

Sexual Abuse in the Orthodox Jewish Community: A Literature Review

TRAUMA, VIOLENCE, & ABUSE
1-18
© The Author(s) 2020
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/1524838020906548
journals.sagepub.com/home/tva



Efrat Lusky-Weisrose¹ , Amitai Marmor¹, and Dafna Tener¹ 

Abstract

Sexual abuse is a cross-cultural phenomenon related to multiple cultural contexts including religious affiliation. The Haredi, or Orthodox Jewish community (OJC), constitutes a significant minority group of the worldwide Jewish population, characterized by cultural conservatism, steadfast loyalty to the community, and strict religious behavioral codes. To date, only few empirical studies (as opposed to multiple media reports) have dealt with the issue of sexual abuse within the OJC. Using Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses guidelines, we conducted a systematic review of the literature on sexual abuse within the OJC and its subgroups that addresses experiences and reports of victims, perpetrators, the Jewish and general community, and professionals in the North America, Israel, and Australia. Articles were collected from peer-reviewed databases and bibliographies; 13 quantitative and qualitative articles were included in the final sample. Three themes emerged: disclosure of sexual abuse, perceptions and attitudes toward the abuse, and its implications. Results indicated that alongside several findings that were specifically grounded in the context of closed collective or religious societies and the OJC in particular, most essentially reflected universal aspects of sexual abuse. The results suggest promoting context-informed interventions based on community knowledge and resilience, together with appropriate training in order to better understand the needs of the OJC and of closed communities in general.

Keywords

sexual abuse, Orthodox Jewish community (OJC), religious communities, ultra-Orthodox community, Haredi community, cultural contexts

Sexual abuse is a large-scale, worldwide social problem that can result in a wide range of consequences for victims, their families, and society at large, whether occurring in childhood (e.g., Alisic et al., 2014; Corwin & Keeshin, 2011; Malloy et al., 2011) or in adulthood (e.g., Maker et al., 2001; Peterson et al., 2011; Sigurvinsdottir & Ullman, 2015; Ullman & Najdowski, 2011). During the last few decades, many efforts have been made to understand patterns of victims' disclosure and the responses to it among children (e.g., McElvaney, 2015; Reitsema & Grietens, 2016) and adults (e.g., DiMauro & Renshaw, 2018).

The literature discusses how cultural context is a core component in sexual abuse victims' lives including adults (e.g., Ahrens et al., 2010) and particularly children (e.g., Fontes et al., 2001; Fontes & Plummer, 2010; Graham et al., 2016; Haboush & Alyan, 2013; Reid et al., 2014; Wang & Heppner, 2011). Religiosity is a prominent cultural issue when discussing sexual abuse (Harper & Perkins, 2018; Tishelman & Geffner, 2010), particularly in communities characterized by normative and physical isolation from the surrounding society (Foyne et al., 2014). The empirical literature on sexual abuse in such communities remains limited because of the difficulty in obtaining access to them. Few studies have been conducted

on specific religious communities, such the Catholic Church (Collins et al., 2014; Dale & Alpert, 2007; Parkinson, 2014), Amish (McGuigan & Stephenson, 2015), Mormons (Gerdes et al., 1996), and Muslims (Haboush & Alyan, 2013; Sambisa et al., 2010).

With regard to sexual abuse within the Orthodox Jewish community (OJC), there is body of literature (e.g., Alessi & Zevi, 2009; Bedihi, 2008; Ben Meir & Levavi, 2010; Dorff, 2003; Neustein, 2009; Neustein & Lesher, 2008; Resnicoff, 2012), alongside media and new media publications (e.g., Ettinger & Hasson, 2013), whereas research writing under scholarly standards remains extremely poor (Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017). This article reviews this literature in order to form a basis for future research, with the hope of expanding our knowledge on this important phenomenon.

¹ Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

Corresponding Author:

Efrat Lusky-Weisrose, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel.

Email: efratlusky@gmail.com

Sexual Abuse in the OJC

This article focuses on the OJC, a significant minority in the Jewish world population that includes multiple subgroups that differ in nuances related to religious practice, attitudes to modern values, and authority structures (Friedman, 1991; Stadler, 2009). The OJC includes Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Sephardim (Jews originating from Africa and Asia), ultra-Orthodox Mitnagdim, or “Lithuanians,” as well as Hassidim, modern Orthodox, and Religious-Zionist (or national religious) Jews.

In general, the community is characterized by cultural conservatism, loyalty to the community, and strict religious-behavioral codes (Efrati, 2019; Goodman & Witztum, 2002). Following this religious commitment, members live in an isolated community, often in separate areas or concentrations (Coleman-Brueckheimer et al., 2009), with their own semiprivate education system (Khoury-Kassabri et al., 2005).

Discourse on sexuality is taboo in the OJC (Katz & Lehr, 2012). Ultra-Orthodox community leaders in particular impose multiple restrictions on the sexuality of its members (Shoham, 2012), including rigid gender separation (Ribner & Rosenbaum, 2005). Discourse about sexuality is muted, especially in the context of sexual abuse, also due to the fear of losing the community’s integrity (Bedihi, 2008; Friedman, 2006; Neustein, 2009).

Empirical studies have found statistically equivalent sexual abuse prevalence among religious and secular groups, as well as among various religious groups (Doxey et al., 1997; Rosmarin et al., 2018; Spröber et al., 2014; Yehuda et al., 2007). A study conducted in Israel among the general religious population found that secular females and religious males reported more sexual abuse during childhood (Schein et al., 2000).

Reporting to the authorities about sexual abuse within the OJC is controversial: Some see the importance of reporting under certain circumstances, whereas others are totally opposed to any cooperation with secular authorities (Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017; Resnicoff, 2012; Zalberg, 2013). This is related to the Jewish-religious concepts of *Mesira* and *Leshon Hara*—prohibitions on reporting on or “betraying” Jews to outside authorities, fear of stigmatization, concern about the effects of harmful secular norms, and reliance on rabbinical authority in everyday matters, including sexual abuse (Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017; Neustein & Leshner 2008). Consequently, sexual abuse is often treated within the nuclear or extended family, or within the boundaries of the community, away from the public eye (Ben Meir & Levavi, 2010; Neustein & Leshner 2008; Tener et al., 2017). Note, however, that during the past few years a change is occurring in ultra-Orthodox communities regarding the willingness to address and report issues such as sexual abuse (Eidensohn & Shulem, 2010; Lopiansky et al., 2017; Nadan et al., 2019; Salamon, 2011).

To understand the unique characteristics of the OJC, this review relies on the context-informed perspective, which proposes that all behaviors be understood as grounded in multiple

changing and intertwined contexts within which individuals interact, whether sociocultural, economic, ethnic, or religious (Nadan et al., 2015; Shalhoub-Kevorkian & Roer-Strier, 2016). Therefore, this article acknowledges that the OJC is composed of diverse communities and undergoes processes of change in various areas (Barzilai-Nahon & Barzilai, 2005; Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017).

The Present Study

Sexual abuse appears to be highly connected to cultural and religious contexts (Fontes & Plummer, 2010; Harper & Perkins, 2018). Yet the study of the phenomenon within the worldwide OJC is limited. The current literature review explores the meaning of sexual abuse in the OJC from the perspectives of victims, perpetrators, and professionals working with the community and the general population. Based on the general literature about sexual abuse and other closed communities, several questions have guided our exploration: (1) What are the characteristics of sexual abuse in the context of the OJC? (2) What is the dynamics of the sexual abuse disclosure process within the OJC? (3) What are the perceptions of sexual abuse within the OJC, of all involved, including victims, perpetrators, and the community? and (4) What are the implications of sexual abuse within the OJC?

Method

Design and Inclusion Criteria

This review was prepared in accordance with the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (Liberati et al., 2009). For articles to be considered eligible, they were required to meet the following inclusion criteria: (1) articles dealing with sexual abuse in the context of the OJC, (2) published in peer-reviewed journals, and (3) reporting empirical studies based on quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods. Excluded were (1) clinical studies, case studies, or books; (2) publications that discussed professional opinions and responses; (3) articles in languages other than English; and (4) articles that dealt with the Jewish community in general and excluded or did not relate directly to the OJC for methodological reasons (e.g., Mansbach-Kleinfeld et al., 2015; Schein et al., 2000). Most excluded articles dealt with the OJC but did not directly refer to sexual abuse or did so but were not peer reviewed; few excluded studies referred to both religion and sexual abuse but not specifically in the context of the OJC.

Initial Selection and Extraction

The following electronic databases were searched: Springer-Link, ScienceDirect, PsycNet, Sage Journals, PubMed, EBSCO, and WebScience. Initially, the search terms used in the review were included “ultra-Orthodox,” “Orthodox,” “rabbinic,” “Haredi,” “Jewish,” and “religion,” combined with “sex” and/or “abuse.” In the course of the initial search, 2,530 potential studies were identified, and 1,658 records were

removed for being duplicates. Next, the titles and abstracts of the remaining 872 were reviewed to ascertain relative fit, which left 22 articles that were subjected to a full-text review. Each was reviewed independently by the authors. All articles on which there was no complete interrater agreement were reexamined and discussed until consensus was reached. At the end of the rereview, 10 articles met the inclusion criteria. After completing the initial search, we reviewed the bibliographies of the included articles. Three additional articles were identified. Thus, the final sample included 13 empirical articles.

Seven of the 13 selected articles were quantitative, out of which two articles used the same sample: Yehuda et al. (2007) and Friedman et al. (2009). Five additional articles were qualitative, and one was based on mixed methods. The number of respondents ranged from 10 to 46 in the qualitative and from 80 to 380 in the quantitative studies. Six were conducted in Israel, four in the United States, one in Australia, one in both Israel and the United States, and one in both the United States and Canada. Note that the findings were not discussed in light of the geographical variation due to the lack of data. See Figure 1 for an overview of the selection process.

Thematic Analysis

Next, we conducted a multistage thematic analysis on the articles that had met the inclusion criteria (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun et al., 2018). After all authors read them several times to familiarize themselves with the data and identify initial ideas, each was entered into the Maxqda software (version 18) (<https://www.maxqda.com/>). In the following stage, the articles were thoroughly reviewed for initial categories. Next, these categories were grouped together to form potential themes. Finally, some of these themes were removed or revised, while new categories were added.

Results

Descriptive Data

Participants' characteristics. The studies in this review included Orthodox Jewish adults, women and men, who were abused in childhood or adulthood, perpetrators, professionals, community members and adult participants from the general population. See Table 1 for an overview of participant characteristics.

Abuse characteristics. Abuse severity ranged from showing pornographic images to rape. Most perpetrators were males and known to the victim. Victims were mostly female or in the same prevalence in both genders and tended to experience the abuse especially in prepuberty. See Table 2 for an overview of abuse characteristics. See Table 3 for descriptive information about the articles included in the final sample reviewed including methods and results.

Table 1. Characteristics of Participants in the Reviewed Studies.

Characteristics	Description
Sample type	Adults from the general population (6), adults who have been sexually abused (2), perpetrators (3), professionals (2), and community and family figures (1).
Gender	Women only (4), men only (4), and both (5).
Religiosity	All articles dealt with Orthodox Jewish adults, including ultra-Orthodox, modern Orthodox, and formerly Orthodox. One included secular Jews and one included other religious streams of Judaism.

Note. The number of relevant articles in the review are given in parentheses.

Table 2. Characteristics of the Abuse in the Reviewed Studies.

Characteristics	Description
Severity of abuse	Ranging from showing pornographic images through touching sexual organs to attempted rape and genital contact/penetration.
Victims' gender	Rosmarin et al. (2018) reported no gender prevalence differences in the general Jewish population; Eisen and Berman (2018) found that three quarters of the victims in the OJC were female.
Victims' age	From 4 to 21 years at the time of abuse, incidence was higher in younger ages, especially in prepuberty.
Perpetrators' gender	Mostly male. One study included both genders (Eisen & Berman, 2018).
Perpetrators' age	Age at first offense ranged from 8 to 40+ years, with highest likelihood to start during adolescence. Younger age at first abuse associated with higher incidence, ranging from a onetime incident to acts recurring dozens of times.
Perpetrator-victim familiarity	Ranging from relatives and educational figures through peers and older acquaintances to complete strangers. Most perpetrators were known to the victim.

Note. OJC = Orthodox Jewish community.

Themes

Three main themes emerged from the analysis: (1) disclosure of the abuse, (2) perceptions and attitudes toward sexual abuse, and (3) implications of the abuse. Note that whereas some of the topics discussed in the articles were similar to the general literature, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) following child sexual abuse (CSA), others were uniquely related to the OJC context, such as the victims' difficulty to disclose due to the lack of words for describing sexual body parts arising from religious prohibitions.

Disclosure of sexual abuse. Disclosure of sexual abuse was addressed in eight articles (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein &

Table 3. Description of Reviewed Articles.

Study	Objectives	Methodology	Sample size	Sample Characteristics	Results
Tishelman and Fontes (2017), USA	Examine religious influences on children's sexual abuse experiences, their relationships to child advocacy centers (CACs), and their disclosures in the forensic setting.	Qualitative in-depth interviews	39 professionals	Child forensic interviewers and CAC directors, currently working in 22 states.	Themes related to abuse in religious contexts and religious justifications for abuse, religious supports for and suppression of disclosures, the ways CACs accommodate religious diversity, and collaborate with clergy. Half the sexual abuse victims changed became more secular. In addition, they exhibited elevated psychiatric symptoms and lower well-being than the comparison group.
Ben Ezra et al. (2010), Israel	Examine the impact of sexual trauma on changes in religiosity, subjective health, and mental health among Jewish women sexual abuse victims.	Quantitative survey	111 Women	51 Sexual trauma victims and 60 women without a history of psychological trauma, matched on age, religion, and marital status.	Sexual abuse was reported by 26%, with 16% abused by age 13. Ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) Jews reported more abuse than modern-Orthodox Jews. Women raised observant reported significantly less childhood sexual abuse than those who became observant later. Sexual abuse was associated with increased treatment seeking for depression, marital counseling, or other emotional or psychological problems.
Yehuda et al. (2007), USA	Examine instances of past sexual abuse and related demographic characteristics in the self-reports of a select group of married observant Jewish women.	Quantitative survey	380 Women	Orthodox Jewish married women aged 19–58.	Considerable reduction in the fear of exposure by victims and other community members, change among community leaders, some of whom initially objected to reporting and treatment, introducing an alternative community dialogue advocating reporting and treatment, and increase in reports and people in treatment.
Boehm and Itzhaky (2004), Israel	Examine whether a social marketing approach is an effective motivator for communities to report child sexual abuse and for victims to seek treatment.	Qualitative in-depth interviews	21 Participants	5 Social workers, 4 community leaders, 7 ordinary citizens, 3 and 2 representatives of victims' and assailants' families, respectively, from an ultra-Orthodox Jewish community (OJC).	(1) Over one quarter reported abuse prior to age 18. (2) Individuals who were abused more frequently had the highest PTSD rates. (3) Individuals with sexual abuse history had the highest rates of hypersexuality. (4) Religiosity moderated the sexual abuse—hypersexuality linkage.
Fagin (2015), USA	Examine the prevalence and multilayered impact of childhood sexual abuse of adult male victims in the OJC.	Mixed methods	Over 100 men	Orthodox Jewish men from various community blogs, local religious school, Hasidic* organization, and local community.	

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Study	Objectives	Methodology	Sample size	Sample Characteristics	Results
Friedman et al. (2009), USA	An empirical investigation of the sexual life of observant Jewish women.	Quantitative survey	380 Women	Almost two thirds of women were observant since childhood and the rest grew up in secular homes and chose to become observant. 55% identified themselves as modern-Orthodox, 35% as Yeshiva/Agudah and 10% as Hassidic (different subgroups within the OJC). Ages: 19–58.	Observant and secular American women did not differ in the prevalence of sexual abuse. Observant Jewish women who have serious religious questions about sexual matters currently do not turn to religious personnel for counsel.
Zalberg (2017), Israel	Examine reporting patterns of sexual abuse in males in a religious-cultural context through a case study of ultra-Orthodox Jewish men victimized at a young age.	Qualitative in-depth interviews	40 Men	Men from the entire spectrum of Ashkenazi Haredi groups who experienced sexual abuse. Ages: 18–44.	Sexual abuse was underreported. When it was, disclosure partners were parents, educational-religious figures, and friends. Silencing of matters related to sexuality, viewing sexual abuse in boys as taboo, and encouraging blind obedience—all of which characterize Haredi society—were factors in the underreporting. Finally, there was a strong tendency to cover-up sexual abuse incidents on the individual, family, and community levels.
Witztum et al. (2012), Israel	Examine the prevalence of a history of trauma and organic vulnerabilities among Jewish Haredi male pedophiles.	Quantitative self-report validated by reports by educators, parents, and medical staff	46 Men	Jewish Haredi male pedophiles referred for clinical evaluation by Haredi community leaders with no connection to the forensic system.	82.6% of participants were victims of sexual trauma as children and 87% suffered from some kind of organic vulnerability (learning disabilities, disinhibitions, etc.).
Hamo and Idisis (2017), Israel	Explore thought patterns of Jewish Ashkenazi Haredi pedophiles and how they resolve the contradiction between their commitment to Jewish law and having committed sexual offenses against minors.	Qualitative in-depth interviews	10 Men	Ashkenazi Haredi men sexually abused as minors and currently with pedophilia. Ages: 21–55.	Participants used cognitive distortions based on Jewish law and social-cultural values. The insular nature and prohibitions of Haredi society, especially regarding sexuality, tempted offenders to test boundaries. When sexual drive was high, internal control mechanisms were ineffective even in the presence of external control mechanisms. Some recognized the contradiction between their acts and being Haredi; others did not.

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Study	Objectives	Methodology	Sample size	Sample Characteristics	Results
Epstein and Crisp (2018), Australia	Explore teacher accounts of the impact of the J-Safe Protective Behaviors Teacher Training Pilot Project. J-Safe addresses the gap in the provision of child protection programs in the Australian Jewish community.	Qualitative in-depth interviews	Two Jewish day schools	All school staff who had participated in the J-Safe training.	The project contributed to teachers' knowledge and supports skill development in the areas of incidence, behavioral indicators, and responding to disclosure. Participants suggested the training had relevance for the Jewish teaching context.
Rosmarin et al. (2018), USA and Canada	Examine sexual abuse, mental health, and religion in a religiously diverse sample of male and female Jewish adults.	Quantitative survey	372 Men and women	Jewish adult men and women from four religious groups: 100 raised and remained Orthodox, 98 raised non-Orthodox and became Orthodox, 138 raised and remained non-Orthodox, and 36 formerly Orthodox. Ages: 18-83.	Child sexual abuse occurred across the spectrum of Jewish religious affiliation with higher prevalence among formerly Orthodox individuals. Furthermore, history of abuse was associated with greater risk of psychiatric distress and less religious involvement. Spiritual/religious engagement and belief appeared to facilitate resilience in the context of abuse.
Feinson and Meir (2015), Israel	Explore religiosity's relevance to the relation between any child abuse and current mental health of adult Jewish women.	Quantitative survey	500 Women	Community-based sample of adult Jewish women with sizable subsamples of Haredi and secular Jews. Ages: 20+.	Abusive traumas in childhood may seriously compromise religiosity's potential to mitigate long-term mental health consequences.
Eisen and Berman (2018), Israel and USA	Examine situational factors associated with juvenile perpetration in the OJC.	Quantitative survey	80 Forms with victims' data from 18 therapists	Therapists who provide psychotherapeutic services to victims of child sexual abuse in the OJCs in both the USA and Israel.	More abusers' first perpetration would be between ages 12 and 17. Among juvenile perpetrators, the time of day of the abuse would depend on the relationship of the offender to the victim. Younger victims tended to have higher frequency of abuse.

Note. PTSD = post-traumatic stress disorder. * implies an ultra-Orthodox stream.

Crisp, 2018; Fagin, 2015; Friedman et al., 2009; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Tishelman & Fontes, 2017; Yehuda et al., 2007; Zalcborg, 2017), of which five were qualitative and three quantitative; five dealt with CSA. Four focused on the victim's point of view (Fagin, 2015; Friedman et al., 2009; Yehuda et al., 2007; Zalcborg, 2017), one on the perpetrator's (Hamo & Idisis, 2017), and three on that of professionals working with victims (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Tishelman & Fontes, 2017). All referred to the role of the community and community leaders in the disclosure process. The articles dealt with universal and contextual factors under three subthemes: (1) delay or absence of disclosure, (2) individuals to whom the abuse was disclosed, and (3) responses to the disclosure.

As in the general literature (e.g., Tener & Murphy, 2015), all articles dealt with *delay or absence of disclosure* by the victim but also offered unique religious-cultural characteristics that might cause it. Some of the victims mentioned not being aware that the sexual interaction they had experienced was abusive (Zalcborg, 2017). Others found it difficult even to name sexual abuse (Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Hamo & Idisis, 2017). Children in particular found it difficult to find anyone to whom they could disclose because all the adults in their lives had some kind of relationship with the perpetrator (Tishelman & Fontes, 2017).

Some of the participants feared they would not be believed by others, and as children did not perceive adults as helpful in a case of distress (Fagin, 2015; Zalcborg, 2017). Others, in both childhood and adulthood, were afraid of being stigmatized as sinful, experiencing deep feelings of shame and guilt. This was particularly true of male victims culturally perceived as more responsible for the abuse (Witztum, 2012; Yehuda et al., 2007; Zalcborg, 2017).

Victims as well as perpetrators referred to the atmosphere of secrecy in the community, especially with regard to sexuality (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcborg, 2017), or in the words of one participant, "In the Haredi world, life is one big secret . . . my mouth was automatically sealed" (Zalcborg, 2017, p. 596). In terms of familial barriers, some wanted to spare their parents any distress and explained that the entire family could be stigmatized, which could affect future chances of good matrimonial matches for the victim and other family members (Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcborg, 2017).

With regard to the *individuals to whom the abuse was disclosed*, when victims did disclose, they did it usually individuals close to them such as parents, religious-educational figures, friends, and siblings, in cases of CSA (Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Zalcborg, 2017), as well as in general cases of sexual abuse (Yehuda et al., 2007). Zalcborg (2017) indicated that the CSA victims tended to disclose more to parents and less to religious-educational figures. Epstein and Crisp (2018) found that none of the teachers participating in their study had found themselves in a position where they believed they needed to respond to a case of abuse. In some cases, CSA victims disclosed to friends immediately or shortly after the abuse, considering them a possible source of support and empathy (Zalcborg, 2017). Sometimes the disclosure was by the

perpetrator himself (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Hamo & Idisis, 2017), in which case they disclosed usually to religious leaders of the community or professionals in case of self-referral to treatment (Witztum et al., 2012).

In examining *responses to the disclosure*, the articles addressed parents, religious figures, and the community in general, mainly with regard to CSA cases (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Fagin, 2015; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcborg, 2017). Regarding parents, Zalcborg (2017) indicated different responses in childhood, ranging from blaming the victim or feigned ignorance of victim's emotional state to expressions of pain and grief.

The review found that educational figures were central to the disclosure process of both victims and perpetrators. Some CSA victims mentioned that the reaction of the leaders to the disclosure focused on Jewish religious law, particularly the prohibition on extramarital sexual acts, while ignoring the victim's emotional distress (Zalcborg, 2017). Conversely, Tishelman and Fontes (2017) found that child advocacy center professionals perceived rabbis' involvement in the intervention process as a highly beneficial "support piece" (p. 124).

With regard to perpetrators, religious leaders sometimes suspended them temporarily from participating in the community's social life, reprimanding and shaming, and even geographically distancing them (Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcborg, 2017). Another unique response was to focus on the perpetrator's "repentance" by referring him to treatment, sometimes at the expense of treating the victim (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalcborg, 2017). For example, one participant, who sexually abused a girl as a minor, shared:

The girl did not file a complaint with the police. Her family contacted me but only regarding therapy. There was a time when they even helped financially [. . .]. The Rabbinic Head of our sect was the one who arranged for me to get help . . . only my father knew. (Hamo & Idisis, 2017, p. 413)

As for the community's role in the process, victims and perpetrators, professionals, and community figures indicated hesitation or resistance to reporting the abuse to either professionals or law enforcement authorities outside the community out of fear of violating community codes and of stigmatization, distrust of external outside authorities, or unawareness of services available for help (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Fagin, 2015; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Tishelman & Fontes, 2017; Zalcborg, 2017). In some extreme sects, reporting to the police about *any* crime committed by community members is strictly forbidden out of a sense of solidarity—the need to protect the community's cohesion and reputation against perceived external secular threats (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Hamo & Idisis, 2017). Conversely, Epstein and Crisp (2018) found an opposite trend, pointing to the high readiness of the educational staff in Jewish schools in Australia to report CSA cases to the authorities and encourage student disclosure. Important to mention that all of the above refers to CSA cases.

Perceptions and attitudes toward sexual abuse. Five articles focused on perceptions and attitudes regarding sexual abuse, mainly CSA, from the perspectives of victims (Zalberg, 2017), perpetrators (Hamo & Idisis, 2017), and community members (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Fagin, 2015; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalberg, 2017), of which four were qualitative and one was mixed methods.

The perspectives of victims ranged in CSA cases from failing to define or understand what happened as abuse to acknowledging the abusive nature of the event; as one of Zalberg's (2017) participants said, "I had no idea what he wanted from me" (p. 595). On the other hand, Witztum et al. (2012) suggested in his discussion that some victims consider acts they have experienced as a violation of sexual modesty (such as kissing each other on the mouth) to be sexual abuse. Some of the participants who were abused as children as well as in advanced age felt shame and guilt stemming from the perception of the abuse as a perversion and taboo: "I thought they [the parents] would think I am a pervert and would blame me" (Zalberg, 2017, p. 596). Accordingly, abused women who tended to perceive the abuse as more shameful and stigmatizing showed exacerbation of the change in faith (becoming more or less religious), which can be explained in light of the lack of acceptance and blame by the community members (Ben Ezra et al., 2010).

With regard to *perpetrators perceptions*, the participants in Hamo and Idisis' (2017) study gave three main explanation for their act. First, denying that the abuse was prohibited under Jewish law, for example, "I asked myself what crime there was in it [...] there is a crime about sexual intercourse with men, but there is no crime in looking" (p. 479). Second, belittling the severity of the acts in terms of religious prohibition. For example, while the prohibition concerning sexual acts outside of marriage with females is often discussed in the community, the lack of discourse about CSA may convey the message that this is a less serious prohibition in some cases: "I didn't think it was so wrong when it comes to boys But about girls I always knew it was horrible" (p. 417). Third, perceiving sexual abuse as a result of external influence, whether divine or demonic—or both, as in the following quote: "God created me this way [. . .]. I felt raped, as if it's not me, but someone else. As if [it were] a *dibbuk* [malicious possessing spirit]" (p. 419).

Five articles dealt with *community perceptions* in case of CSA, including silencing the victim, ignorance, underreporting to authorities, and even preventing any involvement by law enforcement and welfare authorities as involving others outside the community with intimate issues was deemed unacceptable (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Fagin, 2015; Hamo & Idisis, 2017; Zalberg, 2017). Boehm and Itzhaky (2004, p. 257) detailed more specific perceptions, such as "disclosure and dealing with the issue are contrary to the religious commandments," "exposure and treatment of the subject will taint the reputation of assailants and victims alike," and "opening the subject for discussion and treatment jeopardizes the chances of both assailants and victims to find a marriage partner and a proper career path."

Despite these attitudes, many participants believed that within the Jewish community, there was a broad misunderstanding of the prevalence of the phenomenon of CSA: "I think some people certainly hold the view that it is not as prevalent [as in non-Jewish communities]," leading to a false sense of security (Epstein & Crisp, 2018, p. 532). Participants also referred to the lack of proper and formalized education regarding signs and symptoms of abuse and felt that teachers, rabbis, and communal leaders were ill-equipped to deal with allegations of abuse (Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Fagin, 2015).

Four articles addressed the social change in the OJC in terms of awareness of CSA in all countries mentioned in this review, particularly in terms of rabbis' attitudes, growing discourse between young people and their parents, prevention programs, less fear of reporting, and growing numbers of victims receiving treatment—all thanks to collaborations between professionals and community leaders (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018; Tishelman & Fontes, 2017; Zalberg, 2017). Specifically, two studies focused on the way intervention programs influenced community perceptions in terms of understanding its responsibility following disclosure and learning to identify CSA (Boehm & Itzhaky, 2004; Epstein & Crisp, 2018). They emphasized the importance of cultural sensitivity in those interventions and offered strategies; for instance, in Tishelman and Fontes (2017), several community advocacy center professionals suggested matching the interviewer's gender with that of the child victim.

With regard to all parties involved, perceptions are reflected through *unique linguistic features*, using Jewish sources from the Torah and the Talmud. For example, in Hamo and Idisis (2017), perpetrators used various biblical prohibitions to describe what they had violated, such as "Do not stray after your hearts and after your eyes" (Numbers 15: 39) and "You shall be holy because I am the Lord your God" (Leviticus, 19: 2; p. 414). They also used the Talmudic term *Yetzer Hara*, the evil inclination that represents an external power luring one to negative behaviors. Boehm and Itzhaky (2004) described how a rabbi used biblical texts and religious teachings to discuss the important role of professionals in intervening with sexual abuse, with emphasis on CSA.

Implications of the Abuse

Implications of the abuse were examined in six articles: two qualitative and four quantitative; five from the victims' and one from professionals' points of view. The articles dealt with two main implications: mental and religious.

All six articles dealt with *mental implications* of CSA and sexual abuse in general (Ben Ezra et al., 2010; Fagin, 2015; Feinson & Meir, 2015; Friedman et al., 2009; Rosmarin et al., 2018; Yehuda et al., 2007). All emphasized that similar to the general population, sexual abuse victims from the OJC reported being more stigmatized, having lower subjective health and well-being, and being more likely to seek mental health treatment, hypersexual behavior, and higher PTSD symptoms.

Table 4. Critical Findings.

-
- 1 *Disclosure of sexual abuse* in Jewish-Orthodox society is usually absent or delayed, partly due to concern for the community's reputation and difficulty addressing the event as an abuse. Victims tend to disclose to relatives, educational figures, and friends, whose reactions range from empathy to victim blaming while focusing on the perpetrator's needs.
 - 2 *The victims and community's perceptions* range from acknowledging to unawareness or inability to address or define the abuse. *Perpetrators' perceptions* include various justifications for sexual abuse.
 - 3 *Implications of the sexual abuse* are mainly negative, including stigmatization, hypersexuality, and higher PTSD symptoms. The abuse also leads to changes in religiosity in both directions, while religiosity can moderate PTSD symptoms.
-

Note. PTSD = post-traumatic stress disorder.

All articles also dealt with *religious implications*. Some dealt with the effect of religion and spirituality on the trauma, and some dealt with the impact of the trauma on religiosity and spirituality. With regard to the former, it was found that religion and spirituality moderated the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and negative outcomes such as PTSD and hypersexuality (Fagin, 2015; Feinson & Meir, 2015; Rosmarin et al., 2018).

With regard to the latter, two studies found that sexual abuse led to intensive secularization (Ben Ezra et al., 2010; Rosmarin et al., 2018). Participants in Rosmarin et al.'s (2018) study noted that social labeling was a significant factor in the fact that they had left the OJC, and the researchers interpreted this finding as demonstrating that the sexual abuse trauma shattered the core belief in a benevolent, controlled, and just world. On the other hand, Friedman et al. (2009) found high percentages of women who became closer to religion after sexual abuse, and Yehuda et al. (2007) found a high percentage of newly religious respondents after sexual abuse. The researchers explained this phenomenon in terms of the victims' desire for clear boundaries and motivation to seek out a more structured and sexually restricted adult life. A third possibility, suggested by Rosmarin et al. (2018), is that traumatic events and sexual abuse in particular may be associated with changes in religious identity in general, whether marked by increase or decrease in faith and observance. A summary of critical findings is provided in Table 4.

Discussion

The aim of this systematic literature review was to examine and describe the empirical literature regarding sexual abuse in OJCs. The review revealed three main themes: disclosing the abuse, perceptions and attitudes toward sexual abuse, and implications of the abuse. Notably, although the OJC is a unique culture, even among other closed communities, most of the findings concerning sexual abuse within it are similar to the general literature. This tentatively suggests that whereas of the findings are specifically grounded in the context of closed

collective or religious societies and the OJC in particular, sexual abuse is an essentially universal experience. Importantly, most of the findings in the review relate to CSA, whereas some relate to sexual abuse in general.

The first theme was *disclosure* of the abuse including barriers for disclosure, recipients of disclosure, and responses to disclosure. Most of the findings were consistent with the general literature on sexual abuse, including absence or delay of disclosure to significant others, while in CSA cases, even until adulthood, disclosure remained a complex ongoing process largely influenced by ethno-cultural contexts (Draucker & Martsof, 2008; Somer & Szwarcberg, 2001; Tener & Murphy, 2015; Tillman et al., 2010; Ullman et al., 2008). Barriers to disclosure described in the OJC also resemble the general literature and connected to the second theme in this review about the perception of the abuse, including the finding that victims found themselves questioning whether what happened constituted abuse (Lab & Moore, 2005). This is specifically so in close communities due to lack of sexuality socialization and inability to label a potentially abusive situation as such or define the activity (Flynn, 2008; Kenny et al., 2008). Victims also tend to feel that the abuse was a source of shame casting them as deviant (Alaggia, 2005; Deitz et al., 2015; Draucker & Martsof, 2008; Isely et al., 2008; Tillman et al., 2010), that their stories would affect their social standing, that they would not be believed and would be blamed (Donalek, 2001; Walsh et al., 2010), or that they would hurt their families (Alaggia, 2005; Draucker & Martsof, 2008; Hunter, 2011; Mize et al., 1995). The uniqueness of their OJC identity, as in other closed or religious communities, was mostly apparent in community aspects, such as the fear of ruining the family and community's reputation, where the effect of shame is seen to project on the entire group and not just an individual (Abrahams & Hoey, 1994; Fontes, 2007; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999).

In the case of victims, it appears that disclosure involves the perceived risk not only of damage to community reputation but also of sacrilege. We found some specific religious prohibitions on disclosure mentioned in nonempirical sources (Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017; Resnicoff, 2012; Salamon, 2011), as well as sources from our review (Fagin, 2015; Zalberg, 2017). They are captured in the concepts of *Mesira* and *Leshon Hara*—religious prohibitions against reporting to secular authorities. The term *Mesira*, which literally means delivery (in the sense of betrayal to others), derives from the historical risk of Jewish communities when governments were often hostile to Jews, and delivering a Jew to the authorities could lead to injustice and even death (Broyde, 2002). *Leshon Hara* (literally “slander”) captures the abovementioned reputational risk but couches it in religious legal terms.

As in the general literature, when victims in the OJC do disclose, they tend to disclose to three main recipients: parents, educational figures, and close friends (Ahrens et al., 2007; Denov, 2003; Draucker & Martsof, 2008; Hunter, 2011; Isely et al., 2008; Jonzon & Lindblad, 2004; Sorsoli et al., 2008; Starzynski et al., 2005). The general literature indicates the key role of professionals in the process including counselors,

doctors, and psychiatrists (Ahrens et al., 2009; Deering & Mellor, 2011; Draucker & Martsolf, 2008; Hunter, 2011; Isely et al., 2008; Jonzon & Lindblad, 2004; Sorsoli et al., 2008). This role may be equivalent to educational or rabbinical figures who are seen in the OJC as counselor figures (Trub & Elias, 2007). On the other hand, our review indicated that in the OJC, disclosing to secular professionals rather than to religious figures was rare, maybe out of fear that secular professionals would not be sensitive to values important to the community (Band-Winterstein & Freund, 2013; Fass & Lazar, 2011; Margolese, 1998; Popovsky, 2010; Stolovy et al., 2013; Sublette & Trappler, 2000). The various responses to disclosure were also similar to the general literature on sexual abuse and ranged from criticism and blaming the victim to empathy and care (DePrince et al., 2017; Tener & Murphy, 2015). As in empirical findings on other religious communities, members of the OJC tended to minimize the damage caused to victims and focus their efforts and support on the alleged perpetrator (Fogler et al., 2008; Harper & Perkins, 2018; Yuvarajan & Stanford, 2016).

In this review, victims felt their experiences had no space for acknowledgment. It may be that sexual abuse in the OJC is defined as religious and moral offense rather than interpersonal transgression. Thus, efforts are made to help the perpetrator repent in order to prevent damage to the reputation of the family and the community (Ben-Meir & Levavi, 2010) as well as to prevent religious and spiritual damage more generally. This approach is not intended to hurt victims of sexual abuse but is rather a result of viewing the victims as less harmed than the perpetrators who have committed such an immoral act (not necessarily terms of Jewish religious law; Berkovits, 2017).

The second theme was the victims, perpetrators, and community's *perceptions* of the abuse. The victims' perceptions were already discussed above with regard to the disclosure theme. The perpetrators' perceptions, largely discussed with relation to CSA cases, were similar to those of members of other religious communities. They tended to pervert the meaning of Jewish laws and exploited them for their own criminal purposes. Similar distortion was found in studies on Catholic priests (Rossetti, 1990; Saradjian & Nobus, 2003). For example, they believed that sex with a male child or adolescent did not count as a sin since the religious prohibition focused on relations with women. In addition, same as in our review, sometimes they did not perceive child abuse as a crime, but as a "moral error."

As for community perceptions, the present review corroborates literature on closed or religious societies, particularly Jewish ones (Farrell & Taylor, 2000; Itzhaky & York, 2001; Katzenstein & Fontes, 2017). It describes how they tend to silence the abuse, doubt the victims, and prevent disclosure and formal therapy since acknowledging the "deviant" threatens the community's validity, integrity, and patriarchal norms (e.g., Abu-Baker, 2013; Bruns et al., 2005; Harper & Perkins, 2018; Minto et al., 2016; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999; Sheldon & Parent, 2002; Yuvarajan & Stanford, 2016) and its hierarchical structure and social control, as well as its members'

reputation (Neustein & Leshner, 2008; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2016). In some cases, absence of response is due to lack of awareness of the prevalence and characteristics of the phenomenon among community members (Schmid & Benbenishty, 2011). Moreover, in CSA cases, when the perpetrator is an authority figure, victims and community members might assume that it is impossible for him to do wrong or inflict harm (Frawley-O'Dea, 2004; Goldner, 2004; Wells, 2003) and are therefore more likely to be skeptical about the victims' allegations (Minto et al., 2016).

The third theme, the *implications* of sexual abuse for victims from the OJC, also bears similarities to the general literature. Sexual abuse victims reported being more stigmatized, having lower subjective health and well-being, and being more likely to seek mental health treatment, hypersexuality, and higher PTSD symptoms (Campbell et al., 2008; Edwards et al., 2003; Gal et al., 2011; Hakimi et al., 2018). The current review particularly emphasized another aspect discussed in the general literature: changes in religiosity, in becoming more religious (Bogar & Hulse-Killacky, 2006; Tarakeshwar et al., 2006), becoming less religious (Isely et al., 2008; Kennedy & Drebing, 2002; Reinert & Edwards, 2009), or in shifting spiritual expressions (Flynn, 2008). Furthermore, the review indicated that religiosity or spirituality could moderate the development of post-traumatic symptoms or symptoms associated with other disorders, as mentioned in the general literature (Bryant-Davis et al., 2011; Doxey et al., 1997; Gall, 2006; Gall et al., 2007).

Limitations

As mentioned above, the paucity of empirical research on the subject has resulted in significant variety in the studies' samples and methodologies. Some studies were exclusively focused on the OJC, while others also included participants from other communities. Furthermore, the studies reviewed included perceptions of adult participants who reported on their experiences, lacking the voices of children and adolescents reporting their abuse.

Another limitation has to do with the term "Orthodox," which includes a wide range of religious lifestyles and community structures. Moreover, there are differences in the way it is perceived in different contexts, even within the same family or community (Schnall, 2006). The articles reviewed used different definitions for religious affiliation, making it difficult to consistently characterize the Orthodox community.

Third, while most of the reviewed studies measured sexual abuse using detailed questionnaires referring also to the type of sexual abuse, others used dichotomous questions for indicating only whether abuse had taken place (e.g., Feinson & Meir, 2015) or were based on self-reports (e.g., Witzum et al., 2012).

Fourth, the current review is limited in its ability to distinguish between contextual factors. Geographically, it only includes studies conducted in Australia, Israel, and North America, and the differences and similarities between the different communities are unclear. This raises the need for further comparative research on OJCs in different parts of the world.

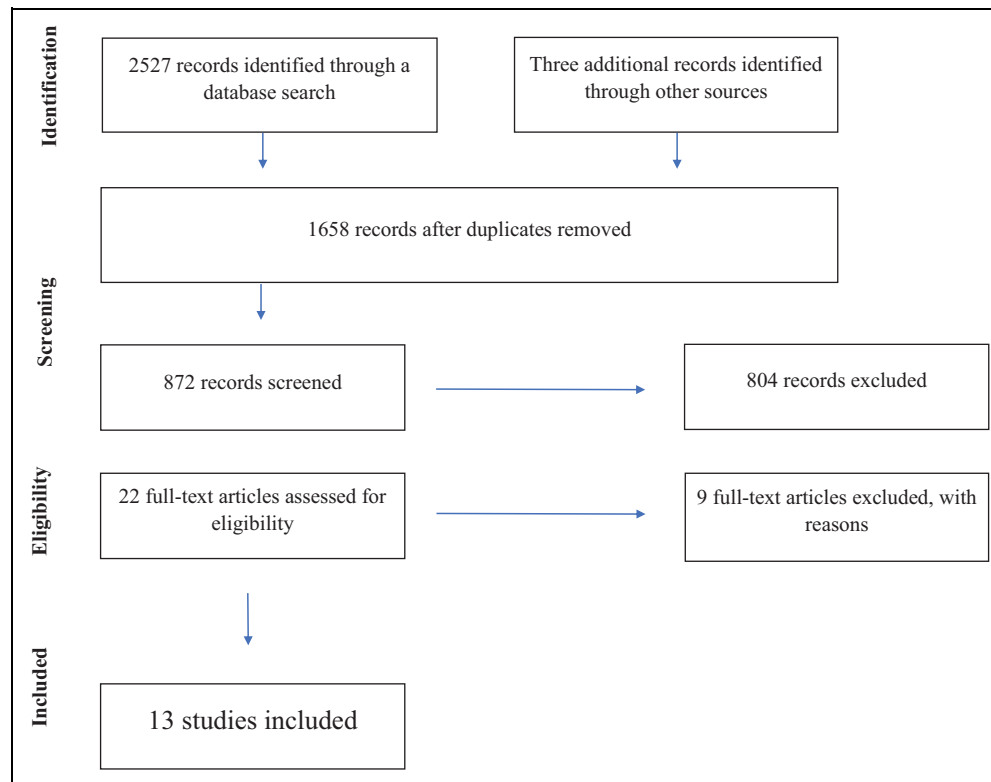


Figure 1. Literature review according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) statement.

Another contextual factor absent from the current review is gender. Studies of single-gender samples in our review addressed sexual abuse of ultra-Orthodox males as a phenomenon with unique cultural contexts with unique delay explanations. In their clinical article, Katzenstein and Fontes (2017) note that according to data from the district attorney's office in Brooklyn, in contrast to general society, and even other closed communities (Edelman, 2014), in the OJC, sexual abuse of males is more prevalent. They propose several explanations, such as easier access to boys. More research is needed to assess whether these unique conditions increase the frequency of abuse of ultra-Orthodox males and whether the unisex environment affects women similarly. Further, the current review deals overwhelmingly with male perpetrators, while social media are also focused on female perpetrators, such as the case of Malka Leifer, a principal in an ultra-Orthodox seminar for girls in Australia (Milligant, 2017). Rare reference to female sexual perpetrators is also typical of the general literature (Turchik et al., 2016).

Furthermore, within the disclosure theme, the reasons for the delay were mainly described as related to personal, familial, and communal barriers. Yet more attention should be addressed to the contextual factor of the systemic barrier. Victims may encounter unsupportive legal, medical, and social service systems that are not necessarily aware of cultural sensitivities and which may even cause secondary victimization (Campbell et al., 2001).

Sixth, in term of diversity, none of the studies reviewed has addressed how sexual abuse in the OJC intersects with people in

the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or questioning (LGBTQ) or disability populations (Todahl et al., 2009; Wissink et al., 2015). Examining the intersectionality of these unique contexts with the religious context is particularly interesting in light of the fact that the Orthodox ritual contains extensive reference to these issues, which may reveal unique meanings.

Finally, while the general literature extensively discusses the inherent perceived power relations between religious authority figures such as priests and the victims as facilitating abuse (e.g., Fogler et al., 2008), the focus of the articles of this review was on the community power structures and the victims with limited reference to perpetrator–victim power relations. More research is needed on this topic.

Implications

Although many of the questions concerning sexual abuse among OJC members remain unclear, partly due to the dearth of studies, they can still provide preliminary insights into professional therapy work with this community. It appears some of the victim and community experiences are similar to those described in the general empirical literature on sexual abuse, as well those dealing with closed or religious communities. The findings of the current review also emphasize the intersectional nature of this phenomenon (Nadan et al., 2015; National Association of Social Workers, 2015), including intersecting aspects such as the victim's internal world, his relationship with the community and the perpetrator, the community's relationship

with the perpetrator, the community's relationship with the external secular world, the religious context, help-seeking behaviors and interactions with systems, and outcomes (Al'Uq-dah et al., 2016; Burnette, 2015). For example, when we speak about the way that the abuse is perceived, there are many universal aspects and yet it is important to explore the unique contextual nuances of the perpetrators' cognitive or emotional distortions or the unique cultural aspects encouraging the victims' self-blame. Understanding those nuances will improve the treatment provided to this population.

Another important implication is related to the disclosure process and "abuse storying" (Draucker & Martsolf, 2008; Tener & Murphy, 2015). Our review emphasizes the preference of participants to disclose to spiritual/educational figures and the importance of culturally sensitive interventions (Band-Winterstein & Freund, 2013). It suggests the importance of working *with* educational figures and rabbis as community resilience agents with special knowledge and skills rather than viewing them an obstacle.

Furthermore, our research has shown that religiosity can function as either a resilience or a risk factor, and it is therefore important for professionals to recognize religion as central factor in their patient's life. Other OJC resilience factors that encourage treatment and interventions should also be examined.

Finally, note that this review is conducted in light of major sociological changes within the OJC affecting all subgroups, in the direction of greater contact with secular Jews and a desire to benefit from modernity. At the same time, there are also reactionary trends (Dayan, 2017; Zicherman & Kahaner, 2012). This understanding is important for practice as well as for research on ultra-Orthodox society, especially when we examine issues of society and welfare. A summary of implications for practice, policy, and research is provided.

Implications for Practice, Policy, and Research

- Some of the victim and community experiences are similar to those described in general empirical studies on sexual abuse, as well those dealing with closed or religious communities.
- The findings highlight the intersectional nature of sexual abuse and the multicontextual factors that shape victims' experiences. Next to the many universal aspects that shape the perception of abuse, it is important to explore its unique contextual nuances in order to improve the treatment provided to this population.
- It is important to work with educational figures and rabbis as uniquely skilled community resilience agents rather than view them an obstacle. Since religiosity can function as either a resilience or a risk factor, professionals need to acknowledge religion and community as central in their patients' lives.
- Future research can benefit from the intersectionality approach and from acknowledging the major sociological changes affecting all OJC subgroups.

Authors' Note

All authors are members of *Nevet-Greenhouse* of Context-Informed Research and Training for Children in Need, an international and multidisciplinary research, and training venue that serves as a greenhouse for capacity building of young scholars and practitioners (website).



Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

ORCID iD

Efrat Lusky-Weisrose  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1232-0584>
Dafna Tener  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7688-3303>

References

- References marked with an asterisk indicate studies included in the meta-analysis.
- Abrahams, J., & Hoey, H. (1994). Sibling incest in a clergy family: A case study. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 18*, 1029–1035. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134\(94\)90128-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134(94)90128-7)
- Abu-Baker, K. (2013). Arab parents' reactions to child sexual abuse: A review of clinical records. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 22*(1), 52–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2013.744378>
- Ahrens, C. E., Cabral, G., & Abeling, S. (2009). Healing or hurtful: Sexual assault survivors' interpretations of social reactions from support providers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*(1), 81–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1471-6402.2008.01476.x>
- Ahrens, C. E., Campbell, R., Ternier-Thames, N. K., Wasco, S. M., & Sefl, T. (2007). Deciding whom to tell: Expectations and outcomes of rape survivors' first disclosures. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 31*(1), 38–49. <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1471-6402.2007.00329.x>
- Ahrens, C. E., Rios-Mandel, L. C., Isas, L., & del Carmen Lopez, M. (2010). Talking about interpersonal violence: Cultural influences on Latinas' identification and disclosure of sexual assault and intimate partner violence. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy, 2*(4), 284. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018605>
- Alaggia, R. (2005). Disclosing the trauma of child sexual abuse: A gender analysis. *Journal of Loss and Trauma, 10*(5), 453–470. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15325020500193895>
- Alessi, C., & Zevi, N. (2009, December 21). Child abuse in Orthodox Brooklyn: Chipping away at the wall of silence. *The Brooklyn Ink*. https://www.sfnjny.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=214:child-abuse-in-orthodox-brooklyn-chipping-away-at-a-wall-of-silence-&catid=2:news&Itemid=57
- Alisic, E., Zalta, A. K., Van Wesel, F., Larsen, S. E., Hafstad, G. S., Hassanpour, K., & Smid, G. E. (2014). Rates of post-traumatic stress disorder in trauma-exposed children and adolescents: Meta-analysis. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 204*(5), 335–340. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.113.131227>

- Al'Uqdah, S. N., Maxwell, C., & Hill, N. (2016). Intimate partner violence in the African American community: Risk, theory, interventions. *Journal of Family Violence, 31*, 877–884. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-016-9819-x>
- Band-Winterstein, T., & Freund, A. (2013). Is it enough to 'speak Haredi'? Cultural sensitivity in social workers encountering Jewish ultra-Orthodox clients in Israel. *The British Journal of Social Work, 45*(3), 968–987. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct167>
- Barzilai-Nahon, K., & Barzilai, G. (2005). Cultured technology: The Internet and religious fundamentalism. *The Information Society, 21*(1), 25–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01972240590895892>
- Bedihi, M. (2008). Characteristics, etiology and therapy for sexual offenses in the Haredi world. In H. Mahe, M. Hovava, & M. Golan (Eds.), *Addictions, violence and sexual offenses: Treatment in light of the law* [Hebrew] (pp. 458–477). Carmel.
- Ben Meir, H., & Levavi, Y. (2010). Unique aspects of treating child victims of sexual assault from the Haredi sector [Hebrew]. *Society and Welfare, 30*(3–4), 453–475.
- *Ben Ezra, M., Palgi, Y., Sternberg, D., Berkley, D., Eldar, H., Glidai, Y., Moshe, L., & Shrir, A. (2010). Losing my religion: A preliminary study of changes in belief pattern after sexual assault. *Traumatology, 16*(2), 7–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1534765609358465>
- Berkovits, S. M. (2017). Institutional abuse in the Jewish community. *Tradition, 50*(2), 11–49.
- *Boehm, A., & Itzhaky, H. (2004). The social marketing approach: A way to increase reporting and treatment of sexual assault. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 28*(3), 253–265. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2003.09.015>
- Bogar, C. B., & Hulse-Killacky, D. (2006). Resiliency determinants and resiliency processes among female adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 84*(3), 318–327. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2006.tb00411.x>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., Hayfield, N., & Terry, G. (2018). Thematic analysis. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of research methods in health social sciences* (pp. 1–18). Springer.
- Broyde, M. J. (2002). Informing on others for violating American law: Jewish law view. *Journal of Halacha and Contemporary Society, 43*(5), 5–48.
- Bruns, E. J., Lewis, C., Kinney, L. M., Rosner, L., Weist, M. D., & Dantzler, J. A. (2005). Clergy members as responders to victims of sexual abuse and assault. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought, 24*(3), 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1300/J377v24n03_02
- Bryant-Davis, T., Ullman, S. E., Tsong, Y., & Gobin, R. (2011). Surviving the storm: The role of social support and religious coping in sexual assault recovery of African American women. *Violence Against Women, 17*(12), 1601–1618. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1077801211436138>
- Burnette, C. (2015). Historical oppression and intimate partner violence experienced by indigenous women in the United States: Understanding connections. *Social Service Review, 89*, 531–563. <https://doi.org/10.1086/683336>
- Campbell, R., Greeson, M. R., Bybee, D., & Raja, S. (2008). The co-occurrence of childhood sexual abuse, adult sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and sexual harassment: A mediational model of posttraumatic stress disorder and physical health outcomes. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 76*(2), 194–207. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.76.2.194>
- Campbell, R., Wasco, S. M., Ahrens, C. E., Sefl, T., & Barnes, H. E. (2001). Preventing the “second rape” rape survivors’ experiences with community service providers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 16*(12), 1239–1259. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F088626001016012002>
- Coleman-Brueckheimer, K., Spitzer, J., & Koffman, J. (2009). Involvement of rabbinic and communal authorities in decision-making by Haredi Jews in the UK with breast cancer: An interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Social Science & Medicine, 68*(2), 323–333. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.10.003>
- Collins, C. M., O'Neill-Arana, M. R., Fontes, L. A., & Ossege, J. M. (2014). Catholicism and childhood sexual abuse: Women’s coping and psychotherapy. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 23*(5), 519–537. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2014.918071>
- Corwin, D. L., & Keeshin, B. R. (2011). Estimating present and future damages following child maltreatment. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics, 20*(3), 505–518. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chc.2011.03.005>
- Dale, K. A., & Alpert, J. L. (2007). Hiding behind the cloth: Child sexual abuse and the Catholic church. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 16*(3), 59–74. https://doi.org/10.1300/J070v16n03_04
- Dayan, H. (2017). Beyond the “Principle of Mediocrity”: The self-rejuvenating Haredi (Ultra-Orthodox) stream and its social-ethical challenges [Hebrew]. *Studies in Haredi Society, 5*, 1–34.
- Deering, R., & Mellor, D. (2011). An exploratory qualitative study of the self-reported impact of female-perpetrated childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 20*(1), 58–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2011.539964>
- Deitz, M. F., Williams, S. L., Rife, S. C., & Cantrell, P. (2015). Examining cultural, social, and self-related aspects of stigma in relation to sexual assault and trauma symptoms. *Violence Against Women, 21*(5), 598–615. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1077801215573330>
- Denov, M. S. (2003). The myth of innocence: Sexual scripts and the recognition of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators. *Journal of Sex Research, 40*(3), 303–314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490309552195>
- DePrince, A. P., Dmitrieva, J., Gagnon, K. L., & Srinivas, T. (2017). Women’s experiences of social reactions from informal and formal supports: Using a modified administration of the social reactions questionnaire. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 32*(12), 2149–2168. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260517742149>
- DiMauro, J., & Renshaw, K. D. (2018). Trauma-related disclosure in sexual assault survivors’ intimate relationships: Associations with PTSD, shame, and partners’ responses. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 33*(12), 2149–2168. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260518756117>
- Donalek, J. G. (2001). First incest disclosure. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 22*(6), 573–591. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01612840118152>

- Dorff, E. (2003). Jewish law and tradition regarding sexual abuse and incest. In R. Lev (Ed.), *Shine the light: Sexual abuse and healing in the Jewish community* (pp. 46–60). Northeastern University Press.
- Doxey, C., Jensen, L., & Jensen, J. (1997). The influence of religion on victims of childhood sexual abuse. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 7(3), 179–186. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327582ijpr0703_6
- Draucker, C. B., & Martsolf, D. S. (2008). Storying childhood sexual abuse. *Qualitative Health Research*, 18(8), 1034–1048. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1049732308319925>
- Edelman, S. (2014, August 10). Brooklyn DA exposes hidden Orthodox sex cases. *New York Post*. <http://nypost.com/2014/08/10/brooklyn-da-exposes-hidden-orthodox-sex-cases-kept-secret/>
- Edwards, V. J., Holden, G. W., Felitti, V. J., & Anda, R. F. (2003). Relationship between multiple forms of childhood maltreatment and adult mental health in community respondents: Results from the adverse childhood experiences study. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 160, 1453–1460. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.160.8.1453>
- Efrati, Y. (2019). God, I can't stop thinking about sex! The rebound effect in unsuccessful suppression of sexual thoughts among religious adolescents. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 56(2), 146–155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2018.1461796>
- Eidensohn, D., & Shulem, B. (2010). *Child and domestic abuse: Torah, psychology, and law perspectives* [Hebrew]. Emunah Press.
- *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(5), 537–553. <https://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(5), 523–536. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2018.1479724>
- Ettinger, Y., & Hasson, N. (2013, February 8). Breaking Israel's ultra-Orthodox taboo on discussing sexual abuse. *Haaretz*. <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/breaking-israel-s-ultra-Orthodox-taboo-on-discussing-sexual-abuse.premium-1.502383>
- *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 [Doctoral dissertation, Yeshiva University, New York]. <https://search.proquest.com/openview/950f5ee8ce84e36ac604a07ab171f4a1/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y>
- Farrell, D. P., & Taylor, M. (2000). Silenced by God: An examination of unique characteristics within sexual abuse by clergy. *Counseling Psychology Review*, 15(1), 22–31.
- Fass, H., & Lazar, R. (2011). Social work and the Haredi community in Israel: From rejection to acceptance as reflected in the narrative of a Haredi social worker. *Reflections*, 17(4), 32–38.
- *Feinson, M. C., & Meir, A. (2015). Exploring mental health consequences of childhood abuse and the relevance of religiosity. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 30(3), 499–521. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260514535094>
- Flynn, K. A. (2008). In their own voices: Women who were sexually abused by members of the clergy. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 17(3–4), 216–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538710802329684>
- 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(3–4), 301–328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538710802329874>
- Fontes, L. A. (2007). Sin vergüenza: Addressing shame with Latino victims of child sexual abuse and their families. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 16(1), 61–83. https://doi.org/10.1300/J070v16n01_04
- Fontes, L. A., Cruz, M., & Tabachnick, J. (2001). Views of child sexual abuse in two cultural communities: An exploratory study among African Americans and Latinos. *Child Maltreatment*, 6(2), 103–117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559501006002003>
- Fontes, L. A., & Plummer, C. (2010). Cultural issues in disclosures of child sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 19, 491–518. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2010.512520>
- Foyne, M. M., Platt, M., Hall, G. C. N., & Freyd, J. J. (2014). The impact of Asian values and victim-perpetrator closeness on the disclosure of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 6(2), 134–141. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032098>
- Frawley-O'Dea, M. G. (2004). Psychosocial anatomy of the Catholic sexual abuse scandal. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 5(2), 121–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15240650509349238>
- Friedman, M. (1991). *Ultra-Orthodox society: Sources, trends and processes* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.
- Friedman, M. (2006). “Silence” and “sayings” in the Haredi society. In H. Herzog & K. Lahad (Eds.), *Knowledge and silence: On mechanisms of denial and repression in Israeli society* [Hebrew] (pp. 113–119). Van Leer Institute & Hakibbutz Hameuchad.
- *Friedman, M., Labinsky, E., Rosenbaum, T., Schmeidler, J., & Yehuda, R. (2009). Observant married Jewish women and sexual life: An empirical study. *Conversations: Institute for Jewish Ideas and Ideals*, 5, 1–26.
- Gal, G., Levav, I., & Gross, R. (2011). Psychopathology among adults abused during childhood or adolescence: Results from the Israel-based world mental health survey. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 199(4), 222–229. <https://doi.org/10.1097/NMD.0b013e31820c7543>
- Gall, T. L. (2006). Spirituality and coping with life stress among adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 30(7), 829–844. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2006.01.003>
- Gall, T. L., Basque, V., Damasceno-Scott, M., & Vardy, G. (2007). Spirituality and the current adjustment of adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 46(1), 101–117. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5906.2007.00343.x>
- 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(1), 39–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F088610999601100104>
- Goldner, V. (2004). The sexual abuse crisis and the Catholic Church: Gender, sexuality, power and discourse. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 5(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15240650509349237>

- Goodman, Y., & Witztum, E. (2002). Cross-cultural encounters between care providers: Rabbis' referral letters to a psychiatric clinic in Israel. *Social Science & Medicine*, 55(8), 1309–1323. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(01\)00278-7](https://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. <https://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(5), 499–518. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2013.800935>
- Hakimi, D., Bryant-Davis, T., Ullman, S. E., & Gobin, R. L. (2018). Relationship between negative social reactions to sexual assault disclosure and mental health outcomes of black and white female survivors. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 10(3), 270. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/tra0000245>
- *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(4), 407–427. <https://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(1), 30–41. <https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2484>
- Hunter, S. V. (2011). Disclosure of child sexual abuse as a life-long process: Implications for health professionals. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 32(2), 159–172. <https://doi.org/10.1375/anft.32.2.159>
- Isely, P. J., Isely, P., Freiburger, J., & McMackin, R. (2008). In their own voices: A qualitative study of men abused as children by Catholic clergy. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 17(3-4), 201–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538710802329668>
- Itzhaky, H., & York, A. S. (2001). Child sexual abuse and incest: Community-based intervention. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 25(7), 959–972. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134\(01\)00249-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(01)00249-6)
- Jonzon, E., & Lindblad, F. (2004). Disclosure, reactions, and social support: Findings from a sample of adult victims of child sexual abuse. *Child Maltreatment*, 9(2), 190–200. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559504264263>
- Katz, Y., & Lehr, J. (2012). *Inside the ark*. Canadian Plains Research Centre Press.
- Katzenstein, D., & Fontes, L. A. (2017). Twice silenced: The under-reporting of child sexual abuse in Orthodox Jewish communities. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 26(6), 752–767. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2017.1336505>
- Kennedy, P., & Drebing, C. E. (2002). Abuse and religious experience: A study of religiously committed evangelical adults. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 5(3), 225–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674670110112695>
- Kenny, M., Capri, V., Thakkar-Kolar, R., Ryan, E., & Runyon, M. (2008). Child sexual abuse: From prevention to protection. *Child Abuse Review*, 17, 36–54. <https://doi.org/10.1002/car.1012>
- Khoury-Kassabri, M., Benbenishty, R., & Astor, R. A. (2005). The effects of school climate, socioeconomic, and cultural factors on student victimization in Israel. *Social Work Research*, 29(3), 165–180. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-004-7414-4>
- Lab, D. D., & Moore, E. (2005). Prevalence and denial of sexual abuse in a male psychiatric inpatient population. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 18, 323–330. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20036>
- Liberati, A., Altman, D. G., Tetzlaff, J., Mulrow, C., Gøtzsche, P. C., Ioannidis, J. P., Clarke, M., Devereaux, P. J., Kleijnen, J., & Moher, D. (2009). The PRISMA statement for reporting systematic reviews and meta-analyses of studies that evaluate health care interventions: Explanation and elaboration. *PLoS Medicine*, 6(7). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1000100>
- Lopiansky, A., Berman, Y., & Eisen, E. (2017). Child sexual abuse in the Frum Community—An overview. *Dialogue*, 7, 10–76. <https://dialoguemagazine.org/dialogue-7-summer-2017/>
- Maker, A. H., Kemmelmeier, M., & Peterson, C. (2001). Child sexual abuse, peer sexual abuse, and sexual assault in adulthood: A multi-risk model of revictimization. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 14(2), 351–368. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011173103684>
- Malloy, L. C., Lamb, M. E., & Katz, C. (2011). Children and the law: Examples of applied developmental psychology in action. In M. H. Bornstein & M. E. Lamb (Eds.), *Developmental science: An advanced textbook* (p. 645–686). Psychology Press.
- Mansbach-Kleinfeld, I., Ifrah, A., Apter, A., & Farbstein, I. (2015). Child sexual abuse as reported by Israeli adolescents: Social and health related correlates. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 40, 68–80. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.11.014>
- Margolese, H. C. (1998). Engaging in psychotherapy with the Orthodox Jew: A critical review. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 52(1), 37–53. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.psychother.apy.1998.52.1.37>
- 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(3), 159–169. <https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2280>
- 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(5), 526–537. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2015.1042182>
- Milligant, L. (2017, October 23). Malka Leifer: Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community Adass Israel investigated over accused principal's escape. *ABC News*. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-10-23/police-investigate-adass-jewish-community-on-abuse-principal/9071604>
- Minto, K., Hornsey, M. J., Gillespie, N., Healy, K., & Jetten, J. (2016). A social identity approach to understanding responses to child sexual abuse allegations. *PLoS ONE*, 11(4), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0153205>
- Mize, L. K., Bentley, B., Helms, S., Ledbetter, J., & Neblett, K. (1995). Surviving voices: Incest survivors' narratives of their process of disclosure. *Journal of Family Psychotherapy*, 6(4), 43–59. https://doi.org/10.1300/j085V06N04_04
- Nadan, Y., Roer-Strier, D., Gemara, N., Engdau-Vanda, S., & Tener, D. (2019). 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. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12513>
- Nadan, Y., Spilsbury, J. C., & Korbin, J. (2015). Culture and context in understanding child maltreatment: Contributions of intersectionality

- and neighborhood-based research. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 41, 40–48. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.10.021>
- National Association of Social Workers. (2015). Indicators for the achievement of the NASW standards for cultural competence in social work practice. Author.
- Neustein, A. (Ed.). (2009). *Tempest in the Temple: Jewish communities and child sex scandals*. Brandeis University Press.
- Neustein, A., & Leshner, M. (2008). A single-case study of rabbinic sexual abuse in the Orthodox Jewish community. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 17(3–4), 270–289. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538710802329783>
- Parkinson, P. (2014). Child sexual abuse and the churches: A story of moral failure? *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 26(1), 119–138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10345329.2014.12036010>
- Peterson, Z. D., Voller, E. K., Polusny, M. A., & Murdoch, M. (2011). Prevalence and consequences of adult sexual assault of men: Review of empirical findings and state of the literature. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 31(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2010.08.006>
- Popovsky, R. M. A. (2010). Special issues in the care of ultra-Orthodox Jewish psychiatric in-patients. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 47(4), 647–672. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1363461510383747>
- Reid, S. D., Reddock, R., & Nickenig, T. (2014). Breaking the silence of child sexual abuse in the Caribbean: A community-based action research intervention model. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 23(3), 256–277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2014.888118>
- Reinert, D. F., & Edwards, C. E. (2009). Attachment theory, childhood mistreatment, and religiosity. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 1(1), 25–34. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014894>
- Reitsema, A. M., & Grietens, H. (2016). Is anybody listening? The literature on the dialogical process of child sexual abuse disclosure reviewed. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 17(3), 330–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1524838015584368>
- 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(2), 1–90.
- Ribner, D. S., & Rosenbaum, T. Y. (2005). Evaluation and treatment of unconsummated marriages among Orthodox Jewish couples. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 31(4), 341–353. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00926230590950244>
- *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 & Neglect*, 81, 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.04.011>
- Rossetti, S. J. (Ed.). (1990). *Slayer of the soul: Child sexual abuse and the Catholic Church*. Twenty-Third Publications.
- Salamon, M. J. (2011). *Abuse in the Jewish community: Religious and communal factors that undermine the apprehension of offenders and the treatment of victims* [Hebrew]. Urim.
- Sambisa, W., Angeles, G., Lance, P. M., Naved, R. T., & Curtis, S. L. (2010). Physical and sexual abuse of wives in urban Bangladesh: Husbands' reports. *Studies in Family Planning*, 41(3), 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4465.2010.00241.x>
- Saradjian, A., & Nobus, D. (2003). Cognitive distortions of religious professionals who sexually abuse children. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18(8), 905–923. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260503253881>
- Schein, M., Biderman, A., Baras, M., Bennett, L., Bisharat, B., Borakan, J., Fogelman, Y., Gordon, L., Steinmetz, D., & Kitai, E. (2000). The prevalence of a history of child sexual abuse among adults visiting family practitioners in Israel. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24(5), 667–675. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134\(00\)00128-9](https://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(7), 1181–1188. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.02.015>
- Schnall, E. (2006). Multicultural counseling and the Orthodox Jew. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 84(3), 276–282. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2006.tb00406.x>
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (1999). The politics of disclosing female sexual abuse: A case study of Palestinian society. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23(12), 1275–1293. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134\(99\)00104-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(99)00104-0)
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2016). Towards a cultural definition of rape: Dilemmas in dealing with rape victims in Palestinian society. In P. İllkaracan (Ed.), *Deconstructing sexuality in the Middle East: Challenges and discourses* (pp. 177–198). Routledge.
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N., & Roer-Strier, D. (2016). Context-informed, counter-hegemonic qualitative research: Insights from an Israeli/Palestinian research team studying loss. *Qualitative Social Work*, 15(4), 552–569. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1473325015595545>
- Sheldon, J. P., & Parent, S. L. (2002). Clergy's attitudes and attributions of blame toward female rape victims. *Violence Against Women*, 8(2), 233–256. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F10778010222183026>
- Shoham, E. (2012). *Glimpse behind the wall: Domestic violence in closed communities* [Hebrew]. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press.
- Sigurvinsdottir, R., & Ullman, S. E. (2015). Social reactions, self-blame, and problem drinking in adult sexual assault survivors. *Psychology of Violence*, 5(2), 192–198. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036316&rlm>
- Somer, E., & Szwarcberg, S. (2001). Variables in delayed disclosure of childhood sexual abuse. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 71(3), 332–341. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.71.3.332>
- Sorsoli, L., Kia-Keating, M., & Grossman, F. K. (2008). "I keep that hush-hush": Male survivors of sexual abuse and the challenges of disclosure. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 55(3), 333–345. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.3.333>
- 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(1), 282–293. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-14-282>
- Stadler, N. (2009). *Yeshiva fundamentalism: Piety, gender and resistance in the ultra-Orthodox world*. NYU Press.
- Starzynski, L. L., Ullman, S. E., Filipas, H. H., & Townsend, S. M. (2005). Correlates of women's sexual assault disclosure to

- informal and formal support sources. *Violence and Victims*, 20(4), 417–432. <https://doi.org/10.1891/088667005780927593>
- Stolovy, T., Levy, Y. M., Doron, A., & Melamed, Y. (2013). Culturally sensitive mental health care: A study of contemporary psychiatric treatment for ultra-Orthodox Jews in Israel. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 59(8), 819–823. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0020764012461206>
- Sublette, E., & Trappier, B. (2000). Cultural sensitivity training in mental health: Treatment of Orthodox Jewish psychiatric inpatients. *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 46, 122–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F002076400004600205>
- Tarakeshwar, N., Hansen, N. B., Kochman, A., Fox, A., & Sikkema, K. J. (2006). Resiliency among individuals with childhood sexual abuse and HIV: Perspectives on addressing sexual trauma. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 19(4), 449–460. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20132>
- Tener, D., & Murphy, S. B. (2015). Adult disclosure of child sexual abuse: A literature review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 16(4), 391–400. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1524838014537906>
- 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*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517718831>
- Tillman, S., Bryant-Davis, T., Smith, K., & Marks, A. (2010). Shattering silence: Exploring barriers to disclosure for African American sexual assault survivors. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 11(2), 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1524838010363717>
- *Tishelman, A. C., & Fontes, L. A. (2017). Religion in child sexual abuse forensic interviews. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 63, 120–130. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.11.025>
- 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(5), 485–490. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2010.512262>
- Today, J. L., Linville, D., Bustin, A., Wheeler, J., & Gau, J. (2009). Sexual assault support services and community systems: Understanding critical issues and needs in the LGBTQ community. *Violence Against Women*, 15(8), 952–976. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1077801209335494>
- Trub, L., & Elias, M. (2007). The counselor within: A study of rabbinical counseling training and practice in the conservative movement. *Journal of Jewish Education*, 73, 163–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15244110701669930>
- Turchik, J. A., Hebenstreit, C. L., & Judson, S. S. (2016). An examination of the gender inclusiveness of current theories of sexual violence in adulthood: Recognizing male victims, female perpetrators, and same-sex violence. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 17(2), 133–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1524838014566721>
- Ullman, S. E., & Najdowski, C. J. (2011). Vulnerability and protective factors for sexual assault. In J. W. White, M. P. Koss, & A. E. Kazdin (Eds.), *Violence against women and children. Vol. 1. Mapping the terrain* (pp. 151–172). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/12307-007>
- Ullman, S. E., Starzynski, L. L., Long, S. M., Mason, G. E., & Long, L. M. (2008). Exploring the relationships of women’s sexual assault disclosure, social reactions, and problem drinking. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 23(9), 1235–1257. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260508314298>
- Walsh, W. A., Banyard, V. L., Moynihan, M. M., Ward, S., & Cohn, E. S. (2010). Disclosure and service use on a college campus after an unwanted sexual experience. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 11(2), 134–151. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15299730903502912>
- Wang, Y. W., & Heppner, P. P. (2011). A qualitative study of childhood sexual abuse survivors in Taiwan: Toward a transactional and ecological model of coping. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(3), 393–409. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023522>
- Wells, K. (2003). A needs assessment regarding the nature and impact of clergy sexual abuse conducted by the interfaith sexual trauma institute. *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity: The Journal of Treatment and Prevention*, 10(2-3), 201–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10720160390230691>
- Wissink, I. B., Van Vugt, E., Moonen, X., Stams, G. J. J., & Hendriks, J. (2015). Sexual abuse involving children with an intellectual disability (ID): A narrative review. *Research in Developmental Disabilities*, 36, 20–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ridd.2014.09.007>
- *Witztum, E., Daie, N., & Rosler, A. (2012). History of abuse and organic difficulties in a convenience sample of 46 ultra-Orthodox males with pedophilia. *The Israel Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences*, 49(4), 262–269.
- *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(11), 1700–1706. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.2007.06122030>
- Yuvarajan, E., & Stanford, M. S. (2016). Clergy perceptions of sexual assault victimization. *Violence Against Women*, 22(5), 588–608. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1077801215605919>
- Zalberg, S. (2013). The silence of males: The significance of sexual assault among male victims from ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) background [Hebrew] [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem].
- *Zalberg, 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(5), 590–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2017.1316335>
- Zicherman, H., & Kahaner, L. (2012). *Modern ultra-Orthodox: A Haredi middle-class in Israel* [Hebrew]. Israel Institute for Democracy.

Author Biographies

Efrat Lusky-Weisrose is a PhD candidate at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her main research focus is “institutional sexual abuse” in children in the ultra-Orthodox community and she is involved in other research initiatives in the field of child sexual abuse. For the last 3 years, she has been working as a coordinator in various social and academic projects and currently as a coordinator of Israel Science Foundation research project on multicultural perspectives of educators coping with child sexual abuse.

Amitai Marmor is a PhD candidate at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University of

Jerusalem. His main research focus is child sexual abuse and sibling sexual abuse. For the last 7 years, he has been working in “Meital” Institute—a treatment center for children who sexually abused or showed an offensive sexual behavior.

Dafna Tener is a faculty member at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She has studied

child sexual abuse for the past 10 years; has conducted numerous research projects focusing on survivors’, families’, and professionals’ perceptions of sexual abuse; and has specialized in qualitative research methods as well as mixed methods. She was a postdoctoral fellow at the Crimes Against Children Research Center, supervised by Professor David Finkelhor, and is currently a research fellow at the Haruv Institute, a training and research center in the field of child maltreatment.