

## **Teacher-Pupil Sex Across the World: How Much Is Homosexual?**

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*Abstract:* In news stories in English across the world for 1980-2006, 902 teachers engaged in sex with 3,457 pupils. Teachers engaging in same-sex sex constituted 63% of perpetrators in Ireland, 62% in New Zealand, 60% in Canada, 54% in Scotland, 48% in Australia, 47% in England, and 35% in the U.S.; in smaller samples, homosexuals accounted for 71% of perpetrators in mainland Europe, 26% in Africa, and 13% in Asia. Proportionately more same-sex sexual activity with pupils occurred in the West as compared to Asia and Africa. Most (54% of 810 male, 83% of 92 female) teachers violated only opposite sex pupils; 43% of perpetrators engaged in homosexuality; and 55% of victims were boys. Findings for each country or set of countries were consistent with U.S. studies based on superintendent report, principal report, self-report, and convictions indicating that a male homosexual is the most and a female heterosexual the least apt to have sex with pupils.

## Teacher-Pupil Sex Across the World: How Much Is Homosexual?

Some teachers find pupils sexually compelling. A 2000 U.S. Department of Education sponsored review estimated that over 1% of U.S. students have had sex with at least one of their teachers (Shakeshaft, 2000) while 7% of New Zealand students reported “sexual abuse” by their teachers (*Dominion Post*, 1/16/06). Likewise, a 1998 nationwide random survey of school children in Israel in grades 7 through 11, reported 4.3% of students said that in the past month a teacher or other staff member in the school had “tried to touch them in a sexual manner” and 3.9% reported that a teacher or staff member had “made sexual advances” toward them (Benbenishty, Zeira, & Astor, 2002). While in South Africa, the Medical Research Council announced that teachers committed a third of all rapes of schoolgirls (*Star-Ledger* 10/16/00).

Attitudes toward teacher/pupil sex vary. Swaziland’s teachers association said “many of its members routinely sleep with pupils” (*African Eye News Service* 10/1/00), while 30% of teachers and 12% of students surveyed by the Mozambican Ministry of Education said they did not favor a ban on teacher/pupil sex (*Xinhua News Agency*, 7/18/2001). On the other hand, teachers in China (Agence France Presse – English 5/15/98) and Vietnam (Agence France Presse – English 6/7/02) have been executed for the offense.

Even though teacher/pupil sexual events are fairly common, an instance of teacher/pupil has to run a veritable gauntlet before it becomes public knowledge. Educational systems try vigorously to assure that teacher molestations are not brought to light. So such an event is likely to be suppressed. Thus, an Australian commission uncovered scores of teachers who were either shifted to other assignments or given a

letter of commendation rather than being prosecuted (*Hobart Mercury* 5/7/96). Similarly, in New Zealand, a male teacher who had molested a 12-year-old boy was given a good recommendation and sent on his way (*The Dominion* 4/17/98). Indeed, one official said he was “aware of up to 20 cases in the past 15 months” where teachers were permitted to resign without prosecution (*The Dominion* 2/29/00). In 2004, at least 19 Australian teachers were investigated for sex with pupils, but only 7 made the news (*Courier Mail* 11/8/04); of the 6 teachers struck off in New Zealand, 4 made the news (*Dominion Post* 4/12/04); and according to the Non-Governmental Organization, Sahil, only a handful of the 44 Pakistani teachers guilty of sexual abuse during the year made the news (*Hindustan Times* 3/14/05). Instances of cover up and evasion by the educational bureaucracy were uncovered in just about every country from which news stories were obtained.

Besides institutional suppression of information about teacher/pupil sex, teachers who engage in same-sex sex appear to have yet another line of defense against exposure. Thus, in 1996 in Australia, a homosexual network that involved “hundreds of young boys whose bodies were bought and sold in an international meat market organized by a number of Australian homosexuals” and extended into the school system was uncovered (*Sunday Telegraph* 5/26/96). Judges, police, and child protection case workers were also involved in the coverup, e.g., Justice David Yeldham of the Australian Supreme Court (the highest court in the land) “hours after denying to inquiry investigators that he had molested boys, ...committed suicide” (*AAP Information Services Pty. Ltd.*, 8/22/97). Much the same story emerged in England in 1997, when “15 raids involving eight police forces” “led detectives further in the direction of a paedophile network involving public

school teachers across Britain” (*Guardian* 11/22/97). School-based rings have been uncovered in schools in Northern Ireland (*Observer* 11/27/94), England (*Independent* 6/20/90); Ireland (*Irish Times* 8/3/00), and Scotland (*Scotsman* 1/11/01). In *The Community Yellow Pages 1987* (a “gay and lesbian resource” in Los Angeles), a listing for “Arrested Teachers Hotline” hinted at a similar network.

U.S. studies, based on disciplinary actions (Rubin, 1988); surveys of superintendents (Wishnietsk, 1991; Shakeshaft & Cohan, 1995); principal report (Hechinger & Hechinger, 1978), and adults reporting their student experiences (Cameron & Cameron, 1996) reported similar outcomes. If it is assumed that about a third of teachers are male and that about 5% of teachers engage in same-sex sex each study reported that a teacher who engaged in homosexual sex was more apt to have sex with pupils – with a male homosexual practitioner the most and a female heterosexual the least. It seems that 5% engaging in homosexuality is conservative, being higher than many estimates (Black, Gates, Sanders, & Taylor, 2000) and higher than the 4.2% bi- or homosexual claimed by a random sample of 236 teachers (Cameron & Cameron, 1996). Cameron (2002) reported that the *Boston Globe* index of its teacher/pupil sex stories traced the same pattern.

Over the past 25 years major newspapers have adopted an electronic method of composition. This enables a complete tally of major newspaper and wire service stories about teacher molestations across the world. To take advantage of this technology, news accounts of teachers who had sex with pupils as reported in English language newspapers and wire services from 1980 through 2006 were examined to see whether the pattern of disproportionate homosexual molestation of pupils by teachers was a kind of ‘constant,’ that is, repeated in news throughout the world.

## Method

Lexis-Nexis *Academic Universe* was employed to scan the whole text of every story in the largest circulation newspapers and wire services in English (e.g., U.S., England, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Malaysia, Hong Kong, etc.) and again by searching the wire services 1980-2006 under general news. Stories were obtained by searching with the key words “teacher, pupil, sex, abuse” and then “teacher, pupil, sex, assault.” This process yielded over 10,000 stories— most of which did not concern teacher-pupil sex.

The date and location of those stories which involved an allegation or conviction of pupil sexual abuse (as opposed to a discussion of some historic event, or another hearing regarding a previously-recorded charge or conviction of a given teacher) was recorded and each news story was tallied for: 1) number and sex of the perpetrator(s) and 2) number and sex of pupil victims. Perpetrators who engaged in same-sex sexual activity were considered ‘homosexual,’ otherwise ‘heterosexual’. All professionals involved in instruction (e.g., teacher, principal, counselor, librarian) were considered ‘teachers;’ molestations by nonacademic school employees (e.g., janitors, secretaries) or fellow students were ignored. Only pupil-victims who attended or had recently attended the school at which the perpetrators taught were tallied – molestations of children who were not the perpetrator’s pupils (as at a park or beach) were ignored. If a teacher ended up not being convicted (which occurred 36 times), tallies from that event were removed. However, a charge that made the newspaper was tallied even if the final disposition of the case was not reported. The number of victims reported in the press was tallied, but speculations, e.g., “we think there were 5 more,” were not. If a later story changed the

number of victims, the corrected number was employed. If the number of victims or perpetrators was not listed, but “boys” or “girls” was, two victims were counted. If “many” or “several” girls or boys was employed (an infrequent characterization), 5 was counted. Exhibition, possession of child pornography, or lack of physical contact (unless there was an explicit sexual proposition or demonstration to pupils by the teacher), were not included in the tally. A U.S. teacher who claimed to have molested ‘100 to 200’ girls was counted as molesting 100, and 7 South African teachers who made a girl use a banana in a sex act as punishment for viewing pornography were not counted because it was disciplinary rather than for their sexual gratification (*SAPA 8/26/02*).

### Results

From 1980-2006 news stories involving 902 teachers having sex with 3,437 pupils for whom the sex of perpetrator and victim could be determined were found. Each country’s set of teacher/pupil sexual events is summarized by sex of perpetrator and sex of victim in Table 1 (the number of perpetrators in the countries aggregated as ‘Africa,’ ‘Asia,’ and ‘Europe’ are bracketed). The findings for the U. S., England, Scotland, Australia, Canada, and ‘Europe,’ fit the model that if about 2/3 of teachers are women and 5% of teachers engage in homosexuality, then a male ‘homosexual’ teacher was most and a female ‘heterosexual’ teacher least apt to molest pupils. The findings from Ireland, New Zealand, ‘Asia,’ and ‘Africa’ were partially in line, lacking a case of same-sex sex by a female teacher, so a female heterosexual teacher was the next-least apt to molest in these datasets. The probability of 7 of these 11 independent datasets’ findings matching in rank order while Ireland, New Zealand, ‘Africa,’ and ‘Asia’ missed by one rank is <.0001.

Teachers engaging in same-sex sex constituted 63% of the perpetrators in Ireland,

62% in New Zealand, 60% in Canada, 54% in Scotland, 48% in Australia, 47% in England, and 35% in the U.S. In the more limited numbers of stories, homosexual teachers constituted 71% of perpetrators in 'Europe,' 26% in 'Africa,' and 13% in 'Asia.' For Australia, New Zealand, the E.U., and the U.S. – countries of primarily European stock and culture -- there were 828 perpetrators, 379 (46%) of which engaged in same-sex sex, and 11% were women. Among the 737 Western men, 364 (49%) and among the 91 Western women, 15 (16%) engaged in homosexuality. The non-European countries (e.g., Asia and Africa), had but 12 (16%) of 73 male- and no female perpetrators engage in homosexuality.

#### Discussion

All studies that could be located that enabled a comparison between same-sex and opposite-sex perpetrators tended to generate findings similar to those of the news stories.

Principals: Hechinger & Hechinger (1978) who surveyed 1,400 principals about complaints regarding sex between teachers and pupils. Sex of perpetrators and victims was not reported. However, 7% reported complaints about homosexual contact between teachers and pupils and 13% reported complaints about heterosexual contact between teachers and pupils. It cannot be determined how many homosexual v. heterosexual contacts occurred since superintendents only reported on whether something had 'ever' happened, but could suggest that at least 35% of complaints were homosexual.

Superintendents: Shakeshaft & Cohan (1995) surveyed 778 school superintendents in New York State who reported 225 cases of student sexual abuse by "professional staff." 216 (96%) of the abusers were men (164 [76%] abused girls, 52 [24%] abused boys); of the 9 female abusers, 8 abused girls, 1 abused boys – that is, 27% of these school

employees abused the same sex. Wishnietsky (1991) obtained superintendent's reports of high school teachers disciplined for physical sexual contact with pupils in 65 school systems in North Carolina in the "past three years." 18 superintendents reported 21 events: 13 involved male faculty and female students, 4 male faculty and male students, 2 female faculty and female students, and 2 female faculty and male students. Thus, 4 (19%) of the 21 perpetrators were female and 6 (29%) of the 21 events were homosexual.

Former pupil report: When 4,458 adults reported on whether they had had sexual relations with an elementary or secondary teacher while they were pupils (Cameron & Cameron, 1996), 24 men reported sex with a female teacher, 20 women reported sex with a male teacher, 9 men reported sex with a male teacher and 4 women reported sex with a female teacher (i.e., 23% of the perpetrators engaged in homosexuality).

Disciplinary actions: Rubin (1988) reported on 199 teachers disciplined for molesting pupils in 10 western states: of male teachers, 122 were disciplined for sex with female students, 59 for sex with male students; of female teachers, 14 were disciplined for sex with male students, 4 for sex with female students (i.e., 32% of perpetrators engaged in homosexuality).

Newspaper Indices: In 8 years of *Boston Globe* news stories as indexed by the newspaper itself (Cameron, 2002), 21 teachers were written-up in 20 stories: 10 male teachers engaged in sex with male students, 9 male teachers engaged in sex with female students, 1 female teacher engaged in sex with a female student and 1 female teacher engaged in sex with a male student (i.e., 52% engaged in homosexuality). With the exception of the Hechinger & Hechinger (1978) study, a male homosexual teacher was the most apt to molest students and a female heterosexual teacher the least.

The results from analysis of the news stories from 5 of the 8 news story datasets in Table 1 produced perfect rank-order matches, the 5 U.S. studies reviewed above in which a comparison was possible produced perfect rank-order matches. These outcomes suggest that a male homosexual faculty member is the most and a female heterosexual faculty member least apt to engage in sex with pupils. The exceptions were 3 of the newspaper datasets – which failed to produce perfect matches because no female engaging in homosexuality appeared among the caught -- and the Hechinger & Hechinger (1978) study. While one might question the independence of the Cameron (2002) study from the worldwide news samples, it is difficult to posit a mechanism whereby the underlying reality – in that it was sampled in a number of different ways and a number of different places and led to the same pattern – traces a substantially different pattern.

Writing from the U.S., McGaghy (1971) estimated that “homosexual offenders probably constitute about half” (p. 23) of molesters who work with children. That the sample of teacher molestations from the Western nations was strikingly richer in homosexual sex than those from Africa or Asia may indicate that same-sex sexual activity is more common in the West. As such, McGaghy might have made a different estimate had he worked out of Asia or Africa. Further research will be required to determine whether homosexual molestation varies as much as these news stories suggest.

Using search methods prior to *Lexis-Nexus*, Cameron & Cameron (1998) reviewed, by hand and the CD-ROMs of 8 newspapers, reporting 48% of 23 teacher perpetrators from these sources and 45% of 22 perpetrators from *FirstSearch* and *Newsbank* from 1993 and 1994 engaged in same-sex sex with their pupils. The current, much larger sample from the U.S. yielded 35% -- seemingly well within the undoubtedly fairly wide range of

proportion of homosexual teacher molestations that yearly occur.

If teachers who engage in homosexuality pose a greater risk to pupils irrespective of country a clash of societal goals appears. The West's leadership has taken many steps to reduce the possibilities of children being exposed to risks – in foodstuffs, playthings, etc. As children are society's future, society's concern – if not every regulation – is reasonable. Yet the same leadership champions changes in customs and laws so that homosexual activity and those who engage in it come to be considered 'as good as' those who shun it. If teachers who engage in homosexuality pose a greater risk to pupils, mandating homosexuals equal access to teaching appears inconsistent.

If these news stories fairly accurately reflect the underlying reality, a male teacher – since males constitute perhaps a quarter of teachers (according to the National Education Association, males constitute a quarter of the ~3,000,000 teachers in the U.S., 18% of elementary teachers in 1981 and 9% in 2007 [*Wall Street Journal* 9/11/07, B8]) but 90% of perpetrators – would appear substantially more apt to molest a pupil than a female teacher. Similarly, if those who engage in same-sex sex constitute about 5% of male teachers but account for 46% of male perpetrators, a male homosexual teacher appears substantially more apt to molest a pupil than a heterosexual male teacher. If about 5% of female teachers engage in homosexuality but account for 16% of female perpetrators, then a homosexual female teacher appears more apt to molest a pupil than a heterosexual female teacher.

While the general *pattern* may be representative of the underlying reality, there is good reason to believe that the *volume* of teacher-pupil sexual interaction far exceeds the numbers suggested by newspaper stories. Thus, in Cameron & Cameron (1996), a little

over 1% reported sex with at least one elementary or high school teacher (and about 3% said that at least one teacher had made “serious sexual advances” toward them) during their school careers. In a 1998 nationwide random survey of school children in Israel in grades 7 through 11, 4.3% of students said that in the past month a teacher or other staff member in the school had “tried to touch them in a sexual manner” and 3.9% reported that a teacher or staff member had “made sexual advances” toward them (Benbenishty, Zeira, & Astor, 2002). Shakeshaft (2000) suggested that more than 1% of students have had sex with at least one of their teachers. If the Camerons,’ Benbenishty, *et al*’s, and Shakeshaft’s findings reflect the true state of affairs, the actual numbers of teacher-pupil sexual encounters must be thousands of times higher than the number of teachers caught and higher still than those cases that ‘made the news.’

The harm of teacher-pupil sex is considerable (Shakeshaft, 2000). Boys, especially, seem to react badly. Thus 2 of the 4 elementary school victims of Asher, 42, went to prison (*Houston Chronicle* 1/22/93). The volume of such sexual events is fairly substantial – perhaps involving 1%+ of pupils. So that 43% of teacher-perpetrators engage in homosexuality raises the issue of whether, given the interests of children, homosexuals ought to be permitted to teach.

Some activists contend that ‘real homosexuals’ are not the ones molesting pupils, but a different kind of person -- ‘pedophiles.’ Considerable evidence against such a dichotomy exists. Consider the 1996 homosexual scandal in Australia. When accused “To a man, each ...so far has claimed to be a homosexual with an interest in young men but not a pedophile, despite evidence that each has had sex with boys barely into their teenage years and younger.” The news report noted that this was the same claim made by “lesbian

school teacher Lee Dunbar who was recently jailed for having committed indecent acts upon one of her pupils when the girl was less than `14 years old.” (*AAP Information Services Pty. Ltd*, 8/22/97). Dunbar had first engaged in a sexual affair with the mother of the victim, and only then turned to the daughter. In England, a male teacher who molested a girl pupil, was married, a father of two, worked as a male prostitute, and had also kissed and propositioned at least one male pupil (*Press Association* 12/21/06), demonstrating sexual flexibility in age and kind of sexual object choice.

Or consider the 5 cases of HIV+ male teachers who molested boys – from New Zealand: Leef (45) who molested 5 boys between 13 and 15 (*New Zealand Herald* 4/501); a name-suppressed man who molested 6 boys aged 12 to 16 (*Dominion* 11/24/00); from Denmark: a name-suppressed man who molested 7 pre-teen boys, at least one of which he apparently infected (*Associated Press Worldstream* 1/05/99); and from the U.S., McFarlane who molested 6 boys aged 7 to 9 yr. (*New York Post* 4/8/03), and Lepley who molested a 16 year-old boy (*Associated Press* 5/7/02). Obviously, these perpetrators got HIV from sex with other men, not from their victims (nor was Mutie, the HIV+ Kenyan school teacher who declared he “would not die alone”, a ‘pedophile’ because he raped 5 elementary girls [*Panafrican News Agency* 11/9/00]). Further, the testimony (for whatever its worth) of the perpetrators indicates the perpetrators are self-declared ‘homosexuals:’ Thus Stratton, convicted of abusing boys 11 and 12 yr., was married and declared himself “bisexual” “with a predominance towards homosexuality” (*Press Association Limited* 12/12/96) and Curran, convicted of molesting 9 boys aged 8 to 12 yr., said he was a “gay person” with a “sexual preference for people over age 65” (*Irish Times* 7/23/05). Of course, excuses abounded. Misenti, who had his penis excised

and dressed like a woman, declared he was a “she” and only molested 6 boy pupils because he “desperately wanted affirmation of his womanhood” (*Associated Press* 1/10/96). At least 2 perpetrators were killed by those they introduced to homosexuality: Nusser was killed by Fisher, 30, who claimed he had been seduced and ‘converted’ 15 years earlier by Nusser (*Plain Dealer* 4/14/93); likewise, Tonks (“the life and soul of the party”) was killed in retaliation by a 16 year-old student he had molested when he was 9 yr. (*Daily Telegraph* 5/1/99). One molested boy, now HIV+, said “I didn’t choose to be gay – I was made that way” by being repeatedly molested by teachers while he was between the ages of 10 and 13 yr. (*The Guardian* 2/21/99).

Because so few of the molestations by teachers get discovered and make the news – that the findings from the various countries reflect the precise proportions of same-sex teacher molestations among all teacher molestations in that country is unlikely. The greatest proportion of perpetrators to population (*CIA World Factbook* as of June 2007), occurred in the three smallest countries, averaging about 10/million population: -- so New Zealand, with 45 perpetrators for ~4 million population, Scotland, with 52 perpetrators for ~5 million, and Ireland with 41 for ~4 million. The larger countries had lower rates: thus, Australia with 95 perpetrators for 20 million people at ~5/; England with 173 for 55 million registered ~3/, Canada, with 65 perpetrators for 33 million people registered ~2/; and the U.S. with 340 perpetrators for 300 million registered ~1/. That the three smallest populations (Ireland, New Zealand, and Australia) had proportionately more perpetrators than in the three larger states may indicate that more teacher molestations occur in the smaller countries. Then again, the larger countries may have more substantial institutional defenses against disclosure, and/or news organizations in

the smaller countries may be more apt to report teacher molestations all across the nation, rather than those from a given city.

Reviewers: Lehrman, Freeberg

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Table 1: Subpopulations of World Sample, 1980-2006

Ireland: 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	26	125	4	5.2
Women				
Opposite sex				
Men	13		96	7.4
Women	2	2		

Scotland 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	27	166	9	6.5
Women	1		1	
Opposite sex				
Men	20		43	2.2
Women	4	4		

New Zealand 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	28	160	3	5.8
Women				
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	17		39	2.3
Women				

Australia 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	44	271	11	6.7
Women	2		10	
Opposite sex				
Men	39		126	3.2
Women	10	11		

Canada 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	38	148	3	4.0
Women	1		9	
Opposite sex				
Men	22		81	3.7
Women	4	4		

England 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	78	388	43	5.6
Women	4	3	4	
Opposite sex				
Men	79		171	2.2
Women	12	18		

United States 1980-2006

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	112	426	18	4.0
Women	6	2	15	
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	179		485	2.7
Women	43	63		

Asia (Malaysia [14], China [5], Thailand [4], Japan [3], Singapore [6], Hong Kong [18], Cambodia [1], Sri Lanka [1], Vietnam [1], Pakistan [1], Java [1])

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	7	31	3	4.9
Women				
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	48		316	6.6
Women				

Africa (South Africa [16], Zimbabwe [1], Kenya [2])

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	5	13	5	3.6
Women	(7 ?)		(1 ?)	
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	13		43	3.3
Women	1	5		

Europe (France [4], Israel [5], Czechoslovakia [1], Denmark [1], Belgium [4], Spain [1], Netherlands [1])

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	11	48	5	
Women	1		1	
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	4		24	
Women	1	1		

EU/US/Australian/NZ (the West)

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	364	1,732	96	5.0
Women	15	5	40	3.0
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	373		1,115	3.0
Women	76	103		1.4
	828	1,840	1,251	

totals

Perpetrator	perpetrator n=	Victim n=		Mean # victims
		boys	girls	
Same-sex practitioner				
Men	376	1776	104	5.0
Women	15	5	40	3.0
Opposite sex practitioner				
Men	434		1,424	3.3
Women	77	108		1.4
	902	1889	1,568	