Child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts of America, 1970--1984

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CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, 1970-1984

BY

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Bachelor of Arts, California State University, Chico, 2006

THESIS

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
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ABSTRACT

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, 1970-1984

by

Jenna Kline

University of New Hampshire, December, 2009

The present study examined child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts of America (1970 to 1984). In particular, this study explored the role of the institution in child sexual abuse. The data analyzed was gathered from the Boy Scouts Ineligible Volunteer File system and included a sample of 529 adult males who had volunteered to serve as adult role models for the Boys Scouts and were suspected of alleged misbehavior. Analysis of the data revealed a profile of the alleged abusers. These men were typically in their mid-30s, single and had spent an average of 41.4 months in the Boy Scouts before being placed in the file system. It was also found that the Boy Scouts recorded information inconsistently in the file system. The findings of this study may be useful for the Boys Scouts of America to evaluate the current Youth Protection Program.
INTRODUCTION

The Boy Scouts of America has been in existence since 1913 and since that time has publicly promoted itself as an organization that helps boys to become outstanding citizens and responsible community members. At the same time, there is evidence that this organization has quietly harbored child sexual abusers. In 1915, the Boy Scouts of America began to list volunteers unfit for the Boy Scouts in the Ineligible Volunteer Files (John Doe vs. Allen Trueman, Forty Niner Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, et al., 1992), a file system that tracks volunteers whose legal status, alleged behavior (including sexual misconduct) and other factors made them ineligible for Boy Scout service. This system was kept from the public, due to social sigma and financial pressure, until lawsuits and newspaper articles uncovered the files in the early 1990s.

The current research examined data related to child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts from these files between the years 1970 to 1984. Child sexual abuse prevention policies in the Boy Scouts were put into place in 1988; however, this research examines whether child sexual abuse prevention policies should have been developed earlier in the Boy Scout’s history ("All terms and style items"). In order to understand the full extent of this issue, background information must be reviewed on reporting, defining and understanding child sexual abuse, child molestation and pedophilia. The current research study hoped to find patterns of child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts. These patterns could
help not only the Boy Scouts in preventing child sexual abuse, but other institutions as well.

**Defining Sexual Abuse**

Finkelhor (1979) has reviewed differences between nonsexual physical abuse and sexual abuse. He explains that both can involve patterns over a long period of time; however there are many differences between these forms of abuse. Finkelhor found that sexual abuse generally has more profound psychological effects than physical effects, such as gonorrhea or HIV/AIDS, and abusers have different motivations for each type of abuse. In the case of sexual abuse, the abusers’ motivations can be to fulfill a sexual impulse or to express aggression toward the abused child. In the case of physical abuse, the motivation is different, such as a need to harm the child. There exist different social attitudes about each type of abuse. Finkelhor (1979) states that the general social attitudes about sexual conduct are hidden and talking about sex with children is taboo. The author points out that this is demonstrated in schools where teachers and schools are uncomfortable talking to young children about sex. On the other hand, physical abuse, especially in the form of discipline for children is greatly accepted in our society. The author also points out that younger children and infants are more likely to be physically abused, whereas sexually abused children are generally victimized between the ages of 8 to 12 years old.

Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner and Hamby (2005) found that children and youth who suffered sexual victimization also suffered other types of victimization, including assault, child maltreatment and witnessing victimization. When only one type of victimization is

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1 There is research currently underway to study the possible link between child sexual abuse and HIV/AIDS. For more information please contact Dr. Gerald Valentine at Yale University.
considered, there can be an under or overestimation of the issue. With a failure to understand all of the types of victimization that can occur to a child, the types of policies that are put into place do not address all types of victimization experienced by children. The need to understand many forms of child victimization is a priority due to the negative impact it has on children.

Holmes and Slap (1998) have suggested that part of the problem in understanding sexual abuse is that there are numerous definitions of the term “sexual abuse”. Researchers have differing definitions of sexual abuse, due to the use of varying questions about past abuse and different assessments to note incidences of sexual abuse. Haugaard (2000) has stated that there is some general agreement about certain specific acts of child sexual abuse, but other types of acts are unclear. The definitions of “child”, “sexual”, and “abuse”, vary among researchers, policy makers and other professionals researching child sexual abuse. The word child can be defined as below the age of 18 (Finkelhor, 1979), below the age of 17 (Russell, 1983) or below the age of 16 (Wurr & Partridge, 1996).

Likewise, sexual acts also have differing definitions. For example, there are terms that all experts agree are sexual in nature (e.g., touching the genitals or penetration); however, there are other terms, including “sleeping with” or “bathing” children, that some experts see as sexual acts, while other professionals do not. With this disagreement in the field, some children that have been abused are considered as abused by some experts, but not others. Haugaard (2000) has noted that the term abuse has been disputed within the research community. Many researchers define abuse as causing harm, but with sexual abuse, harm cannot always be detected immediately following the abuse. The
definition of child sexual abuse has remained broad, which ironically has had negative consequences for many in the field. These negative consequences include confusion about which families and children should receive treatment for sexual abuse and which perpetrators should be prosecuted for sexual abuse. This research will use a more narrow definition for child sexual abuse, so that the information can be used by the greatest number of people with a clear definition of both victims and perpetrators.

Many researchers have used the National Center for Abuse and Neglect’s definition to define child sexual abuse for their research. The National Center for Abuse and Neglect definition “...generally refers to sexual acts, sexually motivated behaviors, or sexual exploitation involving children. Child sexual abuse includes a wide range of behaviors, such as oral, anal, or genital penile penetration, anal or genital digital or other penetration, genital contact with no intrusion, fondling of a child's breasts or buttocks, indecent exposure, inadequate or inappropriate supervision of a child's voluntary sexual activities, use of a child in prostitution, pornography, Internet crimes, or other sexually exploitative activities. Sexual abuse includes both touching offenses (fondling or sexual intercourse) and non-touching offenses (exposing a child to pornographic materials) and can involve varying degrees of violence and emotional trauma” (http://www.childwelfare.gov/can/types/sexualabuse/). This is the definition that will be used in the present study.

**Child Abuse, Child Molestation and Pedophilia**

Researchers have had varying views about the differences between child sexual abuse and molestation (Finkelhor, 2008; Hauggard, 2000; Douglas & Finkelhor, 2005). Kempe and Kempe (1984) define child sexual abuse as a main category of general child
abuse, which also includes emotional and physical abuse. They state that child molestation and pedophilia are subcategories of child abuse. Pedophilia is the preference by an adult for prepubescent children to gain sexual excitement. These researchers define molestation vaguely and include many different forms of sexual contact, including touching, kissing and/or fondling a child. These researchers also separate sexual intercourse as a separate category of child sexual abuse.

Finkelhor (2008) explains that child molestation is different from child sexual abuse. He states that the terms child sexual assault, child sexual abuse and child molestation are sometimes used interchangeably. However, according to Finkelhor each of these terms should have different meanings. Child sexual assault implies that violence has taken place during the sexual abuse, therefore discounting any sexual abuse without violence. The term child sexual abuse is used in settings where the abuser is a caretaker, such as someone close to the child, but not always a relative, therefore excluding abusers that are not caretakers or related to the child. Child molestation is usually used by experts when a child is sexually abused by an adult. This limited definition, as Finkelhor points out, excludes date rape and other juvenile sexual offenses. The author goes on to state the importance of defining these terms within the field of child victimization.

Pedophilia has been addressed by many researchers (Jenkins, 2000 & Seto, 2006). Ivey and Simpson (1998) explain that pedophiles think that children’s emotional responses indicate erotic interest and thus seek out children in a sexual manner. They suggest that pedophiles have three forces that motivate them to act in this way: (1) to regain the lack of affection that was missing during their own childhood; (2) to gain power from the child (again, power that was missing from other adults in the person’s
life); and (3) because children are more emotionally available to them than other adults. For pedophiles, sex is not the main reason for the abuse; it is the power and positive response from the child that is important. Seto (2006) explains that pedophilia is not directly related to sexual offending against children because sometimes there is a difference in sexual interests, histories and type of arousal. However, both terms are used interchangeably. Seto states that there are many pedophiles that never harm a child and these individuals are placed in the same category as sexual offender pedophiles. It is difficult to determine which pedophiles will commit sexual offenses against children and who will never commit these acts. It is important to understand the differences between these terms, so that the results of this research can be clearly explained and used by other professionals in the field. For purposes of this research, the term child sexual abuse will be used because this is the term used to discuss abuse with a caregiver and is the most complete term.

Finkelhor (2008) explains that with varying definitions of child sexual abuse, there are inevitably stereotypes found within categories of child sexual abuse, which can lead to confusion by researchers and professionals in the field. In turn, it is difficult to fully understand the impact and prevalence of child sexual abuse. The National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System has tracked child sexual abuse for several decades, which demonstrates that it does occur and has taken place, at least for several decades. There have also been many different settings for child sexual abuse, including both inside and outside of the child’s home, or in an institutional setting, like an after school club. Abusers can range in age from a juvenile to an adult. The abuser can also be a close relative or just a close person in the life of that child.
Reporting Child Sexual Abuse

Based on the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System, Finkelhor and Jones (2006) found that there has been a 40% to 70% decline in reported sexual abuse of children since the early 1990s. They also state that this decrease took place after 15 years of increases in reported child sexual abuse.

Finkelhor and Jones explored child sexual abuse with boys. They found that 5-16% of child sexual abuse victims are boys. Other researchers (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999; Jones, Finkelhor & Kopiec, 2001) estimate, based on meta-analyses and phone interviews, that 13% of boys are sexually abused as children. However, as Douglas and Finkelhor (2005) point out, it is difficult to know the extent of abuse due to varying methods of reporting sexual abuse, such as reports from adults about a single case of abuse in the past or reports about abuse throughout one childhood. This supports the idea that the definition of child sexual abuse should be narrowed in order to fully understand this issue.

Gallagher, Bradford and Pease (2008) found that most children who are sexually abused know the person that abused them. Several other researchers have written about this topic and support this finding (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999; Finkelhor, 2008; Finkelhor & Jones, 2006; Jones et al., 2001). Institutions can also foster this type of situation by creating an environment where there are few rules to prevent sexual abuse and trust is created between the adults and the children, therefore perpetuating and hiding sexual abuse (McAlinden, 2006).
Effects of Child Sexual Abuse

The effects of sexual abuse are numerous. Finkelhor and Browne (1985) explain the short-term effects, which include anger, shame, guilt, fear and depression. These effects can emerge soon after the abusive encounter and can last for a lifetime. Hebert, Parent, Daignault and Tourigny (2006) compared 123 children who had been sexually abused with 123 children who had not been abused. These researchers found that 33% of children who experienced long lasting sexual abuse (at least six months) had anxiety problems, which included using external coping strategies and lower problem-solving skills. These researchers also found that 25% of the children who experienced more severe abuse (involving or attempting oral, anal, and/or vaginal penetration) indicated many behavioral problems. These researchers suggest that there could be many effects that are long-term and not seen until years after the abuse has occurred. Some states have recognized this as well and have extended the length of time an individual can pursue a case against an abuser after the victim turns 18 years old\(^2\).

Senn, Carey and Vanable (2007) found that adolescent males who were sexually abused as children were also more likely to have sex at an earlier age, have more sexual partners and be less likely to wear a condom during sex. Long-term effects include being unable to trust others, sexual dysfunction, and, in some cases, completely avoiding sexual activity in adulthood. Alaggia and Millington (2008) also found long term effects of sexual abuse of boys. These authors interviewed men who had been sexually abused as children. They found that regardless of how the men viewed their sexual abuse as children (e.g. denial, early sexual experiences, etc.) they continued to have problems with

\(^2\) Connecticut General Statue 52-577d states that a person has 30 years after they turn 18 to pursue a case against their abuser.
their adult intimate relationships. Considering these potentially devastating short-term and long-term consequences of sexual abuse on its many victims, it is important to increase our understanding of psychological, social and institutional factors that underlie childhood sexual abuse.

**Child Sexual Abuse in Institutions**

There is a lack of research and literature in the area of child sexual abuse occurring within institutions. This could be due to the lack of public awareness caused by the institutions concealing information about the incidences of abuse. The Boy Scout file system, for example, has been hidden from the public for many years and its attorneys have fought hard to prevent disclosure. However, given the number of cases that have come to light in recent years, the considerable media attention and the fact that most children know the people that abuse them (Gallagher, Bradford & Pease, 2008), institutional child sexual abuse is a topic well worth researching. Institutional child sexual abuse for the current research is defined as *any type of sexual abuse that takes place outside of a child’s home within an institution with the purpose to provide programming for the child*. Institutions such as day care centers, the YMCA and foster care programs have all been investigated with regard to child sexual abuse. The relative importance of institutional abuse will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

**Boy Scouts of America**

The Boys Scouts of America was developed in 1908 by Lord Baden-Powell in England. The original goal of scouting included: “...good citizenship in the future of men...” (Reynolds, 1950, p. 1). The Boy Scouts of America also define the aims of scouting as development of character, “...citizenship training, and mental and physical
fitness” (“All terms and style items”). Reynolds (1950) goes on to explain that trustworthiness and moral correctness should be imitated and practiced daily for the boys. The job of the scoutmaster was outlined early in the history of the program. The author states the characteristics that a Scoutmaster must demonstrate in order to lead a troop. This includes having an “...appreciation of the moral aim underlying the practical instruction all through the scheme of Scouting...Personal character and standing such as will ensure his having a good moral influence over boys, and sufficient steadfastness of purpose to carry the venture over difficult and slack times” (p. 52).

High moral standing was emphasized throughout the Boy Scouts’ history as it moved to the United States in the 1913 (Levy, 1944). The American version of the Scoutmaster’s Handbook (1972) emphasizes the importance of role models. This handbook states that a Scoutmaster is “...the key to good Scouting. The troop is molded in his image” (p. 12). Scoutmasters are also encouraged to know each boy, stating that, “The better you know each individual boy in the troop, the more valuable his Scouting experience will be” (p. 16). In addition to emphasizing the importance of Scoutmasters as a role model, Boy Scout activities emphasized that youth participants should spend time alone with Scoutmasters. Scoutmasters are also directly instructed in the Handbook to “Set aside time before or after a meeting when you can meet with the boy alone” (p. 19).

Unfortunately, this “alone time” has proved problematic for the Boy Scouts, because this provides an obvious opportunity for a scout leader to isolate and abuse youth scouts. Child sexual abuse has taken place during scouting activities for many years and has included hundreds of cases of institutional abuse. In 1991, Patrick Boyle wrote a series of articles for the Washington Times, which subsequently led to the book Scout's
In one of the articles (May, 1991) he found that in every year from 1971 to 1989 an average of at least 21 scout leaders and camp workers were banned from scouting due to child sexual abuse. Boyle also found that during this same time period, at least 60 boys in the Scouts told someone about their abuse.

From 1987 to 1991, the Boy Scouts of America paid $15 million dollars in lawsuits that were brought against them by families of abused boys. In addition, Boyle notes that the Boy Scouts of America gave false information to the press in order to hide the sexual abuse that was occurring during this time period. Boyle explains in another article that the Boy Scouts of America wanted to keep this information from the public to uphold the clean image of the Scouts and because the men and boys involved in scouting were held out to be representative of the wholesome American society (Boyle, 1991).

Boyle describes the way the Boy Scouts were able to keep this sexual abuse a secret from the public. He explains that the Scout officials, within each of the states in which the abuse occurred, would make deals with the child sexual abusers. Scout officials agreed to have the abuse go unreported and in exchange child sexual abusers resigned from the organization and, in some cases, moved away from the area. The officials would also make deals with the parents. This would involve the parents agreeing to let the abuse go and not pressing charges against the child sexual abuser. This was sometimes due to the pressure from Scout officials and sometimes due to the parents’ desire to guard their children against the embarrassment that these children might face at trial. Boyle also describes some cases in which police officers actually helped to cover up the molestations to protect the name of the Boy Scouts.
The Boy Scouts apparently did not feel that this abuse was an important and significantly damaging problem. In the organization’s opinion, there were few cases of sexual abuse, despite the numbers mentioned above (John Doe v. Allen Trueman, Forty Niner Council, Inc., Boy Scouts of America, et al., 1992; Martin, 2007). Boyle notes that in 1984, there were 36 men banned from scouting and over a million adult volunteers within the organization as a whole. In the eyes of the Boy Scouts, therefore, only .0036% of the men involved in scouting were sexually molesting boys. Boyle interviewed many people working for the national scouting office, including Paul Ernst and Joseph Anglim. Paul Ernst was the director of registration from 1971 to 1992. He was in charge of the Ineligible Volunteer Files, the Boy Scouts’ file system that tracked volunteers whose legal status, alleged behavior (including sexual misconduct) and other factors made them ineligible for Boy Scout service. Joseph Anglim the director of administration at the Boy Scouts from 1974 until his retirement in 1992 made the ineligible files official by stamping each with his name and date (Boyle, 1994). Boyle discusses men listed in the file system due to sexual molestation in the scouts: “In some years, about one of every four men. Mr. Ernst and Mr. Anglim said they never counted the cases and never discussed whether sex abuse was a significant problem. Mr. Ernst said the number of cases didn't seem high, since the Scouts had more than 1 million adult volunteers. This is the reason that the Boy Scout never reported the sexual abuse to their health and safety committee” (Boyle, 1991, p. A3) This is also the reason why it took the Boy Scouts over 70 years to develop sexual abuse education for boys and adults in scouting, which they did in 1988.
The Boy Scouts of America also has a social presence within the culture of American society. The Boy Scouts of America is an organization that has helped maintain the male, white, heterosexual mainstream ideals of America. These ideals included, admiring “Americans like Washington because of his loyalty... Lincoln for his simplicity” (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 379) and “…to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight” (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 379). If the public were to find out that there was rampant child sexual abuse within the Boy Scouts, the ideals of the organization would have been questioned as well. In order for the Boy Scouts to maintain a clean image of their organization and its mission, they needed to keep this information from the public and they needed to help the public and police.

Although there have been lawsuits in many states, two significant court cases have opened the Ineligible Volunteer Files. In the early 1990s, Michael Rothschild in Sacramento, CA gained access to files from 1971 to 1991. The files were given to Rothschild by court order for the lawsuit that he was working on at the time against the Boy Scouts. The second lawyer to obtain the files was Timothy Kosnoff in Seattle, WA. In 2003, the Boy Scouts were forced to turn over files dating back to 1946 (Martin, 2007). Other lawyers are working with the files and trying to help the victims. Recently in Connecticut, two lawsuits helped to build the case against the Boy Scouts of America. In the Connecticut cases it is “...asserted that [the Boy Scouts of America] should be liable for having accumulated detailed data about the incidence of abuse over a period of years, but failed to take adequate child protection steps in response” (P. Slager, personal communication, May 29, 2009). Paul Slager, Esquire, the Connecticut plaintiffs’ lawyer,
argued in these cases that the Boy Scouts’ Ineligible Volunteer File gave the Scouts’ enough information about institutional abuse that they should have taken steps to prevent it, yet they failed to protect children from abuse. However, as far as this researcher knows the information used for the current study from the Ineligible Volunteer File has never been fully analyzed.

This present study analyzed information from the Ineligible Volunteer File. As a result, it is important to understand the origins of the Boy Scouts’ file system and the way in which this file system has been maintained. The Ineligible Volunteer File is a file system that tracks volunteers whose alleged behavior makes them ineligible for service. Many people have speculated about when the Ineligible Volunteer File began. Paul Ernst, director of registration from 1971 to 1992, stated in a 1992 deposition that this file system began in 1915. He also stated that any name on the list is destroyed once that person turns 70 or dies. This means that there have been many other files that have been destroyed.

Data used in this study was collected from 529 Ineligible Volunteer Files developed and maintained by the Boy Scouts of America between the years 1970 and 1984 and housed at the Boy Scouts national office in Irving, Texas. The Boy Scouts Ineligible Volunteer File lists the names of people that have had some type of allegation against them. These files were created by the Boy Scouts, apparently to keep track of scout personnel that the organization suspected had committed a crime, including sexual molestation. These files were collected by the Boys Scouts in order to have a basis to reject these same individuals if they tried to enter the Boys Scouts at any future point. This was stated in letters found in the files of individuals. The letters would state that
scouting “...is a privilege not a right”, and then explain that the person would be removed from scouting (Boy Scouts of America, Confidential Record Sheet).

Most of the men in these files molested boys within the Boy Scout organization; however, some of the men molested boys and girls outside of the Scouts. The men that sexually molested boys in this study were all members of the Boys Scouts of America. They held different ranks within the Boy Scouts, ranging from Cub Scout, Weblo and Boy Scout leaders, to district and council members, volunteers and camp helpers. All of these men had relationships with the boys that they molested and, in some cases, these men were looked at as role models. Sexual molestation has been defined in this dataset as fondling, oral molestation, anal molestation, rape of the child, child pornography, production of child pornography and other types of inappropriate behavior with children. These categories of sexual molestation were developed specifically for this study. The Boy Scouts did not have a definition of sexual molestation for its own file system. This means that the recorded information in the file system is based on an individual’s definition of sexual molestation, not the institution’s definition. This could lead to confusion about the type of abuse that occurred. The first step is to put only the name of an individual into a file. After this, the national office requests information from the local office to put into the file. During the years 1970 to 1984, this request came from Paul Ernst. The Boy Scouts tried to collect police records, letters from parents, letters from victims and any other records that support the allegation. Some files contain letters in support of some of the volunteers. These are all in paper form. The current file system is computerized (Ineligible Volunteer File).
In a deposition given by Frank Reigelman in 2008 in the Connecticut cases, he states that before 1985, the Boy Scouts did not give local troop committees any information about child sexual abuse in the scouts or educational material. This means that before 1985, there was an absence of communication and education between the local Boy Scout troops and the national office regarding the removal of sexual abusers (Reigelman, current Director of Camping and Conservation for the Boy Scouts of America National Council in Unnamed v. Fairfield County et. al, 2008). This lack of communication, in turn, created a flawed file system. The flawed file system was created when the national office became aware of abuses taking place, but did not communicate and update the local Boy Scout troops about these abuses. The file system is flawed because there was no open communication about abuse from the national office to the local troop, nor is there education from the national office for local troop about sexual abuse.

This data gives the researcher a unique opportunity to understand the abuse in a way that has not been done before. This research is intended to provide an in-depth study of the incidence of child sexual abuse in one institution, over the course of many years. This is one of the most important reasons to conduct this research.

The following chapter reviews past and present literature around the topic of child sexual abuse. This chapter has information from researchers during the time period being studied (1970-1984) and the present time period. This chapter will help support the idea that there was knowledge about child sexual abuse at the time when individuals were being placed in the file system. In addition, current research is used to help fully explain
the implications of the data within the file system. The present study uses this literature as a backdrop for the current research topic: sexual abuse within the Boy Scouts of America.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Theories and Models of Child Molesters

There is no single theory that explains why some adults molest children. Child molestation has been explained using different theories, but no single theory adequately explains child molestation in an institution such as the Boy Scouts of America. There have been three theories used by researchers to explain commonalities between child molesters. These theories are explained below. Each theory helps inform research, as well as give a context to the current research. Institutional sexual abuse will be discussed and is defined as any type of sexual abuse that takes place outside of a child’s home within an institution with the purpose to provide programming for the child.

Attachment Theory

Early childhood attachment theory. Attachment theory (originally developed by Bowlby, 1958) suggests that the relationship between a child and the child’s primary caretaker can play a role in the way that the child acts as an adult. A child gains a certain amount of security from attachment to a caregiver. A caregiver is an individual in a child’s life that spends a significant amount of time with the child. This could include a parent, grandparent, child care provider or an after-school provider, etc. Wood and Riggs (2008) focused exclusively on attachment of child molesters, using a conceptual model based on attachment theory. Attachment theory was developed by Ainsworth, Bell and
Stayton (1974). These authors proposed that children could develop different types of attachment to their caregivers.

Secure attachment is when children explore their environment when their caregivers are present and greet the caregivers with positive feedback when reunited. An example of this would be an infant that smiles when a caregiver returns to a room. Insecure-avoidant attachment refers to children who have little care or interest in their caregivers and ignore or avoid being reunified with their caregivers. This is when an infant does not acknowledge the presence of a caregiver when the caregiver comes into the room. Insecure-resistant attachment is present when children do little exploration of the environment if their caregivers are there and both want and resist contact with their caregivers during reunification. This is an infant that will stay close to a caregiver when that person is in the room and immediately wants to be with the caregiver when the caregiver returns. Insecure-disorganized attachment refers to children who are disorganized when their caregivers are present and act this way when being reunited with their caregivers. This is an infant that does know when the caregiver has left the room and does not want to be with the caregiver when the individual returns.

Wood and Riggs (2008) determined there is a link between persons’ feelings of abandonment, fearfulness and negative self image that are frequent characteristics of sexual offenders. They also found that sex offenders experience, disproportionately, general anxiety and concluded that, out of fear of rejection by adult partners, these individuals preferred to interact with children. Other researchers have looked at the connection between attachment theory and child molestation. McCormack, Hudson and Ward (2002) found support for the idea that child molesters have early negative
interpersonal experiences such as having few boundaries with their caregivers and feelings of neglect and rejection from caregivers.

**Adult Attachment Theory and Sex Offenders.** Attachment theory has relevance to healthy and unhealthy adult relationships (Marshall, 1993; McCormack, Hudson & Ward, 2002 and Wood & Riggs, 2008). Although there is not as much research in this area and child molestation, a few researchers have looked at adult attachment theory in the context of child molesters. Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert (1995) found that an adult’s insecure attachment style might lead to sex offending. This type of attachment style in adults is associated with a lack of intimate relationships between two adults which might lead adults to seek intimacy and sexual relations in unsuitable ways. Marshall (1993) has also explored the link between adult attachment and sex offending in a literature review. He found that adults with poor adult attachments had more sex offending tendencies. However, he points out that it is difficult to test the link between sex offending and adult attachments and that more research is needed to clarify if a poor adult attachment leads to sex offending or if sex offending leads to poor adult attachments. Jamieson and Marshall (2000) used self-report questionnaires about the relationships of individuals that had been convicted on an offense. These researchers determined the type of offenses that each individual had committed by using institutional files. They found that child molesters were more likely than incest offenders, nonsexual offenders and non-offenders to have fearful-avoidant adult attachment styles.

Adult attachment theory has also been used to explain child molestation in the Catholic Church (Markham & Mikail, 2004). However, these researchers used adult attachment types based on research by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991). These
attachment types include secure, dismissive, preoccupied and fearful. Markham and Mikail (2004) found that abusive clergy have different attachment types. The study included child molesters that were noted by the church as having abused at least one minor. These researchers concluded that clergy with dismissive attachment styles (e.g. those individuals that dismiss or avoid intimacy with another adult) should not be clergy members and should have never a position of power within the church. The authors also found that those with both preoccupied (e.g. individuals that avoid having a relationship with another adult because of a belief that they will be rejected) and fearful (e.g. those individuals that have a fear of adult relationships) attachment styles responded well to therapy directed towards preventing sexual abuse from occurring; however, these attachment styles did not prevent them from molesting children. Overall, the researchers found that those with attachment styles which encouraged adult peer relationships were the least likely to relapse. The only type of attachment style that would not increase the likelihood of a clergy to abuse children is secure attachment. This research shows that institutions should be wary of individuals that do not have secure adult attachments.

Cognitive Theories

Attribution Theory. Attribution theory addresses the way in which a person explains behavior (Blumenthal, Gudjonsson & Burns, 1999). Heider (1958) first developed this theory and proposed there are two types of attributions. Internal attributions refer to the cause of behavior being within a person. External attributions occur when the cause of the behavior is outside of the person such as the environment surrounding the person. Blumenthal, et al. (1999) found that child molesters were more likely than rapists and non-sex offenders, to have internalized, rather than externalized,
characteristics about their victims. The offenders blamed themselves for the molestation versus attributing the blame to outside factors, such as the environment. This suggests that when an institution, such as the BSA, promotes an adult leader to be alone with a boy, the offender does not realize that this external factor increases the chances of sexual abuse. Instead the offender feels internal blame about the situation. According to the researchers, child sexual abusers have cognitive disorders, not only when in the act of sexually abusing a child, but continuously throughout their life. These cognitive disorders are a general way that child sexual abusers believe that the abuse is acceptable. This is different from rapists, who are more likely to display cognitive disorders during the time when they are aroused. In addition to the individual, an institution, such as the Boy Scouts of America, should be aware of cognitive disorders an individual might have before joining the scouts and working directly with children. One reason why an institution, such as the Boy Scouts, would not have been aware of the cognitive disorders is that there has been little research discussing or studying child molestation within institutions.

**Heterosocial Skills Theory.** Much of the past cognitive theory research has focused on heterosocial skills and sex offenders. Heterosocial skills are the social skills considered necessary to function heterosexually. These are typically stereotyped skills that both men and women engage in during interactions with one another (Abel, Blanchard & Becker, 1976). Segal and Marshall (1985) compared incarcerated rapists, child molesters and non-sexual offenders using several cognitive questionnaires and self reports. Using this information, they found that child molesters were less skilled and more anxious than other offenders in heterosocial interactions. A meta-analysis of sex
offenders and non-sex offenders, both incarcerated and not incarcerated, was conducted (Dreznick, 2003). This meta-analysis included 14 published papers with a total of 5,295 participants. The studies included self-reporting or behavioral measures for heterosocial skills. Results of the meta-analysis indicated that sex molesters had fewer heterosocial skills than both non-sex offenders and rapists. Heterosocial skills were tested in this current research study, through one of the hypotheses mentioned later in this chapter. Dreznick (2003) suggests focusing on heterosocial skills in treatment programs for sex molesters. Institutions should be aware of this information and use it when trying to prevent sexual abuse. In addition, an individual that lacks heterosocial skills and with other factors, such a cognitive distortion should bring caution to institutions where this individual might want to volunteer.

**Personality Theory**

Personality theory has been included in this literature review because it has been included in many research studies related to child sexual abusers and has many practical uses for child sexual abusers’ treatment. Personality theory has important background information to help fully understand child sexual abusers, however due to a lack of information from the data, this theory will be not tested. Eysenck (1967) was one of the first researchers to explore the relationship between personality traits and sexual behavior. He found that neuroticism was related to sexual distress and conflict, extroversion was related to having high sexual activities and psychoticism was related to perverted or impersonal and aggressive sexual behaviors. Wilson and Cox (1983) extended this perspective by focusing exclusively on pedophiles. They found that pedophiles were high
in neuroticism and psychoticism and low in extraversion. Pedophiles were found to be shy, sensitive, lonely and depressed.

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI-2) has been used in many research settings to understand sex offenders and their personalities. It is also the predominant personality inventory used for sex offenders. The MMPI-2 includes scales regarding clinical, content and more specific topics, such as distress in a marriage. Some of the subscales include depression, anxiety and anger (Butcher, Atlis & Hahn, 2003). Chantry and Craig (1994) used this inventory with 603 convicted violent offenders and found that rapists had personality traits that were more similar to non-sexual offenders, those that committed violent non-sexual offenses (e.g. murder, robbery, battery, assault, etc.) than child molesters. The personality traits of the child molesters included being passive-aggressive and dependent, as well as having anxiety, schizoid, psychotic thinking and depression.

Tardif and Van Gijeghem (2005) studied differences between males that molest females, males that molest males and non-molesters. These researchers used the MMPI-2 to evaluate differences. Though there were no differences between groups on the MMPI-2, there were interesting findings in self-reported abuse and education level of three groups. They found that the average education level of each group was at a college level and that the sex offenders had higher rates of childhood abuse, as compared to non-sex offenders.

Plante and Aldridge (2005) studied 21 priests of the Roman Catholic Church who faced credible accusations of sexual abuse against them. Priests completed the MMPI-2 and other instruments. These researchers found that priests facing accusations of sexual
abuse had “...defensive, repressive, mistrusting, isolative, irritable...” (p. 77)
personalities as measured by the MMPI-2. This knowledge could help institutions to
identify personality traits that are most common in child sexual abusers. This study had a
small sample size; however, it is one of few studies that examined alleged male
perpetrators who were not incarcerated. Most research done on male perpetrators uses
samples that have already been convicted, therefore this sample gives a unique
perspective of the perpetrators.

Pathways Model

Ward and Siegert (2002) developed the Pathways Model, which takes into
account several child sexual abuser models and suggests there are different pathways to
the sexual abuse of a child. This model is important for understanding the individual
characteristics of a child sexual abuser; however, this model will not be tested in the
current study. This is because of a lack of information in the Boy Scout file system.
These pathways state the individual characteristics that lead to child sexual abuse by an
adult. These pathways must consider developmental factors, dysfunctional mechanisms
and an opportunity to commit child sexual abuse. Ward and Siegert used the idea of
“theory knitting” to develop their model, which is the thought that researchers should
integrate the strongest ideas of each theory in order to come up with the most useful
explanation of child sexual abuse. Ward and Siegert suggest that theories involving child
molestation should include psychological, biological, cultural and situational factors, yet
they suggest that a more narrow focus on child molestation should be used when
developing theory. The researchers suggest that the different pathways will help to
narrow the focus of child molesters and this will help to treat child molesters with
individual differences.

Ward and Siegert state that there are four symptoms found within every adult
sexual offender of children. These symptoms include: “...emotional regulation problems,
imintacy and social skills deficits, deviant sexual arousal and cognitive distortions” (p. 330). Empathy defects can be found within all of the symptoms.

Emotional regulation can help an individual reach a goal. However, if the
regulation is dysfunctional, the goal might become dysfunctional. This could also lead to
poor coping strategies and poor affective states. Intimacy and social skill deficits are
derived from research on early environment attachment theory. Inappropriate attachments,
such as insecure and fearful-dismissive attachments, can lead to fear and poor adult
relationships. Deviant sexual arousal is explained with sexual scripts. Sexual scripts are
the way in which an individual perceives cues about sexual cues. These scripts are
developed through time and help individuals develop guides to sexual intimacy. If a
person has early exposure to sexual experiences, through abuse, they will have a shorter
time period to develop appropriate sexual scripts. This could lead to inappropriate
partners, behaviors and contexts. Finally, cognitive distortions provide child sex
offenders the excuse to conduct morally incorrect actions. Cognitive distortion occurs
when the abuser begins to justify the actions that are taking place against the children.
Through this distortion, the abusers adult relationships will have difficulties because the
abuser is using children for sexual relationships, resulting in prolonged abuse of the child.
This was also confirmed by Blumenthal, et al. (1999).
The symptoms of cognitive distortion, including poor adult relationships, underlie five etiological pathways. Each pathway has a specific set of symptoms. One pathway is intimacy deficits. This pathway includes child sex offenders that have normal sexual scripts and only offend at certain times. This individual is using a child partner, as a substitute for a more appropriate partner. The individual does not have any level of intimacy with the child; it is just sex. According to Ward and Siegert (2002) the primary reason this individual takes this pathway is due to poor attachment early in life. A second etiological pathway, known as deviant sexual scripts pathway, occurs when an individual’s sexual scripts (perceptions of sexual cues) are inaccurate. These individuals have a sexual preference for children and sexually abusive relationships. This is usually due to early sexual abuse of the sex offender and poor attachment as children.

Another pathway, known as emotional dysregulation, includes individuals who have normal sexual scripts. However, they cannot control their emotions or seek help to control their emotions. This can lead to sexual abuse of children to punish their partners or using a child to meet the individual’s sexual needs. According to Ward and Siegert (2002), the primary reason a person enters this pathway is to use sex as a coping strategy for emotional issues.

Individuals following the antisocial cognitions pathway have normal sexual scripts, but general tendencies toward antisocial, criminal attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. Offenders with this pathway feel they have a patriarchal superiority over the children that they abuse. This is the same type of power that a Scoutmaster might feel he has over the children in his troop. Ward and Siegert (2002) state that these individuals tend to commit several different crimes, not just child sexual abuse. The pathway of multiple
dysfunctional mechanisms includes individuals with distorted sexual scripts. These individuals generally have a history of sexual abuse at an early age. These sex offenders think that the best relationship is between an adult and a child and these individuals will have dysfunctions with all other areas including, emotions and attachments.

This Pathways model has been influential in several studies of child sexual offenders. Middleton, Elliott, Mandeville-Norden and Beech (2006) used this model to investigate Internet sexual offenders. They found that 60% of the men in the study fit into one of these five specified pathways. These researchers found that the two most common pathways were intimacy deficits and emotional dysregulation. Connolly (2004) completed a review of this model. This author used this model to gather qualitative information from 13 incarcerated male child sexual abusers. The researcher believed that this model was effective and stated that it is a good foundation for future treatment of child sex offenders. As Markham and Mikail (2004) have also stated, Connolly noted that child sex offenders do not have the same characteristics and the Pathways model could help with this in treatment. This model could be used to design successful treatment plans to better understand the individual abuser. The model could help those trying to treat sex offenders by pointing out the unique characteristics of each abuser; therefore being able to tailor the treatment to each individual abuser’s needs.

Others have been critical of this model. Stinson, Sales and Becker (2008) suggest that the model has some inconsistencies. For example, Ward and Siegert (2002) stated that all symptoms will be part of each pathway, yet three of the pathways do not have dysfunctional sexual scripts. Another criticism of this model is the lack of explanation between the symptoms and the pathways. The authors never clearly state the roles that
the symptoms play in the pathways. Stinson, Sales and Becker (2008) also suggest that the descriptions of the child sexual offenders that fit into the pathway are too specific and would not categorize each child sex offender. These authors state that this model does not include pedophilia as a form a child sexual abuse. Stinson, Sales and Becker explain that pedophilia develops differently than other forms of child molestation and the Pathways model does not take this into account. This model does not include information about institutional factors, which is important when discussing child sexual abusers.

**Precondition Model**

The last model to be discussed is Finkelhor’s Precondition Model (1984), which addresses both internal and external conditions for child sexual abuse. This model will not be tested in the current study, but there are many parallels between this model and child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts. This model cannot be tested in the current study due to a lack of information from the Boy Scout Ineligible Volunteer File; however, the model will be discussed at length in the findings. Finkelhor (1984) developed four preconditions that are necessary for sex offense to occur. The first precondition is motivation to sexually abuse. This motivation has three aspects. First the abuser must have emotional congruence, which is the emotional role that the sexual abuse will fulfill for the abuser. Second, the offender must find children sexually arousing for the abuse to take place. Finally, a blockage takes place when the adult partner or other person that sexual satisfies the offender is away.

The second precondition is overcoming internal inhibitors. The offender must overcome internal inhibitors of committing the abuse. This can only happen after the individual is motivated to sexually abuse a child. These inhibitors might be social norms
or moral values. Another precondition is overcoming external inhibitors. This helps the offender find a victim. The individual is looking for a child with poor supervision and opportunities when the child is alone. The last precondition is overcoming the resistance of the child. Generally, the child selected does not understand or know about sexual abuse and does not have emotional support.

Several authors have critiqued this model. Ward and Hudson (2001) suggest that Finkelhor does not explain how a sex offender develops the first precondition. This model also does not explain which preconditions would be at risk for different sexual offenders. This model places great importance on motivation, but Ward and Hudson argue that for some sex offenders, the motivation might already be present.

Institutions, such as the Boy Scouts, YMCA and the Boys and Girls club can affect the motivation of the abuser. In an institution, the motivation may be present, especially given the fact that the abusers' adult partner is not present in an institutional setting. External inhibitors are easily overcome in an institutional setting that do not take precautions, due to the number of opportunities for time alone with children, including in the Boy Scouts during the 1970s, when Scoutmasters were encourage to spend alone time with boys. This model demonstrates how institutions effectively prevent abuse by controlling external inhibitors.

Connolly and Woollons (2008) found that child molesters had more early sexual experiences than non-sexual offenders and slightly lower levels of sexual experience than rapists. These researchers also suggest that those who suffer multiple forms of abuse, including emotional, physical and sexual abuse, might act out more as adults than others without these forms of abuse. These findings illustrate that researchers and those within
the field need to look at the early childhood experiences of child molesters in order to gain a better understanding of how their past might influence their future acts.

These are the three most complete theories and two most complete models that somewhat explain child sexual abuse. These theories and models however, do not detail abuse within a given institution and in many cases do not fully explain abuse between adults and children. The previous two models help to specify types of child sexual offenders and the problems that they have that would lead them to sexually abuse children. Yet, these models still have limitations. There are problems with the links between the symptoms of sexual abuse and the pathways and there are problems with the full explanation of the preconditions of sexual abuse. It seems that there are so many factors that contribute to child sexual abuse that it is hard to come up with one comprehensive theory. The present study tests heterosocial skills. Other theories will be discussed including, varied motivations, preconditions, symptoms and pathways of offenders.

**Child Sexual Abusers**

**Abuser Characteristics**

**Typologies.** Terry and Tallon (2002) describe a range of motivations for child sexual abusers, including both fixated and regressed typology. Typologies include interpersonal and situational characteristics. A fixated typology child sexual abuser wants to be with children and never with adults. These abusers tend to pick children of the same sex as themselves. The abusers have high sexual activity with children when they have high stress in their lives. This type of typology helps to explain some of the child sexual abusers in the Boy Scouts. In contrast to this is the regressed child sexual abuser. This
abuser picks children of the opposite sex because they also have a relationship with an opposite sexed adult partner.

**Grooming.** Grooming is when a sex abuser plans the abuse incident ahead of time and then manipulates the victim into doing whatever the abuser wants the victim to do. Institutions are an ideal place for this to take place. It is a way for the abuser to gain the trust of the victim before the abuse occurs (Terry & Tallon, 2002). There are many ways in which abusers prepare their victims. These include seduction, verbal abuse and physical abuse. Pryor (1996) found that the most common types of coercion were emotional and verbal in nature. This author also found that verbal seduction was usually used for sexual abuse of children.

McAlinden (2006) suggests the term, grooming, has been vague in child sexual abuse research, due to lack of researchers using this term. McAlinden has also discussed institutional grooming. She believes this is the type of grooming that abusers use when they are professional perpetrators. This author states that professional perpetrators are “…sex offenders who use their employment as a cover to target and sexually abuse children with whom they work” (p. 349). This was originally developed by Sullivan and Beech (2002). This type of perpetrator uses their employment to help them gain access to children. McAlinden explains further that the perpetrators will use the institution and the rules of the institution to help with the grooming, abuse and cover-up of the abuse. A perpetrator that also had an early insecure attachment, lacks heterosocial skills or has a mistrusting personality could increase the risk that they would take advantage of an institution and abuse children.
Juvenile Sexual Offending

There has been a great deal of research on juvenile sex offending. Generally juveniles are defined as adolescents between the ages of 12 to 18 and in some studies up to age 19. This type of sex offending has been shown to lead to future sex offending as adults. Hagan, Gust-Brey, Cho and Dow (2001) found that juvenile sex offenders were more likely than other juvenile delinquents to have future sexual offenses. Others have agreed with these findings (e.g., Abel, Osborn & Twigg, 1993; Groth, 1977; Groth & Lorado, 1981). However the link between child sexual offending and reoffending is still under debate due to the ways in which the data is recorded for reoffending and the many different factors that go into reoffending (Worling & Langstrom, 2006). Hagan and Gust-Brey (1999, 2000) found that after the first sexual offense, there was a risk of reoffense up to a decade after the first offense. It is important to look at the complete criminal record of the sexual abuser in order to fully understand the past crimes of the sexual offense and the actions of the adult. This record can help institutions understand the background of the individuals that are volunteering within their organizations.

Victims of Child Sexual Abuse

A History of Child Sexual Abuse Victims

Robertson (2006) explains the history of child sexual abuse legislation in the United States. He states that before the 1930s, rape was defined as “…an act of sexual intercourse with a female” (p.359). Therefore, sexual abuse against boys could not be considered rape. This changed during the 1930s. Boys and girls were now seen as children together in one group. In addition, men who abused boys were being convicted at a high rate, sometimes at a higher rate than men who abused girls. The author explains
that the reason for this was due to a greater consciousness and a desire to get rid of homosexuality. In 1947, J. Edgar Hoover wrote an article in America Magazine detailing the threat that sexual offenders played in the lives of young girls. However, he did not mention any threat to young boys. In 1955, Hoover wrote another article entitled, How Safe is Your Youngster? This article did have one reference to a boy being sexually abused by a man. Robertson states that by this time, homosexual men were seen as the sole perpetrators of sexual abuse with boys; however, Hoover did not make reference to this in his article. This was also the time period when the term child molestation began to develop in American media. This understanding of child sexual abuse, as dominated by homosexuals, remained well into the 1970s. This is the time period when the current research begins.

Sexual Molestation of Males

Finkelhor (1979) has looked at the differences between males and females that have been sexual abused. Understanding the differences between child sexual abuse for males and females is important for the current research. This information is crucial to understanding child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts. He found that 1 out of 11 boys had been victimized during their lifetime. Finkelhor defined victimization as intercourse, fondling, exhibitionistic genitals display and being kissed or hugged in a sexual way. Half of the boys that had been victimized were under 12 years old and the adults involved were over 18 years old. Douglas and Finkelhor (2005) state that between agency cases and adults reporting their abuse as children, there is a risk for children after the age of 3. These researchers also found that there is a great risk for children 6 years old and older. However, there is still great debate about which age category of children have the most
risk. These authors also found that there is a greater risk for children that come from families with lower income levels and other family problems (such as alcoholism, family conflict and drug use).

In another study, Finkelhor, et al. (2005) found that most of the adults that victimized boys and girls were acquaintances of the individual. In addition, Finkelhor (1979) found that only 17% of the boys were victimized by relatives, whereas 44% of the girls were victimized by relatives. Most of these boys were victimized by people known to them, not relatives. This has also been supported by other research (Finkelhor, 1986; Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994; Holmes & Slap, 1998). In addition to this, Fischer and McDonald (1998) found that boys were more likely than girls to be sexually abused by extrafamilial or non-family members than by members of the family. However, these researchers also found that the duration of extrafamilial abuse was less than intrafamilial abuse.

Finkelhor (1984) has found that overall, boys suffer less negative effects from victimization than girls. Holmes and Slap (1998) supported this idea. They found that 15 to 39% of the males involved in sexual abuse research had negative feelings about events. This is surprisingly low, especially when compared to the negative feelings that females express, including more blame on the perpetrator. However, these researchers did find that the long term affects, including depression, for boys that had been abused, remained high (65%). Holmes and Slap also found, in a review of male sexual abuse literature, that between 17% to 53% of boys were abused for long periods of time (2 months to 48 months).
Finkelhor (1979) suggests that the sexual abuse of boys is underreported and the above-mentioned numbers could be low. This is due to cultural stereotypes about boys and girls. More specifically, boys are sexually active and girls are sexually passive, so it is “...more consent and less exploitation into the adult-child liaisons of young boys than...” (p. 69) those of girls. This lack of reporting abuse has also been supported by other researchers (Johnson & Shrier, 1984; Johnson, 2008).

Disclosure rates and disclosure patterns of male sexual abuse victims have also been researched. Priebe and Svedin (2008) examined the disclosure rates of teenage boys. They found that boys were more likely to disclose the abuse to a friend of the same age and usually hide this information from adults. These researchers also found that there was a higher rate of disclosure in this study, than in past studies. The researchers did find the rate for boys to disclose information was lower than that for girls. The authors suggested that this was due to feeling uncomfortable when discussing this topic and not feeling masculine because of the sexual abuse. This could be a reason that many more cases of abuse occurred in the Boy Scouts than were reported. Not only did the Boy Scouts of America keep the cases a secret, the boys might not have been willing to come forward and report the abuse.

**National Reporting of Child Sexual Abuse**

Regional Variation in Child Sexual Abuse

It is difficult to accurately report the number of sexual abuse cases within each state. Johnson (2008) points out that one of the main reasons for this is due to inconsistencies with reporting sexual abuse both in and out of the home. There are also
many cases that go unreported. Johnson explains that each state defines child sexual abuse within its own reporting system, as well as differing consensual sex ages.

Jones, Finkelhor and Kopiec (2001) have also written about regional variation in child sexual abuse. These researchers used information from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System to better understand the state by state variation of child sexual abuse. They looked at the national decline in reports of child sexual abuse from 1990 to 1999. These researchers found that 25 states had a 25% or greater decline in the number of sexual abuse cases from the time of the last highest rate of abuse. Sixteen states had a large decline, 33% or greater, in the number of abuse cases per year and eight states had less than 25% of a decline in sexual abuse. There were two states that had missing data. The researchers explained that these were real declines in the number of sexual abuse cases, not just changes in regulations about reporting that would decrease the number of sexual abuse cases being reported. These researchers then mapped the various states with each of these classifications of decline. The majority of states with the highest rates of continuous decline were located in the Midwest region of the country. The majority of states with a 33% or greater decline in sexual abuse cases in one year were located in the Northwest region of the country and the majority of states with the smallest amount of decline were located in states throughout the rest of the country.

Awareness of Child Sexual Abuse

Due in part to the popular media and lawsuits that have been filed against the YMCA, the Catholic Church and the Boy Scouts of America, the public has become more aware of sexual molestation within these institutions. As we have seen, there has been a great deal of research regarding child sexual abuse; however there is a lack of
research in the specific area of institutional child sexual abuse. This type of abuse differs from abuse that occurs both within the home and outside of institutions because abuse that occurs within an institution can sometimes be ignored and the abusers are sometimes harbored. Also, there is a lack of knowledge about what to do when abuse takes place outside of a home. When a child is abused inside of a home, there often are state laws in place to help guide professionals. This is not always the case when dealing with abuse outside of the home and in an institution.

Westcott (1991) believes that there have been four reasons for institutional sexual abuse. These include a lack of procedures and policies around reporting and investigating abuse, institutional abuse being seen as the problem of the staff and not the institution, the belief system of the institution and the closed off nature of the institution. Sullivan and Beech (2002) note that even if the police do investigate the abuse, a majority of the time there will be no conviction. These researchers also point out that there has been a lack in identifying and analyzing perpetrators behaviors and characteristics within institutions.

**Institutional Child Sexual Abuse**

Child Molestation Outside of the Home

Sullivan and Beech (2002) have written about institutions and professional perpetrators. These authors state that it is important for children to have contact and relationships with adults within institutions; however, it is challenging to know which adults are there to help children and which are there to abuse children. These authors go on to discuss the legislation that has taken place in the United Kingdom. The Protection of Children Act of 1999 in the UK put a list in place. This list contains concerns about
individuals that try to work with children in different agencies. The list is given to all agencies working with children. In addition to this, the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act was developed. This Act makes it a criminal offense for an individual to seek employment working with children if they have been convicted of a crime against children. Also, a list of previous convictions has been put into place through the Criminal Records Bureau. This list is available to all agencies that work with children. These researchers note that even when institutions and organizations put restrictions in to place to prevent the ways in which an adult could abuse a child it leads to perpetrators modify their skills to gain access to their young victims.

Child Care Facilities. Finkelhor, William and Burns (1988) have written extensively on child sexual abuse that took place in child care facilities around the United States. These researchers found that most of the perpetrators who sexually abused children in child care were not directly responsible for child care or teaching the children. They found that 42% of the cases did not involve child-care workers, and, in 58% of the cases, the abuser was not on the professional staff. In addition, surprisingly, the majority of abusers were women. This research addresses an important aspect of institutional child sexual abuse: abusers are not always related to the abused child and are not always the professionals working directly in the field (e.g., child care professionals). Finkelhor and colleagues point out that female victims were chosen more than male victims by both male and female perpetrators. This could be due to the idea that female victims will be passive and less likely to tell anyone.

Moulden, Firestone and Wexler (2007) have also researched this topic. They found that all of the 263 male sex abusers in this sample were child care providers.
However this was not the primary profession for most of the abusers. Twenty-six percent of the cases, these abusers had dual relationships with the victims and their families. This means that the abuser knew the victim outside of the child care setting, which could also be the case with abusers from the Boy Scouts. These researchers also found that male sex abusers were more likely to abuse a female and that the female was usually under the age of 10 years old (1 to 16 years of age was the range of victims ages). The greatest number of molestations took place at either the child care facility or at the victims’ home. These abusers were also more likely to be single and have never been married.

**Foster Care and Group Homes.** Several studies have explored child abuse in foster care; however, this research does not fully explain the type of abuse that occurs within foster care. Dubner and Motta (1999) looked at 150 foster care children, 50 children of whom had a history of sexual abuse within two foster care agencies, 50 children of whom had a history of physical abuse within two foster care agencies and 50 children of whom had no history of abuse within two foster care agencies. The researchers then interviewed and coded each child’s response. They found that 60% of the children that had been sexually abused in foster care had PTSD symptoms, as compared to one fifth of the non-abused group and a substantially higher rate among children who were physically abused. This demonstrates the importance of understanding the full extent of child sexual abuse because the abusers were all people that worked at two different foster care agencies and knew the victims. This also supports the research findings that most child sexual abusers know the children that they are harming, as is true with the current research of child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts. McFadden and Ryan (1992) found that girls were more
likely than boys to be sexually abused in foster care placements. This is in contrast to abuse in the Boy Scouts, where the victims are boys.

**Catholic Church.** Child sexual abuse has also occurred in Catholic churches around the United States. This is another institution where the abusers had a close relationship with the children and their families. According to Dale and Alpert (2007), the Catholic Church dealt with sexual abuse during the 1960s and 1970s without public knowledge. The public became aware of the sexual abuse in much the same way that they did with the Boy Scouts, through criminal prosecution, civil lawsuits and media coverage. There were major court decisions that helped focus public awareness. Jenkins (2000) explains that the first case to gain national media attention was of a priest being tried for multiple counts of child molestation in 1984 (Gilbert Gauthe in Lafayette, LA). However, his abuse is suspected to have started in 1972. Abusive priests would molest hundreds of children and then be transferred to a different parish and where the cycle would continue. The author states that nothing was done about the molestation due to the number of Catholics in the area where the abuse had occurred. The Catholic Church did not want to have people leave the church, so they hid the abuse. This is much like what the Boy Scouts of America did.

Jenkins (2000) claims that the Gilbert Gauthe case was the beginning of the two decades full of molestation charges against priest in the Catholic Church. By 2002, 174 men had resigned and been removed from Catholic Churches across the United States. In addition, Piquero, Piquero, Terry, Youstin and Nobles (2008) researched the criminal careers of child sexual abusers in the Catholic Church. These researchers found that a small number of the clerics accounted for a large number of the offenses. They go on to
state that recidivism goes up after the fourth to fifth police investigations and arrests, before this point the rate of recidivism for an individual is low. Although, the Catholic Church has received more public awareness for this problem, other churches and religious institutions have had involvement with sexual molestation of children as well (Miller, 2007; Hagerty, 2009).

Some states have created laws specifically to address the issue of child sexual abuse and the Catholic Church. For example, statute of limitations laws have been passed in some states that allow victims to file a lawsuit many years after the abuse. Comparisons of the number of children who have been sexual abused and the number of men that were arrested are hard to find. However, it seems that the number of children who were sexually abused is high in comparison to the number of men arrested. This is based on a study that revealed two arrests of priests who together molested over 200 boys (Dale & Alpert, 2007). Isely, Isely, Freiburger and McMackin (2008) found that the victims of Catholic Church abuse did not understand, as children, that they had been sexually abused; however, as adults they understood what it was and the negative effects it had on their lives. More recently, New Hampshire made national news when the New Hampshire attorney general’s office released many files on priests that had been suspected of children molestation from the 1940s through the year 2000 (*The New York Times*, March 27, 2009, p. A13). It is unclear when abuse started in the Catholic Church and how long it has been taking place; however, it is clear that the abuse started before 1950 and has continued into the twenty-first century.

YMCA. In 1990, David Wayne Jones was arrested for molesting at least 40 boys as a counselor for the East Dallas YMCA. Jones also admitted to sexually assaulting one
of the children. The *Dallas Morning News* (2007) reported that Jones was 20 years old at the time he was arrested. One of the families affected by the sexual molestation won a lawsuit against the YMCA. This lawsuit led to the Dallas YMCA paying $400,000 to the family. This family had two children who were affected by the molestation, 3 and 6 year old boys ("Jury rules YMCA must pay family $400,000 in sex suit"). There has been little research written on the topic of child sexual abuse in the YMCA. The majority of information has come from newspaper articles and other media forms.

**Boystown.** In 1917, an organization for boys was developed by Father Edward Flanagan, who was an ordained priest. The original goal for the organization was a small home for homeless boys. Today, there are many different programs offered for boys of all ages, including foster care services, a hotline and educational services (boystown.org). However, much like the Boy Scouts and the YMCA, this organization was involved in a sexual abuse scandal during the 1980s. During this time, a chapter of this organization was founded in Omaha, Nebraska by Larry King, Jr., a respected community and political figure. However, he used the Boy Town located in Omaha for child prostitution of young boys ("Franlin case timeline").

**The Boy Scouts of America.** The Boy Scouts of America started in 1910 with the idea that male adults would be role models to the boys in the program. These males would have, “Personal character and standing such as will ensure his having a good moral influence over boys, and sufficient steadfastness of purpose to carry the venture over difficult and slack times” (Reynolds, 1951, p. 52). The Boy Scouts of America also developed around this time, the Ineligible Volunteer Files, which was system at the National Office to track volunteers whose legal status, alleged behavior (including sexual
misconduct) and other factors made them ineligible for service. These files have been opened over the strenuous objections by the Boy Scouts of America due to a number of court cases involving sexual abuse and are the subject of this study. The Ineligible Volunteer Files that will be used for this current study are from the years 1970 to 1984.

The files from the year 1975 to 1984 have been made public through a series of events. In December of 1988, there was a civil suit in Reston, Virginia. This suit forced the BSA to turn over 231 files from the Ineligible Volunteer Files (1975 to 1984). Several newspaper articles were written about the case (Heath, 1988). After these articles were written, Patrick Boyle, from the Washington Times, wrote a series of articles about abuse in the Boy Scouts. He published 416 cases of males leaders arrested or banned from scouts in the articles. These cases were made public, through these newspaper articles (Boyle, 1991A-E). In early 1992, Mike Rothschild, a lawyer that received files from a civil suit, gave Patrick Boyle additional files from the Ineligible Volunteer Files from the years of 1975 to 1984 (John Doe v. Allen Trueman, 1990). Files from 1975 to 1984 became public through the publication of Boyle’s book, Scout’s Honor, in 1994, and includes extensive information from the Ineligible Volunteer Files (1975 to 1984).

In July of 2006, a Washington Supreme Court case forced the BSA to give Tim Kosnoff, an attorney, 732 files dated from 1946 to 1971, including some previously redacted files (Martin, 2007; Woodward, 2006; T.S., M.S. and K.S. v. Boy Scouts of America et al., 2006). Kosnoff has since used these files to help with other civil suits around the country against the BSA. In 2008, Dr. Michael Kalinowski (Associate Professor in the Family Studies Department at University of New Hampshire) worked
with Paul Slager, Esquire on two civil cases involving sexual molestation in the BSA. These cases were filed in Connecticut.

**The Present Study**

This study explored institutional child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts of America between 1970 and 1984. The data provides a unique opportunity to fully understand the impact and implications of Boy Scouts Ineligible Volunteer Files. This is new research on a relevant topic. Information from this research could help develop institutional policies for preventing abuse. The following research questions were used to describe institutional child sexual abuse as it relates specifically to the Boy Scouts. The results from these research questions could help bring a better understanding to institutional child sexual abuse and reveal patterns of child sexual abuse within the Boy Scouts that have not been previously seen. The hypotheses further explore child sexual abusers in the Boy Scouts.

**Research Questions**

**Research Question 1.** Who is in the Ineligible Volunteer File (1970-1984)? This will be explored with regard to age and marital status of these individuals, leadership position in the BSA, and number of months as a leader in BSA.

**Research Question 2.** What sexual misconduct led to each individual being placed in the Ineligibility Volunteer Files? Are certain sexual misconducts more frequently reported than others?

**Research Question 3.** Where did the sexual misconduct take place? Geographic location (i.e., state in the US or other country) is noted, as well as specific locations of alleged abuse (e.g., alleged victim’s home, BSA camp, etc.). Was alleged sexual abuse more frequent in certain locations?
Research Question 4. When did this sexual misconduct occur? The year individuals were placed on the Ineligibility Volunteer File is noted and trends over the years (1970-1984) are explored.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The age of the alleged perpetrators will be examined. Consistent with past research (Finkelhor, 1979; Sanghara & Wilson, 2006), it is proposed that alleged perpetrators will be younger (18 to 39 years old), as compared to older (over the age of 39).

Hypothesis 2. Past research has indicated that the majority of molestation victims are molested before the age of 12 (Finkelhor, 1979; Douglas & Finkelhor, 2005). Consistent with this, it is proposed that there will be a greater number of young boys (below the age of 12) allegedly molested as compared to older boys (12 years old and older).

Hypothesis 3. It is also hypothesized that the majority of alleged perpetrators will be single, as compared to married, divorced or separated. There are several reasons why this prediction is made. One key factor might be a lack of heterosocial skills of single men, as compared to married, divorced or separated individuals. This is consistent with heterosocial skill theory and research done by Dreznick (2003).

Hypothesis 4. Past research (Finkelhor, William & Burns, 1988; Moulden, Firestone & Wexler, 2007) has suggested that adults with less direct contact with children (e.g., not a child-care worker and/or not a part of the professional staff) at child care facilities are more likely to sexually abuse children in child care settings. Consistent with this finding, it is predicted that there will be more alleged perpetrators in leadership
positions where there is little direct, repeated contact with boys as compared to the numerous leadership positions in which there is direct, repeated contact with boys.

**Hypothesis 5.** The accuracy of the information on the Ineligibility Volunteer Files will be explored. This information is the summation of the documentation provided to the BSA. Institutions in this situation might experience conflict with regard to institutional integrity. On the one hand, the institution wants to maintain consistent information; on the other hand, the institution wants to avoid harboring persons who allegedly committed illegal acts. It is proposed that most information in the Ineligibility Volunteer File is a consistent reflection of the documentation provided. When errors occurred, it is proposed that a majority of these errors were not random. When mistakes were made, it is hypothesized that inaccuracies would be made in a way to positively reflect on the BSA. Specifically, when mistakes are made in recording the dates that alleged perpetrators began their association with the BSA in leadership positions, the start date would be later than documentation indicates. This would create a perspective that the BSA quickly identified alleged perpetrators and removed them from the organization.

The next chapter will provide useful information about the overall Ineligible Volunteer file system. The focus of the chapter will be on the methods used to test these research questions and hypotheses.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Design

This research study utilized an ex post facto design. Ex post facto design study analyzes data that is dated. In the case of this research study, the data was from 1970 to 1984. Though differences between groups of participants were explored, no manipulation of variables was possible. The data is archival data and was collected by the Boy Scouts of America. The present study examined relationships between variables in the collected files. The database used was compiled by the author, with some assistance from other graduate students at the University of New Hampshire. Categories that were developed for database entry can be found in Appendix B and were developed by an expert in the field, Dr. Michael Kalinowski. Permission for the use of these files was provided by Patrick Boyle, the author of Scout’s Honor. This research study was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of New Hampshire (June 19, 2009, see Appendix D).

Sample

The sample for this study includes 529 adult males who had volunteered to serve as adult role models for the Boys Scouts of America and were suspected of alleged misbehavior. In 1972, the Scoutmaster’s Handbook defined a volunteer working as a Scoutmaster for the Boy Scouts as a, “scoutmaster that has been selected by a troop committee” (Boy Scouts of America, 1972). The information collected about these
alleged misbehaving males was gathered by the staff at the Boys Scouts of America National Office and put into individual files in a system called the Ineligible Volunteer Files. This system was developed to track volunteers across the United States, whose legal status, alleged behavior (including sexual misconduct) and other factors made them ineligible for volunteering.

Paul Ernst, the director of registration at the National Office from 1971 to 1992, stated in a 1992 deposition that individuals were placed into Ineligible Volunteer Files as early as 1915. This study analyzed records that appeared in the files from 1970 to 1984 and involved allegations of sexual abuse. Each file was created when an allegation was made against an adult volunteer. The Boy Scouts, at a national level, created private and confidential files about potential molesters in order to prevent these individuals from entering the Boy Scouts again (Ernst, Personal and Confidential Letter, 1970).

**Variables**

The dataset contained a range of variables, 11 of which are of interest in the present study. The variables include:

1) The rank within the organization of the alleged perpetrator. This was located on the Confidential Record Sheet in each file. Adults had a variety of affiliations with the Boy Scouts of America, including: Scoutmaster, Assistant scoutmaster, Committee member, Cubmaster (includes assist.), Weeblos leader (includes assist.), District Committee Chairman, Advisor (includes assist.), Council member, Commissioner, Charter/Chapter Advisor, Camp Staff, Professional Scouter, Merit Badge Counselor, Parent volunteer and Other.
2) The year the alleged perpetrator became known to BSA as a possible abuser. This date was noted at the top of the Confidential Record Sheet. Other dates that were used include the year the alleged perpetrator resigned and the year the alleged perpetrator started volunteering for the Boy Scouts.

3) The number of children that the each volunteer allegedly abused.

4) The ages of the children allegedly abused.

5) The type of abuse each child experienced. This information was in the materials within each file. The types of abuse include: Fondling a child, Anal penetration, Oral copulation, Forced masturbation, Child molestation, Possessing child pornography, Homosexual acts, Sex acts, Child forced to be nude, Lewd and lascivious acts, Pornography production, Sexual assault, Indecent liberties, Showing pornography, Delinquency of a minor, Sex party with children, Kidnapping and Other.

6) The location of abuse. This was found within the materials of the individual file. The locations include Boy Scout Camps, Other Camps, Cars, the Boy’s Home, the Adult’s Home, and Other.

7) The total number of months an individual had been affiliated with the Boys Scouts, including time spent as a boy in the Scouts. The time period between registration and resignation has been calculated for each alleged perpetrator to determine the number of months.

8) The number of confessions of each alleged perpetrator.

9) The number of convictions of each alleged perpetrator.

10) The age of alleged perpetrators.
11) The state where the file was originally created.

Validity of Categories

Though the BSA developed the database, there are numerous sources for the information in each file and the database. The sources include: the Boy Scouts of America Confidential Record Sheet, newspaper articles, police records, letter(s) from Paul Ernst in an effort to gather information about the men, first-hand accounts from boys who had been molested, the Boy Scouts of America Ineligible Volunteer Checking Match Report, Boy Scouts adult application, troop charters and correspondence from adults within the Boy Scout community where the incidents took place. Validity of all information collected cannot absolutely be established 24 to 39 years later and might vary by source. However, there is face validity for this data. Face validity determines if the file is authentic, because the Boy Scouts have kept and maintained this information for many years the information contained in the files is authentic and face validity is established. In addition, much of the data within each of the files has been confirmed by newspaper reports and court documents.

Inter-rater Reliability

Two coders compiled the data. Inter-rater reliability was assessed for 60 cases. The two coders agreed on the classification of the 60 cases.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data was analyzed using SPSS Statistical software. Chi-square tests were conducted to examine three hypotheses. A chi-square analysis assessed whether a greater number of the children involved were young (younger than 12) as compared to any other age group. A chi-square analysis examined whether a greater number of Boy Scout
volunteers had less direct contact with children as compared to Boy Scout volunteers with more direct contact. A chi-square analysis examined the errors in recording information into the file system. Specifically, to examine the errors to see if the errors positively reflected the Boy Scouts.

Hopefully the information gathered from this analysis will give a better understanding of institutional sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts of America. The information gathered will help to make the public and researchers aware of the ways in which the Boy Scouts should have known about sexual abuse occurring in their organization and the ways in which this could and should have been prevented. By understanding the research questions and hypotheses being tested, researchers will have a clear picture of institutional sexual abuse in an institution. This information can be used to further research in this field and can be used from prevention in the Boy Scouts and other organizations. The following chapter provides the findings of the analyses exploring both the research questions and the hypotheses.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The present study sought to examine the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files dating from 1970 to 1984. This file system consists of 529 males ranging in age from 17 to 70 years old at the time of their placement in the file system ($M_{\text{age}} = 34.4$ years old, $SD = 9.5$). At the outset of this study, it was expected that persons placed on the BSA Ineligible Volunteer File were placed there because of alleged sexual activity with boys. Of the 529 male subjects, 22 individuals were placed in the Ineligible Volunteer Files because of possible inappropriate, nonsexual behavior or unclear offenses. These individuals were placed on the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files for a number of other reasons including, attending gay clubs, rumors about being a transvestite, acting reckless with scouts, other illegal activities (not specified in the file), writing bad checks, being convicted of a crime (not specified in the file) and having undesirable characteristics. Seven of the files within this group had information within the files that could not be read due to the poor quality of the copies and one file was placed with this group because it was a duplicate copy.

The file system was divided into three groups. The first group includes ($n = 22$) individuals that had only nonsexual illegal activities indicated. The age of the individuals from this group ranged from 19 to 50 years at the time of their placement in the file system ($M = 33.8$; $SD = 9.2$). Age was not known for two individuals. The men spent 1 to 92 months in the Boy Scouts before being placed in the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files ($M = 22.9$ months; $SD = 24.2$). Thirteen of these individuals were single (59.1%), six
were married (27.3%), one was divorced (4.5%), and the marital status of two persons
was not known (9.1%). Ten of these individuals (45.5%) were convicted of criminal
activity. Since the focus of the present study is to explore alleged sexual abuse of scouts,
these individuals were eliminated from the sample and not used to test the research
questions and hypotheses.

The second group of individuals (n = 51) were placed on the BSA Ineligible
Volunteer Files for sexual misconduct. However, documentation of the sexual
misconduct did not explicitly state that sexual activity involved boy scouts or male
children. In many of these files, there was a lack of information (e.g., newspaper articles,
etc.) that specified victims’ gender. Noted activities occurred with female children, adults,
alone or with children of unknown gender (i.e., gender of the child victim was not noted
in the file). These individuals’ ages ranged from 21 to 66 years old at the time of their
placement in the file system (M = 37.6; SD = 9.5). Age was not known for two
individuals. The men in the second group spent 1 to 137 months in the Boy Scouts before
being placed in the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files (M = 25.8; SD = 37.6) and six
individuals were put in the file system before they registered for Boy Scouts. Thirteen of
these individuals (25.5%) were single, 26 were married (51.0%), six were divorced or
separated (11.8%) and one individual was gay (2.0%). Marital status was not known for
five men (9.8%). Table 1 displays the frequency of each type of sexual misconduct for
this group.
### Table 1. Behaviors that Placed Persons on BSA Ineligibility Volunteer File (N = 51)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonsexual Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape of a child</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse or assault of child</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anal penetration of a child</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fondling a child</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child molestation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral copulation with a child</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing child pornography</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual acts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual conduct</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewd and lascivious acts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquency of a minor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages total more than 100 as more than one behavior per person was reported.

Out of this second group of 51 men, files for 24 indicated the actual number of children abused. For the other men, victims’ ages were unknown or the man did not abuse children. As shown in Table 2, most men in this group abused one child.

### Table 2. Number of Children Reportedly Abused per Perpetrator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n = 51)</th>
<th>Percentage (n = 24)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One child</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty-five children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forty of these individuals (78.4%) were convicted of criminal activity. As mentioned earlier, the focus of the present study is to explore alleged sexual abuse of scouts. These individuals had no indication of abuse of boys, in general, or scouts,
specifically; therefore these individuals have been eliminated from the sample used to test
the research questions and the hypotheses.

**Omitted Samples**

Two sub-samples were omitted from the sample used to test both the research
questions and the hypotheses.

A. The first sub-sample included men who were placed in the file system because
of other illegal activities, not related to child sexual abuse.

B. The second sub-sample included men that were placed in the file system due to
sexual misconduct; however, that sexual misconduct involved other adults,
victims of unspecified genders, or victims who were females, not males.

The men in the sub-sample A averaged 33.8 years old. This was the youngest sub-
sample of volunteers. The men in sub-sample B averaged 37.6 years old. The majority of
men in the sub-sample A were single; however, the majority of the men that abused non-
scouts were married. Forty-five and one-half percent of the adult volunteers in the sub-
sample of nonsexual individuals were convicted of the crime. This is compared to 78.4%
of the men in sub-sample A. The majority of men in sub-sample B were put into the file
system for the sexual act of rape. This is different from the sample used to test the
research questions and hypotheses that included men who sexually abused boys. In this
sample, the most common type of sexual abuse was fondling. In sub-sample B, the
victims were unspecified or female and in the test sample the victims were male.

Therefore, when the victims of abuse were unspecified or female, the most common type
of abuse was rape and when the victim was male, the most common type of abuse was
fondling. Victims in the non-scout sample ranged from 1 to 35 children with the most

56
common number being one victim. This was also true for the sample that included only male victims; however, the range in number of victims was higher.

The third group of men includes those of that had illegal sexual activities with boys under 18 years old. This sample was used to explore the research questions and hypotheses and included 476 men placed on the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files between 1970 and 1984. This sample includes only individuals who sexually abused male children noted in their files. The following reported results explore each of the proposed research questions and hypotheses.

Research Questions

Research Question 1

Who is in the Ineligible Volunteer Files (1970-1984)? This will be explored with regard to age and marital status of these individuals, leadership position in the BSA, and number of months as a leader in BSA.

Age. Individuals placed in the BSA Ineligible Files for alleged abuse of scouts range in age from 17 years old to 70 years old at the time of their placement in the file system ($M = 34.1$ years; $SD = 9.5$). Age was not known for 13 individuals.

Martial Status. Most of the individuals ($n = 278, 58.4\%)$ in this file system were single, 125 individuals (26.3\%) were married, 39 individuals (8.2\%) were divorced or separated, one individual (0.2\%) was gay and one individual (0.2\%) was a widower. The marital status of 32 men (6.7\%) was unknown.

Boy Scout Volunteer Position. Individuals ($n = 410$) in this file system had a range of positions at the Boy Scouts, although BSA position was not reported for 66 men.
The most common leadership position was Scoutmaster. Table 3 indicates the frequency of each BSA position held by these individuals.

**Table 3. Positions held in the Boy Scouts of America (N = 476)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BSA Position</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=476)</th>
<th>Percentage (n=410)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scoutmaster</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant scoutmaster</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee member</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubmaster (includes assist.)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeblos leader (includes assist.)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Committee Chairman</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisor (includes assist.)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council member</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter/Chapter Advisor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp Staff</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Scouter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merit Badge Counselor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent volunteer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages total more than 100 as files indicated that some individuals held more than one position.

**Number of Months Volunteering for the Boy Scouts.** These individuals had a wide range of time working in the Boy Scouts. The range was 1 month to 408 months volunteering in the organization before being placed in the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files (M = 41.4, SD = 59.8). Files for a significant number of men, 161 out of 476, either had conflicting dates, blacked-out dates, or indications that the men had never become registered leaders or other volunteers with the Boy Scouts.

**Research Question 2**

What sexual misconduct led to each individual being placed in the Ineligibility Volunteer Files? Are certain sexual misconducts more frequently reported than others?
Files for 449 men (of the 476 total in this group) indicated alleged sexual misconduct involving scouts. Table 4 displays the types of sexual misconduct of alleged perpetrators and boys in the Boy Scouts. The most frequent misconduct was *fondling a child*.

**Table 4. Alleged Sexual Behaviors involving Male Scouts (N = 476)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=476)</th>
<th>Percentage (n=449)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fondling a child</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anal penetration of a child</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral copulation with a child</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced masturbation</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child molestation</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing child pornography</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual acts</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex acts</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child forced to be nude</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewd and lascivious acts</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornography production</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual assault</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent liberties</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showing pornography</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquency of a minor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex party with children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages total more than 100 as more than one behavior per person was reported.

Files for 79 men (of the 476 total) indicated alleged sexual misconduct involving male children who were not scouts. Table 5 displays the types of sexual misconduct of alleged perpetrators and these boys. The most frequent misconduct was *fondling a male child*. 
Table 5. Alleged Sexual Behaviors involving Male Children not in BSA (N = 476)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=479)</th>
<th>Percentage (n=79)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fondling a child</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing child pornography</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anal penetration</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral copulation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced masturbation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child molestation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornography production</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual acts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specific abuse not noted in the file)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages total more than 100 as more than one behavior per person was reported.

Given that the most frequent sexual misconduct reported was fondling a male child, it is important to establish if this behavior was reported to the exclusion of more severe misconduct. A chi-square test for independence explored the possible relationship between whether or not fondling was reported (versus more severe misconduct) and whether or not the man confessed. Results of the chi-square analysis were not significant.

Of the 476 individuals who were put in the Ineligible Volunteer Files, 277 individuals (58.2%) were convicted of child sexual abuse. A chi-square test for independence explored the possible relationship between whether or not fondling was reported (versus more severe misconduct) and whether or not the man had been convicted. Results indicate that of the men who were convicted, 23.1 % (n = 64) had fondled a male child, while 76.9% of convicted men (n = 213) had reported more severe sexual misconduct, $X^2 (1, n = 476) = 37.1, p < .001$.

Files for 374 of the men indicated the actual number of children abused. In the remaining files, the number of children abused was unknown or the male volunteer did
not abuse children. As shown in Table 6, most men in this group abused a single child. There was a substantial decrease in frequency beyond three victims.

Table 6. Number of Children Reportedly Abused per Perpetrator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=476)</th>
<th>Percentage (n=374)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One child</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two children</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three children</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four children</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five children</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six to ten children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven to twenty children</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty-one or more children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research Question 3

Where did the sexual misconduct take place? Geographic location (i.e., state in the US or other country) is noted, as well as specific locations of alleged abuse (e.g., alleged victim’s home, BSA camp, etc.). Was alleged sexual abuse more frequent in certain locations?

Figure 1 is a map of the United States that shows the state where abuse in the Boy Scouts took place between 1970 and 1984. Data from 12 men is not on this map as their files did not include this information.

Files for 263 men indicated the specific location within the BSA camp or other locations where children were alleged abused. For the other men, locations were unknown. Table 7 shows the specific locations where the abuse took place. As can be seen in Table 7, the most common reported location where reported abuse took place was Boy Scouts camps. Within the camp setting, the most common location for abuse was a tent.
Table 7. Location of Alleged Abuse involving Scouts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=476)</th>
<th>Percentage (n=263)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BSA Camp</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tent</td>
<td>56 (48.7%*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woods</td>
<td>20 (17.4%*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp Building</td>
<td>17 (14.8%*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20 (17.4%*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>50 (43.5%*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy Scouts Volunteers’ house</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys’ house</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentage total more than 100 as more than one location per person was reported. * This percent based on 115 incidences that occurred at a BSA camp.

Research Question 4

When did this sexual misconduct occur? The year individuals were placed in the Ineligibility Volunteer Files is noted and trends over the years (1970-1984) are explored.

Several newspaper articles have detailed Boy Scouts enrollment from the 1960s to the late 1970s. Fein (1984) reported that the Boy Scouts had a national decline in enrollment during the 1960s that lasted into the early 1970s. Furse (1999) reported in a New York Times article that the baby-boomer generation helped to create one of the largest enrollments for the scouts in 1972, with 4.9 million boys. After this time period, membership continued to rise, however at the peak of the Vietnam War, in the mid-1970s, enrollment fell once again (Babcock, 1988). Given that the number of boys increased in the early 1970s to the mid-1970s, it would be expected that the number of individuals volunteering as leaders would also increase during this time period. In addition to this, it would also be expected that the number of perpetrators would also increase from the early 1970s to the mid-1970s, therefore increasing the number of adult volunteers in the Ineligible Volunteer Files. However this does not seem to be the case. Table 8 shows the
frequency of volunteers by year of placement in the BSA Ineligibility Volunteer Files for the years 1970 to 1984. This table shows information for 462 men; the year of placement in the file system was not known for 12 men. The Boy Scouts might have more files for the year 1970, given that there are so few files for that year. However, this is unknown to this researcher.

Table 8. Year Put in BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Place in file</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=464)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hypotheses**

**Hypothesis 1**

*The age of the alleged perpetrators was examined. Consistent with past research (Finkelhor, 1979; Sanghara & Wilson, 2006), it is proposed that alleged perpetrators will be younger (18 to 39 years old), as compared to older (over the age of 39).*

Age was noted for 463 men. Their ages are displayed in Table 9. Seventy-one percent of the sample (n = 338) was below the age of 40. Hypothesis 1 is supported.
Table 9. Age of Alleged Perpetrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (n=476)</th>
<th>Percentage (n=463)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 20 years old</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years old</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years old</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years old</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59 years old</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69 years old</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79 years old</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 2

Past research has indicated that the majority of molestation victims are molested before the age of 12 (Finkelhor, 1979; Douglas & Finkelhor, 2005). Consistent with this, it is proposed that there will be a greater number of young boys (below the age of 12) allegedly molested as compared to older boys (12 years old and older).

The Boy Scouts of America has three scouting programs. The first scouting programs (Cub Scout-Age Youth) were for Tiger, Cub and Webelo scouts (7 to 10 years old). The second group of scouts included Boy Scouts (11 to 13 years old). Explorer scouts were 14 years old to 20 years old. National scouting data for the years 1975 and 1980 to 1984 indicated that Cub Scout-Age Youth represent 49% of scouts (averaged across the 6 years of data), while Boy Scout-Age Youth represent 33% of scouts and Explorer-Age Youth represent 18% of scouts. The hypothesis was revised to reflect available data. It was proposed that there would be a greater number of Cub Scout-Age Youth (under 10 years old) allegedly molested, as compared to Boy Scout-Age and Explorer-Age Youth (11 and older).

Files of 246 men (51.7% of the total sample) did not indicate the age of victims. Victims’ ages were noted for 230 men, but files for 87 men included victim ages that
could not be classified in to one specific age-range noted above. This was due to the wide range of ages that were included in the files. A chi-square goodness-of-fit test indicates there was a significant difference in the proportion of children abused in the current sample as compared to the national data, $X^2 (2, n = 143) = 63.1$, $p < .001$. Fewer than expected Cub Scout-Age Youth (16.1%) were in the current sample, compared with national data suggesting 49%, while Boy Scout-Age Youth were more likely to be victims (57.3% in the current sample, compared with national data suggesting 33%), as were Explorer-age Scouts (26.6% in the current sample, compared with national data suggesting 18%). Hypothesis 2 is not supported.

Hypothesis 3

It is also hypothesized that the majority of alleged perpetrators will be single, as compared to married, divorced or separated. There are a several reasons why this prediction is made. One key factor might be a lack of heterosocial skills of single men, as compared to married, divorced or separated individuals. This is consistent with heterosocial skill theory and research done by Dreznick (2003).

There were 279 single men (62.8% of those with known marital status) and 165 married, divorced, separated or widowed men (37.2% of those with known marital status). Hypothesis 3 is supported.

Hypothesis 4

Past research (Finkelhor, William & Burns, 1988; Moulden, Firestone & Wexler, 2007) has suggested that adults with less direct contact with children (e.g., not a child-care worker and/or not a part of the professional staff) at child care facilities are more likely to sexually abuse children in child care settings. Consistent with this finding, it is
predicted that there will be more alleged perpetrators in leadership positions where there is little direct, repeated contact with boys as compared to the numerous leadership positions in which there is direct, repeated contact with boys.

Boy Scout positions that have close, repeated contact with children include: Scoutmaster, Assistant Scoutmaster, Cubscout master, Assistant Cubmaster, Weeblos leader, Assistant Weeblos leader, merit badge counselor, and certain advisors and camp staffers. Individuals who are not Boy Scout leaders have less direct contact with children. These include the following Boy Scout positions: committee member, council member, committee chair, commissioner, charter/chapter advisor, professional Scouter, and certain advisors and camp staffers. See Appendix C for a complete list of leadership positions.

National data on the proportion of leaders that have close, repeated contact with children was not available for the years 1970-1984. However this data was available for the years 1998-2007 (obtained from Boy Scouts of America Annual Reports). Proportion of leaders that have close, repeated contact with children compared to those who do not have this contact is consistent across the years and was used to test the hypothesis. The national data indicate that 85% of leaders are in positions where there is close, repeated contact with children and 15% of leaders have less direct contact with children.

Four hundred and ten individuals placed in the Ineligible Volunteer File system had a leadership position (or positions) noted. Of this sample, 56 men had either an unknown position or had both types of positions indicated in their files. A chi-square goodness-of-fit test indicates there was a significant difference in the proportion of men in the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files who were in positions where there was less direct contact with children in the current sample (20.1%) as compared with the value of 15%
that was obtained from the national data, \( X^2 (1, n = 354) = 7.1, p < .01 \). These results suggest there are a higher proportion of men in the file system with leadership positions resulting in little direct contact with children than would be expected. Hypothesis 4 is supported.

**Hypothesis 5**

The accuracy of the information in the Ineligibility Volunteer Files is explored. This information is the summation of the documentation provided to the BSA. Institutions in this situation might experience conflict with regard to institutional integrity. On the one hand, the institution wants to maintain consistent information; on the other hand, the institution wants to avoid harboring persons who allegedly committed illegal acts. It is proposed that most information in the Ineligibility Volunteer Files is a consistent reflection of the documentation provided. When errors occurred, it is proposed that a majority of these errors were not random. When mistakes were made, it is hypothesized that inaccuracies would be made in a way to positively reflect on the BSA. Specifically, when mistakes are made in recording the dates that alleged perpetrators began their association with the BSA in leadership positions, the start date would be later than documentation indicates. This would create a perspective that the BSA quickly identified alleged perpetrators and removed them from the organization.

The majority (n = 319, 67.0%) of files report consistent dates, based on the information contained in the file and compared to the dates placed on the Confidential Record Sheet. There were 157 files that had errors in recording dates. If these errors were due to chance, then half of the time the dates would be earlier than the correct date and half the time the dates would be later than the actual dates. Recorded dates that are later
than the actual date would give the impression that a person suspected of sexual abuse spent less time in the Boy Scouts of America. A chi-square goodness-of-fit test indicates there was a significant difference in the proportion of errors made that yielded a favorable perception of the BSA (94.3%) as compared with the value of 5.7% for unfavorable errors, $X^2 (1, n = 157) = 123.1, p < .001$. These results suggest that when an error is made, it is likely not accidental and portrays the BSA favorably.

These conclusions are interesting and add to the body of knowledge about child sexual abuse and especially in the area of child sexual abuse within an institution. The following chapter will expand on these findings and relate these findings back to the literature already outlined.
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study explored important aspects of alleged child sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts of America by carefully examining individuals who had been placed in the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files dating from 1970 to 1984. Results summarized who was in the file, what behaviors caused the person to be placed in the file, and when and where the behaviors took place. This study specifically compared the characteristics of the men in these files and those abusers from past research. Analysis of the BSA Ineligible Volunteer Files provides insight into the role Boys Scouts of America played in acknowledging, responding to, and preventing sexual molestations.

There were three important findings from the current research. The current study found that the Boy Scouts did not record information into the file system consistently and that there are still unanswered questions about the file system from this time period. This is based on results that compared the total number of scouts in the BSA during each year from 1970 to 1984 to the number of individuals placed in the file system in each of these years. One would expect the number of individuals put into the file system to follow the same trend as the number of scouts that entered the Boy Scouts (e.g. as the number of scouts increased, the number of individuals in the file system increased). However, this was not the case.

A second important finding pertained to the positions held by individuals within the Boy Scouts who were more likely to abuse boys. The most common type of position
held by individuals within this file system was Scoutmaster. Yet, when the positions of Boy Scout volunteers were grouped by those that work directly with children (e.g., Scoutmasters) and those that did not work directly with children (e.g., Committee members), individuals that did not work directly with children were proportionally represented in the file system at a higher rate than the national data would suggest. This means that volunteers who do not work directly with boys were more likely to abuse children.

The third major finding was that the majority of the records within the file system were consistent; in spite of this, those records that were inconsistent were in favor of the Boy Scouts. This was based on the records kept within the files regarding years of registration, years of resignation and years placed in the file system.

**Research Questions**

**Research Question 1**

Between the years 1970 to 1984, the average Boy Scout volunteer placed in the Ineligible Volunteer Files was a 34 year old, single male, volunteering as a Scoutmaster who had spent an average of 41.4 months volunteering. If the Scouts had analyzed their own data and known that the average age of a volunteer in the file system was in his mid 30s, the organization might have focused preventative efforts toward this population. One limitation to this finding was that the average age of adult Boy Scout volunteers from the years 1970 to 1984 was unknown. It is possible that the majority of volunteers in the organization were in their mid 30s. This information would have been useful for understanding similarities and differences between volunteers placed in the files and those individuals that were not in the file system. The average age of an adult volunteer
in the Boy Scouts as noted in the Ineligible Volunteer Files was older than past research on child sexual abusers (Finkelhor, 1979; Sanghara & Wilson, 2006).

The majority of the men placed in the file system were single. This is an important factor in understanding child sexual abuse within institutions, because this information confirms past research. This knowledge, in combination with knowledge of other characteristics of adult volunteers, such as age, should make institutions like the Boy Scouts more able to monitor an individual’s behavior around children. If an individual was under age 40 and single, for example, there might be more risk to a Scouter if this adult was left alone with a boy.

The most common position held as a Boy Scout volunteer put in the file system was Scoutmaster. This position gave the men access to boys from their troop and time alone with individual boys (Boy Scouts of America, 1962). Volunteers in this position worked directly with boys in the BSA. Scoutmaster is also the most common position in the organization. Hypothesis 4 addresses volunteer positions in the organization in more detail.

The average time these particular volunteers spent in the Boy Scouts was 41.4 months, which is an extremely long time for an individual to volunteer and abuse boys, without being put into the file system. Most volunteers in the file system were convicted of a crime. This suggests that it was the conviction that led to the removal of the volunteer from the organization. More thorough assessment of volunteers could yield earlier detection of sexual misconduct. There was a limitation within the file system with reporting of months within the Boy Scouts. Thirty-four percent of the individual’s files had no information regarding the number of months as a volunteer in the Boy Scouts.
Therefore, any conclusions that can be based on the number of months in the Boy Scouts recorded within the Ineligible Volunteer Files reflect this limitation.

Research Question 2

From 1970 to 1984, the most common type of sexual abuse found within the file system, was *fondling a boy*. Several authors have supported the idea that boys are less likely to report abuse than girls (Priebe & Svedin, 2008; Johnson & Shrier, 1984; Johnson, 2008). Despite this finding, the Boy Scouts file system did have many files that contained reports of abuse from boys, as well as other sources. Rates of other types of sexual misconduct were noticeably less frequent. Limitations of the data contained in the file system are noted in that the specific type of abuse was not indicated for volunteers who had abused males outside of the Boy Scout organization.

Men in the Ineligible Volunteer Files were labeled as convicted individuals if there were court records or newspaper articles noting the convictions within the files of these individuals. Over half of the individuals (58.2%) in the file system were convicted of a crime, although the convictions of these men were not always directly linked to the abuse that occurred within the Boy Scouts. The documentation of convictions found within the Ineligible Volunteer Files was thorough. However, none of the files contained evidence that the Boy Scouts provided information to the police in order to convict a volunteer that had abused a boy within the organization. In addition to this, Sullivan and Beech (2002) made note that in many cases of institutional child sexual abuse, even when the police investigate, very few convictions are made. The information contained in the files was gathered by the Boy Scouts; however, the organization apparently did not use the information to protect the public.
Over 75% of the convicted men had sexual abuse more severe sexual misconduct than fondling reported in their files. However, the majority of abuse in the Boy Scouts, with both convicted and non-convicted adult volunteers in the file system, was fondling. This could mean that those who admitted to more severe types of abuse were convicted, and therefore men may have admitted to fondling a boy to avoid being convicted, but may really have abused boys more severely. Fondling might have been the most common type of abuse, not because it took place the most often, but because it was the lightest form of abuse. Only 3.1% of the men placed in the file system confessed to abusing boys and of those men, 46% confessed to fondling one or more boys and the other 54% of men that confessed admitted to a variety of other forms of abuse, including forced masturbation, oral abuse, homosexual activities, sexual acts, lewd and lascivious acts and other forms of sexual abuse.

There was a large amount of missing information within the Boy Scouts file system. The type of abuse was not specified in many files. Eighteen percent of the abuse that took place within the scouts was reported as *other* and 12.6% of the abuse by men for non-scouting girls was reported as *other*. This lack of information recorded demonstrates that the Boy Scouts did not keep consistent information. In many cases, the Boy Scouts, knew that abuse had occurred, yet, they did nothing to clarify important details to place in the files and fully understand the patterns of those files.

Information gathered in the file system is important in understanding the patterns of abuse within the Boy Scouts. This type of information can be used to assess current policies the Boy Scouts have in place. Using the information about the most common type of abuse and the likelihood of confession could help the Boy Scouts evaluate
policies that have already been put into place, such as the Youth Protection Program. The policies of the Youth Protection Program, which was developed in 1988, include: two-deep leadership (two leaders or one parent and one leader are required for all outings and trips), all meetings with scouts are to be conducted within view of other adults and no scout is to sleep alone in a tent with an adult leader other than the scout's parent. For a complete list of the policies included in the Youth Protection Program please refer to the Boy Scout website (http://www.scouting.org/scoutsource/HealthandSafety/GSS/gss01.aspx). If the program was effective, these patterns should change. Looking at the patterns can also be used to educate the Boy Scouts and current volunteers about what patterns to look for in order to prevent child sexual abuse within the scouts.

According to the file system, most adult volunteers sexually abused only a single child. An assumption could be made that some volunteers might have abused more than one child, but it was better for the adult volunteer to admit to only abusing one child and not disclose involvement of other cases of abuse. Out of the small number of volunteers who confessed, the majority (63%) abused more than one child. This is a clear limitation to the data, because only the information recorded by the Boy Scouts can be analyzed, with the exception of a few media reports contained within some individual files. Eighty percent of the perpetrators abused one, two or three children and the other 20% abused four or more children. This was demonstrated in Table 6 of Chapter IV. There were a number of reasons why this might be the case. One reason could be the access to children. Further research is needed to fully explain this finding.
Research Question 3

Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of abuse in the Boy Scouts from 1970 to 1984. The distribution followed the pattern of population during this time. The states with the greatest number of cases were California, New York and Florida. These are also states with high populations. One surprising state with high levels of sexual abuse was Pennsylvania, which had a high number of cases as compared to the state’s population. Only one state (Mississippi) had no cases included in the Ineligible Volunteer Files during the time period investigated. Information on enrollment by state during 1970-1984 was not available to compare enrollment rates with rates of volunteers (by state) in the file system.

The majority of child sexual abuse took place at Boy Scout camps. This means that the majority of abuse occurred within the organization’s boundaries. Most sexual abuse took place during a time when Scouters are supposed to be learning outdoor tools of survival, a key component to the Boy Scouts programming (Boy Scouts of America, 1962). The majority of abuse that took place within Boy Scouts camp also took place in tents. This was one of the most isolated locations within a camp setting, and this was consistent with previous research. Sullivan and Beech (2002) state that many child sexual abusers inside institutions will take advantage of an organization by working their way around rules and regulations that are set up to prevent child sexual abuse. In the case of the Boy Scouts, there were few rules or regulations put into place, so the adults did not have to work around the rules to sexually abuse boys.
Research Question 4

The number of individuals placed in the Ineligible Volunteer Files per year is inconsistent with the number of Boy Scouts enrolled in the organization. One would expect that there would be more individuals for certain years, such as 1972 (which was the largest enrollment year for the Boy Scouts), and fewer for years with lower enrollment. One would also assume that as time went on, the number of people placed in the file system would increase due to prevention and identification policies; yet, this was not the case. The number of individuals placed in the file system each year fluctuated. This fluctuation might mean that the Boy Scouts were not finding all of the child sexual abusers and that there were some people that remained in the organization and continued to abuse boys. This means that there could have been many more abusers and victims at this time (1970 to 1984); nevertheless, the Boy Scouts remained unaware of these individuals. The system that was put into place to monitor these individuals was not good enough to prevent abuse from occurring within the organization. It is also possible that there is more data from the early years that has not been released.

The Boy Scouts have often used the reasoning that the number of volunteers put into the file system was very low in comparison to the number of total volunteers for the Boy Scouts. Yet, if the Boy Scouts missed individuals that were sexually abusing children, this argument is flawed. The incarceration numbers within the file system demonstrate that the Boy Scouts did not have an understanding of how many individuals were sexually abusing boys within the institution and did not appear to take reasonable steps to protect boys in its care.
Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 was supported. The majority of the men in the file system were between the ages of 18 to 39. Most men were between 30 to 39 years old. This was older than in previous research, which found that most child sexual abusers were between 18 and 28 years old (Finkelhor, 1979; Sanghara & Wilson, 2006). This could indicate that the average age of child sexual abusers in institutions was older than those who abuse children outside of institutions. More research in the area of child sexual abuse in institutions is needed to support this finding.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 was not supported. The first scouting program (Cub Scout-Age Youth) was for Tiger, Cub and Webelo scouts (7 to 10 years old). The second group of scouts included Boy Scouts (11 to 13 years old). Explorer scouts were 14 to 20 years old. The chi-square test found that Boy Scout and Eagle Scout aged boys were more likely to be abused than Cub Scout aged boys. This was different from past research (Finkelhor, 1979; Douglas & Finkelhor, 2005). Those researchers found that more boys under the age of 12 were abused. This is based on research done using information reported to law enforcement and included abuse that had occurred in residencies and places other than residencies (e.g. in other houses). This means that the age of boys abused within the Boy Scouts was older than past research. Although this may be true, there are limitations to this finding. Over half of the files did not contain the ages of the victims; accordingly, more research in the area of institutional abuse and specifically abuse within the Boy Scouts needs to be done in order to understand the ages of boys that are abused most
within institutions. This information can help institutions when developing policies for preventing child sexual abuse.

**Hypothesis 3**

Hypothesis 3 was supported. The majority of men in the file system (62.8% with known martial status) were single. In fact, this was consistent with previous research and theories regarding heterosocial skills. Dreznick (2003) found that sexual molesters had fewer heterosocial skills than other offenders. Although heterosocial skills could not be tested in this study, the research does support the idea that these individuals may lack heterosocial skills or have a lack of heterosocial interactions with individuals of the opposite sex. This is based on the finding that the majority of individuals in the file system were single. Moulden, et. al (2001) also found that the majority of sex offenders are single.

Moreover, when age is taken into account, this was especially true. The majority of Boy Scouts abusers were between 30 and 39 years of age. The Census Bureau stated that in 1994 the median age of first marriage for men was 26.7 years old. This was the highest male age in the hundred year history of the census. As a result, the median age for men between the years 1970 to 1984 would have been lower than 26.7 years old. Therefore, most men in the sample should have been married before the age of 30; despite this, they were not. Consequently, this could be due to an absence of heterosocial skills, heterosocial interactions, or a desire to sexual abuse children, or other psycho-social factors.
Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 was supported by the chi-square test. Though the most common position reported was scoutmaster, there were a higher proportion of men in the file system with leadership positions resulting in little direct contact with children than would be expected. These Boy Scout positions included: committee member, council member, committee chair, commissioner, charter/chapter advisor, professional Scouter, and certain advisors and camp staffers. As has been noted, this was consistent with previous research that found similar results when researching child care facilities (Finkelhor, William & Burns, 1988; Moulden, Firestone & Wexler, 2007). More research needs to be done to determine if this trend is consistent in other institutions and continues today.

Individuals who did not work directly with children in the Boy Scouts are not part of the Youth Protection Program, which was developed in 1988. The policies within this program only deal with individuals working directly with boys. This means that the Boy Scouts may still have not fully addressed the problem of individuals that do not work directly with children and the high rate at which they abuse boys. If it is true, the Boy Scouts need to address this issue and develop appropriate policies to prevent these individuals from abusing children. Such policies might first include stating that a Scoutmaster and a scout cannot be alone together under any circumstances, not just during outings and trips; then expanding the two-deep policy that is already in place. Another policy could include creating a verification system for all official scout outings, trips and meeting. Several of the files contained situations where the scouts and their parents thought that the adult volunteer was taking the scout on an official trip, outing or meeting; naturally, this was just an opportunity for the adult to be alone with the boy,
which resulted in abuse. Having a verification system in place would ensure that parents, adult leaders and scouts understand that it is an official Boy Scout trip, meeting or outing.

**Hypothesis 5**

This hypothesis looked at the consistency of the information in the Ineligible Volunteer Files. The majority of recorded information in the file system is consistent. Consistency was measured using the dates within the file system. The date placed on the Confidential Record Sheet was compared to the dates the volunteer registered and resigned. If these dates matched, the file was recorded as consistent. Sixty-seven percent of the files had consistent dates. Despite this, there were inconsistent files; such as, many of the inconsistent files had registration years that were after the year placed on the Confidential Record Sheet, in some cases by several years; obviously, this was impossible. The volunteer could not have registered in a year after being placed in the file system. The information that was inconsistent from the file system favored the Boy Scouts. This demonstrated that the Ineligible Volunteer Files did not record information correctly. Therefore, the Boy Scouts could not rely on the information gathered from the file system. This means that the Boy Scouts may have known the type of information they had and they recorded files to make the institution look better. This supports past research about institutions and child sexual abuse.

Westcott (1991) stated that institutions are closed off from public scrutiny. The Boy Scouts tried to keep information about these individuals within the organization and confined to a very small number of employees. This resulted in child sexual abusers getting away with abuse and with no legal ramifications and inconsistent information being recorded. There was also an issue of recording consistent information versus
sharing consistent information. The Boy Scouts might have had consistent information within their file system. This information; however was not shared as part of the current research study. If the Boy Scouts would have shared consistent information, they would have been held accountable for the sexual abuse that took place, but many boys might never have been molested.

**Summary of the Findings**

There were several research implications to the current study. General trends have been found to understand who was the most likely to sexually abuse children in the Boy Scouts (mid-thirties, single). The type of abuse (fondling) and location of abuse (Boy Scout camps) that occurred within the Boy Scouts has been found.

Additionally, the most common type of position that was held by an individual that sexually abused boys in the Boy Scouts was a Scoutmaster. Yet, based on probabilities, the more likely position of abuser was one in which the volunteer did not have direct, repeated contact with boys. More research needs to be done in the area of child sexual abuse within institutions to determine who sexual abuses children, those working directly with children or those working indirectly with children.

There was a clear idea about the outcome of the abuse and the ways in which the Boy Scouts recorded this information. Moreover, there was a clear finding that the Boy Scouts did not use the information in the file system to look at patterns around sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts from 1970 to 1984. The findings from this research helped to add to the body of research already written about child sexual abuse in institutions. This research gave accurate information about one specific organization.
Implications of Findings

Heterosocial skills theory (Dreznick, 2003) has been supported through this research. This was evidenced by the high number of single men placed in the Boy Scout file system. More research should be done to build on both child and adult attachment theory (Bowlby, 1958; Marshall, 1993; McCormack, Hudson & Ward, 2002; and Wood & Riggs, 2008) as it relates to child sexual abuse within an institution. Specifically, these researchers should build on the work of Markham and Mikail (2004) (for more information about this research, please refer to page 2 in Chapter II). Researchers need to focus on understanding the similarities and differences in both adult and childhood attachments of child sexual abusers within various institutions. This could include comparing adult attachments of abusers in the Catholic Church with abusers in the Boy Scouts. This type of information is hard to gather and would have to look specifically at those individuals who committed abuse within an institution and were convicted of that abuse.

Research should also focus on attribution theory (Heider, 1958), especially the combination of internal and external factors that lead to child sexual abuse within an institution. Specifically, researchers should build on the work of Blumenthal, et al. (1999) exploring the process of attributions of sexual abusers. (For more information about this research, please refer to Chapter II.) Considering convicted child sexual abusers who abused within organizations, would be an important addition to this research area. Research should also be done to look at personality theory as it relates to child sexual abuse within institutions. This research should be based on findings from Plante and
Aldridge (2005) and should use the MMPI-II to learn about common personality traits of child sexual abusers in various institutions.

The current research did have many parallels to the Precondition Model (Finkelhor, 1984). The first precondition of a child sexual abuser was that they are motivated to abuse children because they lack an adult sexual partner. This might have been true for the majority of men who abused children within the Boy Scouts because they were single and might have been less likely to have an adult sexual partner. On the contrary, as Ward and Hudson (2001) note, the motivation to abuse children might already be within the adult, regardless of having an adult sexual partner. The second and third preconditions were to overcome internal and external inhibitors to sexual abuse. The Boy Scouts as an institution helped the child sexual abusers to overcome external inhibitors by creating places for these men to be alone with children, such as tents in Boy Scout camps. The final precondition was overcoming the resistance of the child; once more the Boy Scouts made this easy for men to do, indeed, a majority of the men were in leadership positions and were looked at as role models for the boys. This type of relationship could easily lead a boy not to question the abuse given the position that the adult was in.

The Pathways Model (Ward & Siegert, 2002) also has some relevance to these findings. The antisocial cognitions pathway created a situation where the men had a patriarchal superiority over the children that they abused, in this case a boy within the Boy Scouts, which may have helped volunteers, such as a Scoutmasters, overcome the resistance of the child in the Boy Scouts. The adult could have used this type of pathway to abuse the boy.
Implications and Recommendations for the Boy Scouts of America

The current research hopes to inform the Boy Scouts of America about the implications of information that they have already gathered. The Boy Scouts should use this research to evaluate the policies that they currently have in place. The Boy Scouts should consider the current file system as well as the record keeping practices of the people currently employed to monitor the system. With the findings from this research, the Boy Scouts of America should become more aware of the power contained in the information from the Ineligible Volunteer Files. The patterns found in the current study can help the Boy Scouts to evaluate the current Youth Protection Program. Specifically, the Boy Scouts can use the information regarding where the most cases of abuse took place. The most common place for abuse was at a Boy Scout camp and within the camp the most common location was a tent. The Boy Scouts could use the information from this research to see if the location of abuse has changed and if abuse within camps and tents has decreased.

The Boy Scouts, in general and at present, is an organization that has helped many boys throughout its history. There are many aspects of the Boy Scouts, including outdoor skills, which have helped boys around the United States. Despite these aspects, this organization should have used the information gathered in the Ineligible Volunteer Files. They should have used this information before 1988 to develop preventative policies around sexual abuse.

Given this information, the Boy Scouts should have been better able to track and understand the men that were joining the organization to abuse boys. However, the Boy Scouts did nothing with this information. In fact, the present study has shown that the
Boy Scouts did not keep consistent information within the file system, and did not use the information within the files to convict the volunteers that abused boys within the institution or keep the public safe from these individuals. The majority of inconsistent dates favored the Boy Scouts.

The information that the current research study used did not include information to suggest that the Boy Scouts used the file system to convict volunteers that were abusing boy and did not use the file system to create policies during the time period (1970 to 1984) studied. The information found in these files could have been used to have a better understanding of child sexual abuse and signs of potential abusers before the abuse started. The information from these files could have been used to convict many of the abusers within the institution. Instead the Boy Scouts chose to hide and in some cases inconsistently record information about abusers within the institution.

**Limitations**

There are several limitations to this study. One significant limitation was the lack of data regarding of the total number of Boy Scouts leaders per year from 1970 to 1984. The current research was limited by the information that was found in the Boy Scout file system. Therefore, the current study notes some patterns of sexual abusers in the file system from 1970 to 1984, yet a complete description cannot be obtained. Also, this researcher was unable to verify that the data file used in this study included all of the files in the Ineligible Volunteer file system for each year. In addition to this, the average age of leaders in the Boy Scouts was not looked at and, therefore, the overall picture of a leader put in the file system versus a typical leader in the Boy Scouts could not be determined. The Boy Scouts of America was contacted to obtained national, normative
data regarding age and enrollment information. No response was received. Perhaps future civil litigation may uncover additional information on the number, age and other attributes of volunteers placed in the file system.

**Future Research**

Future research should focus on later years of the Ineligible Volunteer Files, so that there can be a more complete identification of the patterns within the file system. Additional research should focus on the impact or lack of impact that the Youth Protection Program had on the Ineligible Volunteer File system. This will ensure that the research and conclusions made based on this research is up to date. In addition, more concrete conclusions can be made about child sexual abuse within the Boy Scouts.

There is an increase in the number of files that have been added to the Ineligible Volunteer File system beginning in 1984 and continuing through 1989. Future research should examine the reasons for this increase in individuals being placed in the file system. This should include both the reasons within the organization of the Boy Scouts that individuals were increasingly being placed on the list and the reasons for the increase in individuals being placed on the list on a national level. Researchers should focus on the events in the United States during that time period to see if there are reasons for the increase in files.

It is possible to find many more patterns within the Ineligible Volunteer Files, not just the patterns that have been found in the current study. The current study added many more variables from the file system to help with this study. These include: more types of abuse, the number of confessions, the number of convictions, the gender of the victims, and the number of months an individual was in the Boy Scouts before being placed in the
file system. Future research should focus on other areas of the file system, such as the living situation of the men within the files, a further breakdown of the locations of abuse (e.g., regions of the United States) and if there was a difference between the men in the file system that had children as compared to those that did not have children. Future research could also look further at the cases of abusers that were charged and those cases that were dismissed. Any patterns could help add to the current conclusions from the present study.

Researchers should also focus on the impact that sexual abuse within the Boy Scouts of America has had on the boy victims of the abuse. This could be explored qualitatively by talking with boys that have been abuse within the Boy Scout organization. This research would help to show the effects that the Ineligible Volunteer Files have on the boys within the Scouts. This type of research could help further the research of Holmes and Slap (1998), and others. It would be important to see if there are similar long term effects of boys that were abused in the Boy Scouts. Additionally, it would be interesting to study the relationships of the Boy Scouts volunteers with the boys that they abused. Further research might used past child care research that found dual relationships with the adults that abused children in this setting, as a base to begin more research. This type of research could, in turn, start to create theories related to child sexual abuse within institutions.

Future research should also focus on creating more theories with regard to child sexual abuse within institutions. This should build on the previous research that has focused on child care (Moulden, Firestone & Wexler, 2007), foster care (Dubner & Motta, 1999) and the Catholic Church (Markham & Mikail, 2004; Piquero, Piquero, Terry,
Youstin & Nobles, 2008). Other research needs to focus on the differences between child sexual abusers within different organizations.

**Conclusions**

The findings from the current study add to the body of research related to child sexual abuse. Generally, there was support for the conclusion that child sexual abusers lack heterosocial skills. There was also support that older men (18 to 39 years old) are child sexual abusers within institutions. The average age of a boy sexual abused within the Boy Scouts was older than previous research suggested. This was an area where more research with institutional child sexual abuse is needed. The current study found that the most common type of sexual abuse was fondling and that usually only one child was abused; although, this might be inaccurate reporting by the men that were accused of the abuse.

There were also several findings related directly to institutional child sexual abuse. First, past research explained the ways in which institutions cover up abuse within the organization. This was found to be true within the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scouts had inconsistent information in some of the files and this inconsistent information tended to favor the Boy Scouts. Other research has described the way in which child sexual abusers take advantage of institutions to abuse children. This was true within the Boy Scouts. Men were most likely to abuse boys within tents at Boy Scouts camps. These men took advantage of the alone time that they were given with the boys in their care.

The research around child sexual abuse within institutions has only started to develop. Already clear patterns are beginning to develop and future research should focus on developing theories around this issue.
LIST OF REFERENCES


Jury rules YMCA must pay family $400,000 in sex suit. (27, June 1994). Retrieved on June 1, 2009, from http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1355/is_n8_v86/ai_15547778/


Unnamed vs. Fairfield County, et al. (Con. 2008).


Confidential Record Sheet
A sheet that was included in all Ineligible Volunteer files containing, the name, address, age, occupation, religion, education, weight, color of hair, height, nationality, color of eyes, outstanding characteristics, marriage status, number of children, BSA position and both resignation and registration date.

Ineligible Volunteer Files
A file system that tracks volunteers whose legal status, alleged behavior (including sexual misconduct) and other factors made them ineligible for Boy Scout service.

Institutional child sexual abuse
Any type of sexual abuse that takes place outside of a child’s home, within an institution with the purpose to provide programming for the child.

Joseph Anglim
The director of administration at the Boy Scouts from 1974 until his retirement in 1992 made the ineligible files official by stamping each with his name and date.

Paul Ernst
The director of registration for the BSA, from 1971 to 1992. He was in charge of the Ineligible Volunteer Files.

volunteer
Individual who donates service, time, or funds to support the program of the Boy Scouts of America (“All terms and style items”).

Youth Protection program
This BSA emphasis fights child abuse by teaching youth the "three R's": Recognize, Resist, and Report child abuse; by helping parents and Scouters learn to recognize indications of child abuse; and by teaching them how to handle child abuse situations (“All terms and style items”). The policies of the Youth Protection Program, which was developed in 1988, include: two-deep leadership (two leaders or one parent and one leader are required for all outings and trips), all meetings with scouts are to be conducted within view of other adults and no scout is to sleep alone in a tent with an adult leader other than the scout’s parent.
## APPENDIX B

### BSA CATEGORIES FOR DATABASE ENTRY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>File #</td>
<td>Number on the file</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Abbreviation, eg. NH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Name</td>
<td>Name of perpetrator (Last name, first initial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>M= married, S= single, D= Divorced, G= Openly gay (select all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>P= parent’s house, A= Apartment, H= Own home, R= Room rented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSA Type</td>
<td>SR, CCC, OCC etc. listed at bottom of BSA form (usually first file page)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR Date</td>
<td>“Not-registered” date. This should also be on the same form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRS Date</td>
<td>This should also be on the same form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td>F= fondling, O= oral, A= anal, R= rape, P= porn, PP= porn production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of ch</td>
<td>The number of children molested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages</td>
<td>The ages of children molested separated by commas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>C= BSA camp, OC= other camp, O= office, A= auto, PH= perpetrators’ house, RPH= Relative of P house, BH= Victim house, BSA= Boy Scout property, O= other but note in Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>T= Victim and perpetrator were alone in tent, CB= same but in cam building, W= camp woods or fields, O= Other (list)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSA sig</td>
<td>Last name and first initial of whoever signed letter (usually P Ernst)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Details
Here we’ll note info that follows up from codes, especially “Other”. We’ll also want any other relevant information that helps us identify patterns for the molestations, for the perpetrators, etc.
APPENDIX C

INDEX OF BSA VOLUNTEER POSITIONS

activity badge counselor
An adult, noncommissioned volunteer who counsels a Webelos Scout on one or more of the activity badges.

activity chair
A Venturer appointed by the crew Advisor and president to chair a crew activity or project.

adult partner
The adult member of a Tiger Cub team.

adviser
Use this spelling when describing a counselor other than a Venturing Advisor. Example: "Order of the Arrow lodge adviser."

Advisor
The top adult leader of a Venturing crew who is responsible for program, coordination, and the training of the elected youth officers of the crew or ship. The Advisor or Skipper is appointed by the crew or ship committee, approved by the chartered organization, and commissioned, upon approval of the registration, by the Boy Scouts of America. Advisors must be 21 years of age, be citizens or legal residents of the United States, accept the BSA Declaration of Religious Principle (see "Religious Principle, Declaration of"), and be of high moral character. All adult positions in Venturing are open to men and women.

Advisory Council
The Advisory Council to the National Executive Board is composed of nonvoting members of the National Council who, because of experience, have a particular expertise that would benefit the national movement. They are elected to National Advisory Council membership by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Board members present at any meeting.

alumni family members
Individuals, previously registered with the Boy Scouts of America, who wish to continue to identify with the BSA's ideals, values, and program.

area
An administrative section of a BSA region containing a number of councils. Regions have from five to eight areas. Combinations: "Area 2," "areawide."
area president
The ranking elected volunteer officer in an area (noncommissioned) who heads the area committee and serves as a member of the regional cabinet.

Arrowman
A youth or adult member of the Order of the Arrow. Plural is Arrowmen.

assistant Cubmaster
A volunteer Scouter, 18 or older, appointed by the chartered organization to help the Cubmaster.

assistant den leader
A volunteer Scouter, 18 or older, appointed by the chartered organization to help the Cub Scout den leader.

assistant Scoutmaster
A volunteer Scouter, 18 or older, appointed by the chartered organization to help the Scoutmaster by working with a new-Scout patrol, Varsity Scout team, or Venture patrol.

assistant Webelos den leader
A leader in a pack, at least 18 years of age, who is appointed by the chartered organization to help the Webelos den leader.

associate Advisor, Venturing
Each Venturing crew or Sea Scout ship should have one or more adults, 21 years of age or older, who perform such duties as may be assigned by the Advisor. Associate Advisors often are assigned administrative and program functions. An associate Advisor in a Sea Scout ship is called a "mate."

camp director
The Scouter in charge of the administration of a Boy Scout resident camp or a Cub Scout day camp or resident camp.

camp ranger
A ranger's responsibilities may include keeping camp facilities functioning properly, performing camp improvements and maintenance, issuing supplies and equipment related to maintenance, directing the maintenance staff, and managing the off-season program. Usually the ranger reports to the camp director or business manager.

camping director
A professional Scouter who is responsible for development of the year-round camping program of the local council. This person supervises the long-term camping program and may or may not serve as the resident camp director.
campmaster
A volunteer Scouter trained to assist in short-term camping. Many councils organize a campmaster corps as a resource for their units. Also see "wagonmaster."

chairman, chairwoman
Generally, do not capitalize unless used as a formal title before a name: "company Chairman Rocky Rhodes"; "the chairwoman called the meeting to order"; "committee chairman Robert Jones" (informal use of a temporary position: lowercase). Do not use "chairperson" unless it is an organization's formal title for an office. However, if possible, do not presume maleness with the use of "chairman." Some alternatives: chair, moderator, committee head, coordinator, speaker.

chartered organization representative
A manager of Scouting in a chartered organization who also represents this organization in the local council and district. Formerly called "Scouting coordinator."

Chief Scout Executive
The top-ranking professional Scouter of the Boy Scouts of America. This is the only professional title that is routinely capitalized.

Coach
The commissioned volunteer Scouter, 21 or older, appointed to lead a Varsity Scout team.

College Scouter Reserve
A registration status for young people 18 and older who are in college, have been actively registered in Scouting, and commit themselves to an informed interest and active participation in the program whenever possible.

commissioned personnel
The commissioned personnel of a council includes all professional Scouters and all commissioners.

commissioner
A commissioned Scouter who works with packs, troops, teams, and Venturing crews to help the units succeed. In addition to the council commissioner, there are district commissioners, assistant district commissioners, roundtable commissioners, huddle commissioners, and unit commissioners. Also see "international commissioner."

committee
(1) The work of the National Council is conducted by volunteers working in committees with the guidance of professional Scouters. There are five group standing committees of the National Executive Board: the Administration Group Committee, Program Group Committee, Human Resources Group Committee, Regional Presidents' Group Committee, and Relationships/Marketing Group Committee. Under these are 14 support standing committees: the Supply Committee, Finance and Investment Committee, Properties Committee, Marketing Committee, Relationships Committee, Cub Scout Committee, Boy
Scout Committee, Venturing Committee, Finance Support Committee, High Adventure Committee, Council Services Committee, Professional Development Committee, Compensation and Benefits Committee, and Human Resources Administration Committee. (2) A council may have committees to direct any of the various aspects of the program as it deems necessary. (3) The district committee is a group of volunteer adults responsible for carrying out the council program within their district. (4) A local chartered organization has a unit committee, composed of volunteers, to administer the affairs of each unit it operates. (5) Some national organizations have advisory committees to guide the use of Scouting by their affiliated local community and religious organizations and to promote cooperation between them and the Boy Scouts of America. Capitalize "committee" only in the official name of a particular committee. Combinations: "national Boy Scout Committee," "Longhorn Council Finance Committee," "district membership committees," "troop committee," "National Catholic Committee on Scouting."

consultant
A person who has special skills, equipment, facilities, or contacts in an interest area related to the interests of Venturing crew members or of a Varsity Scout team activity.

council
An administrative body chartered to be responsible for Scouting in a designated geographic territory. See "BSA local council," "local council," and "National Council." Capitalize only when referring to a specific local council or the National Council: "Moby Dick Council," "Gulf Coast Council."

council employee
A full-time or part-time employee serving in a support position not classified under professional, professional-technical, or paraprofessional guidelines (i.e., secretaries, clerks, custodial personnel, most camp rangers, and seasonal camp employees). It is recommended that all council employees be registered members of the BSA.

council president
The elected volunteer Scouter who heads the council and chairs its executive board.

Cubmaster
A volunteer Scouter, 21 or older, appointed by the chartered organization to lead a Cub Scout pack.

den leader
A volunteer leader, 21 or older, appointed by the pack committee to plan and direct the den's activities.

district
A geographical area of the council determined by the council executive board to help ensure the growth and success of Scouting units within the district's territory. Capitalize only when naming a specific district: "Arrowhead District," "District 2," "districtwide."
district committee
Consisting of chartered organization representatives and elected district members at large, the district committee coordinates the functions of the district to carry out the policies and objectives of the council. The executive officer of the district committee is the district chairperson.

district executive
A professional Scouter who works under the direction of the local council Scout executive and acts as an adviser to the volunteer leaders in the district.

executive
Applies specifically to the Scout executive and generally to all professional Scouters.

junior assistant Scoutmaster
A troop may have any number of junior assistant Scoutmasters. They are 16- or 17-year-old Scouts who help the senior patrol leader; they are appointed by him, with the Scoutmaster’s advice and consent.

local council
An administrative body chartered by the National Council to be responsible for Scouting in a designated geographic territory. Voting membership may include active members at large and chartered organization representatives. The program is directed by an executive board of volunteers and administered by a Scout executive and staff of professional Scouters. There are about 300 local councils in the United States. The number changes as councils merge and split. The term council is not capitalized except in the name of a specific council. Combinations: "councilwide," "Quivira Council," "council executive board," "Longhorn Council Executive Board." See "executive board" and "National Council."

member
See "local council," "National Council," and "registered member."

member at large
(1) Elected voting member of a council or district who is not a chartered organization representative. (2) Voting member of the National Council other than a local council representative.

merit badge counselor
A registered adult volunteer at least age 18 who is expert in a merit badge field and shares enthusiasm for that field with Scouts and who certifies that requirements have been met.

National Council
This is the corporate membership chartered by the United States Congress to operate the program of the Boy Scouts of America. Members include all elected members of the National Executive Board, members of regional executive committees, elected local
council representatives, elected members at large, and elected (nonvoting) honorary members. The program of the National Council is directed by the National Executive Board and administered by the Chief Scout Executive and a staff of professional Scouters at the national office and in other locations. Biennial National Council meetings are held, such as the 1992 National Council Meeting.

**officer**
(1) The National Council, each region, and each council have elected volunteer officers who act on behalf of the executive board between board meetings. (2) In Venturing the elected youth officers typically are president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. (3) In Sea Scouting the elected youth officers (called "petty officers") typically are boatswain, boatswain's mate, yeoman, purser, and storekeeper. (4) In Sea Scouting, the Skipper and mates, who are adult leaders, are called officers.

**official**
(1) One who holds or is invested with an office. (2) An adjective used to describe BSA equipment and uniforms approved for use in the program.

**patrol leaders' council**
Each patrol leader, representing his patrol, meets with other patrol leaders and the senior patrol leader to plan their troop program. The Scoutmaster acts as an adviser.

**professional Scouter**
A registered, salaried, full-time employee who is commissioned to serve in an approved professional position in a local council or on the national staff by having successfully completed formal training (Professional Development Level 1, National Executive Institute, or National Training School), or who has been designated by the Chief Scout Executive as a member of the national management executive staff.

**professional-technical (pro-tech) employee**
A registered, full-time employee whose professional application has been approved by the Human Resources Administration Division to serve in a professional-technical position not requiring a professional commission, but designated and approved as having executive, administrative, or professional status.

**professional trainee**
A registered, full-time employee serving as a trainee in an approved entry-level professional position whose application for service as a professional Scouter has been approved by the Human Resources Administration Division and who has been assigned to a class at Professional Development Level 1.

**region**
(1) One of four geographical administrative units of the BSA: Northeast Region, Southern Region, Central Region, and Western Region. There are regional service centers, regional directors, regional staffs, regional presidents, and regional committee members. (2) The World Organization of the Scout Movement has six regions. See "World Scout
regional committee
Consists of all National Council representatives (local council representatives and members at large), council presidents, and council commissioners in the region. Meets annually to elect regional officers.

regional president
The ranking elected volunteer officer in a region who heads the regional committee and cabinet and is an ex officio member of the National Executive Board.

regional staff
Professional Scouters on the national staff who work out of a regional service center. This includes the regional director, assistant regional directors, area directors, and associate regional directors.

registered member
Annually, every youth and adult who wants to join or continue membership in the Boy Scouts of America must submit a completed application form or reregister and pay an annual registration fee. Membership is a privilege, not a right. See "College Scouter Reserve," "Scouters' Reserve," "tenure," and "veteran."

Scout executive
The chief executive officer of the council responsible for the administration, financing, marketing, motivation, recruiting, and staffing required for successful council operations. Capitalize only when the title precedes the name. Examples: "Scout Executive John Smiley," "John Smiley is the Scout executive."

Scoutmaster
A volunteer Scouter, 21 or older, appointed by the chartered organization to lead a Boy Scout troop.

unit leader
The adult leader of a unit is a Cubmaster, Scoutmaster, Coach, Advisor, or Skipper.

Venturing
The young adult program of the Boy Scouts of America for men and women 14 (who have completed the eighth grade) through 20 years of age. "Venturing" is both a noun and a modifier. The forms: "Venturing is a program for young adults." "Young women and men take part in Venturing activities." "Good Venturing Advisors are crucial to successful Venturing crews." Venturing is different from the Boy Scout Venture program. See "Venture."

vice chairman
A National Council, local council, district, or unit committee title.
**vice president**
(1) An adult volunteer elected position in the National Council or a local council. (2) An elected youth position in a Venturing crew.

**Webelos den chief**
A Boy Scout, Varsity Scout, or Venturer who has been appointed to help direct the activities of a Webelos den.

**Webelos den leader**
A registered volunteer member, age 21 or older, appointed by the pack committee to plan and direct the den's activities.

Index of Boy Scouts of America volunteer positions from the BSA website (http://www.scouting.org/scoutsource/Media/LOS/All.aspx)
The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research (IRB) has reviewed and approved the protocol for your study with the following comments:

The IRB approves the use of human subjects in your study with the understanding that participants will not be identified in the thesis or any publication or reports.

Approval is granted to conduct your study as described in your protocol for one year from the approval date above. At the end of the approval period you will be asked to submit a report with regard to the involvement of human subjects in this study. If your study is still active, you may request an extension of IRB approval.

Researchers who conduct studies involving human subjects have responsibilities as outlined in the attached document, Responsibilities of Directors of Research Studies Involving Human Subjects. (This document is also available at http://www.unh.edu/osr/compliance/irb.html.) Please read this document carefully before commencing your work involving human subjects.

If you have questions or concerns about your study or this approval, please feel free to contact me at 603-862-2003 or Julie.simpson@unh.edu. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this study. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,

[Signature]
Julie F. Simpson
Manager

cc: File
Kalinowski, Michael