American Psychological Association

Psychology of Violence

© 2020 American Psychological Association
ISSN: 2152-0828

2021, Vol. 11, No. 1, 72–81
http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/vio0000287

"I Was Scared, Like Never in My Life": Children's Perspectives of Nonfamilial Sexual Abuse Within the Jewish Ultraorthodox Community in Israel

Dafna Tener
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Carmit Katz
Tel Aviv University

Amitai Marmor and Efrat Lusky-Weisrose
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Objective: Child sexual abuse (CSA) has been receiving growing research attention, contributing significantly to the understanding of its prevalence, dynamics, and consequences. Less attention has been devoted, however, to CSA among distinctive cultural and religious groups. The current study was designed to explore CSA as arising from the experiences and perceptions of children in the ultraorthodox Jewish community in Israel, conveyed during forensic interviews. ***Method:*** Thematic analysis was conducted on 32 interviews with children aged 5 to 14 years, referred following suspected CSA by a perpetrator who was not a family member. ***Results:*** The results suggested three main themes: the context of the abuse, the dynamics with the perpetrator, and the disclosure experiences. The context revealed the unique risk that children in the ultraorthodox group might experience. The dynamics with the perpetrator echoed the existing literature on CSA. ***Conclusions:*** The current findings stress the importance of considering the context of CSA, as it plays a central role in any attempt to understand this phenomenon. One of the study's main conclusions addresses the need to adjust prevention and intervention efforts to the unique characteristics of this group. Relatedly, theoretical knowledge as well as practical tools must be provided to community leaders and families to ensure better justice and care for ultraorthodox child victims, given the unique contextual characteristics of CSA within this society.

Keywords: child sexual abuse (CSA), cultural perspective, children's narratives, ultraorthodox community, forensic interviews

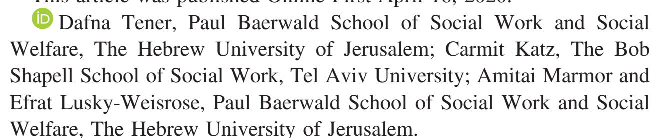
This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

The literature on child sexual abuse (CSA) has identified the imperativeness of cultural and religious contexts to the understanding of its prevalence, dynamics, and disclosure (Fontes & Plummer, 2010, 2012; Graham, Lanier, & Johnson-Motoyama, 2016; Haboush & Alyan, 2013). However, research on CSA in closed religious societies is still limited, perhaps because of the difficulty in obtaining access to them. The current study examines the phenomenon of CSA through the perspectives and experiences of children from the ultraorthodox Jewish community in Israel, while spotlighting the social contexts in which these incidents take place. To delve into these contexts, the current study focuses exclusively on perpetrators outside the family. The rationale for this focus is embedded in previous literature that has emphasized the enormous differences between familial and nonfamilial CSA in terms of their dynamics, disclosure, and intervention and prevention efforts. Therefore, to delve into the CSA experiences of ultraorthodox children, we decided not to focus on any family figure to allow an exploration free of many aspects unique to familial CSA.

According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare (2018), from 2012 to 2017, the number of children referred to child advocacy centers in Israel following sexual abuse was 2,055, most of them aged between 5 and 14, of whom 68.7% were abused by a nonfamily member. More than 96% of all referred children (following both sexual and physical abuse) underwent forensic interviews. Of the Jewish children, 45.9% were considered "religious," as indicated by self-report; this definition covers a broad spectrum of religiosity, with the most extremely devout defined as ultraorthodox.

CSA in Religious Contexts

Members of different cultures tend to define and understand CSA differently (Fontes & Plummer, 2010), particularly with regard to perspectives on childhood, sexuality, virginity, and family discipline and "honor" (Cohen, Deblinger, Mannarino, & de

This article was published Online First April 16, 2020.

Dafna Tener, Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Carmit Katz, The Bob Shapell School of Social Work, Tel Aviv University; Amitai Marmor and Efrat Lusky-Weisrose, Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Dafna Tener, Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mt Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel. E-mail: dtener@gmail.com

Arellano, 2001). Children's cultural background affects their reaction to abuse and willingness to disclose it (Faller, 2007).

Religion is acknowledged as a key cultural context in the area of sexual vulnerability (Harper & Perkins, 2018; Tishelman & Geffner, 2010). Several studies have examined the influence of religion on sexual abuse characteristics in the context of specific communities such as Catholics (Parkinson, 2014), Amish (McGuigan & Stephenson, 2015), Mormons (Gerdes, Beck, Cowan-Hancock, & Wilkinson-Sparks, 1996), and Muslims (Haboush & Alyan, 2013). Nevertheless, the body of empirical knowledge regarding CSA in closed religious communities remains limited.

The Jewish Ultraorthodox Community in Israel and CSA

In Israel, 12% of Jews are ultraorthodox (Haredi; Cahaner, Malach, & Choshen, 2018). This community is culturally unique in several respects bear on CSA. Its members are expected to be loyal to the community and obey strict behavioral codes in addition to practicing the 613 commandments (Goodman & Witztum, 2002). Most of the ultraorthodox lead an isolated community life, often in separate areas or concentrations of religious groups (Shoham, 2012). They have their own semiprivate education system and usually differentiate themselves from Western values in general (Khoury-Kassabri, Benbenishty, & Astor, 2005). This group prides itself on remaining distinct from the modern society that surrounds it (Shoham, 2012). It feels its unique character is vulnerable owing to pressures from both within and without, and therefore any deviation from the norm can cause alarm. To cope, the group actively protects its external and internal boundaries by maintaining strict control over the community in all spheres of life, particularly sexuality (Shoham, 2012).

In Jewish Law, extramarital sexual relations are strictly forbidden, and all sexual relations are subject to restrictions under the purity laws and prohibition on incest (Resnicoff, 2012), as well as the prohibition on the "spilling of seed" (including, but not limited to, masturbation), considered an unatonable sin (Fagin, 2015). These restrictions, combined with limited access to basic terms for discussing sexual issues and the lack of sexual education in schools and homes (Mendes, Pinskier, & McCurdy, 2019), can reduce the ability to identify the abuse (Zalcberg, 2017). They can also lead to distorted perceptions of sexuality and of what is considered inappropriate sexual contact (Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Lopiansky, Berman, & Eisen, 2017).

This total silence is being gradually abandoned owing to change processes (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004), including growing awareness, given recent studies on the prevalence of CSA in the community (Fagin, 2015). CSA rates among this community are similar to those in secular groups and other, less extreme religious groups (Spröber et al., 2014). Moreover, an Israeli study indicated that 25% of respondents from all populations reported CSA, but that religious men and women were 3.3 *more* likely and 2.4 *less* likely, respectively, to have experienced abuse compared with secular participants (Schein et al., 2000). Rosmarin, Pirutinsky, Appel, Kaplan, and Pelcovitz (2018) and Yehuda, Friedman, Rosenbaum, Labinsky, and Schmeidler (2007) found similar results in the ultraorthodox community in the United States.

In addition to prevalence, another aspect studied within the community has been reporting to the authorities. Resnicoff (2012) wrote on different attitudes among the community, ranging from the "compromised" position that calls for reporting under certain circumstances to total resistance to cooperating with secular authorities. Adding to this, in their recent study, Katzenstein and Fontes (2017) wrote that when disclosure did occur, the acts were often reported to religious leaders rather than to secular authorities.

This can be attributed to religious prohibitions against reporting to non-Jewish or secular authorities and speaking ill of a fellow Jew, fear of stigma and shame, and the tendency to rely on religious authority figures in everyday affairs, including sexual abuse (Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017; Zalcberg, 2017). Although the past decade has seen trends of change in ultraorthodox communities worldwide with regard to dealing with issues such as at-risk children and child maltreatment (Eidensohn & Shulem, 2010; Salamon, 2011), the community in Israel, at least, remains distinct in its response to CSA, often treating it within the nuclear or extended family or community, away from prying public eyes (Ben Meir & Levavi, 2010; Tener, Tarshish, & Turgeman, 2017; Zalcberg, 2017).

Other studies on CSA in the ultraorthodox community focused on disclosure from the victim's perspective, pointing to delayed disclosure, often in adulthood, mainly out of fear of the personal consequences of being stigmatized and feelings of shame and guilt, as well as of the consequences for their families. Survivors' retrospective accounts often describe their initial reports as having been silenced and covered up in the family and community (Ben-Ezra et al., 2010; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcberg, 2017).

Children's Experiences and Perceptions of CSA in Forensic Interviews

Forensic interviews were selected as the platform of exploration in the current study, as they provide a rare encounter with a child, often soon after disclosure, when the CSA experience has not yet been explored or assessed by anyone else. Previous studies have shown that exploration of children's perceptions and experiences during forensic interviews can significantly contribute to both theoretical and practical knowledge. For example, previous studies have explored manipulations of victims by offenders (Katz & Barnetz, 2016) and their experiences following peer sexual abuse (Katz, 2020).

The Current Study

As reviewed earlier, CSA within the ultraorthodox community is an underdeveloped research area. The current study sheds light on this phenomenon through the perceptions and experiences CSA victims in the context of forensic interviews with them. The sample focused on nonfamily member abusers to spotlight the context of CSA for children from the ultraorthodox community—to observe the unique cultural context without the effects of the unique dynamic in intrafamilial CSA, given that the literature has highlighted the difference between familial and nonfamilial CSA in dynamics, disclosure, and relevant intervention and prevention efforts.

Analysis of the interview materials was guided by the following research questions: (a) How do children in the ultraorthodox community experience and perceive CSA? (b) What are the dynamics between the perpetrator and the child as arising from the

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

children's narratives? (c) How do children in the ultraorthodox community experience and perceive disclosure of the CSA? The need to enhance the development of both a conceptual and an empirical framework on the phenomenon is the rationale for the qualitative approach adopted in the current research.

Method

Sample

The sample consisted of 32 Israeli Jewish ultraorthodox children (20 boys) who had been sexually abused by a person outside their family. The small sample size followed the qualitative research methods that are concerned with garnering an in-depth understanding, focused on unique meanings of the phenomenon (Dworkin, 2012). This sample size was chosen to reach saturation, allow thorough examination of the characteristics, and distinguish conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2006). Data saturation was indeed achieved, and data collection ended after no new information concerning the phenomena had been obtained (Fusch & Ness, 2015). The participants were defined as ultraorthodox according to the self-definition of the child and his or her parents.

The participants' ages ranged from 5 to 14 ($M = 9.18$; $SD = 2.65$). Various background details such as family socioeconomic status were unavailable owing to ethical requirements. In most cases ($n = 21$), the perpetrator was a stranger, but in about a third, the child knew him ($n = 11$). In two cases, the perpetrator was a minor. In most cases ($n = 25$), the participants described one-time incidents, while seven described repeated abuse. As for the nature of the abuse, 22 described touching private parts above or under their clothes, five described exposure to private organs and sexual acts, or to pornography, and another five described oral or anal penetration. All the perpetrators in the current sample were men. There was no overlap in the sample regarding the nature of the abuse.

Procedure

The 32 interviews were selected out of all interviews conducted with CSA victims in Israel in 2015 ($n = \sim 4000$). To be included in the sample, each case had to meet the following criteria: (a) The child was interviewed as a victim; (b) the child was part of the ultraorthodox community; (c) the perpetrator was not a family member; (d) the interview was the first forensic interview with the child; (e) the child disclosed the abuse during the interview; (f) there was corroborating evidence suggesting a high probability that the abuse took place (e.g., eyewitness testimony); (g) the child's first language was Hebrew; and (h) the child did not exhibit any developmental disabilities.

Interviews: The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Investigative Interview Protocol

The interviews were conducted by seven trained forensic interviewers who shared similar professional backgrounds (a degree in social work and at least 18 months' experience as a forensic interviewer with children). All interviews followed the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) Protocol (Lamb, La Rooy, Malloy, & Katz, 2011), a requirement in Israel. The use of standardized interview guidelines allowed us to standardize the interview structure and adhere to best practice.

The NICHD Protocol is a set of structured and comprehensive guidelines. The protocol has been found to elicit rich testimonies from children of all ages in response to free-recall invitations (Lamb et al., 2011). It has been implemented in the United States, Israel, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Canada, and follow-up studies have systematically indicated significant improvements in the quality of investigative interviews (Cyr & Lamb, 2009; Lamb et al., 2011; Orbach et al., 2000). In addition, the protocol has been shown to improve credibility assessment (Hershkowitz, Fisher, Lamb, & Horowitz, 2007), the elicitation of investigative leads (Darwish, Hershkowitz, Lamb, & Orbach, 2008), and case disposition and resolution (Pipe et al., 2007).

The protocol includes three phases. In the initial introductory phase, the interviewer becomes acquainted with the child, explains the rules, emphasizes the need to tell the truth, and encourages the children to say "I don't know" when appropriate. The second phase consists of establishing rapport and simultaneously introducing the interviewing techniques. When the child appears to be relaxed, the interviewer trains the child's episodic memory using a neutral experience to help the child become familiar with the interviewer's questioning style (i.e., one that emphasizes open-ended questions).

In the final phase, the primary focus of the interview is the abuse. Interviewers use open-ended questions as often as possible, including initial invitations (e.g., "Tell me everything that happened to you"), follow-up invitations (e.g., "And then what happened?"), and cued invitations (e.g., "You mentioned a cream; tell me everything you can about that"). Interviewers then use direct questions (e.g., "When did this happen?"), but only after the open-ended questions appear to have exhausted the child's recollection. Option-posing questions (e.g., "Did he touch you under your clothes?") are asked only when essential forensic information is unavailable and only at the end. Interviewers do not ask suggestive questions (e.g., "He stuck his fingers in, right?"). At the end of the interview, to help children relax, interviewers are instructed to shift the focus of the conversation to neutral topics (e.g., "What are you going to do after the interview?"; Lamb et al., 2011; Malloy, La Rooy, Lamb, & Katz, 2011).

Ethical Approval

Because the study was based on files containing highly personal information, the author made special effort to meet the highest ethical standards and obtained authorization from the research board of the Ministry of Welfare in Israel. The forensic interviews were provided to the author without names or identifying features of the children, parents, or other people and places involved in the incidents, to ensure privacy and anonymity. The application was also approved by the Head of the Service of Child Forensic Interviews in Israel and by the Ethics Committee of Tel Aviv University.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to allow an inductive approach and was appropriate, given the narrative nature of the forensic interview materials. The interviews underwent several interrelated

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

stages of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, the first two authors identified preliminary ideas by reading the first 10 interviews repeatedly, breaking down each case into segments representing discrete units of meaning. Next, the codes identified were grouped into initial themes. As the two authors continued reading, some of these were removed or revised, and additional codes and categories were added. The two other authors used the codes to perform a parallel analysis, such that all authors analyzed all remaining interviews. In the third stage, themes and subthemes were reviewed, classified, and reclassified as required (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Finally, themes were refined and named, and interrelationships between them were suggested (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this stage, the authors also referred back to the transcripts to retrieve further information needed to develop the categories (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

Trustworthiness was achieved by audit trails and peer debriefing carried out once a week throughout the data analysis (Morse, 2015). The audit trail consisted of documenting how raw data were collected and analyzed. Direct quotes were attached to all interpretations and the peer debriefing process (see the following sections) was documented in writing (Bowen, 2009). The authors also wrote journals to maintain awareness of various influences on their interpretations (Jootun, McGhee, & Marland, 2009).

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Results

Our analysis revealed three major themes. Addressing the first research question—How do children in the ultraorthodox community experience and perceive CSA?—the first dealt with the context of time, space, and others. The second addressed the question, "What are the dynamics between the perpetrator and the child as arising from the children's narratives?" by dealing with these dynamics before and during the abuse. The third theme, addressing the third question, "How do children in the ultraorthodox community experience and perceive disclosure of the CSA?" examined disclosure to formal and informal figures. During the analysis, it became clear that some of the experiences and characteristics of the abuse were not specific to the ultraorthodox community but rather typical of victims in the general society (e.g., perpetrators' use of manipulations, threats and force), whereas others were specific to ultraorthodox society (such as words the children used to describe their private parts). Note also that most of the interviews produced short and at times confused narratives, possibly because of the children's difficulty in describing what they had experienced. In addition to the likely traumatic experience, this may also be owing to the absence of terms related to sexuality in the discourse of the ultraorthodox community and the children in particular.

"I Went to the Synagogue Next Door": Time, Space, and Others

During the interviews, children were asked to describe anything they could remember about the time and place of the abuse. Some remembered the abuse occurring in the context of Jewish markers, such as *Shabbat* (Saturday, the holy day in Judaism), Jewish holidays, and times of specific prayers. Thus, when referring to the abusive events, they often used sentences such as "On the *Shabbat* before," "After the holiday," and "In the middle of the evening prayer, he used to come and touch people in immodest places."

When asked where the abuse took place, the children described two main spaces: the community surroundings and specific religious spaces. When referring to the former, they described public spaces such as the local zoo, the neighborhood playground, or secluded places in the neighborhood. Yet, other children described specific religious spaces where the abuse took place, including the synagogue, the yeshiva (religious school), or the *mikveh* (public bath used for ritual purification). We will further describe the specific meaning these locations had in the next theme.

Some children described being alone with the perpetrators during the abuse. For example, "They saw that the area was vacant, that there was no-one around. So after we went downstairs, they came and grabbed us [and took us] to this corner" (7-year-old boy).

Yet, in other cases, others were also present, including family members such as siblings or people from the community who failed to interpret the acts as abusive. Thus, when a 6-year-old boy was asked if anyone saw what happened in the zoo and where the instructors were, he said they "were at the fence looking at the giraffes." Conversely, a 7-year-old girl described her siblings as being present during the abuse:

> He said, bye, I must go, *Shabbat* is coming. Then he said bye to my sister. Then he said bye to my other sister [. . .]. Then he told me, bye [. . .] I'm leaving. And then uh . . ., I told him bye. And then like . . . he gave me a kiss on my mouth and then. . . . My sister looked at how he gave me a kiss . . . and she told him "You shouldn't give her a kiss, my mom doesn't allow it."

In still other cases, it seems the perpetrators were already known as such in the community, as described by a 12-year-old boy:

Investigator (I):	You told me he was trying to do . . .
Boy (B):	Sometimes he succeeded . . .
I:	Tell me about the times he succeeded.
B:	He sometimes succeeds with others.
I:	How do you know that [. . .]?
B:	My mom saw him [. . .] talking to little kids . . . Everyone knows he's like that.

"He Used the Pool Space and Said It Was Crowded": The Dynamics Between the Perpetrator and the Abused Child

Several elements stood out in children's descriptions of the abuse: the techniques used by the perpetrator, the characteristics of the abuse, and the children's responses. The children described several techniques used by the perpetrators. In the first, perpetrators used temptations or threats. Temptations included offering the children goods such as candies or being kind and expressing affection toward them (grooming). In other cases, perpetrators threatened to hurt them if they did not cooperate. In some cases, perpetrators also used physical force and violence. At times, children descried how perpetrators used a combination of grooming and force, such as first offering presents and escalating to force if the child tried to resist or using different techniques with different victims, according to their level of cooperation. This was described by a 10-year-old boy:

> He would come to me and . . . start pushing hands, giving me money, giving me lots of compliments and [. . .] he tried to lift me on the [. . .] came to hug me [. . .]. On the first day he only gave me a hand, eh [. . .] he came and started giving me "chair" and went out to get me a slushy [. . .] and then he gave me more money. To the other kid he said, if you sit on me I'll give you money for a slushy. The other kid didn't want to, he sat him down by force.

In the second technique, perpetrators performed the abuse as if inadvertently, such as quick and invasive contact during a routine activity so that children would find it difficult to distinguish between normative and abusive behavior, as described by a 13-year-old boy:

> We took merchandise [. . .] We took hot plates to the storeroom and after that . . . we went down and . . . every time . . . every time we went [back] up he would stop me to touch and then someone would call us down and he would stop.

Another 13-year-old boy described how the abusive acts were conducted while the perpetrator was moving from side to side in prayer (as devout Jews commonly do), which made it impossible for the boy to fully understand he was being abused. In the third technique, perpetrators used religious spaces such as the synagogue. The perpetrators took advantage of the fact that the children knew that in the synagogue they should keep quiet during the prayers, which may have prevented them from resisting. The perpetrators also used closed spaces within the synagogue. A 12-year-old boy, for example, described being taken to a separate room where the prayer books were stored on the pretext that the perpetrator wanted to show them to him:

> I went into a synagogue to a small room, and then he showed me that there are all kinds of *sidurim* [prayer books] and he told me what's in there . . . He talks like he's your best friend [. . .] and then he tries to do this stuff to you [. . .].

In this case, the offender used the private space of the room where sacred books were stored and conveyed the message that he was providing the child with a learning experience and considered him a friend. When he started abusing the child sexually, the latter saw that his acts as completely at odds with these messages.

Another place where abuse commonly took place was the *mikveh*. In the next quote, a 13-year-old boy described how the structure of the *mikveh*, being small and crowded with the private parts hidden under water, was exploited by the perpetrator:

> I took a shower and got into the pool and it was crowded [. . .]. And then behind me, like back to back, somebody [. . .] stood there [. . .]. I looked and saw that he had plenty of space in front of him, and I didn't understand, so I told him [. . .]. And then I didn't stop him, I kept moving closer and closer to the wall until I was right next to it [. . .] and by that time I was already about to leave the pool, and then he too wanted to get out all of a sudden, and then he touched me [. . .]. And then he kind of apologized, saying it was because of the overcrowding.

Almost all of children described the sexual acts as unwanted, painful, and scary. Their responses were fear, helplessness, and sadness: "I was shocked by what happened"; "I wanted to run away from there"; "I didn't know what was happening to me"; "Until this day I want to forget it but I can't"; "I cried a little"; and "I thought he was going to kill me". A 9-year-old girl said, "After he stroked me I screamed at him, 'No!', and ran away from him [. . .] I ran to my house [. . .]. And on the way I cried, because I was scared of him [. . .]".

Some, such as this 13-year-old boy, emphasized their active physical resistance:

> Right from the start, I felt stressed [. . .]. I felt I lost control [. . .]. But then we also had a workshop at the religious school that talked to us about adolescence [. . .]. So I ran it through my head, what they told us about how to respond, and then kind of hit him with my elbow [. . .].

In other cases, even if they could not resist physically, the children recognized the acts as abusive and themselves as victims, refusing to accept the offender's justifications:

> He got inside, shut the door, and then he didn't let me out. He locked it. I said, excuse me, let me go out. He told me, this would take just a few minutes [. . .] And then he removed what's there below [. . .] and then you could see that organ which the Torah forbids to touch [. . .] Did I do anything to deserve this? [. . .] I asked him, why are you touching me that way, and this is very wrong [. . .]. So he said [. . .] at your age [. . .] kids like you did this to me [. . .]. So I asked him, is that my fault? [. . .] As he spoke, he took off both his pants and what's underneath [. . .]. He said, touch me here. I told him it was a sin, forbidden [. . .]. So he sat on the toilet seat [. . .] and grabbed me and he laid me down on the floor [. . .] and [. . .] I kept saying, God will repay you, God will repay you. (12 year-old boy)

"I Told My Dad and He Said We Should Tell": Disclosing the Abuse to Formal and Informal Figures

As described earlier, seven of the children first disclosed the abuse to a family member, usually a parent. In two cases, the children experienced the parents as unsupportive. For example, when asked what her father did after she had told him about the abuse, a 5-year-old girl said, "He did nothing."

In the other five cases, however, the parents were perceived by the children as supportive and initiated further protective responses. For instance, when asked what happened after she had told her father, an 8-year-old-girl described how "he looked for his suit and went to look for him outside".

In another case, a 13-year-old boy's disclosure to his father initiated consultation with community authority figures, eventually leading to disclosure to secular authorities:

> My dad informed the rabbi and homeroom teacher [. . .]. The homeroom teacher said that what we had to do was to file a complaint [. . .]. That very same day I went with dad to file a complaint at the police, so they referred us here.
>
> I: You told me you had told dad about it, how did he respond when you told him?
>
> B: My dad said I did the right thing [. . .]

Finally, the analysis also indicates that during the forensic interviews, it was hard for the children to disclose. Parents' responses seemed to be important during the forensic interviews, and some children were more willing to talk if parents encouraged them. Disclosure in a formal setting can be extremely complex for ultraorthodox children, and this was emphasized in their wording: Most did not or could not use direct terminology to describe what happened to them. The children displayed shame in using sexual

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

terms and often repeated sentences such as, “I cannot say that, it is forbidden.” It appears the forensic interviewers struggled to engage the children in the interview setting and often invited additional figures from the children’s lives into the room, such as a rabbi or the parents, to encourage the children to cooperate with them.

Discussion

The current study analyzed the experiences of 32 ultraorthodox Jewish children in Israel as arising from forensic interviews following CSA by a perpetrator who was not a family member. The findings included three themes: the contexts of time, space, and others during the abuse, referring to the first research question; the dynamics between the abused child and the perpetrator (second research question); and the disclosure of the abuse to informal and formal figures (third research questions; see Figure 1 for an illustrative summary of the findings).

When discussing the *time* of the abuse, some of the children were able to retrieve important details on the abuse using Jewish markers, such as holidays or prayer times. This finding is in line with the empirical literature that indicates that children tend to retrieve relevant temporal indications when instructed to provide the context of the events (London, Bruck, Wright, & Ceci, 2008). In practical terms, this requires professionals who work with ultraorthodox children to have sufficient knowledge of their significant religious practices and traits and to be aware of their unique identifiers.

However, these findings must be discussed in light of the developmental framework, as the concept of time is extremely difficult for preschoolers to understand and retrieve (Friedman, 2007; Friedman & Lyon, 2005). Given the wide age range in the current study, it is important to consider these developmental capabilities.

In terms of *space,* the current findings provide insight into spaces that may increase children’s vulnerability in the ultraorthodox community, a finding supported by previous research (Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcberg, 2017). Religious spaces can combine both physical and spiritual spaces that can place children at risk: physical, because they contain secluded or crowded areas where abuse can take place unobtrusively, and spiritual, as the premise of the community is that these spaces are pure, where no abuse can take place, actually making it easier for perpetrators. Thus, the assumption that a synagogue is a safe place does not reflect the children’s experiences. Even more so, because of its overcrowding and the “legitimate” physical proximity it affords the perpetrators, the *mikveh* can be unsafe for children; rabbis, parents, and other community figures need to be more aware of the supervision required there to protect the children.

Furthermore, although we have little data on *other people* present while the abuse occurred (e.g., other siblings), it does seem that

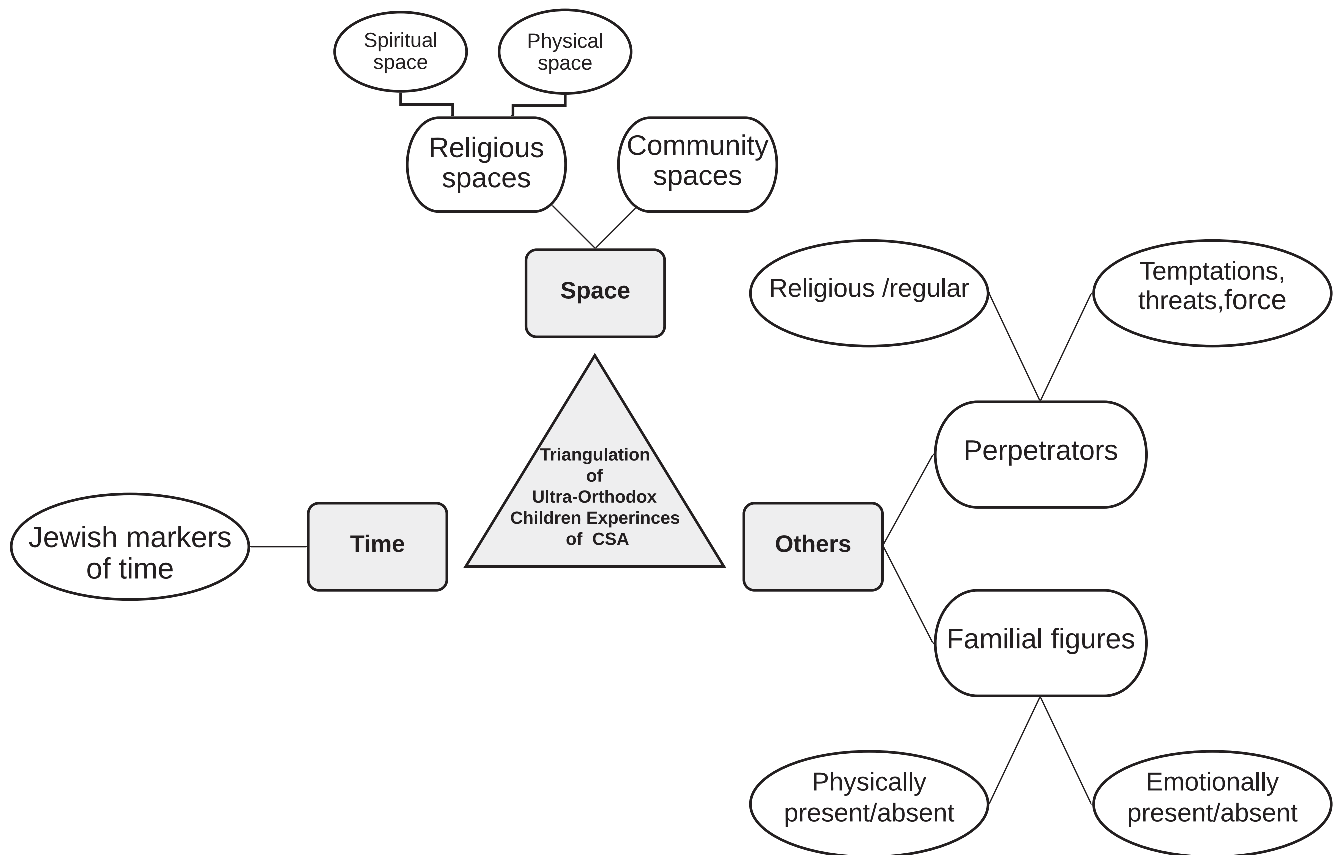


Figure 1. Thematic map of findings: Ultraorthodox children’s experiences of child sexual abuse.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

risk and vulnerability are intensified, given the silence of the bystanders in these incidents. As shown in Figure 1, others were either physically present or absent during the abuse, but their presence did not necessarily stop it. One of the characteristics of this community is innocence about the prevalence of CSA or refusal to believe that it can take place in the community, given that it clashes with religious norms (Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Schmid & Benbenishty, 2011), as seen in other religious communities (Fogler, Shipherd, Rowe, Jensen, & Clarke, 2008; Harper & Perkins, 2018). This calls for adjustments in prevention programs that take into account the unique characteristics of this group, to encourage awareness and alertness. Indeed, in recent years, the Israeli ultraorthodox community has been undergoing a significant process of opening up to the issue of CSA, including creating culturally adjusted safety programs within the community that are delivered in schools or yeshivas, such as that referred to in passing by one of the interviewees (Eidensohn & Shulem, 2010; Salamon, 2011). Bystanders and their role should be taken into consideration, given the wide age range of the participants in the current study, which might result in a variety of perceptual and understanding abilities of this multifaced aspect.

The second theme, the perpetrator–victim *dynamics* reveal similar characteristics to what we know from the general literature on CSA, including the alternate use of grooming and force (Katz & Barnetz, 2016). However, the perpetrators described by the children in this study also took advantage of religious norms and structures. This was also previously described in literature on CSA in the ultraorthodox (Zalcberg, 2013) and other religious communities (Farrell & Taylor, 2000; Fogler et al., 2008).

The perpetrator's familiarity plays a central role, which impacts the experience of CSA as well as its disclosure and consequences (Katz & Barnetz, 2016). In the eyes of the ultraorthodox child, the "stranger" is often not perceived as such, given his familiar appearance and the fact that the potential perpetrator is surrounded by many other adult figures, which makes it difficult to him to identify the danger.

The participants responded to the abuse mostly with fear. Some tried to actively resist, and we wonder how many of them have been prepared to react that way. All displayed understanding that what happened to them was forbidden by God, regardless of the wide age range in the current sample. This stresses the importance of prevention programs that help children understand such situations and respond (Finkelhor, Asdigian, & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1995). It seems that those developing prevention programs can appeal to the children's culture and way of understanding, who appreciate and use the language of God and the Torah. In recent years in Israel, several prevention programs have been made available (Rabinowitz, 2015; Schwartz, 2014). Much more needs to be done, however, including open discussion about holy places as a potential source of danger, about the grooming tactics used by offenders, ways of disclosing the abuse, and, finally, indications of intrafamilial CSA, a topic that is hardly discussed in this community, although it has been found to consist of up to one third of the incidence of CSA in the general population (Seto, Babchishin, Pullman, & McPhail, 2015).

With regard to the third theme, participants *disclosed* to informal figures, as suggested in previous studies on the ultraorthodox community, mainly to parents, educational and spiritual figures, as well as friends (Zalcberg, 2017). Parents were either emotionally present or absent for the children. Some parents tended to consult with the rabbi and only then turn to a secular authority. The fact that in some cases rabbis were invited into the investigation room shows the importance of collaboration between the secular welfare and legal authorities and the ultraorthodox community authority figures, as mentioned in other studies (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Neustein & Lesher, 2008).

One of the things that stood out in the children's encounter with the forensic interviewer was their difficulty to find words to refer to sexual issues and to intimate body parts and the use of alternative terms from their religious world (Ben Meir & Levavi, 2010; Eisen & Berman, 2018). These concepts will not necessarily be understandable to the child investigator or be legally valid. Again, the ability of professionals who work with abused ultraorthodox children to understand the alternative concepts they use or to offer them alternatives to the direct reference to private parts is crucial in these cases. Using direct terms can be viewed by the children and parents as spiritual risk, which may have severe implications for the victims as well as their family's social status (Nadan, Roer-Strier, Gemara, Engdau-Vanda, & Tener, 2018). This emphasizes the need to adjust the requirements of children in the forensic context as well as the need to be sensitive to the possible consequences that encounters with secular authorities can have in the lives of ultraorthodox children and families.

Limitations

The current study is exploratory by nature and as such carries a number of limitations. It is based on a small sample in a specific setting of forensic interviews. in addition to that, the age range of the children is very wide (4–14 years old).

Second, we used self-definition of the children and their caregivers to identify them as belonging to the ultraorthodox community. However, the term "Orthodox" includes a variety of lifestyles and communities (Sweifach & Heft-Laporte, 2007) with distinct approaches to and terminologies for sexual issues. There are also differences in the way CSA is perceived even in the same family or community (Schnall, 2006).

Other contextual factors with potentially deep effects on the victims' experiences were not examined, such as socioeconomic status—the socioeconomic status of the ultraorthodox community in Israel is significantly lower than the national average—which may operate beyond or in interaction with religious affiliation (Nadan, Spilsbury, & Korbin, 2015). Relatedly, a major characteristic of ultraorthodox families is the large number of siblings, often requiring—again, in interaction with socioeconomic background—the older siblings to supervise the younger. Future studies should address this issue and the ways it may affect CSA incidence, duration, and disclosure.

Another significant limitation is related to the focus of this article on CSA by a perpetrator outside the family. CSA within the family involves different dynamics and unique characteristics, as in cases of sexual abuse between siblings (Tener et al., 2017), or in other types of interfamilial CSA (Koçtürk & Yüksel, 2019), which may interact with the children's ultraorthodox identity in ways that are not yet clear.

Furthermore, this study focused exclusively on the victims' experience in real time. It can be hypothesized that the voices rising from the current study would be different from the percep-

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

tions of others involved or from their own perceptions of the event retrospectively, in adolescence or adulthood.

Finally, this study is based, by definition, on survivors who have disclosed their CSA during childhood and whose cases have led to formal authority intervention. It does not address victims from the ultraorthodox community who have never disclosed to anyone, a group that is both probably larger, perhaps with different characteristics, and certainly in greater need of help (Oates, 2007; Zalcberg, 2017).

Future Research Directions

Because this is a new research area, our findings are tentative and in need of replication. The study explored the experience of the children, to contribute insights and encourage future studies on this difficult subject from an insider perspective. First, it is recommended that future studies provide more nuanced perspectives on the phenomenon by taking factors such as degree of religiosity into account.

Second, future studies should address the role of socioeconomic status and the ways it may shape CSA within religious communities. Moreover, the possible differences between CSA within this community perpetrated by victimizers outside versus inside the family should be addressed. Note also that because in the current study the perpetrator is not a family member, the issue of the space where the abuse is perpetrator is critical. Further research should examine whether specific times or spaces may pose particular risk for children, such as neglect in synagogues or other religious locations and lack of adult supervision during prayers or after school hours.

In addition, previous research about CSA within the ultraorthodox community (Zalcberg, 2013) showed that the nonfamilial perpetrator's identity might be diverse (such as a neighbor, an older friend, or an authority figure). Differential reference to the unique dynamics is important and should be the focus of future studies.

To understand the phenomenon more broadly, future studies should also examine the perceptions and voices of other significant participants within the abuse dynamic, including parents and other family members—such as siblings who have witnessed the abuse—as well as perpetrators, but also professionals and police officers. Furthermore, future studies can provide insight about the abuse dynamics and disclosure process of ultraorthodox adults, alongside the children's perspectives, as in general studies (McElvaney, 2015). Finally, retrospective studies of adult survivors as well as alleged perpetrators from within the ultraorthodox community and perhaps also community leaders with experience in dealing with CSA disclosure can provide crucial information on CSA not disclosed to formal authorities.

Prevention and Policy Implications

Although the present study is limited in generalizability, it provides valuable knowledge for prevention, treatment, and policy. It allows us to look at the times and spaces in which CSA within this population occurs, which are considered protected because of their religious importance but precisely for that are especially dangerous. It also allows us to look at everyone involved, including children, perpetrators, bystanders, and professionals. As such, this study indicates the urgent need for prevention programs to raise the awareness of formal authority figures in the ultraorthodox community and encourage supervision and protection of children from future harm; this reinforces the conclusions of previous studies (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018).

Raising awareness may be achieved by providing training that includes advanced theoretical knowledge and practical tools for dealing with this phenomenon among caregivers and educators within the ultraorthodox community itself as well as training for rabbis to raise awareness of the issue of CSA and the role of community involvement (The Haruv Institute, 2019). The study also indicates the need to raise awareness within the entire community to the prevalence of CSA, as further discussed in the Discussion.

Conclusions

This explorative study examined perceptions and experiences of CSA by abused children within the ultraorthodox Jewish community in Israel as expressed during forensic interviews. In 2018, ultraorthodox society constituted 12% of the entire Jewish population in Israel (Cahaner et al., 2018)—a large segment that requires unique responses at the local and national policy levels. This society is similar to other Jewish and non-Jewish religious communities worldwide (Gerdes et al., 1996; McGuigan & Stephenson, 2015), so that lessons learned in these communities may be applied to it—and vice versa. Despite being small-scale and limited, the study provides a rare glimpse into the contexts of time, space, and others during the abuse, the dynamics between the abused child and the perpetrator, and the disclosure of the abuse. The findings can help professionals and the community deal with these difficult cases to promote prevention, identification, and intervention.

References

Ben-Ezra, M., Palgi, Y., Sternberg, D., Berkley, D., Eldar, H., Glidai, Y., & Shrira, A. (2010). Losing my religion: A preliminary study of changes in belief pattern after sexual assault. *Traumatology, 16,* 7–13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1534765609358465

Ben Meir, H., & Levavi, Y. (2010). Unique aspects of treating child victims of sexual assault from the Haredi sector [Hebrew]. *Society and Welfare, 30,* 453–475.

Boehm, A., & Itzhaky, H. (2004). The social marketing approach: A way to increase reporting and treatment of sexual assault. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 28,* 253–265. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2003.09.015

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9,* 27–40. http://dx.doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3,* 77–101. http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Cahaner, L., Malach, G., & Choshen, M. (2018). *Statistical report on ultra-orthodox society in Israel 2017*. Jerusalem, Israel: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research [Hebrew].

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London, United Kingdom: Sage.

Cohen, J. A., Deblinger, E., Mannarino, A. P., & de Arellano, M. A. (2001). The importance of culture in treating abused and neglected children: An empirical review. *Child Maltreatment, 6,* 148–157. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077559501006002007

Cyr, M., & Lamb, M. E. (2009). Assessing the effectiveness of the NICHD investigative interview protocol when interviewing French-speaking alleged victims of child sexual abuse in Quebec. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 33,* 257–268. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.04.002

Darwish, T., Hershkowitz, I., Lamb, M. E., & Orbach, Y. (2008). *The effect of the NICHD interview protocol on the elicitation of investigative leads in child sexual abuse investigations*. Paper Presented to the American Psychology-Law Society Conference, Jacksonville, FL.

Dworkin, S. L. (2012). Sample size policy for qualitative studies using in-depth interviews. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41,* 1319–1320. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10508-012-0016-6

Eidensohn, D., & Shulem, B. (2010). *Child and domestic abuse: Torah, psychology, and law perspectives*. Jerusalem, Israel: Emunah Press [Hebrew].

Eisen, E., & Berman, Y. (2018). Situational factors related to childhood sexual abuse in the Orthodox Jewish community among adult and juvenile offenders. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 27,* 537–553. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2018.1483993

Epstein, S. B., & Crisp, B. R. (2018). Educating Australia's Jewish communities about child sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 27,* 523–536. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2018.1479724

Fagin, C. G. (2015). *The moderating effect of religion and spirituality on the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and negative outcomes among a sample of Orthodox Jewish men* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Yeshiva University, New York. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/openview/950f5ee8ce84e36ac604a07ab171f4a1/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y

Faller, K. C. (2007). *Interviewing children about sexual abuse: Controversies and best practice*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195311778.001.0001

Farrell, D. P., & Taylor, M. (2000). Silenced by God: An examination of unique characteristics within sexual abuse by clergy. *Counselling Psychology Review, 15,* 22–31.

Finkelhor, D., Asdigian, N., & Dziuba-Leatherman, J. (1995). The effectiveness of victimization prevention instruction: An evaluation of children's responses to actual threats and assaults. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 19,* 141–153. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134(94)00112-8

Fogler, J. M., Shipherd, J. C., Rowe, E., Jensen, J., & Clarke, S. (2008). A theoretical foundation for understanding clergy-perpetrated sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 17,* 301–328. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538710802329874

Fontes, L. A., & Plummer, C. (2010). Cultural issues in disclosures of child sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 19,* 491–518. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2010.512520

Fontes, L. A., & Plummer, C. A. (2012). Cultural issues in child sexual abuse intervention and prevention. In P. Goodyear-Brown (Ed.), *Handbook of child sexual abuse: Identification, assessment, and treatment* (pp. 487–508). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Friedman, W. J. (2007). The development of temporal metamemory. *Child Development, 78,* 1472–1491. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.01078.x

Friedman, W. J., & Lyon, T. D. (2005). Development of temporal-reconstructive abilities. *Child Development, 76,* 1202–1216. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2005.00844.x-i1

Fusch, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *Qualitative Report, 20,* 1408–1416.

Gerdes, K. E., Beck, M. N., Cowan-Hancock, S., & Wilkinson-Sparks, T. (1996). Adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse: The case of Mormon women. *Affilia, 11,* 39–60. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/088610999601100104

Goodman, Y., & Witztum, E. (2002). Cross-cultural encounters between careproviders: Rabbis' referral letters to a psychiatric clinic in Israel. *Social Science and Medicine, 55,* 1309–1323. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00278-7

Graham, L. M., Lanier, P., & Johnson-Motoyama, M. (2016). National profile of Latino/Latina children reported to the child welfare system for sexual abuse. *Children and Youth Services Review, 66,* 18–27. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.04.008

Haboush, K. L., & Alyan, H. (2013). "Who can you tell?" Features of Arab culture that influence conceptualization and treatment of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 22,* 499–518. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2013.800935

Hamo, G., & Idisis, Y. (2017). Pedophiles in the ultra-Orthodox Haredi sector in Israel: Thought processes regarding their actions. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 26,* 407–427. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2017.1285841

Harper, C. A., & Perkins, C. (2018). Reporting child sexual abuse within religious settings: Challenges and future directions. *Child Abuse Review, 27,* 30–41. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/car.2484

Hershkowitz, I., Fisher, S., Lamb, M. E., & Horowitz, D. (2007). Improving credibility assessment in child sexual abuse allegations: The role of the NICHD investigative interview protocol. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 31,* 99–110. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2006.09.005

Jootun, D., McGhee, G., & Marland, G. R. (2009). Reflexivity: Promoting rigor in qualitative research. *Nursing Standard, 23,* 42–46. http://dx.doi.org/10.7748/ns.23.23.42.s50

Katz, C. (2020). "What do you mean the perpetrator? You mean my friend??" Spotlighting the narratives of young children who are victims of sexual abuse by their peers. *Psychology of Violence, 10,* 30–37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/vio0000238

Katz, C., & Barnetz, Z. (2016). Children's narratives of alleged child sexual abuse offender behaviors and the manipulation process. *Psychology of Violence, 6,* 223–232. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0039023

Katzenstein, D., & Fontes, L. A. (2017). Twice silenced: The underreporting of child sexual abuse in orthodox Jewish communities. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 26,* 752–767. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2017.1336505

Khoury-Kassabri, M., Benbenishty, R., & Astor, R. A. (2005). The effects of school climate, socioeconomics, and cultural factors on student victimization in Israel. *Social Work Research, 29,* 165–180. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/swr/29.3.165

Koçtürk, N., & Yüksel, F. (2019). Characteristics of victims and perpetrators of intrafamilial sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 96,* 104–122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104122

Lamb, M. E., La Rooy, D. J., Malloy, L. C., & Katz, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Children's testimony: A handbook of psychological research and forensic practice*. Chichester, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781119998495

London, K., Bruck, M., Wright, D. B., & Ceci, S. J. (2008). Review of the contemporary literature on how children report sexual abuse to others: Findings, methodological issues, and implications for forensic interviewers. *Memory, 16,* 29–47. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09658210701725732

Lopiansky, A., Berman, Y., & Eisen, E. (2017). Child sexual abuse in the Frum Community—An overview. *Dialogue, 7,* 10–76. Retrieved from https://dialoguemagazine.org/dialogue-7-summer-2017/

Malloy, L. C., La Rooy, D. J., Lamb, M. E., & Katz, C. (2011). Developmentally sensitive interviewing for legal purposes. In M. E. Lamb, D. J. La Rooy, L. C. Malloy, & C. Katz (Eds.), *Children's testimony: A handbook of psychological research and forensic practice* (2nd ed., pp. 1–13). Chichester, United Kingdom: Wiley. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781119998495.ch1

Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical guide*. London, UK: Routledge.

McElvaney, R. (2015). Disclosure of child sexual abuse: Delays, non-disclosure and partial disclosure. What the research tells us and implications for practice. *Child Abuse Review, 24,* 159–169. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/car.2280

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

McGuigan, W. M., & Stephenson, S. J. (2015). A single-case study of resiliency after extreme incest in an Old Order Amish family. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 24,* 526–537. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2015.1042182

Mendes, P., Pinskier, M., & McCurdy, S. (2019). How do communities respond to institutional child sexual abuse? A case study of Malka Leifer and Adass Israel in Melbourne, Australia. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 28,* 927–944. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2019.1675842

Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and Social Welfare. (2018). *Survey of social services*. Jerusalem, Israel: Author [Hebrew].

Morse, J. M. (2015). Critical analysis of strategies for determining rigor in qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Health Research, 25,* 1212–1222. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1049732315588501

Nadan, Y., Roer-Strier, D., Gemara, N., Engdau-Vanda, S., & Tener, D. (2018). In the eyes of the beholder: Parental and professional value mismatch in child risk and protection in two communities in Israel. *International Journal of Psychology, 53,* 23–33. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12513

Nadan, Y., Spilsbury, J. C., & Korbin, J. E. (2015). Culture and context in understanding child maltreatment: Contributions of intersectionality and neighborhood-based research. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 41,* 40–48. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.10.021

Neustein, A., & Lesher, M. (2008). A single-case study of rabbinic sexual abuse in the Orthodox Jewish community. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 17,* 270–289. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538710802329783

Oates, K. (2007). Can we believe what children tell us? *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health, 43,* 843–847. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-1754.2007.01243.x

Orbach, Y., Hershkowitz, I., Lamb, M. E., Sternberg, K. J., Esplin, P. W., & Horowitz, D. (2000). Assessing the value of structured protocols for forensic interviews of alleged child abuse victims. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 24,* 733–752. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(00)00137-X

Parkinson, P. (2014). Child sexual abuse and the churches: A story of moral failure? *Current Issues in Criminal Justice, 26,* 119–138. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10345329.2014.12036010

Pipe, M., Lamb, M. E., Orbach, Y., Stewart, H., Sternberg, K. J., & Esplin, P. (2007). Factors associated with nondisclosure of suspected abuse during forensic interviews. In M. Pipe, M. E. Lamb, Y. Orbach, & A. Cederborg (Eds.), *Child sexual abuse: Disclosure, delay and denial* (pp. 77–96). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rabinowitz, M. (2015). *Issues in the field of detection and treatment of minor sexual abuse victims in the Haredi society*. Report prepared for the Committee on the Rights of the Child, The Knesset Research and Information Center [Hebrew].

Resnicoff, S. H. (2012). Jewish law and the tragedy of sexual abuse of children: The dilemma within the orthodox Jewish community. *Rutgers Journal of Law and Religion, 13,* 281–362.

Rosmarin, D. H., Pirutinsky, S., Appel, M., Kaplan, T., & Pelcovitz, D. (2018). Childhood sexual abuse, mental health, and religion across the Jewish community. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 81,* 21–28. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.04.011

Salamon, M. J. (2011). *Abuse in the Jewish community: Religious and communal factors that undermine the apprehension of offenders and the treatment of victims*. Jerusalem, Israel: Urim [Hebrew].

Schein, M., Biderman, A., Baras, M., Bennett, L., Bisharat, B., Borkan, J., . . . Kitai, E. (2000). The prevalence of a history of child sexual abuse among adults visiting family practitioners in Israel. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 24,* 667–675. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(00)00128-9

Schmid, H., & Benbenishty, R. (2011). Public attitudes toward child maltreatment in Israel: Implications for policy. *Children and Youth Services Review, 33,* 1181–1188. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.02.015

Schnall, E. (2006). Multicultural counseling and the Orthodox Jew. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 84,* 276–282. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2006.tb00406.x

Schwartz, E. (2014). *Findings from the teacher program of the protection project in Beitar Illit*. Jerusalem, Israel: Haruv Institute [Hebrew].

Seto, M. C., Babchishin, K. M., Pullman, L. E., & McPhail, I. V. (2015). The puzzle of intrafamilial child sexual abuse: A meta-analysis comparing intrafamilial and extrafamilial offenders with child victims. *Clinical Psychology Review, 39,* 42–57. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2015.04.001

Shoham, E. (2012). *Glimpse behind the wall: Domestic violence in closed communities*. Beer Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press [Hebrew].

Spröber, N., Schneider, T., Rassenhofer, M., Seitz, A., Liebhardt, H., König, L., & Fegert, J. M. (2014). Child sexual abuse in religiously affiliated and secular institutions: A retrospective descriptive analysis of data provided by victims in a government-sponsored reappraisal program in Germany. *BMC Public Health, 14,* 282–293. http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-14-282

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sweifach, J., & Heft-LaPorte, H. (2007). A model for group work practice with ultra-orthodox Jewish victims of domestic violence: A qualitative study. *Social Work with Groups, 30,* 29–45. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J009v30n03_03

Tener, D., Tarshish, N., & Turgeman, S. (2017). "Victim, perpetrator, or just my brother?" Sibling sexual abuse in large families: A child advocacy center study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260517718831

The Haruv Institute. (2019, January 29). *Study programs for professionals from the ultra-orthodox sector*. Retrieved from https://haruv.org.il/en/courses/study-programs-for-professionals-from-the-ultra-orthodox-sector/

Tishelman, A. C., & Geffner, R. (2010). Forensic, cultural, and systems issues in child sexual abuse cases—Part 1: An introduction. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 19,* 485–490. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2010.512262

Yehuda, R., Friedman, M., Rosenbaum, T. Y., Labinsky, E., & Schmeidler, J. (2007). History of past sexual abuse in married observant Jewish women. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 164,* 1700–1706. http://dx.doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.2007.06122030

Zalcberg, S. (2013). *The silence of males: The significance of sexual assault among male victims from ultra-orthodox (Haredi) background* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Hebrew University of Jerusalem [Hebrew].

Zalcberg, S. (2017). The place of culture and religion in patterns of disclosure and reporting sexual abuse of males: A case study of ultra Orthodox male victims. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 26,* 590–607. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2017.1316335

Received September 22, 2019
Revision received February 4, 2020
Accepted February 8, 2020 ■

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.