen Edward de Weger, “Insincerity, Secrecy, Neutralisation, Harm: Reporting Clergy Sexual Misconduct against Adults—A Survivor-Based Analysis,” *Religions* 13, no. 4 (2022), [https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13040309](https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13040309)

If your institution participates in mission work:
  - Together, these cases suggest two potentially harmful dynamics of mission work: in small, intense environments both subordinate mission workers (such as the young JVC) and marginalized, minoritized communities may be especially at risk.

If you want to catch up on developments in academic and other literature
  - Clites, whose academic work is on the survivor movement, summarizes the lengthy history of research on the abuse crisis in multiple fields.
  - Literature reviews date very quickly, but this survey of academic literature in multiple languages in the immediate wake of 2018’s scandals spots trends, especially literature covering non-US contexts.
WE OFFER THIS BRIEF LIST of suggestions and resources based on the experience of the Taking Responsibility research groups and on the experience of others we've consulted.

1) **Think about your audience and goals, which may be diverse.** Will your conclusions be directed to inform others in your academic field, the general public, a particular institution and its practices, survivors of clergy abuse writ broadly, and/or some other group? Are you doing what we've called “historical memory” work, or looking to make changes to institutional functioning going forward, or both (and if both, how are those goals related)? If you are taking a team approach, team members might also have diverse goals, both personal and professional.

2) **Whether or not your team members come from a community you are studying – but especially if not – constitute a community advisory board as soon as possible, and arrange to compensate them appropriately for crucial work that might include reviewing your research instruments and introducing you to potential participants.** (“Community” here might mean many things: a particular racial and/or socioeconomic group, a geographic community like a parish, a group like “survivors of sexual abuse,” and so forth.) Be aware that especially when you are working with members of marginalized communities, trust takes a long time to build and can be lost quickly. This is long-term research. If you or your team don’t already have prior experience working with human subjects, consider involving those that do, perhaps researchers in anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, social work, or ministry, or in other relevant fields at your university.

3) **You will also likely need to build as much support as you can with relevant institutional players.** Depending on your project’s design and goals this might mean members of your university administration, or provincial or diocesan leaders, or parish priests or employees, or those who run a local survivor group. While you will need to be clear at every stage that your work is independent, and while this may involve significant ongoing negotiation, sympathetic institutional players can considerably ease your access to relevant documents, interview contacts, and the like, and can be valuable partners in identifying resources as well as in implementing suggested changes if relevant.

4) **IRBs – institutional review boards – will be an important part of any university research involving living human subjects, which includes administering surveys and interviewing.** Your team should have someone who has been through an IRB process before, but you should also be aware that IRBs are often especially wary of any research to do with sexuality, on the theory that this research is more likely to harm subjects. Although they are not supposed to consider the political valence of research, IRB members are human, and if the research proposed seems to impact the reputation of the institution, you may also meet some resistance on this account. To counteract at least the first of these fears, we recommend that you proactively share with your IRB research that indicates that discussing sexuality, even sexual trauma, is not particularly harmful to participants and may even be felt as liberatory, under certain circumstances. See, for example, [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105424](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105424).

In your application, be clear with the IRB about your intentions regarding data security. How will confidentiality be protected? Are you adhering to relevant legal standards (eg, HIPAA)? At the same time, consider that anonymity and confidentiality may not be desired by research participants, and if this is the case, provide evidence to the IRB or suggest a protocol for providing anonymity where appropriate and
requested, but otherwise, not. Some victim-survivors might prioritize anonymity, but others might want to use their own names and have their particular stories told. It might also not be necessary or desirable to destroy data such as survey instruments or interview transcripts at the conclusion of the study, as is often initially suggested; instead, data might be transferable to an archive for future research use, with appropriate anonymization.

If you are doing research that can be classed as “oral history,” you may be exempt from IRB review, depending on your institution. See the recommendations of the Oral History Association at https://oralhistory.org/information-about-irbs/. You should consult others at your institution, your IRB guidelines, your department chair, etc., etc. If you do not proceed with IRB review for an oral history project, we do recommend that you pursue in-person training for your team members that will be conducting oral histories, and minimally that your research design considers guidelines like these written by RAINN: https://www.rainn.org/articles/tips-interviewing-survivors.

5) **If your research is wholly or partially based around archival materials that are not public, you will likely need to dedicate considerable time to gaining access.** The first step, of course, is to identify what kind of records might exist that would be useful, where they are held, and request a meeting with the archivist by email or phone. If that person cannot give you access to what you need, ask (in a non-adversarial way) if there is a higher-up you can contact to discuss the situation and argue your case. At either level, you will want to indicate your own credentials, your goals and commitments, and your justification for seeing the material. You may also want to indicate your level of openness to anonymizing data, your level of willingness to work with the archive around publication of specific quotations, and/or your awareness that control of archival data is an ongoing issue for religious orders. For example, even if you are not working with a Native American population, resources developed for historians and archivists working on Native boarding schools may be useful in making your case: https://achahistory.org/boardingschools. If negotiation with the archive does not succeed, hold out continued hope and stay in touch over time. Sometimes a change of administration or a change of archivist can dramatically affect research access to records (either making them much more open or much more closed). It may also be possible for you to gain access to some materials that are held in archives in other ways, for example by speaking with individuals who retain their own records.

6) **Prepare as best you can for the reality that, while it may also be deeply rewarding, this is likely to be emotionally difficult and frustrating work.** If you are applying for funding, you can designate some money for therapeutic intervention if necessary – maybe especially appropriate for those conducting interviews. Allow time in team meetings for processing whatever is going on around the research: feelings about obstacles, about realities encountered, etc. Know that certain team members may need a break, and stay flexible about your goals and timelines.
IN WRITING THESE RECOMMENDATIONS, we want to first acknowledge the significant work that has been done by a diverse group of survivors, researchers, administrators, and many others (including many who are not Catholic) to respond compassionately and justly to the sexual abuse scandals within the Catholic Church. At the same time, sexual abuse and its legacy are clearly still very much live issues in Jesuit institutions, just as they are elsewhere in the Church and in society at large. During our research period, allegations against prominent administrators and faculty continued to come to light (for example at Santa Clara University and Georgetown University) and lawsuits continue to move forward, in one recent high school case resulting in the disclosure of many relevant documents.

In the light of this reality, and out of our experience with this project over the last two years, we offer four recommendations here for Jesuit and historically Jesuit institutions in the United States. We particularly focus on universities, but because we believe many of these recommendations are relevant to high schools, parishes, and so on, we use the language of “institution” rather than “university.”

We also wish to note here that, while we employ language specific to Jesuit and Catholic institutions’ missions, we believe that these recommendations can be thought through and carried out by the many dedicated administrators, staff, faculty, students, and alumni affiliated with other religious traditions or no religious tradition but who are key players at most Jesuit institutions today. It continues to be essential for laypeople (of any faith or none) to be partners with Jesuits in addressing abuse by both clergy and laypeople at Jesuit institutions.

1) Jesuit institutions are called to an expansive “responsibility” to survivors of clergy sexual abuse, especially when committed by Jesuits or by lay staff and faculty at Jesuit institutions.

The identity of a Jesuit/Catholic institution (whether university, high school, parish, or otherwise) entails a broad responsibility to prioritize addressing the past of clergy sexual abuse and reforming institutions in the present. This responsibility is not, in the end, to any given institution, or to the church itself, but rather – in a theological sense – to finding and living with truth, a process which we believe sets people free (John 8:32). “Mission-driven” institutions do not solely have a fiduciary responsibility, but a responsibility to this mission. Even if our particular institutions have not faced a public scandal, we are part of a broader web that has co-responsibility for addressing the scandal. Furthermore, survivors of clergy sexual abuse, may work for and attend Jesuit institutions, even if the abuse they experienced did not take place at the institution itself. Jesuit institutions, as part of the Jesuit mission to reconcile with God, humanity, and creation, and responding to the apostolic priority to “walk with the excluded,” should ask how these survivors can be supported, even when their individual identity is not disclosed, both during “ordinary” time and during moments of stress such as when public scandal re-erupts. Further, while immediate victims should come first, by extension institutions must also have a plan to support those who know victims and/or who feel personally betrayed because of their emotional and material attachment to Catholic institutions.

Jesuit institutions should ask how they can proactively communicate that they welcome reports of abuse, rather than leaving victims to wonder if their reports will be received and acted upon. They will need to dedicate significant resources to training faculty, staff, and institutional leaders to respond to the disclosure of abuse in ways that do not perpetuate harm, as well as to communicating with alumni and other related people about why it is important to be open rather than defensive about the history and present of sexual
abuse within the Church generally and perhaps within the institution specifically. For those who receive mandatory sexual harassment training, this training (with attention to specifically Catholic situations like spiritual counseling) might become an additional related module, but care should be taken that employees and students do not dismiss this training as secondary to the “real work” of the institution. Rather, indicating that the institution welcomes reports and supports survivors is a matter of creating just environments, and therefore central to institutional mission.

2) Jesuit institutions should go “beyond” and accept more corporate responsibility than any given institution might feel it deserves for cases of abuse committed elsewhere or in the past.

Over many decades, Jesuits and the institutions they have founded have established a valuable reputation for being on the forefront of support for those wounded by society or church. While the order and any given institution (which may well no longer be run by Jesuits) may sometimes see their interests as separate or even in conflict, they share the reputational benefit of this history and thus share its promise and danger. Over and over again, we have heard from survivors and employees at Jesuit universities and high schools who have been disappointed by a response to the abuse crisis, “they are supposed to be the good guys.” This does not mean that those attached to Jesuit institutions believe Jesuits or powerful laypeople at Jesuit institutions will never commit abuse. It does mean that expectations are high that Jesuits and lay administrators at Jesuit institutions will not behave defensively, dismiss victims’ experiences, and avoid acknowledging the order’s or the university’s responsibility for individual and systemic cases of abuse.

Jesuits and Jesuit institutions must be wary of any effort to claim a heroic Jesuit history stretching from Ignatius to Ellacuría while metaphorically expelling abusers, whether in Alaska or in Chicago, from this history. And Jesuit institutions today have a responsibility to ask whether their structures and practices are putting younger or more emotionally vulnerable people (students seeking counseling through campus ministry, or in intense relationships like those with athletic coaches or music teachers; seminarians; those of any age or position going through a spiritual crisis) in the way of potential harm when they seek out relationships with authoritative figures, ranging from professors to campus ministers to those in charge of service learning far from campus. Safeguarding policies at Jesuit institutions must also take into account well-known human tendencies to want to excuse or explain away reports about those in structural positions of power or widely beloved. Further, when such an account does become public, Jesuit institutions and individuals have an obligation not only to express horror but to ask, in both private and public, what enabled the events to unfold as they did, and what role either the order, the institution’s administration, or both, had in these events.

3) Jesuit institutions at all levels should play to a significant Jesuit strength and support and sponsor research on the abuse crisis to the fullest extent possible.

Collectively, Jesuit institutions are some of the best positioned in the world to research the sexual abuse crisis. Since the late 1960s, Jesuits and Jesuit institutions have developed a complex and not well understood governance structure whereby Jesuits sponsor the institution but may well not own or have administrative control over it. Yet the order also may maintain ownership of certain buildings on campus, and continue to have responsibility for Jesuits who work as faculty, campus ministers, administrators, etc. This complex structure has often created perverse incentives, as happened, for example, at Gonzaga University and Fordham University where university administrators were allegedly not made aware by the order that known Jesuit abusers were living on or near campus. And one entity (the order or the university) may feel compelled to protect certain knowledge while the other wants disclosure, creating conflict.
Despite these very real issues, if university and provincial administrators work together with local faculty, they could initiate studies that have access to a wide range of data encompassing parishes, universities, high schools, middle schools, missionary efforts, and beyond. As Sam Sawyer, SJ, wrote several years ago, we should begin by praying to be delivered from the hope that the scandal will be “over.” If institutions (provinces, individual universities, high schools, etc) receive the grace of this conversion, they will be well positioned to contribute to the church overall. This is also work that can contribute to the moral and reputational repair of specific Jesuit institutions: as institutions work together to discern truth and address real wounds, they will build trust among themselves and, hopefully, with many others. This, however, should not be understood as a quick fix or as a primary goal. We state it only to remind institutions that a good reputation does not come from concealment, but from honesty and faithful dealing over long periods of time.

Specifically, we believe institutions should lean towards support rather than suspicion for practices such as:
• releasing records, including those often deemed “private” in the past;
• requesting that Jesuits in residence, faculty, parishioners, and students participate in research by filling out surveys or doing interviews;
• dedicating internal resources to examining the institution’s past, either by calling on faculty members or hiring an outside researcher or consultant, as the Jesuits have recently done regarding their provincial records and regarding their records of Native American boarding schools.
• Institutions of all kinds should be clear with their review boards (whether the IRBs that approve research at universities, or review boards set up to go over potential cases of abuse at the provincial and other levels) that they are not to put the reputation of the institution first when research projects begin. Regarding access to records and archival data, we note the concept of “data sovereignty,” posited by Native communities, and suggest that Jesuits and Jesuit institutions should regard archival resources related to sexual abuse as more the property of victims than of either abusive priests, or of the order. That said, there are many ways to appropriately anonymize data, and community advisory boards might be called into service along with IRBs to discern whether a particular use of either archival records or of research instruments/surveys might be harmful to victims. Recognizing that the release of records can be sensitive with regards to personal and institutional confidentiality, we suggest that Jesuit institutions at all levels convene committees of Jesuits, institutional administrators, scholars with recognized research reputations, and victim advocates to discuss institutional policies around archival disclosure.

4) Jesuit institutions should know the relevant law, but find ways to focus on justice rather than on strict adherence to the letter of law.

In the United States, as is well known, the legal profession has played a significant role in the sexual abuse crisis. Lawyers have both worked to find and report evidence of sexual abuse, as well as to suppress that evidence in defense of institutional reputation and financial health. However, Jesuit institutions have not necessarily taken a step back from immediate crisis and examined the role of lawyers in their own institutions. We recommend that institutions of significant size (such as universities or provinces) establish a committee of representative members of the province and educational institutions to address legal issues pertaining to clergy sexual abuse. While such committees should obviously include those trained as lawyers, they might also include ethicists, victim-survivor representatives, trustees, and other relevant colleagues. These committees might examine some of the following legal issues often raised as meriting further discussion and clarification pertaining to clergy sexual abuse (many of which are shared with other Catholic and non-Catholic institutions):
• Which cases of clergy sexual abuse fall under sexual misconduct cases treated through Title IX requirements? Are there cases of spiritual abuse perpetrated by clerical or laypeople that might not fall under Title IX? If so, what process should be used to address them?
• Should the same processes be used as in Title IX cases, or should standards be different in cases of clergy abuse?
• What are the legal differences and possible complications arising from and pertaining to cases where victim-survivors are not minors, including the majority of cases of clergy abuse of students or perhaps faculty/staff at the college and university level?
• Has the institution emphasized to all stakeholders its policy regarding harassing behavior towards those of legal age, whether students, staff, or others?
• Is the institution working to settle old claims or is it actively fighting them (including fighting state statutes seeking to open new windows in the statute of limitations)?
• Are practices of confidentiality around employee or student records exposing others to harm? Are they preventing care for those violated?
• What are the requirements for care for those who have been accused of violating others?
• Has the institution developed a clear agreement with local Jesuit communities regarding the treatment of and disclosure around accused Jesuit abusers?
• Do institutions and individuals understand that situations of spiritual care and counseling may be sites where people are especially vulnerable to abuse, and does Campus Ministry and all other applicable bodies have a plan for training in this matter?
• Are there any legal protections for whistleblowers, be they university, college, or high school administrators, or other employees?
• Are clergy accused of abuse treated differently than laypeople, and if so, how?
• Finally, how can attorneys representing Jesuit institutions help the institution take rather than evade responsibility for abuse cases? For example, perhaps Jesuit institutions might instruct their attorneys that responsibility to the university mission takes a higher priority than financial or reputational defense, or actively support legislation sought by survivors, such as “window” periods when survivors of abuse in the past (outside the current statute of limitations) can bring forward complaints.
Project Leadership

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