Masculinity, sexuality, theology and child sexual abuse by personnel in Christian institutions

There growing recognition that a contributor to the repeat crises of child sexual abuse (CSA) by personnel in Christian institutions (PICIs), is the often gendered culture of Christian institutions themselves. This work explores theological discursive constructions of masculinity and sexuality and their implications for addressing CSA by PICIs. The perspectives discussed here are of PICIs who participated in a research project conducted in Australia. From these perspectives male gendered and sexual performance is constructed through discourse as both an explanation and solution to offending behaviour. Similarly, sexuality is viewed as God-given, heteronormative and legitimately expressed only within the bounds of marriage. This work draws on Foucault and feminist discourses as they relate to CSA by PICIs and institutional discourses. This work offers a perspective of PICIs that may not otherwise be heard in the common discourses of CSA in Christian Institutions.

There is growing recognition the historical phenomena of child sexual abuse (CSA) by personnel in Christian institutions (PICIs), and subsequent mismanagement of cases, has been informed by the culture of some Christian institutions themselves. This work explores current discursive constructions of masculinity and sexuality and their implications for addressing CSA by PICIs. The ethos that sustains cultures of clericalism and policies, which fail to address the needs of victim/survivors with integrity and justice, have long been critiqued by academics from a range of disciplines and remains highly relevant to current explorations of this topic. Critiques of cultural discourses relevant to the management of CSA by PICIs have included, the pursuit of theologies of sexuality that are adequate for the task of understanding CSA by PICIs, and the challenges to conceptualising different styles of justice as imperative to understanding sexuality as performative and gendered. This work locates the issue of CSA by PICIs in constructs of ethical sexuality and masculinity. This work does so only in so far as research participants raised issues of sexuality and masculinity in their understanding of the perpetration of CSA by PICIs and ethical responses to this abuse. The struggle to find constructs of ethical sexuality has not only occurred with theological discourses, but also within sociological and criminological discourses (Carmody, 2005; Hayes & Ball, 2009; Jakobsen, 2012).

This paper explores the perceptions of research participants in a study conducted in New South Wales (NSW), Queensland (Qld) and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). Research participants raised a number of issues related to discursive constructions and gendered performances of sexuality. Both implicit and explicit in participants understanding of CSA by PICIs was that perpetrators were exclusively male. Hence, when discussing the perpetration, management and impact of CSA by PICS, participants both implicitly and explicitly discussed masculinity as a central theme. The implications of these constructions of masculinity and sexuality, for survivors of CSA by PICIs and the management strategies of Christian institutions, are explored within the context of Foucault's (1976, 1984, 1986) genealogy of sexuality, as well as constructions of gendered performance and its importance to identity formation. This is evidenced in participant's constructions of sexuality as 'God-given', heteronormative, fundamental in effectively managing CSA and as performative in gendered ways. The historical context of research participants' articulation of theologies of sexuality can be traced through Church history, in which sexuality has not been a static concept (Foucault, 1984). This research, and significant other research, suggests that (mis)understandings of human sexuality have contributed to unjust responses of Christian institutions to CSA by their leadership (Gorrell, 2006; Scheper-Hughes & Devine, 2003). This is compounded by gendered constructions which clearly dictate performative roles for male and female subjects (Cere, 2004). It is not intended to argue that CSA by PICIs is only an issue of deviant sexuality, but rather, that constructions of sexuality and gendered performativity inform responses of relevant authorities when CSA is reported.

CSA and Christian Institutions

In recent history, enquiries into mismanagement of allegations of abuse have mostly been targeted at Roman Catholic and Anglican denominations. Such enquiries, with similar results, have been undertaken in Australia, Ireland, The United States of America and more broadly across the United Kingdom (Department of Justice and Equality, 2010). Where they occur, such enquires are motivated by intense political pressure from public voices (Cannon, 2012). The central arguments for State enquires have been that Christian institutions cannot be trusted to manage cases of abuse by PICIs; do not cooperate with 'secular authorities' in investigating reports of CSA by PICIs; most often revictimise and retraumatise through their management of allegations and substantiations of CSA by PICIs; do not take adequate action

against abusive leadership; and, have not sufficiently acknowledged that issues of abuse exist, with great detriment to victims of CSA by PICIs (Balboni, 2011; Barnardos et al., 2010; Farrell, 2009; Fawley-O'Dea, 2004; Fogler, Shipherd, Clarke, Jensen, & Rowe, 2008; Howard, 2012; Montana et al., 2012). Further arguments include criticisms of the mishandling of abuse substantiations with silence clauses added to settlements with victims; inadequate intervention provided to protect further victims from perpetrators; and, perceptions that Christian institutions are more concerned about reputation and finances than victims and their families (Benkert & Doyle, 2009; Cobb, 2010; Garland & Argueta, 2010; Kline, McMackin, & Lezotte, 2008; Plante & Daniels, 2004; Terry & Ackerman, 2008; Winship, Straker, & Robinson, 2011). The results of State enquiries has been repeated recognition of a failure to protect children, the occurrence of significant abuse within Christian institutions and the mismanagement of allegations and substantiations by Christian and religious organisations who are the subject of enquiry (Balboni, 2011; Benkert & Doyle, 2009; Cobb, 2010; Garland & Argueta, 2010; Kline et al., 2008; Plante & Daniels, 2004; Terry & Ackerman, 2008; Winship et al., 2011).

In the Australian context, comparatively limited research on in Christian institutions has emerged (Parkinson, Oats, & Jayakody, 2009; Porter, 2003). The recent Victorian Senate Enquiry examined CSA in religious organisations, although not exclusively, in that state (Cannon, 2012). In a broader context of a nation-wide enquiry, the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse is ongoing (Jenkins & Iara, 2012). Further research has focussed on particular denominations (Olsson & Chung, 2004; Parkinson, Oates, & Jayakody, 2012). Clearly, however, the occurrence and management of CSA by PICI continues to be of significant social and political concern in Australia, as across the UK, Europe and America.

CSA by PICIs is often depicted as abusers being male celibate priests with young adolescent boys as their chosen victims (Parkinson, Oats, and Jayakody 2009, Jones 2002, Holt and Massey 2012, Fawley-O'Dea 2004). This type of abuse has generally resulted in critiques of three categories of sexuality; firstly, homosexuality (Loftus 1990); secondly, paedophilia and/or ephebophilia (Holt and Massey 2012); and finally, celibacy (Scheper-Hughs and Devine 2003, Gillian 2004). These critiques have emerged from within Christian institutions and within broader literature (Ponton & Goldstein, 2004; Sloyan, 2003; Winship et al., 2011). As these are instances of men in power abusing younger, vulnerable boys, they are readily

explained by feminist constructions of sexual violence as motivated and enabled by patriarchal power structures (Valente 2005, Homma et al. 2012, Dorais 2009). The more recent queering of Christian theology has added to feminist theologian's work that examines power, patriarchy and the construction of subjectivity in relation to theology (Bethmont, 2006; Bryan, 2007; Cahana, 2011; Carr, 1996; Dreyer, 2011)

More broadly, Feminist perspectives have generally understood sexual abuse to be a gendered act with men as abusers and women and girls as victim/survivors. This position has been supported in numerous studies (Simons, Wurtele, and Durham 2008, Seto and Fernandez 2011, Reese-Weber and Smith 2011, Neame and Heenan 2003, Freel 2003). There has been, however, a growing awareness of the sexual abuse of male children and its impact on the lives of victim/survivors and their families. There is also a growing amount of literature on female sex abusers (Wijkman, Bijleveld, and Hendriks 2013, Tewksbury 2004, Lawson 2008, Hayes and Carpenter 2013). Despite these advances, research still indicates that there is a long way to go in terms of social recognition of the abuse of boys (Valente 2005, Ouellette 2009, Homma et al. 2012, Gartner 1999, Dorais 2009). Research also continues to show that sexual abuse remains a gendered crime, in the sense that the majority of perpetrators are male and the majority of victims are women and girls (Rogers, Davies, and Cottam 2010, Banyard, Williams, and Siegel 2004). In order to maintain relevance, however, feminisms need to provide adequate explanations of the abuse of boys and even men. To do so, feminist perspectives may continue to draw on patriarchy and power, but recognise that their relationship to gender and sexual violence is increasingly problematic (Tremblay and Turcotte 2005, Peter 2006).

Sexuality and Christian tradition

According to Foucault (1984, p. 3) the term 'sexuality' began to be used at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sexuality, for Foucault (1984, p. 4):

> …was a matter of seeing how an "experience" came to be constituted in modern Western societies, an experience that caused people to recognise themselves as subjects of a "sexuality," which was accessible to very diverse fields of knowledge, and linked to a system of rules and constraints.

The elements of sexuality, such as acts, emotions, dreams and traditions were not necessarily new, but rather the ways in which meaning was ascribed to them by individuals changed. This change was in part due to the support found in 'religious, judicial, pedagogical, and medical institutions' (Foucault 1984, p.3-4). 'Christian' concepts of sexuality have not been static throughout history but have involved several dominant themes. Within Christian

teaching, sexuality has been constructed as highly valuing monogamy in marriage, heterosexuality, sexual abstinence prior to marriage, and in Roman Catholic traditions the celibacy priesthood (Berecz, 2002; Reinert & Edwards, 2009; Reosenau & Sytsma, 2004). Some Christian constructions of a flesh/spirit duality, left sexuality as a vice of the 'flesh' where control over the vice of sexuality was to be exercised at all times (Walker, 2004). Hence, strong rules and prohibitions came to characterise Christian teaching on sexuality and Christian institutions came to construct themselves by identifying as a point of moral reference for society (Bryan, 2007; Mesner, 2010; Taylder, 2004). Several research participants directly discussed the role of Christian institutions as providing moral direction and social values.

In a Foucaultian (1976, 1994) analysis, the Middle Ages was a time that indeed saw an emergence of desire as the dominant theme of Christian concepts of sexuality. Along with a focus on desire, rather than acts, came techniques of the self which focussed on self-scrutiny and confession as a means of controlling one's 'flesh'. For Foucault (1976, p. 41), however, the origins of this focus can be found in earlier first centauries writers where:

> What stands out in the texts of the first centauries – more than new interdictions concerning sexual acts – is the insistence on the attention that should be brought to bear on oneself; it is the modality, scope, constancy, and exactitude of the required vigilance; it is the anxiety concerning all the disturbances of the body and the mind, which must be prevented by means of austere regimen.

In Foucault's analysis of earlier Christian discourse we see a focus emerging where pleasure and desire become the enemy of Christian concepts of self and, hence, must be scrutinised and dealt with in a strict management schema. For Foucault (1976) this focus on disavowal or management of pleasure occurred on a much broader social perspective than Christian thought alone (Bryan, 2007; Gelfer, 2010). It is worth noting the complexities of what may be characterised as Gnostic Christian traditions and other Christian traditions which are sometimes expressed as creating a mind/body duality. Sexuality has always been viewed from multiple perspectives within Christian faiths, a detailed analysis of this is beyond the scope of this work, however (Cahana, 2011; Richard, 2006; Tiryakian, 1996) .

Modern Theological discussions of sexualities have in part been triggered by the crises of CSA by PICIs. Seeking to question and extend theological, especially Christological, understanding, feminist and queer theologians have extended discourse beyond traditional perspectives (Sheffield, 2008). By agitating against entrenched interpretations of Biblical

discourse around sexuality and gender, queer and feminist theologians have provided an invaluable critique of patriarchal, heteronormative constructions of sexuality which have contributed to environments where Christian institutions have been both secretive and complicit in their responses to CSA by PICIs (Cahana, 2011; Greene-McCreight, 2004; Tiryakian, 1996). This raises questions of whether a theology of sexuality that is adequate for addressing CSA by PICIs has existed, or exists now, within Christian institutions.

Theologian Andrew Yip (2002) argues that churches have had a theology of sexuality. Indeed, as research participants have pointed out, Christianity has been known for a theology of sexuality that is repressive and prohibitive in nature (Reosenau & Sytsma, 2004). In light of this, sexuality has been identified as a key component that Christian institutions will need to address with greater courage and flexibility if they are to remain relevant to the cultures in which they exist. In so much as those within Christian institutions consider sexuality and gendered performance as contributing to the perpetuation of CSA and it's management, such discourses are relevant and warrant unpacking and expanding. It has been argued that an ethical theology of sexuality will mean that Christian institutions must find new ways of approaching sexuality that go beyond particular genital acts (Hanratty, 1985; Reosenau & Sytsma, 2004; Sheffield, 2008). For Yip (2003, p. 63):

> This new approach would require that churches relinquish their current 'theology of sexuality' that uses scripture and tradition literally to inform understanding of human sexuality. This theology is a safe option, but it is an option that increasingly alienates the churches from a fruitful solution and meaningful engagement with the people whose spiritual welfare they profess to care about.

Challenging traditional theologies of sexuality means that Christian institutions may see sexuality as part of a pursuit of justice and about drawing out new critiques of the exercise of power. It is clear from Yip (2003:63) that the issue of a meaningful and just sexual theology is becoming of increasing importance (Kang, 2005; Keenan, 2005; Tiryakian, 1996).

Methodology and language use

The data reported in this article is drawn from semi-structured interviews conducted with 15 PICIs who held a leadership role within their Christian institution and who were identified through a snowball sampling technique. The project received ethical clearance form Charles Sturt University Ethics in Human Research Committee. Interviews were transcribed and analysed for thematic content using NVIVO. All themes discussed here emerged through this analysis.

Not all participants in the study are cited in this work. Not all participants in this study addressed sexuality as a core issue and this should be considered data in and of itself. This is beyond the scope of this work to discuss, however. Those participants who most clearly reflected on themes of sexuality and masculinity are drawn on here to give concise and clear representation of those participants who discussed these themes. This study does not purport to be representative of the perspectives of PICIs in leadership roles in Christian institutions of Australia. Rather, qualitative techniques were used to gather rich data and is consistent with other studies that examine CSA, both by PICIs and outside Christian institutions (Draucker & Martsolf, 2008; Flick, 2002; Olesson, 1998; Winship et al., 2011). The data presented here seeks to represent this richness, rather than all voices within the study.

The term Christian institution refers primarily to Churches who self-identify as Christian, but also includes subsidiary organisations and bodies. This includes denominational child protection committees, denominational schools and denominational welfare organisations. Whilst it is recognised that the term Christian institution is exceptionally broad, some research participants requested not to be identified more specifically by denomination as they believed this would negate their anonymity. It is recognised, however, that the most significant amount of reported and studied accounts of abuse have occurred in the Roman Catholic Church (Balboni, 2011; Robertson, 2010).

The participants of this study came from multiple denominations and represented churches and subsidiary organisations from New South Wales (12 participants), Queensland (1 participant) and the Australian Capital Territory (2 participants). Participants served in leadership positions in Christian institutions in both rural and metropolitan settings. The majority of participants were ordained clergy or in paid roles as child protection officers. Semi-structured interview questions specifically asked participants to reflect on their understandings of leadership in the Christian context, identify factors that they saw as significant to the management of CSA by PICIs, and explore their understanding of forgiveness and its role in addressing CSA by PICIs. The term PICIs is used throughout this work in acknowledgement that not all those who are in positions of leadership in churches are ordained clergy, but their role is significantly similar as leaders within their congregations.

In the earliest stages of this project no identifying characteristics, such as denominational choice, were attributed to participants. Feedback from early readers indicated that some

identifier was perceived to be helpful. As such, the terms traditional, non-traditional and Pentecostal were developed to loosely identify the theological framework of the denomination in which participants held leadership roles. The term traditional refers to denominations with strong hierarchy and mostly conservative theology; non-traditional refers to the majority of protestant denominations; and Pentecostal is generally self-identified by participants and is marked by theological focus on spirituality as expressed through the influence of the Holy Spirit and gifts of the Spirit. Research participants were not more clearly identified to protect their anonymity. Some research participants were happy to be named, however for consistencies sake, all were given pseudonyms.

Theology, sexuality and gendered performance

Research participants identified theologies of sexuality as significant to the construction of CSA by PICIs. This was related to the construction of morality and surveillance, both internal and external to the Christian subject. Rebekah (non-traditional) argued that the history Christianity as providing moral agency has generated some confusion as to the nature of Christian spirituality:

> I think Christianity is… more about ah, your understanding of spirituality and how you name that and how you wish to relate to God. So, the influence of the way your understanding of God has on your life. …But I think there's a lot, has been a lot of confusion that Christianity is only about morality and especially about sex and drinking.

Whilst Rebekah constructs Christianity as a spiritual choice in how an individual understands and relates to God, she recognises that often it is characterised by a focus on 'morality' and in particular sexual morality. Sophia (traditional) also addresses perceived institutional hard-line attitude towards sexuality:

> …the way I understand it personally is that when Christian spirituality was, was formed, mystical spirituality in the Middle Ages then people's sensory life was very much more powerful than it is today and that's when, as it were, that the ground rules for sexual behaviour were laid down. Thereafter, they were basically ignored, because it was after the Inquisition wiped out the mystical intuitive, the basically, the deep spiritual roots of our culture, and so what we're left with is a very much, very outdated spirituality that deals with the senses as if they are the most powerful part of our character. …So I think what we have is an outdated and unbalanced spirituality which sees sexual sin as far more important than it actually is today.

Sophia understands Christianity as non-static and having undergone significant changes throughout history that have reflected philosophical, social and political contexts including 'people's sensory life' (Foucault, 1976). She raised the Middle Ages as a formative time for theologies of sexuality, an opinion that is reflected elsewhere (Bullough & Brundage, 2013;

Foucault, 1984; Mazo Karras, 2012). For Sophia, these changes have not included any particular growth in understanding of sexuality.

Sexuality as God-given

Sexuality was seen by research participants as innately human and God given. In this way, sexuality was seen as a 'normal' part of human life. Research participants did not venture away from heteronormative and traditional marriage based monogamous constructions of non-deviant sexuality. Aaron (Pentecostal), for example, argues that appropriate sexual relations in marriage have a capacity to address what he terms as 'sexual issues':

> …there are plenty of people who have had sexual issues in the past who are now in a stable, married relationship where those issues are not an issue because they've got a right outlet for the expression of the sexual desires and everything that God puts within us.

For Aaron, marital sex could be used as a part of a series of strategies to deal with sexual issues, including CSA. The implication of this position is that sexual expression is a need that must have an outlet in order to be managed. Or rather, one contributing factor to CSA is a lack of 'appropriate' sexual expression. Here, the mandate that the healthy way to express sexuality is in heterosexual marriage is reinforced. Foucault (1976, 1984, 1986), however, rejects the idea that sexuality is innately human and, instead, displays the ways in which discourse has been used throughout history to socially construct, mediate and delineate between 'normal' and 'deviant' sexualities. Foucault (1986) also demonstrates the ways in which discourses of sexuality that emphasise a normalising discourse, encourage self-scrutiny and construct a 'normalising gaze' through which the subject is constructed (Bray, 2009).

For Aaron, however, an appropriate heterosexual outlet for 'God-given' sexual desire is only part of a picture of responding to perpetrators of CSA, PICIs or otherwise. Aaron maintains his previous argument saying:

> I view some of the paedophile issues in the same way that I view alcoholism. That it's not something you should ever say you're cured of, or healed of and you don't ever put yourself in a position of being susceptible to it again. …Now I believe in healing and all those things spiritually, but if I believed a person was healed of wrong thinking in sexual issues I would still put in mechanisms to protect them from being in that position again and being susceptible to that.

Several research participants characterise paedophilic behaviours with reference to alcoholism. This is one of the few areas where 'practice' was discussed alongside sexuality and the maintenance of self in relation to leadership. Paedophilia is seen as a lifelong battle,

or illness, that will never be completely overcome. For these participants the responses of churches necessitate maintaining strong boundaries where paedophiles, or ephebophiles, are not placed in circumstances where they may be tempted to offend again. In this way the management of desire, or disease as it is characterised, is both internalised through being 'healed of wrong thinking' and externalised through the use of increased prohibitions and exclusion from certain spaces and roles. This relies, however, on the deviant subject having a relationship with pastoral leaders that enables the surveillance of the 'ethical self' in order to enable care and constraint (Foucault, 1986).

Masculine Expression

Where most research participants only implicitly discuss male sexuality, Malaki (non-traditional), explicitly demonstrates a concern for male sexuality and its connection to CSA by PICIs. Malaki reflected at length on his own understanding of masculine sexuality:

> I think, I think it's important for men to actually get kind of subliminal sexual experience with nature, climbing mountains, swimming rivers, fighting wild animals, I don't know whatever it is. And I feel like if they don't get those sort of challenges and if they don't get, well, that experience of fighting with and probably getting their arse kicked by nature, then I feel like they live in a hot house of disappointed dreams…

For Malaki masculinity and masculine sexuality are tied to experiencing the raw power of nature and specifically battling with nature in a way where even defeat established something positive about a man's psycho-sexual identity. Malaki went on to express his hypothesis:

> I don't, can't, talk much for women I suppose, but for men I think that's one of the reasons why a lot of young men in our society are getting really angry. It may even have something, some connection with this abuse thing as well, where a church ties up these young blokes inside of a hot house of all sorts of phobias and insecurities. So I think if, I think if men can get those sorts of experiences with just the wildness of nature when they're young, they'll probably have a much more balanced sexuality.

Malaki's intent is to explore ways in which men may experience a more balanced sexuality through a sense of 'wildness' or adventure provided in nature. Where this does not occur, the result may be maladaptive expressions of masculinity, including anger and abuse. The notion that masculinity is proven through concepts such as adventure and battle, is not new to studies of masculinity (Connell, 1995; McPherson, 2001; Rousell & Downs, 2007).

Naomi (traditional) also saw sexuality as significant to CSA by PICIs arguing that historical traditions which saw young boys enter the priesthood as having significant impact on psycho-sexual development and contributed to the perpetration of CSA by PICIs:

I would think that the particular conditions that they'd been placed in perhaps nurture or prohibited some other stuff from happening that may have stopped them becoming paedophiles… Well I think the stuff I was talked about like say the psycho-sexual development… I mean for many of them they would never have experienced any heterosexual relationships at all, sexual or emotional really prior to that time with peers… I mean if the only people you're having intimate relationships, and by that I don't mean sexual, but close relationships, are men and with a lot of sex drives and so on, it seems to me that that all coming together.

For Naomi, the issue of an inexperienced heterosexual sexuality and masculinity were intimately tied together in the particular culture of her tradition. This then and this contributed to environments that failed to provide what was needed to prevent the perpetration of CSA. What Naomi and Malaki have in common is that they identify the inhibition of male heterosexual expression as important in understanding CSA by PICIs. They also establish a subjects relationship with themselves and their sexuality as significant in ethical formation (Foucault, 1984).

Celibacy and the Catholic Church

CSA by clergy in the Catholic Church has also been attributed to the vow of celibacy undertaken by priests. This issue of celibacy is discussed, not only in literature, but in the accounts of some research participants (Cossins, 2011; Holst, 2003; Scheper-Hughs & Devine, 2003). In addressing the ability to generalise across denominations with regard to CSA in churches, Aaron (Pentecostal) argues:

I'd like to see a breakdown of the figures when they go 'the Church', as to which bit may have been the Catholic Church and which not. The reason I say that is human nature being human nature, you take men at an early age and you make them take a vow of celibacy, make, they choose to make it, but they're still sexual beings. And for whatever reason, the Catholic Church has chosen to say that their nuns and their priests be sexually celibate umm, but that's not, from my understanding a biblical principle. God created us as sexual beings and when you stifle it's going to come out somehow. And so if you take a priest that has all these repressed sexual desires, natural desires and it can't be outworked in other ways then there's going to be, I think, like a pressure valve there's going to be an outlet for it and aberrations develop in the way that is expressed.

As discussed above, research participants saw human sexuality as a God-given desire that requires a healthy outlet. For Aaron the Catholic Church's requirement of celibacy creates an unnatural environment where 'aberrations develop'. Whilst Aaron does not see the celibacy of priests as a Biblical or God-given, mandate, clearly the Catholic Church has a long and strong tradition of priestly celibacy (Scheper-Hughs & Devine, 2003; Walker, 2004). The

relationship of celibacy to CSA by clergy has come to be questioned in more recent times (Scheper-Hughs & Devine, 2003; Walker, 2004).

It has been recognised that celibacy alone cannot be credited with directly causing clergy CSA (Scheper-Hughs & Devine, 2003) . Naomi (traditional) reflected on her understanding of this:

> …the research that I'm familiar with um, certainly doesn't say that celibacy *per se* turns people into child abusers. I think it's a combination of things though. I think that… the most recent stuff I've heard is that most of these people had, were personality disordered, if you like, before they went into the priesthood.

There is some credible evidence that individuals seeking at an early age to manage a struggle with their sexuality, including attraction to children or young people, may be attracted to the priesthood as a means of addressing or controlling 'temptation'(Scheper-Hughs & Devine, 2003). Aaron (Pentecostal) speaks of his experience in this area in relation to a childhood friend:

> I have a, a, a mate of mine as a kid and as a boy I was involved in some things that I'm certainly not proud of and (pause) didn't have any guidance at the time that these things weren't right or not, but I, looking back on it now I wouldn't be surprised to find that my mate was actually being sexually abused by his father. …He didn't actually become a priest but he was only that far off actually going into the priesthood. Now at the time I wouldn't actually have ever thought that he was doing that to try and fight all these things that were going on in him, but that doesn't surprise me to find out that's true.

Whilst there is no desire to assert that victim/survivors of CSA will inevitably become offenders, nor to speculate on the precise nature of Aaron's experience, this narrative does parallel research which suggests that individual men may seek out the priesthood in an attempt to reconcile struggles with their sexuality (Doyle, 2006; Gorrell, 2006). There are indications that seeking the vocation of leadership in an attempt to manage perceived 'deviant' sexualities, is not unique to the Catholic Church, but that it occurs across denominations (Bethmont, 2006; Saradjian & Nobus, 2003).

Discussion

What becomes evident from the perspectives of research participants in this study, is that theologically informed discourses of sexuality and gendered performance play a significant role in their understanding of the perpetration of CSA by PICIs. This should not be surprising. Foucault (1986) argues that both internal and external codes of sexual ethics and surveillance have been constructed within Christian traditions. In so far as such sexual ethics

can be constructed in broader public concerns for the abuses of power evident in Christian institutions, this is legitimately a subject that requires an interdisciplinary approach. Theorists working within feminist post-structuralist see sexuality as socially constructed, mediated and embedded within discursive power matrixes' (Butler, 1993; Gavey, 2005). Similarly, feminist theological perspectives have criticised the grand narratives of heteronormativity, attributing much of their structures and principles to patrinormativity and androcentrism (Greene-McCreight, 2004). Feminist critiques of this type understand sexual abuse as being related to a 'normalised' part of masculine practice and male relations of power (Lister, 2003; Tiryakian, 1996).

The positions taken by participants in this study limit the ethical performance of masculine sexuality, and by implication feminine sexuality, to narrow performative constructs. When this is applied to deviant sexuality, such as the sexual abuse of children, a reversion to the narrowly defined constructs of sexuality becomes therapy and evidence of 'change' that aligns the subject more closely with the ideal subject. This is particularly evident in discussions of men's supposed need to express their sexuality through battles with nature and also through heterosexual marriage where they are able to access an appropriate sexual outlet. It is also evidenced in discussions of celibacy as providing a disruption to male sexuality and intimacy and failing to act as preventative of CSA. What is not sufficiently nuanced in this is an analysis of the power within such relationships: both of the deviant subject to the institution that requires particular performances of self from them in order to maintain an 'ethical self', and to a presumed marriage partner or institution. Foucault (1984, pp. 22-23) argues that the formation of ethical codes for sexuality and marriage in Christian traditions were directed solely at providing "a viewpoint of men in order to give form to *their* behaviour" (emphasis in original). Unlike the times of antiquity which Foucault (1984) discusses, the code exemplified here speaks of sexual prohibitions for which sexual liberty in marriage provides a solution. The point remains, however, that male sexual subjectivity is discussed in ways which assume the role of female sexual subjectivity.

Within a traditional Christian analysis of gendered performance and relationship, the leadership of men and their authority over women and children is affirmed as the correct gendered performance. The correct female and child performance is one of submission and obedience respectively (Cere, 2004; Monroe, 2001). This should not, however, be understood as a universal understanding of 'Christian' positions on gender and sexuality. There has been

some significant effort on behalf of feminist theologians to refigure these constructions in the light of differing biblical interpretation, there remains much work to be done (Craven, 2004; Lidzy, 2005; Rudolfsson, Tidefors, & Strömwall, 2011; Shields, 2008). It is worth noting, however, that no research participants spoke about female PICIs, or women in general, as needing an appropriate sexual outlet as a means of avoiding offending sexually. In discussion of the concept of sexuality as a healthy outlet and as a management tool, it was assumed that this was referring solely to male sexuality and sexual needs. Further, although not explicitly discussed by research participants, a 'wife' may be assumed to hold some responsibility in the 'redemption' of the deviant subject through the provision of a 'God-given' and 'normal' sexual outlet. These accounts also do not adequately acknowledge that even where men who sexual abuse children have an 'appropriate' outlet for their sexual expression, such as a marriage partner, and identify their primary sexual orientation as heterosexual, they still sexually abuse children (Carlsledt et al., 2009; Green, 2002; Howard, 2012). What is most evident from research participant's perspectives, is that the ways in which deviant subjects form, maintain and survey their gendered and sexual performances are important in understanding the perpetration of CSA by PICs and also, genuine responses to offending.

Limitations and further research

This study was a small scale qualitative project which does not purport to recognise and represent the full range of positions held by PICIs who are responding to CSA within their institutions. There is a need for further research to hear the voices of those individuals who are working within their institutions to provide positive and pro-active responses to CSA by PICIs. There is a great deal of scope to develop a further understanding in the ways in which constructs of sexuality and gender inform responses to CSA by PICIs from the perspectives of institutional leaders who bear the responsibility to respond to disclosures of abuse and manage offenders.

Conclusion

It is evident from participants in this project that heteronormative constructs of sexuality closely entwine themselves within Christian identity and the ritual and the performativity of this identity. In terms of perpetration, for participants, individual masculine deviancy continues to be of significance to the construction of CSA and as such, surveillance and 'legitimate' expression become the tools by which to manage perpetrators. In this line, sex and sexuality are considered as God-given, normalised and scrutinised as heteronormative,

and exclusively performed within marriage. In short, the discursive construction of sexuality had direct implications in the creation of the Christian subject, whether that is as perpetrator, victim or respondent in complaints of CSA by PICIs. What is evident is an intent to manage deviant subjects through; firstly, discursively constructing the subject according to deviant sexual paradigms that need amending to normative God-given heterosexual identification; and secondly, redirecting their sexual performativity to heterosexual expression. In this, Christian institutions provide a code of sexual ethics, even if one that emerges from a complex history of institutional discourse and culture. This lends room for a re-examining of theologies of sexuality that enable more just responses to, and constructions of, individual Christian agents.

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