Revenge Concept as Manifested in Drawings

and Narratives of Ultra-orthodox vs. Secular Israeli Jews

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Abstract

The current study investigates the revenge concept of ultra-orthodox and secular Israeli Jews, manifesting in drawings and narratives. The convenient sample consisted of thirty-three participants aged 23-61 (12 ultra-orthodox and 21 seculars). This mix-methodology study included the qualitative part, which are two sets of drawings and narratives – "draw an unjust event you experienced" and "draw what you would prefer to happen to the person who unjustly treated you;" and the quantitative part included a self-report questionnaire of the following measures: demographics, history of traumatic events, and feelings of injustice. Comparison between the two groups revealed no differences in the drawings and narratives, however, Orthodox Jews reported higher exposure to sexual abuse. The sexual abuse group showed a significant tendency to include words and physical touch between the victim and the perpetrator in the first drawing. A level of narrative organization was low in those with a history of sexual abuse.

Keywords: *Revenge, Drawings, Self-figure Drawings, Narratives, Ultra-orthodox, Secular, Israelis*

Introduction

Revenge is conceptualized as motivated retaliation after perceived harm to one's well-being (Elshout et al., 2017). According to the biological model suggested by McCullough et al. (2013), revenge is the evolutionary response to human survival and a deterrence mechanism to prevent potential enemies from harming again. Thus, revenge is a widespread response among people who have a natural aversion to aggression and confrontation (Gintis, 2013).

Historical and cultural perspectives indicate that two lines of thought concerning revenge exist. The first is the Bible, which instructs (Exodus 21:23) that an offender should be punished: "Give life for life, eye for an eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." The second (2,000 years later and based on Christianity) is that of Martin Luther King, who said: "The old law of 'an eye for an eye' leaves everybody blind." These two perspectives often coexist within a society encompassing groups that differ in their levels of religiousness and have different ideologies even though they have the same nationality, in this case, Judaism (Carlsmith et al., 2008).

Gelfand et al. (2012) found that collectivists tend to avenge the shame of others with the same identity more than individualists because collectivists consider such shame to be an injury to themselves. As a result, "revenge is more contagious in collectivist cultures." People's preference for revenge was also illustrated by Shteynberg et al. (2009), who found that different events trigger the revenge process differently in Western and Eastern cultures. The authors found that American students are insulted when their rights are violated, whereas Korean students might feel more insulted when their sense of duty and obligation are threatened. That distinction might contribute to intercultural conflicts when one side seeks vengeance for a slight and the other does not regard it as an offense. For example, an American might be more likely to seek revenge when someone silences them or prevents them from expressing their right to voice an opinion. In contrast, public criticism might humiliate a Korean and is more likely to trigger revenge feelings.

Vos (2003) divided the desire for revenge into four elements: humiliation (damage to self-esteem), the belief that the damage to self-esteem is incorrect, the drive to restore equality of power, and the desire to cause harm, including the risk of excessiveness and the desire to elevate oneself morally above the other.

As a healthy approach to revenge may restore the psychological balance that has previously been shaken (Grobbink et al., 2015), the current study aimed to examine how revenge is perceived in two Jewish population groups in Israel, ultra-orthodox and secular, as reflected in two sets of drawings and narratives. The first drawing was of an unjust event inflicted by another person on the drawer; the second was what the drawer would like to happen (directly or indirectly) to the person who had treated them unjustly. More specifically, the study attempted to investigate the differences between these groups' preferences concerning the types of unjust events and their responses to the offenders.

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Background

Revenge is defined as an act in response to a perceived wrongdoing by another person that is intended to inflict damage, injury, or discomfort, and it can be executed actively or passively (such as by withholding support) (Frey et al., 2015). There is a consensus among researchers that the desire for retribution following the experience of being unjustly treated is a natural developmental response (DeBono & Muraven, 2014) and is embedded within the culture (Goldner et al., 2019). In the Western world, for example, as vengeance is perceived as unacceptable, individuals can only fantasize about revenge but must refrain from taking action (Haen & Weber, 2009). Revenge fantasies often serve to calm the negative feelings of frustration, humiliation, and insult, settling the score between the victim's suffering and the perpetrator's harmful deeds, thus enabling "as if" closure, comfort, and a pseudo-power over the perpetrator (Lillie & Strelan, 2016). Fiske and Rai (2014) suggest that in many cases, people see vengeance as justifiable and a social and moral obligation.

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is a universal issue with long-term detrimental effects on individuals. It is defined as any behavior of sexual intent or content to the child by an adult or another child that is older than her or him. CSA may range from fondling to rape, non-contact abuse, e.g., voyeurism, exhibitionism or unwanted sexual comments, sexual exploitation, or any other sexually assaulted form (Krug et al., 2002). The victims of CSA may seek revenge on their perpetrators to regain their sense of justice, self-esteem, and equality of power, and release their desire to cause harm. (Vos, 2003).

Unjust Events, Revenge and Culture

As mentioned above, people seek revenge to redress hurt feelings brought about by perceived unfairness (Osgood, 2017). This desire for revenge is considered a universal cross-cultural personal response (McClelland, 2010) based on a subjective sense of justice. However, the desire for revenge depends on the severity of the transgression toward the victim (Morrissette, 2012), the emotional ties between the victim and perpetrator (Watson et al., 2016), and the extent to which people feel they have been morally wronged (Gintis, 2013). Therefore, the unjust events that are likely to elicit the desire for revenge are often embedded within the culture. For example, research on consumer revenge against businesses has identified that in Western, individualistic cultures, violations of procedural justice typically trigger revenge (Bechwati & Morrin, 2003), whereas, in collectivistic cultures, the desire for revenge will be heightened when there is disrespect behavior in interactional relationships or individuals perceive their group as threatened, degraded, or endangered by another group (Beck, 2002).

Historical, cross-cultural analyses have reported that vengeful disputes or individual acts of vengeance in traditional societies (Ericksen & Horton, 1992) are undertaken by people to feel good and regain self-respect rather than to release negative feelings and aggression (Chester & DeWall, 2017). Vengeance in traditional societies is often a necessary action to maintain the group status (McCullough et al., 2013; Nowak et al., 2016). For example, Chagnon (2012) indicated that most adult men among the Yanomamo indigenous people of southern Venezuela and northern Brazil committed at least one act of collective blood revenge. Honor-based revenge is another example of revenge taken in collective Eastern societies due to the intense cultural norms of maintaining one's reputation after being slighted (Cross et al., 2014).

Cultural norms also impact what should be considered as an insult that deserves revenge. Cross-cultural studies have shown that verbal insults and threats (Brown, 2016) are more likely to instigate vengeance in honor cultures than in non-honor cultures. In Western societies, the following motives were found to play an important role in whether vengeance was perceived as worthwhile: people's forecasts of how much they would enjoy revenge and whether it would repair their negative mood and restore their reputation (Chester & DeWall, 2017). It can be summarized that people see vengeance as justifiable, and even as a social and moral obligation, according to their cultural and moral norms (Fiske & Rai, 2014).

The Desire for Revenge as Expressed in Drawings and Narratives

Drawing is an artistic tool used by clinicians to evaluate an individual's experience (Malchiodi, 2012). Through drawing, people can express their feelings and thoughts towards themselves, their environment, and their inner world (Lev Wiesel et al., 2020). Drawing enables people to express hidden, and often unacceptable, material and feelings of distress in an acceptable manner and thus communicate their feelings and ideas to others (Cobia & Brazelton, 1994; Peterson & Hardin, 1997). Additionally, there has been increasing recognition of narrative and metaphor's role in social practice (Connelly & McClandinin, 1990; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2000). There is a consensus among therapists that autobiographic memory of traumatic events leads to a fragmented narrative of the traumatic memories (Midgley, 2002). Thus, reconstructing autobiographic memory with a consistent, detailed, narrative is necessary for healing (Leiblich et al., 1998). Drawing and narrating a hurtful experience or traumatic event have been found to be useful tools that enable people to reflect on and express their emotions and thoughts and share them with others (Lev-Wiesel & Liraz, 2007). Concerning the revenge issue, a recent study focusing on drawings and narratives of adolescent victims of child sexual abuse showed that the use of these tools allowed the participants to express feelings of aloneness and loneliness within their families and their wish for retribution against the perpetrators by having them suffer and experience the same outcomes (Lev-Wiesel et al., 2022).

In sum, the above review indicates that (1) the desire for revenge and fantasy about revenge are natural responses of people who have been treated unjustly and wrongly (Lev-Wiesel et al., 2022); (2) revenge is embedded within the cultural norms and religious beliefs that determine which acts or events should be perceived as injustices that deserve a response (Goyal & Miller, 2023); and (3) human experiences can be expressed and reflected through drawings, which enrich people's narratives. Thus, this mixed-methods study aimed to broaden the understanding of the concept of revenge (events and responses) by comparing two Jewish groups with different levels of religiousness.

Methodology

Participants and Procedures

Following ethical approval from the Ethical Committee at the University of Haifa (146/19), 33 Israeli adults between the ages of 23 and 61 (mean = 30, standard deviation [SD] = 8) were recruited through convenience sampling. All participants signed a consent form. The sample was divided into two groups: orthodox (n = 12) vs. secular Jews (n = 21). There were 27 females (82%) and five males.

Figure 1 presents a comparison of the demographic information of the ultra-orthodox and secular Jews. No statistically significant demographic differences were found between the two groups. The Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ) scale revealed that a higher proportion of ultra-orthodox Jews had been exposed to sexual abuse (50% vs. 14%, $p = 0.04$).

Variable	Secular N=21, N(%)/MED (IQR)	Orthodox /religious N=12, N(%)/MED (IQR)	P- value
Demographics			
Gender:			0.579
F	18 (85.7%)	9 (75.0%)	
M	3 (14.3%)	2 (16.7%)	
Family status:			0.703
Married	13 (61.9%)	9 (75.0%)	
Single	8 (38.1%)	3 (25.0%)	
Age	29.0 [26.8;32.2]	27.0 [25.0;33.0]	0.369
Living place:			0.107
City	13 (61.9%)	11 (91.7%)	
Village	8 (38.1%)	1 (8.33%)	
Education Level:			0.630
Academic	17 (81.0%)	11 (91.7%)	
High School	4 (19.0%)	1 (8.33%)	
Employment:			1.000
No	3 (14.3%)	1 (8.33%)	
Yes	18 (85.7%)	11 (91.7%)	

Figure 1. Comparison of demographics, drawings' indicators expression and trauma types scanning scales between ultra-orthodox Jews and non-orthodox Jews.

Measures

The mixed-methods approach consisted of two quantitative measures and a qualitative tool (two drawings). Participants filled in an online anonymous quantitative questionnaire consisting of the following measures: demographics (age, gender, family status, level of religiousness), the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ), and the Injustice Experiences Questionnaire (IEQ).

The CTQ

The modified version of the CTQ short-form (Bernstein & Fink, 1998; Bernstein et al., 2003) was employed. The 28 items of the CTQ refer to lifelong abusive experiences and cover five types of maltreatment: sexual abuse, physical abuse, physical neglect, emotional abuse, and emotional neglect. Participants respond on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 = "never" to 4 = "all the time." The stability of the CTQ's five-factor structure, in general, and the differentiation of CPM and CPN, in particular, have been discussed in the literature (Grassi-Oliveira et al., 2014).

The IEQ

The IEQ is a 12-item measure assessing pain-related injustice perceptions (Sullivan et al., 2008) that are associated with unfairness, severity, and feelings of blame (e.g., "It all seems so unfair"; "My life will never be the same"). Participants respond on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 = "never" to 4 = "all the time." The questionnaire has excellent internal and test-re-test reliabilities and construct validity for the association between the IEQ score and catastrophic thinking, fear of movement/re-injury, depression, and pain severity. The current study's internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) was 0.86.

The Qualitative Tool

The qualitative element comprised two sets of drawings followed by narratives for each one. The first drawing was produced in response to the request to "draw an unjust event you have experienced" and the second to "draw what you would like to happen to the person who unjustly treated you." Both drawings were followed by narratives. Participants were given two A4 (21 × 29.7 cm) sheets of white drawing paper and a pencil with no colors. They were then asked by social workers to draw the first and second drawings followed by a narrative for each.

The drawings were encoded using indicators regarding content and style. Content indicators regarding the unjust event included (1) type of violence (physical, sexual, emotional, neglect, mixed, not specified) and whether the self is depicted in the drawing (yes/no); (2) whether the unjust event happened in the family (yes/no); (3) between whom it happened (parent–child, brothers, peers, parents, entire family, between an adult and child outside the family, others; terrors, crime, accident, no violence); (4) whether a violent scene is depicted in the drawing (yes/no); (5) whether the self is helpless in the drawing (yes/no/neutral); (6) whether there is an interaction with the aggressor (yes/no); (7) whether the drawing includes aggressive symbols, such as holding a weapon (yes/no); (8) whether the drawing includes injury symbols (physical injury, emotional injury, mixed, none); (9) the role of the self in the drawing (victim, aggressor, observer, both victim and aggressor roles, no specific role); and whether the drawings included words (yes/no).

Indicators regarding the drawing style were (1) drawing type (figurative/realistic, expressive/metaphoric, introspective, no drawing); (2) the size of the victim (tiny, exaggerated, normative); (3) the size of the aggressor (tiny, exaggerated, normative); (4) whether the drawing is dissociative (i.e., includes sweet objects, has words instead of a drawing, the drawing is not related to the instruction) (yes/no); and (5) levels of vitality (low, mid, high).

Drawings were coded by two expert therapists and researchers in the field of social work and art-based assessment of trauma. Inter-raters' reliability was 0.82 (see Appendix 1 – pg 310, for pictorial feature distribution).

Narratives

The narratives were encoded using the following indicators: (1) narrative organization (restricted, flooded, organized); (2) whether the narrative is dissociative (i.e., the narrative does not concentrate on the unjust event or the revenge fantasy); (3) central theme in the nar-

rative, such as the drawer's fear/anxiety/lack of control; the drawer's sadness/loneliness/humiliation/guilt; the drawer's loneliness and helplessness; no emotion; and (4) resolution/solution of the narrative (positive, negative, neutral) and accordance between the narrative and the drawing (yes/no). Inter-raters' reliability of narratives was 0.85 (see Appendix 1 – pg 310, for the narrative categories).

The qualitative analysis used in this study was based on the principles of a multimodal method (for drawings and narratives) and a relational mapping interview, which was developed by Boden et al. (2019) to understand the relational context of distress and disruption. The relational context here is the experience of the unjust event as perceived by young adults and the revenge fantasy. Incorporating drawings into interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) provides a vehicle for participants to explore better and communicate their experiences. A correlational test was conducted between the narratives and drawing themes, the type of event experienced, its severity expressed by the revenge fantasy, and the quantitative measures' scores.

Results

Statistical Analysis

Continuous variables were reported by medians and interquartile range (IQR) since they do not follow a normal distribution. Categorical variables were reported by frequencies and proportions. Univariate analysis was performed using the Chi-square or Fisher's exact test or a two-sample Wilcoxon test to compare drawing indicator expressions between religious groups (ultra-orthodox vs. secular Jews). The severity of trauma types (emotional, physical, sexual, and neglect) was determined by pre-defined cutoffs of the CTQ subscales. Analysis was performed by SAS 9.4 for Windows. A P value of < 0.05 was considered statistically significant.

A comparison of the drawings' indicators of expressions and trauma types between ultra-orthodox and secular Jews. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups concerning drawing expressions. The CTQ scale revealed that a higher proportion of ultra-orthodox Jews had been exposed to sexual abuse (50% vs. 14%, p = 0.04). (See Appendix 1 – pg 310: Comparison of drawing's indicators expression and trauma types scanning scales between ultra-orthodox Jews and non-orthodox Jews).

Comparison of Drawing Indicators of Expression Between Those Who Were and Were Not Found to be at High Risk of Sexual Abuse According to the CTQ Scale

A statistically significant difference was found in drawing 1 Physical touch between victim and perpetrator, sexual abuse positive tendency to express touch (44% vs. 8%, p=0.034). Drawing 2 Narrative organization was less coherent in sexual abuse positive (78% vs. 33%, p=0.047). Borderline significance was found in drawing 1 Words included; sexual abuse positives included fewer words (11% vs. 50%, p=0.056). No other significant differences were found. (See Appendix 2 – pg 314: Comparison of drawing indicators expression between those who were found to be high at risk of sexual abuse to those who were not, according to the CTQ scale).

Discussion

The study's main objective was to study the concept of revenge among Israeli Jews with different levels of religiousness as manifested in drawings and narratives. The findings showed that there were no differences between the ultra-orthodox and secular groups. However, exposure to child sexual abuse significantly contributed to participants' tendency to include words in the first drawing (unjust event) and to the level of touch between the victim and perpetrator. Concerning the narrative, participants who had experienced sexual abuse tended to provide a shorter and less coherent (dissociative) narrative for the second drawing (revenge fantasy).

Surprisingly, despite their different levels of religiousness, there were non-significant differences between the groups. This could due to that Israeli Jews share similar perceptions of justice and revenge above and beyond their social ties to either a collective (ultra-orthodox) or individualistic (secular) group as Jackson et al. (2019) emphasized, revenge is a global phenomenon. The science of cultural evolution (Brewer et al., 2017) can be another explanation. Cultural evolution theories argue that people's ecological and social contexts influence their behavior. Some cultural evolutionists propose that this occurs because people's psychological processes interact with their unique environments. Previous studies focusing on cultural influences on revenge behaviors point to mixed findings. Some work suggests that revenge is more likely to occur in collectivist (Ericksen & Horton, 1992) than in individualist cultures. Günsoy et al. (2015) explained that in honor-religious cultures such as Turkey, there is a strong concern about other people's opinions, and insults threaten personal and family reputation more than in non-honor-religious cultures. When faced with honor threats, people from these cultures try to regain the respect of others by defending themselves publicly, often even aggressively (Gelfand et al.,1967). Other research, however, finds no cultural differences in revenge intentions between collectivist and individualist cultures (Baimel & Norenzayzn, 2017). However, such research has assessed culture at the level of self-construal (e.g., individualism/independence vs. collectivism/interdependence) rather than assessing whether individual differences, such as the history of abuse or the perception of the incident as abuse (Lusky-Weisrose, 2021). This points to the difference between participants who were sexually abused and those who were not (note that the ultra-orthodox group participants reported higher exposure to sexual abuse than the seculars).

Unsurprisingly, the participants who had been sexually abused added words within the "unjust event" drawing with a less coherent and shorter narrative than those who had not been sexually abused. People who had been sexually abused often feel that the social environment fails to understand them or even grasp their horrific traumatic memories (Jacobs-Kayam & Lev-Wiesel, 2019). Thus, they must use verbal and non-verbal language to ensure that others understand. However, interferences in coherent recalling often appear when they are required to provide a narrative (full verbal sentences) (Kildahl et al., 2020). This is consistent with previous findings (Lev-Wiesel et al., 2023) showing that CSA adolescent domestic violence survivors refrained from either including the perpetrator within the unjust event drawing or provided a shorter incoherent narrative in which the perpetrator was mentioned as a "he" rather than by mentioning his role (although all perpetrators were close relatives) (see images in Figures 2 – 4).
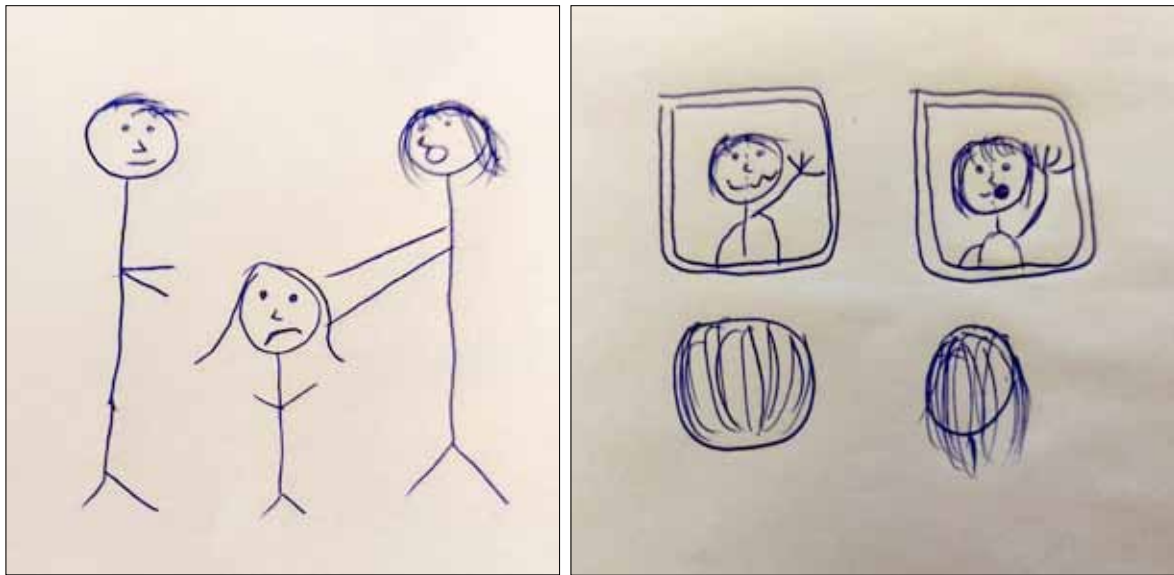
Figure 2. A female aged 30, secular, was sexually abused during childhood. *Narrative (Left image):* "Both my parents inflicted violence, and my father sexually abused me. Everyone around ignored it. You can see the physical violence in the drawing. I did not want to draw the sexual abuse." *Narrative (Right image):* "I think the best outcome for my parents would be to look in the mirror and truly acknowledge who they are. It is something that imprisonment would not achieve, perhaps long therapeutic rehabilitation. They are not in a state of taking responsibility at present."
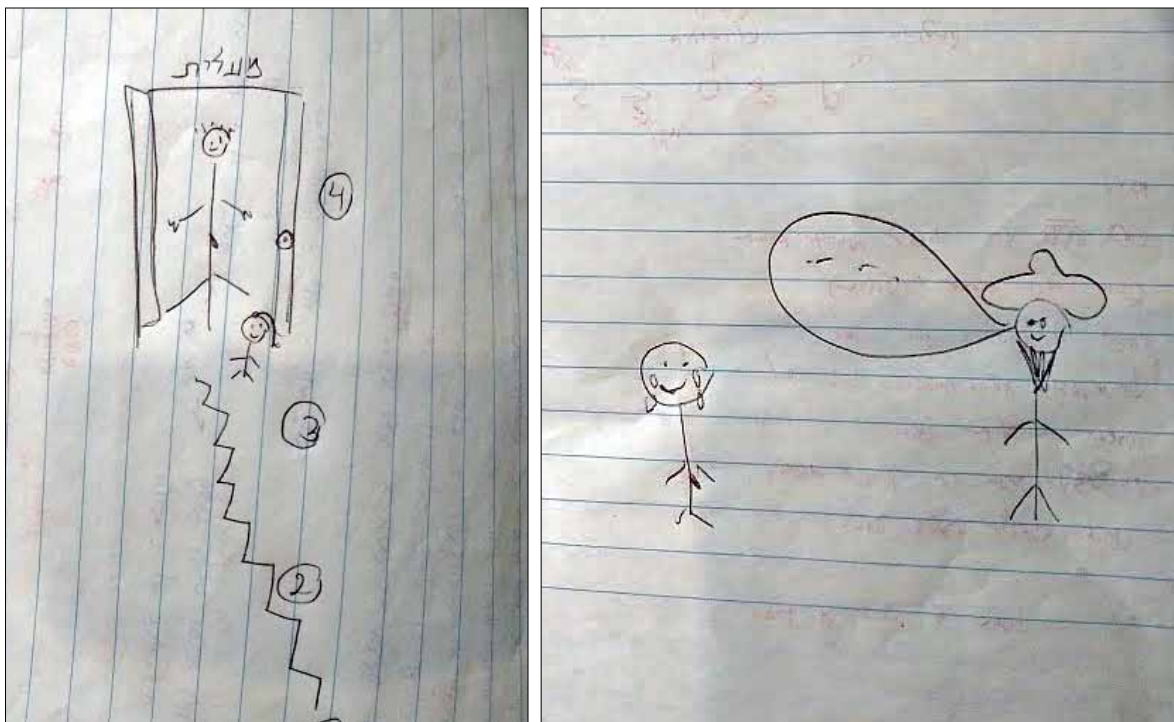
Figure 3. An Orthodox 32-year-old female survivor of CSA. *Narrative (Left image):* "When I was young, a man sexually assaulted me. Was on the fourth floor of the building. We lived on the third floor. I escaped." *Narrative (Right image):* "The person will turn to the Rabbi, and he will explain to him the severity of his actions and what he should do to repent."

Figure 4. A 32-year-old orthodox male with no history of CSA. *Narrative (Left image):* "I am a child. I did something which I did not think would make my father mad. He was angry, hit me on my ear, and was really hurting. I was surprised, did not understand why and how it happened. I was really scared. What scared me was the misunderstanding, the hurt, and the insult." *Narrative (Right image):* "This time, I would like to have my father share with me his pain and allow me to share mine with him. It will ease the atmosphere; we have a kind of block and defense. But he learns how to take care of himself and to take responsibility for his actions and behaviors."

This study has certain limitations. The sample was small and recruited through convenience sampling. Moreover, the main hypothesis ("the level of religiousness impacts the concept of revenge as manifested in drawings and narratives") was not supported. Nonetheless, the study seems to be consistent with previous findings showing that the prevalence of sexual abuse among ultra-orthodox Jews in Israel is higher than among secular Jews. As shown by Finkelstein (2021), in ultra-orthodox local authorities, the number of cases of sexual abuse against children rose from 0.15 per thousand children in 2000 to 1.5 per thousand children in 2010 and gained to 3.7 per thousand children in 2019. In other Jewish local authorities, the number of such cases grew from 1.5 to 3 per thousand children between 2000 and 2010 and has since dropped to 2.6. In Arab local authorities, the corresponding figure has fallen from 1.6 to 1.1 per thousand children since 2000. Previous studies have indicated that many young adults who leave the religion have experienced sexual abuse (Kosarkova et al., 2020) yet refrained from disclosure. Thus, the current study's findings concerning the association between religiousness, a history of sexual abuse, and the difficulty of directly relating to the perpetrator and allowing oneself even to fantasize about an act of revenge should alert practitioners (educators, social workers, and religious leaders) to the possible association between experiencing child sexual abuse and becoming secular among ultra-religious youth as an acting-out behavior, vengeance, or a mere survival act.

Conclusion

Although unified by religious fundamentalism, it should be noted that the spectrum of orthodoxy in Israel ranges from the secular to the ultra-orthodox: secular Jewish, traditional Jewish, modern orthodox Jewish, and ultra-orthodox Jewish. The ultra-orthodox Jews are divided into many sects and factions according to the degree of their devoutness, their leaders, and their rules. To further inquire into the concept of revenge among Israeli Jews, it is necessary to test the findings on larger and more diverse religious populations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Comparison of drawing's indicators expression and trauma types scanning scales between ultra-orthodox Jews and non-orthodox Jews.

Variable	Secular N=21, N(%)/MED (IQR)	Orthodox /religious N=12, N(%)/MED (IQR)	P- value
Drawing 1 Unjust event			
Maltreatment abuse:			0.274
No	6 (28.6%)	6 (50.0%)	
Yes	15 (71.4%)	6 (50.0%)	
Social interaction:			0.302
No	7 (33.3%)	7 (58.3%)	
Yes	14 (66.7%)	5 (41.7%)	
Between:			0.688
Adult (not parent)-child	7 (33.3%)	5 (41.7%)	
Friends	9 (42.9%)	3 (25.0%)	
No violence	3 (14.3%)	2 (16.7%)	
Parent-child	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	
Abuse type:			0.116
Emotional	14 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	
Mixed	3 (14.3%)	2 (16.7%)	
Non specific	3 (14.3%)	4 (33.3%)	
Physically	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Sexually	0 (0.00%)	2 (16.7%)	
Self included:			0.686
No	4 (19.0%)	3 (25.0%)	
Yes	17 (81.0%)	9 (75.0%)	
Drawer's role:			0.255
Non-specific role	1 (4.76%)	3 (25.0%)	
Victim	17 (81.0%)	8 (66.7%)	
Drawing type:			0.643
Figurative	18 (85.7%)	9 (75.0%)	
Metaphoric/expressive	3 (14.3%)	3 (25.0%)	
Schematic:			0.665
No	11 (52.4%)	8 (66.7%)	
Yes	10 (47.6%)	4 (33.3%)	
Aggressive symbols:			0.107
No	13 (61.9%)	11 (91.7%)	
Yes	8 (38.1%)	1 (8.33%)	
Words included:			0.719
No	12 (57.1%)	8 (66.7%)	
Yes	9 (42.9%)	4 (33.3%)	
Physical touch between victim:			1.000
No	17 (81.0%)	10 (83.3%)	
Yes	4 (19.0%)	2 (16.7%)	
Aggressor size:			0.549
Big/exaggerated	2 (9.52%)	2 (16.7%)	
Normal	11 (52.4%)	4 (33.3%)	
Tiny	1 (4.76%)	2 (16.7%)	
Victim size:			0.294
Big/exaggerated	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Normal	13 (61.9%)	4 (33.3%)	
Tiny	3 (14.3%)	4 (33.3%)	

Variable	Secular N=21, N(%)/MED (IQR)	Orthodox /religious N=12, N(%)/MED (IQR)	P- value
Drawing dissociation:			1.000
No	20 (95.2%)	12 (100%)	
Yes	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Narrative association to drawing:			0.364
No	0 (0.00%)	1 (8.33%)	
Yes	21 (100%)	11 (91.7%)	
Narrative dissociation:			0.610
No	19 (90.5%)	10 (83.3%)	
Yes	2 (9.52%)	2 (16.7%)	
Hurting symbols:			0.346
None	10 (47.6%)	7 (58.3%)	
Yes	3 (14.3%)	0 (0.00%)	
Yes emotional harm	8 (38.1%)	4 (33.3%)	
Yes physical harm	0 (0.00%)	1 (8.33%)	
Narrative organization:			0.093
Incoherent	13 (61.9%)	3 (25.0%)	
Short, dissociative	8 (38.1%)	9 (75.0%)	
Narrative's theme:			0.817
Fear/anxiety	9 (42.9%)	4 (33.3%)	
Lack of control	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Loneliness	11 (52.4%)	8 (66.7%)	
Human figures drawing1:			1.000
No	6 (28.6%)	4 (33.3%)	
Yes	15 (71.4%)	8 (66.7%)	
Page covering:			0.477
Full	10 (47.6%)	3 (25.0%)	
Half	5 (23.8%)	4 (33.3%)	
Minimal	6 (28.6%)	5 (41.7%)	
Missing body organs:			1.000
No	10 (47.6%)	6 (50.0%)	
Yes	11 (52.4%)	6 (50.0%)	
Family or stranger:			1.000
Family	3 (14.3%)	1 (8.33%)	
Stranger	17 (81.0%)	11 (91.7%)	
Drawing 2 Revenge fantasy Maltreatment abuse:			1.000
No	18 (85.7%)	11 (91.7%)	
Yes	3 (14.3%)	1 (8.33%)	
Social interaction:			0.065
No	15 (71.4%)	12 (100%)	
Yes	6 (28.6%)	0 (0.00%)	
Between:			0.614
Adult (not parent)-child	3 (14.3%)	3 (25.0%)	
Friends	3 (14.3%)	1 (8.33%)	
No violence	13 (61.9%)	5 (41.7%)	
Parent-child	1 (4.76%)	1 (8.33%)	
Abuse types:			0.113
Emotional	6 (28.6%)	0 (0.00%)	
Mixed	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	

Variable	Secular N=21, N(%)/MED (IQR)	Orthodox /religious N=12, N(%)/MED (IQR)	P- value
Non specific	11 (52.4%)	11 (91.7%)	
Self included:			0.798
No	15 (71.4%)	10 (83.3%)	
Yes	5 (23.8%)	2 (16.7%)	
Drawers' role:			0.628
Involved	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	
Non-specific role	5 (23.8%)	6 (50.0%)	
Observer	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Victim	2 (9.52%)	0 (0.00%)	
Drawing type:			0.471
Figurative	15 (71.4%)	7 (58.3%)	
Metaphoric/expressive	6 (28.6%)	5 (41.7%)	
Schematic:			1.000
No	10 (47.6%)	5 (41.7%)	
Yes	11 (52.4%)	7 (58.3%)	
Aggressive symbols:			0.523
No	19 (90.5%)	12 (100%)	
Yes	2 (9.52%)	0 (0.00%)	
Words included:			0.278
No	11 (52.4%)	9 (75.0%)	
Yes	10 (47.6%)	3 (25.0%)	
Physical touch between victim: No	21 (100%)	12 (100%)	.
Aggressor size:			0.070
Big/exaggerated	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	
Normal	9 (42.9%)	1 (8.33%)	
Tiny	2 (9.52%)	5 (41.7%)	
Victim size:			0.665
Big/exaggerated	2 (9.52%)	0 (0.00%)	
Normal	5 (23.8%)	2 (16.7%)	
Tiny	1 (4.76%)	2 (16.7%)	
Drawing dissociation:			1.000
No	18 (85.7%)	10 (83.3%)	
Yes	3 (14.3%)	2 (16.7%)	
Narrative according to drawing:			0.610
No	2 (9.52%)	2 (16.7%)	
Yes	19 (90.5%)	10 (83.3%)	
Narrative dissociation:			1.000
No	13 (61.9%)	7 (58.3%)	
Yes	8 (38.1%)	5 (41.7%)	
Hurting symbols:			0.862
None	16 (76.2%)	9 (75.0%)	
Yes both	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Yes emotional harm	3 (14.3%)	3 (25.0%)	
Yes physical harm	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Narrative organization:			0.488
Coherent	11 (52.4%)	4 (33.3%)	
Short	10 (47.6%)	8 (66.7%)	
Narrative theme:			0.378

Variable	Secular N=21, N(%)/MED (IQR)	Orthodox /religious N=12, N(%)/MED (IQR)	P- value
Fear/anxiety	3 (14.3%)	0 (0.00%)	
Lack of control	1 (4.76%)	1 (8.33%)	
Loneliness	2 (9.52%)	3 (25.0%)	
Human figures:			0.716
No	7 (33.3%)	5 (41.7%)	
Yes	14 (66.7%)	7 (58.3%)	
Page covering:			0.593
Full	7 (33.3%)	4 (33.3%)	
Half	10 (47.6%)	4 (33.3%)	
Minimal	4 (19.0%)	4 (33.3%)	
Missing body organs:			0.093
No	8 (38.1%)	9 (75.0%)	
Yes	13 (61.9%)	3 (25.0%)	
Forgiveness:			1.000
No	20 (95.2%)	12 (100%)	
Yes	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.00%)	
Punishment:			0.471
No	15 (71.4%)	7 (58.3%)	
Yes	6 (28.6%)	5 (41.7%)	
Scales			
Blame Unfairness	8.00 [6.00;10.2]	8.00 [6.00;9.75]	0.984
Severity Irreparability	11.0 [9.00;15.0]	12.0 [9.00;14.0]	0.984
IEQ total	20.0 [17.8;28.2]	20.0 [17.8;25.2]	0.969
Emotional abuse	7.00 [5.00;9.25]	6.50 [5.00;8.75]	0.620
Physical abuse	5.00 [5.00;5.00]	6.00 [5.00;7.25]	0.066
Sexual abuse	5.00 [5.00;6.00]	7.00 [5.00;9.25]	0.053
Emotional neglect	8.00 [6.00;17.0]	9.50 [5.00;12.2]	0.724
Physical neglect	5.00 [5.00;7.25]	5.50 [5.00;7.25]	0.693
Minimization denial:			0.765
None	13 (61.9%)	6 (50.0%)	
Possible	8 (38.1%)	6 (50.0%)	
Emotional abuse category:			0.157
Low	3 (14.3%)	1 (8.33%)	
Moderate	0 (0.00%)	2 (16.7%)	
None	13 (61.9%)	9 (75.0%)	
Severe	4 (19.0%)	0 (0.00%)	
Physical abuse category:			0.421
Low	1 (4.76%)	2 (16.7%)	
Moderate	2 (9.52%)	0 (0.00%)	
None	17 (81.0%)	9 (75.0%)	
Severe	0 (0.00%)	1 (8.33%)	
Sexual abuse category:			0.062
Low	3 (14.3%)	2 (16.7%)	
Moderate	1 (4.76%)	5 (41.7%)	
None	14 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	
Severe	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	
Emotional neglect category:			0.051
Low	1 (4.76%)	5 (41.7%)	
Moderate	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	

Variable	Secular N=21, N(%)/MED (IQR)	Orthodox /religious N=12, N(%)/MED (IQR)	P- value
None	13 (61.9%)	6 (50.0%)	
Severe	4 (19.0%)	0 (0.00%)	
Physical neglect category:			1.000
Low	3 (14.3%)	2 (16.7%)	
Moderate	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	
None	15 (71.4%)	9 (75.0%)	
Emotional abuse positive:			1.000
0	17 (81.0%)	10 (83.3%)	
1	4 (19.0%)	2 (16.7%)	
Physical abuse positive:			1.000
0	19 (90.5%)	11 (91.7%)	
1	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	
Sexual abuse positive:			0.044
0	18 (85.7%)	6 (50.0%)	
1	3 (14.3%)	6 (50.0%)	
Emotional neglect positive:			0.223
0	15 (71.4%)	11 (91.7%)	
1	6 (28.6%)	1 (8.33%)	
Physical neglect positive:			1.000
0	19 (90.5%)	11 (91.7%)	
1	2 (9.52%)	1 (8.33%)	

Appendix 2: Comparison of drawing indicators expression between those who were found to be high at risk of sexual abuse to those who were not, according to the CTQ scale.

Variable	Sexual abuse negative N=24	Sexual abuse positive N=9	P- value
Drawing 1 unjust event:			0.056
No	12 (50.0%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes	12 (50.0%)	8 (88.9%)	
Maltreatment abuse:			0.107
No	11 (45.8%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes	13 (54.2%)	8 (88.9%)	
Social interaction:			0.698
No	11 (45.8%)	3 (33.3%)	
Yes	13 (54.2%)	6 (66.7%)	
Between:			0.231
Adult (not parent)-child	9 (37.5%)	3 (33.3%)	
Friends	10 (41.7%)	2 (22.2%)	
No violence	4 (16.7%)	1 (11.1%)	
Parent-child	1 (4.17%)	2 (22.2%)	
Abuse type:			0.340
Emotional	14 (58.3%)	4 (44.4%)	
Mixed	2 (8.33%)	3 (33.3%)	
Non specific	6 (25.0%)	1 (11.1%)	
Physical	1 (4.17%)	0 (0.00%)	
Sexual	1 (4.17%)	1 (11.1%)	
Self included:			0.642
No	6 (25.0%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes	18 (75.0%)	8 (88.9%)	
Drawers' role:			0.801

Variable	Sexual abuse negative N=24	Sexual abuse positive N=9	P- value
Non-specific role	3 (12.5%)	1 (11.1%)	
Victim	17 (70.8%)	8 (88.9%)	
Drawing type:			1.000
Figurative	20 (83.3%)	7 (77.8%)	
Metaphoric/expressive	4 (16.7%)	2 (22.2%)	
Schematic:			0.241
No	12 (50.0%)	7 (77.8%)	
Yes	12 (50.0%)	2 (22.2%)	
Aggressive symbols:			1.000
No	17 (70.8%)	7 (77.8%)	
Yes	7 (29.2%)	2 (22.2%)	
Words included:			0.056
No	12 (50.0%)	8 (88.9%)	
Yes	12 (50.0%)	1 (11.1%)	
Physical touch between victim and perpetrator:			0.034
No	22 (91.7%)	5 (55.6%)	
Yes	2 (8.33%)	4 (44.4%)	
Aggressor size:			0.695
Big/exaggerated	2 (8.33%)	2 (22.2%)	
Normal	11 (45.8%)	4 (44.4%)	
Tiny	2 (8.33%)	1 (11.1%)	
Victim size:			0.477
big/exaggerated	0 (0.00%)	1 (11.1%)	
normal	12 (50.0%)	5 (55.6%)	
Tiny	6 (25.0%)	1 (11.1%)	
Drawing dissociation:			1.000
No	23 (95.8%)	9 (100%)	
Yes	1 (4.17%)	0 (0.00%)	
Narrative according to drawing:			0.273
No	0 (0.00%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes	24 (100%)	8 (88.9%)	
Drawing Narrative dissociative:			0.295
No	22 (91.7%)	7 (77.8%)	
Yes	2 (8.33%)	2 (22.2%)	
Hurting symbols:			0.285
None	13 (54.2%)	4 (44.4%)	
Yes both	3 (12.5%)	0 (0.00%)	
Yes emotional harm	8 (33.3%)	4 (44.4%)	
Yes physical harm	0 (0.00%)	1 (11.1%)	
Narrative organization:			1.000
Coherent	12 (50.0%)	4 (44.4%)	
Short	12 (50.0%)	5 (55.6%)	
Narrative theme:			1.000
Fear/anxiety	9 (37.5%)	4 (44.4%)	
Lack of control	1 (4.17%)	0 (0.00%)	
Loneliness	14 (58.3%)	5 (55.6%)	
Human figures:			0.686
No	8 (33.3%)	2 (22.2%)	
Yes	16 (66.7%)	7 (77.8%)	

Variable	Sexual abuse negative N=24	Sexual abuse positive N=9	P- value
Page covering:			0.172
Full	7 (29.2%)	6 (66.7%)	
Half	8 (33.3%)	1 (11.1%)	
Minimal	9 (37.5%)	2 (22.2%)	
Missing body organs			1.000
No	12 (50.0%)	4 (44.4%)	
Yes	12 (50.0%)	5 (55.6%)	
Family or stranger:			0.678
Family	2 (8.33%)	2 (22.2%)	
Stranger	21 (87.5%)	7 (77.8%)	
Drawing 2 revenge fantasy			
Maltreatment abuse:			1.000
No	21 (87.5%)	8 (88.9%)	
Yes	3 (12.5%)	1 (11.1%)	
Social interaction:			1.000
No	19 (79.2%)	8 (88.9%)	
Yes	5 (20.8%)	1 (11.1%)	
Between:			0.305
Adult (not parent)-child	5 (20.8%)	1 (11.1%)	
Friends	4 (16.7%)	0 (0.00%)	
None violence	13 (54.2%)	5 (55.6%)	
Parent-child	1 (4.17%)	1 (11.1%)	
Abuse type:			0.767
Emotional	5 (20.8%)	1 (11.1%)	
Mixed	1 (4.17%)	0 (0.00%)	
Non specific	14 (58.3%)	8 (88.9%)	
Self included:			1.000
No	18 (75.0%)	7 (77.8%)	
Yes	5 (20.8%)	2 (22.2%)	
Drawers' role:			0.498
Involved	2 (8.33%)	1 (11.1%)	
Non-specific role	9 (37.5%)	2 (22.2%)	
Observer	0 (0.00%)	1 (11.1%)	
Victim	2 (8.33%)	0 (0.00%)	
Drawing type:			1.000
Figurative	16 (66.7%)	6 (66.7%)	
Metaphoric/expressive	8 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	
Schematic:			0.697
No	10 (41.7%)	5 (55.6%)	
Yes	14 (58.3%)	4 (44.4%)	
Aggressive symbols:			1.000
No	22 (91.7%)	9 (100%)	
Yes	2 (8.33%)	0 (0.00%)	
Words included:			0.263
No	13 (54.2%)	7 (77.8%)	
Yes	11 (45.8%)	2 (22.2%)	
Physical touch between vict: No	24 (100%)	9 (100%)	.
Aggressor size:			0.176

Variable	Sexual abuse negative N=24	Sexual abuse positive N=9	P- value
Big/exaggerated	2 (8.33%)	1 (11.1%)	
Normal	9 (37.5%)	1 (11.1%)	
Tiny	3 (12.5%)	4 (44.4%)	
Victim size:			0.911
Big/exaggerated	1 (4.17%)	1 (11.1%)	
Normal	5 (20.8%)	2 (22.2%)	
Tiny	2 (8.33%)	1 (11.1%)	
Drawing dissociation:			1.000
No	20 (83.3%)	8 (88.9%)	
Yes	4 (16.7%)	1 (11.1%)	
Narrative according to drawing:			1.000
No	3 (12.5%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes	21 (87.5%)	8 (88.9%)	
Narrative dissociative:			1.000
No	14 (58.3%)	6 (66.7%)	
Yes	10 (41.7%)	3 (33.3%)	
Hurting symbols:			0.157
None	19 (79.2%)	6 (66.7%)	
Yes both	0 (0.00%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes emotional harm	5 (20.8%)	1 (11.1%)	
Yes physical harm	0 (0.00%)	1 (11.1%)	
Narrative organization:			0.047
Coherence	8 (33.3%)	7 (77.8%)	
Short	16 (66.7%)	2 (22.2%)	
Narrative theme:			0.557
Fear/anxiety	3 (12.5%)	0 (0.00%)	
Lack of control	1 (4.17%)	1 (11.1%)	
Loneliness	3 (12.5%)	2 (22.2%)	
Human figures:			1.000
No	9 (37.5%)	3 (33.3%)	
Yes	15 (62.5%)	6 (66.7%)	
Page covering:			0.880
Full	7 (29.2%)	4 (44.4%)	
Half	11 (45.8%)	3 (33.3%)	
Minimal	6 (25.0%)	2 (22.2%)	
Missing body organs:			0.708
No	13 (54.2%)	4 (44.4%)	
Yes	11 (45.8%)	5 (55.6%)	
Forgiveness:			1.000
No	23 (95.8%)	9 (100%)	
Yes	1 (4.17%)	0 (0.00%)	
Punishment:			1.000
No	16 (66.7%)	6 (66.7%)	
Yes	8 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	