Egyptian Rearing Practices: *Takafol* and Observance of Family Rituals

Hani M. Henry and Mai Elwy

Egyptian Rearing Practices

In this chapter, we discuss two Egyptian rearing practices that aim to produce culturally valued behaviors and attitudes among children. Specifically, we examine the rearing practice of *Takafol* (translated as mutual care), which is the expectation that parents and children will continue to care for each other throughout life. We also discuss the rearing practice of observing family rituals, which are religious and cultural practices that aim to increase bonding and connectedness among family members. We explain why these rearing practices are culturally valued in Egypt. We also argue that they can be beneficial or can create personal distress to both parents and children depending on the outcome they produce, even if this outcome is culturally valued. We do not claim that these practices are exclusive to the Egyptian society, but we will discuss how they manifest in the Egyptian cultural context. Further, we provide various examples to highlight these rearing practices and the way they influence family members. However, we must acknowledge that the Egyptian society is undergoing drastic changes because of globalization and the rapid rise of a crude form of capitalism in Egypt (Chekir & Diwan, 2014). We also acknowledge that some of these rearing practices are diminishing and being rapidly replaced by new practices that are in stark contrast with these practices.

H. M. Henry (✉) · M. Elwy
American University in Cairo, New Cairo, Egypt
e-mail: hhenry@aucegypt.edu

B. K. Ashdown, A. N. Faherty (eds.), *Parents and Caregivers Across Cultures*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35590-6_17

Takafol or Mutual Benefit

The first rearing practice that we discuss is *takafol*. According to this practice, parents take full responsibility of their children's needs throughout their children's whole lives regardless of age, and children should take full responsibility of their aging or sick parents. This sense of interconnectedness, described by many psychological studies, suggests that members of the Egyptian society are more likely to adopt a collectivistic, rather than an individualistic, approach toward life (e.g., Abudabbeh, 1996; Buda & Elsayed-Elkhouly, 1998; Oyserman, 1993; Rugh, 1984). Contrary to the individualistic, Western European self, which values independence, autonomy, self-reliance, self-discovery, self-sufficiency, and individuality, the collectivistic self gives more priority to interdependence, family, collectivism, communalism, mutual give-and-take, and growth through joining with others (Sue & Sue, 2003). This self may have open and porous boundaries with less psychological space around others (Roland, 1988). This collectivistic self may also be more open to affective exchange with others and may be more sensitive to the expectations and needs of others (Triandis, 1989). The cultural practice of *takafol* may have resulted from this collectivistic, interdependent, and communal sense of self that characterizes many members of the Egyptian society. Triandis (2001) argued that child-rearing practices of collectivistic families stress conformity, obedience, security, and reliability. We argue that the practice of *takafol* may serve as a cultural manifestation of these values. However, and as mentioned earlier, we acknowledge that a growing segment of the Egyptian society is abandoning these values; hence, our chapter is not meant to assume generalizations about Egyptian practices.

Benefits of *Takafol* The concept of *takaf*ol is the notion of family solidarity (White & Rogers, 1997), which refers to familial social relationships that are marked by normative obligations and affective closeness. These normative obligations manifest in Egyptian families by the heavy involvement of parents in their children's lives. For example, Egyptian parents are often involved in their children's educational plan and ensure that they complete their everyday homework or assignments. As the Egyptian educational system is far from optimal due to crowded classrooms, poor quality of teachers, and lack of accountability (Egyptian Streets, 2013), many Egyptian parents pay additional funds for their children to receive private tutoring in hopes to enhance their educational experiences and improve their grades. This heavy parental involvement in education is similar to that reported in studies conducted on Arab parents. For example, Freund, Schaedel, Azaiza, Boehm, and Lazarowitz (2018) noted that Arab parents living in Israel often invest time and efforts in their children's education. Cohen (2006) also concluded that Arab parents in Israel believe that their children's success in school could lead to upward social mobility and higher status. Overall, research has shown that parents' involvement in their children's educational plan is associated with fewer behavioral problems and improved social functioning (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010).

With respect to living arrangements, research has shown that some ethnic groups prefer intergenerational co-residency (Goldsheider & Goldsheider, 1993). For example, many Egyptian parents ensure that their children attend a university in their hometown. Children are expected to continue living at home until their marriage (Boyd, 2000). Overall, we believe that the intimate nature of the parent–child relationship in Egypt allows for intense supervision and involvement and may serve to protect young people against risky behavior, such as substance use or school dropout (Malaquias, Crespo, & Francisco, 2014).

In the case of parents, the practice of *takafol* may benefit them by securing the respect and loyalty of their children, who often accept their parents' decisions and wishes without questioning. This form of child loyalty was described by Yeh and Bedford (2003) as filial piety, which is the honoring of one's parents, caring for them when they get older, and carrying their wishes and dreams after their deaths. For example, many Egyptian parents use the word "*E'zwah*," which is translated as having power or status, to describe the privilege of having children. In a sense, many parents feel empowered when they raise children that respect and honor them. The practice of *takafol* may also give parents the confidence that their children will take good care of them when they age or get sick (Teerawichitchainan, Pothisiri, & Long, 2015). For example, many Egyptian families host one of the grandparents in the case of the death of his or her spouse. The cultural expectation of married children to host their elderly parents is not unique to Egyptians, as it also occurs in East Asia and Vietnam (Mason, 1992). If the children have to leave the country to find better opportunities abroad, they may experience guilt and shame about leaving their parents (Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994). For many Egyptian immigrants, experiencing the death of their parents while they are away from their homeland could create profound feelings of guilt (Mazzucato, Kabki, & Smith, 2006).

The Downside of *Takafol* Although *takafol* secures mutual benefit between children and parents, it may also create many hardships for children. *Takafol* may not allow children to change the life path that was designated by their parents. As Egyptian parents are heavily involved in their children's educational plans, it is not uncommon for parents to reject their children's desire to seek careers or fields of study that do not fit certain gender or cultural expectations (Fouad et al., 2008; Jacobs, 1991). For example, many families of young women discourage them from seeking education in areas that require them to spend many hours outside their homes, such as medicine or engineering (Jacobs, 1991).

Rejection of a daughter's career choice by her parents may be very disruptive if the feedback she receives from her parents is very important to her (Li & Kerpelman, 2007). Daughters are also encouraged to marry at a young age (Callaghan, Gambo, & Fellin, 2015). On the other hand, young men are often discouraged from seeking a liberal arts education. For example, Egyptian parents may frown upon their son's request to major in psychology, philosophy, or art (Jacobs, Chhin, & Bleeker, 2006). Overall, this heavy involvement of Egyptian parents in their children's career

choices is similar to that reported among Asian families. For example, Fouad et al. (2008) noted that Asian parents are greatly involved in their children's career development and choices and concluded that Asian American college students' career choices are more influenced by their parents than are European American college students' career choices. An individual's career choice in such cultural context purely evolves from family needs and expectation and does not become an individual's choice (Tang, 2002).

Further, many parents may reject their children's individual choices if they are incompatible with these parents' expectations (Tang, 2002). For example, they may reject their child's choice of spouse due to economic, social, or religious reasons. This involvement of Egyptian parents in their children's choice of spouse is similar to that reported by Baker (2003) in her research on Arab families. For example, she discussed a case of an Arab woman who independently chose her husband and then perceived her marital problem as a punishment from God because she did not involve her extended family in that decision. Egyptian parents tend to be involved in their child's choice of mate due to a number of reasons. Buunk, Pollet, and Dubbs (2012) argued that a major reason for parents' attempt to control this choice might result from their desire to maintain the homogeneity and cohesion of the in-group. This may also assure the parents that their children and their spouses will care for them when they age.

On the other hand, Egyptian parents often reject their son or daughter if they disclose that they have same-sex attraction (Bird, LaSala, Hidalgo, Kuhns, & Garofalo, 2017). Egyptian gay men may also face huge difficulties, as they are expected to get married and have children who will carry the name of the family (Liu, 2013). It is possible that this parental over-involvement in their children's lives could lead to family conflict (Tsai-chae & Nagata, 2008), and this conflict may then lead to psychological problems (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002).

As shown above, *takafol* may create low tolerance for differences, individuation, or any lifestyle that defy cultural norms or expectations. It also can present strict expectations such as early marriage (Callaghan et al., 2015), the type of career (Jacobs, 1991), and the choice of spouse (Baker, 2003). A child's failure to meet these expectations is often accompanied by feelings of guilt and indebtedness (Ma, Desai, George, Filippo, & Varon, 2014).

In the case of parents, *takafol* may also create many hardships and inconveniences. Many parents may prioritize their children's educational needs over their own personal needs (Leung & Shek, 2011). They may fully dedicate their lives to their children and may ignore any other aspirations. For example, Henry (2015) discussed a case of an Egyptian woman who delved into a deep state of depression because of her two sons' joint decision to emigrate to a very distant country. It seemed that she could not define a new role for herself beyond being a mother and a caregiver. In sum, the practice of *takafol* is a culturally valued rearing practice that can enhance family solidarity, compassion, and bonding (Goldsheider & Goldsheider, 1993). However, it may also create inconveniences, personal distress, and hardships for both children and parents (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Li & Kerpelman, 2007).

Observance of Family Rituals and Rules

We will now discuss another Egyptian rearing practice, which is parental expectation of children to observe certain family rituals and rules. Fiese (2006) defined family rituals as repeated special events that involve numerous family members and symbolic acts that develop throughout the family history. Such rituals may promote family members' sense of belonging, interpersonal communication, and shared memories (Roberts, 1988). Wollin and Bennett (1984) identified two main types of family rituals or rules, which are (a) patterned interactions and (b) family traditions and celebrations, and they made a clear distinction between them. They noted that patterned interactions occur more frequently and are less consciously planned. For example, Egyptian family members are expected to engage in shared activities, such as praying together or attending fixed dinnertime. On the other hand, family traditions and celebrations include holidays and other occasions that occur within a culture, such as religious or cultural holidays (Wollin & Bennet, 1984). For example, Egyptian family members are expected to participate in rituals that have both cultural and religious roots, such as *Eid* (feast) family meals and family celebrations including engagement parties, weddings, and *sobou'* (party marking the seventh day of a child's birth).

Children follow these rituals and prioritize family harmony over individual needs (Dwairy et al., 2006; Smetana & Ahmad, 2018). However, we must note that Egyptian children's obedience of family rules might be influenced by a culturally unique parenting style identified by Dwairy (2006) as a controlling-oriented parenting pattern. This parenting pattern is a mixture of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles (Dwairy, 2006).

Benefits of Observing Family Rules and Rituals Malaquais et al. (Malaquias et al., 2014) noted that the consistent observance of family rituals and rules could provide children and adolescents with clear structure, was linked to better mental health in adolescence, and served as a protective factor against substance abuse. Adolescents who shared dinner frequently with family showed more commitment to learning, positive values, social skills, and positive identity (Fulkerson et al., 2006). Further, sharing family meals was negatively linked to depression and high-risk behaviors, including substance abuse, antisocial behaviors, violence, academic problems, and eating problems (Malaquias et al., 2014). Crespo, Kielpikowski, Pryor, and Jose (2011), who noted that adolescents who participated in these rituals were less likely to attend mental health services, also discussed the benefits of participating in family rituals. Along the same lines, Fiese et al. (2002) found that family routines and rituals might improve individual health and well-being and increase young adults' competence.

With respect to parents, Yoon, Newkirk, and Perry-Jenkins (2015) noted that fathers' involvement in dinnertime rituals relates to positive outcomes, more adaptive skills, and less behavioral problems among girls. When these rituals are healthy and consistent, they positively affect the developmental outcomes of children as well as the functioning of the whole family (Dickstein, 2002). They also found that

predictable routines are associated with parental competence, child health, parent–child harmony, and academic achievement, as well as marital satisfaction and adolescents' sense of personal identity.

The Downside of Observing Family Rituals and Rules Adherence to family rituals seems to be mostly beneficial, at least in theory, but the way it is applied can be very detrimental. Strom and colleagues (1992) examined the struggle many Egyptian parents face in accommodating to rapid changes in economics, work, and lifelong learning. They also argued that these parents tend to get confused about which child-rearing customs to relinquish and which ones to retain and this intense conflict may eventually lead to considerable anxiety. Some families might show rigidity in expecting their young adult children to observe their cultural rituals or rules in a way that does not allow them to make independent choices or decision (Tang, 2002). Many familial disputes may arise between parents and emerging adults if family expectations or rules are ignored (Tsai-chae & Nagata, 2008).

Most of these rituals have deep religious roots and may create low tolerance for any lifestyle that deviates from religious expectations (Hojat et al., 1999). Research has shown that religious parents put more emphasis on obedience and conformity (Duriez, Soenens, Neyrinck, & Vansteenkiste, 2009). For example, gay men and women will not feel comfortable coming out and may experience internalized homophobia because of family and societal rejections (Jahangir & Abdul-latif, 2016). As the new generation is more exposed to Western influences through social media, movies, and television, adolescents and young adults may rebel against some family traditions, and this may cause intergenerational conflicts (Kwak, 2003). These kinds of conflicts can be destructive when they are frequent and intense, or associated with clashing values (Rasmi & Daly, 2015). For example, Henry (2011) shared some of the frustrations Egyptian women face in dealing with family rules and rituals. A quote by one of the interviewees seemed to capture this frustration:

> My brother for example, it does not matter for people if he stays up late or goes wherever he wants, but for me, if I stayed 10 minutes late from my expected return time, they [family] would question why I was late and what did I do? My brother can go out and has more freedom at any time even if he wants to go out at 3:00 AM. Whatever the man does, he can do anything even if it is wrong. Women are monitored in their life style, their work, way of clothing, reputation, and people can shame women. (Henry, 2011, p. 255).

As shown in the excerpt above, the strict expectations of this woman's family to follow family rules, such as curfew, may result in feelings of resentment, shame, and repression.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we provided an overview of two rearing practices that are culturally valued in the Egyptian cultural context. Specifically, we examined the rearing practice of *takafol*, which is the expectation that parents and children will continue to

care for each other throughout life. We also examined the rearing practice of observing family rituals, which included patterned interactions among family members and the necessity of participating in family celebrations (Wollin & Bennett, 1984). Although these practices are culturally valued in Egypt and may result in many benefits, they may also cause personal distress. Young adult children may benefit from *takafol* because heavy parental involvement in their educational plans may lead to fewer behavioral problems and enhanced social functioning (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010). This heavy parental involvement may also act as a buffer against numerous risk factors, such as drug abuse and school dropout (Malaquias et al., 2014). *Takafol* may also benefit parents by securing the respect, piety, and loyalty of their young adult children, which may eventually protect them against the negative consequences of aging (Mason, 1992; Teerawichitchainan et al., 2015). On the other hand, takafol may cause distress to children because it can restrict their individual choices and decisions (Tang, 2002). *Takafol* may also create distress to parents as it may prevent them from attending to their needs and may cause them to offer numerous personal sacrifices in order to maintain family harmony (Henry, 2015; Leung & Shek, 2011). Observance of family rituals such as patterned interactions and family tradition can also be beneficial or distressful.

On the one hand, it may provide young adults with clear structure and may serve as a protective factor against substance abuse (Malaquias et al., 2014). It is also associated with better mental health outcomes (Crespo et al., 2011) as well as parental competence, child health, parent–child harmony, and academic achievement (Fiese et al., 2002). However, parents' strict expectations of their children to follow these family rituals and rules may prevent an individual from making an independent choice (Tang, 2002) and may lead to intergenerational conflict when these rituals are ignored or rejected by younger family members (Kwak, 2003; Tsai-chae & Nagata, 2008).

We end this chapter with a post from the Facebook page "Humans of New York" (2018), a popular page that has 18 million social-media followers. The founder of this page randomly interviewed regular individuals he met in the streets and had gained huge media attention (Bosman, 2013) because of his great ability to show the wonderful and touching side of humanity. In his relatively recent visit to Egypt, he interviewed numerous Egyptian individuals and posted their experiences in his page. The following quote reflects the way an Egyptian young woman dealt with her family's strong reaction to her decision to take off the hijab and reflected the benefits and inconveniences of Egyptian rearing practices discussed in this chapter. It is important to note that Muslim girls/women are not forced to wear the hijab in Egypt and many decide to wear it by choice. However, we chose this case example due to its richness and striking relevance to the concepts we discussed in this chapter:

> I read a lot on the subject. I studied the texts. And I decided it was permissible to take it off—so that's what I did. My mom was terrified of what people would think. She asked me to delete all our mutual friends on Facebook. She said if I didn't wear the hijab, then I couldn't live at home. So I packed four big bags and went to live with a friend. It was the first time I'd ever slept out of my house. Over the next few weeks, I sent my parents messages every single day. I always told them where I was, what I was doing, and who I was with. I wanted to show that I forgave them, and that I was still their girl, and that one day

things would be normal again. They didn't respond for three months. Until one holiday my uncle called and invited me home for dinner. My parents started crying as soon as I walked in the door. They'd prepared a huge meal. They said that they didn't mean it, and that they love me a lot, and that they're proud of me. Things are very good now. We get along even better than when I obeyed. They see I'm doing great things with my freedom. I have a great job and I travel. They're very proud. I've learned to do what you want in life. Because if you do, the world will change to match you. (Humans of New York, 2018).

References

Abudabbeh, N. (1996). Arab families. In M. McGoldrick, J. Giordano, & J. K. Pearce (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (pp. 423–436). New York City, NY: Guilford Press

Baker, K. A. (2003). Marital problems among Arab families: Between cultural and family therapy interventions. Arab Studies Quarterly, 25, 53–74

Bird, J. D., LaSala, M. C., Hidalgo, M. A., Kuhns, L. M., & Garofalo, R. (2017). "I had to go to the streets to get love": Pathways from parental rejection to HIV risk among young gay and bisexual men. *Journal of Homosexuality, 64*, 321–342. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918368.2016.1179039

Bosman, J. (2013). *A fisherman in New York's sea of faces*. Retrieved January 9, 2019 from https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/07/business/media/humans-of-new-york-by-brandon-stanton.html?_r

Boyd, M. (2000). Ethnic variations in young adults living at home. *Canadian Studies in Population, 27*, 135–158. https://doi.org/10.25336/P6BG66

Buda, R., & Elsayed-Elkhouly, S. M. (1998). Cultural differences between Arabs and Americans: Individualism-collectivism revisited. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 29*, 487–492. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022198293006

Buunk, A. P., Pollet, T. V., & Dubbs, S. (2012). Parental control over mate choice to prevent marriages with out-group members. *Human Nature, 23*, 360–374. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-012-9149-5

Callaghan, J. E., Gambo, Y., & Fellin, L. C. (2015). Hearing the silences: Adult Nigerian women's accounts of 'early marriages'. *Feminism & Psychology, 25*, 506–527. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353515506691

Chekir, H., & Diwan, I. (2014). Crony capitalism in Egypt. *Journal of Globalization and Development, 55*, 177–211. https://doi.org/10.1515/jgd-2014-0025

Cohen, A. (2006). The relationship between multiple commitments and organizational citizenship behavior in Arab and Jewish culture. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 69*, 105–108. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2005.12.004

Crespo, C., Kielpikowski, M., Pryor, J., & Jose, P. E. (2011). Family rituals in New Zealand families: Links to family cohesion and adolescents' well-being. *Journal of Family Psychology, 25*, 184–193. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023113

Dickstein, S. (2002). Family routines and rituals – The importance of family functioning: Comment on the special section. *Journal of Family Psychology, 16*(4), 441–444. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.16.4.441

Duriez, B., Soenens, B., Neyrinck, B., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2009). Is religiosity related to better parenting? Disentangling religiosity from religious cognitive style. *Journal of Family Issues, 30*, 1287–1307. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X09334168

Dwairy, M. A. (2006). *Counseling and psychotherapy with Arabs and Muslims: A culturally sensitive approach*. Teachers College Press.

Dwairy, M., & Achoui, M. (2009). Parental control: A second cross-cultural research on parenting and psychological adjustment of children. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 19*, 16–22. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-009-9334-2

Dwairy, M., Achoui, M., Abouserie, R., Farah, A., Sakhleh, A. A., Fayad, M., & Khan, H. K. (2006). Parenting styles in Arab societies. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*, 230–247. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022106286922

Egyptian Street. (2013). *A to Z reasons why Egypt's educational system is lacking*. Retrieved on January 9, 2019 from https://egyptianstreets.com/2013/12/15/a-to-z-reasons-why-egypts-education-system-is-lacking/

El Nokali, N. E., Bachman, H. J., & Votruba-Drzal, E. (2010). Parent involvement and children's academic and social development in elementary school. *Child Development, 81,* 988–1005. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01447.x

Farver, J. A. M., Narang, S. K., & Bhadha, B. R. (2002). East meets west: Ethnic identity, acculturation, and conflict in Asian Indian families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 16*, 338–350. https://doi.org/10.1037//0893-3200.16.3.338

Fiese, B. H. (2006). *Family routines and rituals*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Fiese, B. H., Tomcho, T. J., Douglas, M., Josephs, K., Poltrock, S., & Baker, T. (2002). A review of 50 years of research on naturally occurring family routines and rituals: Cause for celebration? *Journal of Family Psychology, 16*, 381–390. https://doi.org/10.1037//0893-3200.16.4.381

Fouad, N. A., Kantamneni, N., Smothers, M. K., Chen, Y. L., Fitzpatrick, M., & Terry, S. (2008). Asian American career development: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 72*, 43–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2007.10.002

Freund, A., Schaedel, B., Azaiza, F., Boehm, A., & Lazarowitz, R. H. (2018). Parental involvement among Jewish and Arab parents: Patterns and contextual predictors. *Children and Youth Services Review, 85*, 194–201. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.12.018

Fulkerson, J. A., Story, M., Mellin, A., Leffert, N., Neumark-Sztainer, D., & French, S. A. (2006). Family dinner meal frequency and adolescent development: Relationships with developmental assets and high-risk behaviors. Journal of Adolescent Health, 39, 337–345. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2005.12.026

Goldsheider, F., & Goldsheider, C. (1993). *Leaving home before marriage: Ethnicity, familism, and general relationships*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Henry, H. M. (2011). Egyptian women and empowerment: A cultural perspective. *Women's Studies International Forum, 34*, 251–259. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2011.03.001

Henry, H. M. (2015). Spiritual energy of Islamic prayers as a catalyst for psychotherapy. *Journal of Religion and Health, 54*, 387–398. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-013-9780-4

Hojat, M., Shapurian, R., Nayerahmadi, H., Farzaneh, M., Foroughi, D., Parsi, M., & Azizi, M. (1999). Premarital sexual, child rearing, and family attitudes of Iranian men and women in the United States and in Iran. *The Journal of Psychology, 133*, 19–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223989909599719

Humans of New York. (2018). *A Facebook post*. Retrieved September 20 from https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2543688612371890&id=102099916530784

Jacobs, J. E. (1991). The influence of gender stereotypes on parent and child math attitudes: Differences across grade-levels. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 83*, 518–527. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.83.4.518

Jacobs, J. E., Chhin, C. S., & Bleeker, M. M. (2006). Enduring links: Parents' expectations and their young adult children's gender-typed occupational choices. *Educational Research and Evaluation, 12*, 395–407. https://doi.org/10.1080/13803610600765851

Jahangir, J. B., & Abdul-latif, H. (2016). Investigating the Islamic perspective on homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality, 63*, 925–954. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1116344

Kwak, K. (2003). Adolescents and their parents: A review of intergenerational family relations for immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Human Development, 46*, 115–136. https://doi.org/10.1159/000068581

Leung, J. T., & Shek, D. T. (2011). "All I can do for my child"– Development of the Chinese parental sacrifice for Child's education scale. *International Journal on Disability and Human Development, 10*, 201–208. https://doi.org/10.1515/IJDHD.2011.037

Li, C., & Kerpelman, J. (2007). Parental influences on young women's certainty about their career aspirations. *Sex Roles, 56*, 105–115. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9151-7

Liu, M. (2013). Two gay men seeking two lesbians: An analysis of Xinghun (formality marriage) ads on China's Tianya. *Sexuality & Culture, 17*, 494–511. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-012-9164-z

Ma, P. W. W., Desai, U., George, L. S., Filippo, A. A. S., & Varon, S. (2014). Managing family conflict over career decisions: The experience of Asian Americans. *Journal of Career Development, 41*, 487–506. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845313512898

Malaquias, S., Crespo, C., & Francisco, R. (2014). How do adolescents benefit from family rituals? Links to social connectedness, depression and anxiety. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 24*, 3009–3017. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-014-0104-4

Mason, K. O. (1992). Family change and support of the elderly in Asia: What do we know? *Asia-Pacific Population Journal, 7*, 13–31. https://doi.org/10.18356/7082dcfa-en

Mazzucato, V., Kabki, M., & Smith, L. (2006). Transnational migration and the economy of funerals: Changing practices in Ghana. *Development and Change, 34*, 104–1072. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1367-7660.2006.00512.

Oyserman, D. (1993). The lens of personhood: Viewing the self and others in a multicultural society. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65*, 993–1009. https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.65.5.993

Rasmi, S., & Daly, T. M. (2015). Intergenerational conflict in Arab families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 47*, 42–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115605385

Roberts, J. (1988). Ritual themes in families and family therapy. In E. Amber-Black, J. Roberts, & R. Whiting (Eds.), *Rituals in families and family therapy* (pp. 3–46). New York City, NY: Norton.

Roland, A. (1988). *Search of India and Japan: Towards a cross-cultural psychology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rugh, A. B. (1984). *Family in contemporary Egypt*. New York City, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Sandhu, D. S., & Asrabadi, B. R. (1994). Development of an acculturative stress scale for international students: Preliminary findings. *Psychological Reports, 75*, 435–448. https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.1994.75.1.435

Smetana, J. G., & Ahmad, I. (2018). Heterogeneity in perceptions of parenting among Arab refugee adolescents in Jordan. *Child Development, 89,* 1786–1802. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12844

Strom, R., Strom, S., Waurster, S., Fisharah, F.A., El-Samandoy, A., & El-Khatib, A. (1992). Parents' expectations of Egyptian children. *Journal of Instructional Psychology, 19,* 291–301.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, S. (2003). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). New York City, NY: Wiley.

Tang, M. (2002). A comparison of Asian American, Caucasian American, and Chinese college students: An initial report. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 30*, 124–134. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2002.tb00484.x

Teerawichitchainan, B., Pothisiri, W., & Long, G. T. (2015). How do living arrangements and intergenerational support matter for psychological health of elderly parents? Evidence from Myanmar, Vietnam, and Thailand. *Social Science & Medicine, 136*, 106–116. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2015.05.0190277-9536

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review, 96*, 506–520. https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295x.96.3.506

Triandis, H. C. (2001). Individualism-collectivism and personality. *Journal of Personality, 69*, 907–924. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429499845-5

Tsai-Chae, A. H., & Nagata, D. K. (2008). Asian values and perceptions of intergenerational family conflict among Asian American students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14*, 205–214. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.14.3.205

White, L. K., & Rogers, S. J. (1997). Strong support but uneasy relationships: Co-residence and adult children's relationships with their parents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59*, 62–76. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2015.05.019

Wollin, S. J., & Bennet, L. A. (1984). Family rituals. *Family Process, 23,* 401–420. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.1984.00401.x

Yeh, K. H., & Bedford, O. (2003). A test of the dual filial piety model. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 6*, 215–228. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1467-839x.2003.00122.x

Yoon, Y., Newkirk, K., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2015). Parenting stress, dinnertime rituals, and child well-being in working-class families. *Family Relations, 64*(1), 93–107. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12107

Dr. Hani Henry is an associate professor of psychology and the former chair of Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, and Egyptology Department at the American University in Cairo. He received his PhD in clinical psychology from Miami University of Ohio. His scholarly work has examined the influence of culture, broadly defined, in a wide array of psychological processes that are experienced by members of marginalized and underprivileged populations.

Ms. Mai Elwy is a graduate student of the MA Counseling Psychology Program at the American University in Cairo. She is a certified parenting educator from Positive Parenting, UK, and The Parent Practice, London, and she works as a parenting educator and teacher trainer at private and public organizations.