Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Unveiling parenting in Yemen : a study on maternal parenting practices in slums in Yemen

Alsarhi, K.M.H.

Citation
Alsarhi, K. M. H. (2020, January 21). *Unveiling parenting in Yemen : a study on maternal parenting practices in slums in Yemen*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/83301

Version:	Publisher's Version
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/83301

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/83301 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Alsarhi, K.
Title: Unveiling parenting in Yemen : a study on maternal parenting practices in slums in Yemen
Issue Date: 2020-01-21

6

General Discussion

General Discussion

The aims of this dissertation were to examine the feasibility of conducting observational parenting research "off the beaten track" in the Muslim Arabic cultural context of Yemen, to answer questions about predictors of parenting, and associations of parenting with child behavior in that context, and to examine if they would yield similar results to those found in Western-sample-based research. After the research topic was introduced in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 outlined background and culture of the research context in Yemen. Chapter 3 examined the feasibility of assessing maternal sensitivity using video observation within restricted veiled Muslim Arabic culture which proved to be possible even though with some challenges. Furthermore, maternal sensitivity appeared to be meaningfully related to other parenting dimensions like higher maternal education and experienced social support. In Chapter 4, we examined the unique effects of parental education and intelligence on maternal sensitivity and the mediating role of partner conflict in this association. Results revealed that mothers' level of education rather than their level of intelligence was a predictor of their level of sensitivity towards their children. Findings also suggested a mediational role of partner conflict in the relation between parental education and maternal sensitivity. Specifically, low-educated mothers reported more partner conflict which was in turn associated with lower levels of maternal sensitivity towards their children. Chapter 5 examined the potential role of maternal religiosity in harsh physical parenting and child behavioral problems in low-income Muslim families in Yemen. Findings showed a moderation effect of maternal religiosity in the association between harsh physical parenting and child outcomes. Children whose mothers showed a higher level of religiosity exhibited stronger adverse effects of harsh punishment in comparison to their counterparts whose mothers showed lower levels of religiosity.

Theoretical Implications

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model guided the studies in this dissertation. In his model, Bronfenbrenner refers to the context in which human development occurs as a set of proximal and distal "nested structures". Proximal structures refer to those who most immediately and directly impact a child's development, including parents, school, religious institutions, neighborhood, and peers while distal refers to the cultural and eco nomic contexts a child grows up in. Our results support some relations outlined by this

model in an "off the beaten track" culture like the non-Western Arab Muslim culture of Yemen.

Cultural Aspects of the Research Instruments

Based on the notion that research in culturally different groups, as it is the case in ethnic minorities, requires instruments that are sensitive to cultural and contextual variations (Canino & Bravo, 1994), this dissertation studied parenting and child development using Western-based measures across linguistically, culturally and contextually different Arab Muslim population with some adaptations to that specific culture. In cross-cultural research, two different approaches are identified; the emic and etic approach (Berry, 1969; Pike, 1967). The emic approach studies behavior of a particular society from within, takes into consideration the insider's perspective, and structures are discovered by the analyst. The etic approach on the other hand, studies behavior from a position outside the system or the society, and structures are created by the analyst (Pike, 1966). In the etic approach, criteria are considered universal while in the emic approach criteria are relative to internal characteristics (Pike, 1966). Even though we did adapt some of the measures that made it possible to work within a strictly veiled culture, we still measured the constructs as they had been originally developed. This enabled cross-cultural comparisons inherent to the etic perspective.

The adaptations of the measures we used were mainly done to be able to measure the original construct in a veiled culture and to increase the validity in this specific culture. Two major observational Western parenting measures that we used were the Ainsworth maternal sensitivity observation measure (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1974) and the discipline "don't touch" task observation measure (Kochanska et al., 2001). Adaptations of these two measures included the selection of the video observation location, the tasks to be carried out, and the type of toys to be used. The observation location was carried out at home as requested by the mothers who were veiled and would only allow filming them in their homes. For the maternal sensitivity measure, what to do during the interaction task was left for the mothers to decide upon. Tasks chosen by the mothers included cooking, folding clothes, feeding and giving a bath to their children. As for the type of toys used in the discipline measure, toys were selected to fit within the slum context. This meant that too attractive toys were eliminated from the proposed toys to use after the consultation with the head of the local NGO who also had gathered advice

from the local facilitators who were involved in this project. Other measures that were also adapted were the questionnaires that were translated (and back-translated) using the most local dialect used in our research area. Moreover, the language used in the questionnaires was somewhat simplified – without changing the meaning of the questions – to help the uneducated mothers understand the questions better. In addition, we interviewed our participants instead of using self-report methods as most of our participants were illiterate. Some of the questionnaires' scales like *The Conflict Tactics Scale* (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy & Sugarman, 1996) were minimized from five to three options taking into consideration the low level of education of most of our participants which made the distinction between the scales' options puzzling for some of the participants. As for the intelligence test measure, we used the short version of Raven's Progressive Matrices which is used throughout the world as an indicator of general intelligence (Raven, 2000). Raven's measure was selected in this study because of its frequent international use (Vijver, 1997) and because of its non-verbal format,which is suitable for this study's sample where more than half of the mothers (53%) had no education at all. In addition, only three sets within the test out of five sets of twelve matrices were presented to our participants, to minimize the burden to the participants who were not used to these types of tests. All measures used in this dissertation generally yielded similar results to the results available from the Western literature about parents who live in contexts characterized by low social economic status. The following section sheds light on the challenges and future directions of the culturally adapted measures we have used in this dissertation.

Maternal Sensitivity Observational Measure

In this study, the non-Western micro-context of the family was studied where mothers and their children were observed using a common Western video observational parenting measure. In that context, completely veiled mothers were filmed and observed while interacting with their children in a naturalistic settling. We found that this Western-based video observation measure of sensitivity was a feasible measure in the "off beaten track" non-Western Arab Muslim culture although with some limitations that will be discussed in detail in the limitations section later on. Maternal sensitivity scores showed significant variation and were independent of some of the variables that might be influenced by the video procedure. Results revealed that 58% of the mothers showed

predominantly insensitive behavior which is in line with the literature on parenting styles in traditional countries such as Yemen that tend to be more authoritarian (Dwairy, 2006), and in line with results from low-educated/poor Western samples (Mesman, van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2012).

Moreover, similar to the Western based literature, maternal sensitivity was found to be positivity related to maternal education, maternal social support, and negatively to partner conflict. Mothers with more education, more social support and less partner conflict were more sensitive than mothers with lower education and social support and more partner conflict. Mothers with more education, more social support and less partner conflict were more sensitive than mothers with lower education and social support and more partner conflict. This confirms findings in previous Western studies where educated mothers were found to be more sensitive and less intrusive toward their children (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2004), show more positive responses to infant behavior and distress (Diehl, 1997), and have a less controlling style in parent-child interactions (Ispa et al. 2004). The literature also shows that mothers who experience low social support demonstrated a decrease in maternal sensitivity over time (Mertesacker, Bade, Haverkock, & Pauli-Pott, 2004), and that mothers who experience partner conflict show lower levels of parenting warmth (Levendosky et al., 2000, 2001), and are likely to provide less supportive environments for their children (Belsky, 1984; Conger et al., 1990).

Mothers with more education, more social support and less partner conflict were more sensitive than mothers with lower education and social support and more partner conflict. This confirms findings in previous Western studies where educated mothers were found to be more sensitive and less intrusive toward their children (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2004), show more positive responses to infant behavior and distress (Diehl, 1997), and have a less controlling style in parent-child interactions (Ispa et al. 2004). The literature also shows that mothers who experience low social support demonstrated a decrease in maternal sensitivity over time (Mertesacker, Bade, Haverkock, & Pauli-Pott, 2004), and that mothers who experience partner conflict show lower levels of parenting warmth (Levendosky et al., 2000, 2001), and are likely to provide less supportive environments for their children (Belsky, 1984; Conger et al., 1990).

However, in contrast to the available literature which is based on Western samples, we were able to study the independent roles of maternal education and maternal in telligence in predicting maternal sensitivity. Our results showed that maternal education

rather than maternal intelligence predicted maternal sensitivity. Our results revealed that maternal education and maternal intelligence reflect more distinct variables where education is the driving factor in the association with maternal sensitivity rather than intelligence. In most of the Western literature, education and intelligence are highly correlated so it is difficult to interpret the findings of the association with maternal sensitivity. In the Yemeni context, intelligent mothers are not necessarily educated, and because of a lack of access to education could even be illiterate in spite of their general intellectual ability. It seems that education of mothers helps them to be able to respond sensitively to their child, perhaps through better problem solving skills, increased knowledge that can help mothers in their parenting, or – as we have shown in Chapter 4 – a decreased risk of partner conflict. Future studies within the Yemeni context should delve into the mechanisms of the effects of education to test the causal role of education in predicting sensitivity to gain more knowledge about those two constructs and whether those results are particular to the Yemeni context or can be generalized to other developing countries as well.

Parental Discipline and Religiosity

In the second empirical report, we focused further on other important proximal aspects of child environment which were parental discipline and parental religiosity. In Chapter 5, we specifically examined the potential role of maternal religiosity in harsh physical parenting and child behavioral problems in a slum context in Yemen. Religion - which is considered as one as a cultural factor that could influence the association between harsh physical parenting and child behavioral problems. The findings showed a moderation effect of maternal religiosity in the association between harsh physical parenting and child outcomes. In children whose mothers showed a higher level of religiosity, harsh punishment was more prevalent aspect of culture (Decety, 2015) - was examined strongly related to child behavior problems in comparison to their counterparts whose mothers showed lower levels of religiosity. This results was contrary to what we found in the literature where children whose mothers were more religious exhibited minimal adverse effects of physical punishment in comparison to their counterparts whose mothers were less religious (Ellison, Musick & Holden, 2011). Therefore, our findings of this study contribute uniquely to the literature on religion in relation to parenting which has mainly focused on Judeo-Christian religions (Mahoney, et al., 2008;

Mahoney, 2010) by providing different insight into the role of religion and how it may shape parent–child relationships in a Muslim population. This study has also contributed to the literature by highlighting the idea that the association between parenting and child development depends on contextual factors. This finding supports assertions in the literature that the effects of parental physical discipline on child outcomes may not be universal as contextual factors such as culture, ethnicity, and religion can play a role in that relation (Pinderhughes, Dodge, Bates, Pettit, & Zelli, 2000; Landsford et al. 2005). This finding is also in line with research showing that besides parenting practices, culture, which religion is possibly one prevalent aspect of it (Decety, 2015), plays a significant role in parenting (Nemri, 2016). These results may imply that culture is a key in the child-parent relationship. For future studies on Muslim culture and parenting, one can suggest interventional research on the causal role of positive aspects of the Muslim parent-child religious teachings and test how that would play a role in harsh parenting. This can be done by educating mothers on parenting practices using positive parenting skills driven from religious teachings that highlight warmth, support, and care towards children and investigating whether harsh parenting practices would decrease as a result.

Challenges

Future research could build on the results attained in this dissertation but also address some of this studies' limitations. Research investigating young children growing up in low-income slum families in an Arab Muslim context is sparse. This dissertation, being the first of its kind, contributes to literature about parenting in non-Western cultures. Applying Western parenting measures like the video observational measures has never been tested previously in a veiled strict culture towards women where filming women is taboo. Furthermore, this dissertation gives new insights into some parenting factors in that context in comparison to the available mainstream Western-sample-based research.

The environment in the slum areas in Yemen is characterized by restrictions in terms of video observation location and setting due to the veiled culture where women spend most of their time at home, and object to being photographed or filmed even when veiled. Because mothers in Yemen spend most of their daily lives in the home, the video observation took place at home. This had many implications for the observation of some mothers and their children alike. Even though the veil was supposed to make mothers

feel more comfortable in front of the camera, some mothers still showed many behaviors that indicated they were not comfortable being filmed and remained acutely aware of being filmed. For some children, being filmed doing an activity at home with their mothers was a new experience as they usually spend most of their time outside playing. Anecdotally it was notable that in general, most of the children were amazed, amused, or entertained by the presence of a video camera at home, but some also seemed afraid, and froze in front of the camera unable to interact with their mothers who tried hard to keep their children engaged. Others stared, whispered to their mothers, cried, giggled or even disappeared from the camera scene. Some children kept trying to walk away from the location of the observation wanting to play outside. When children wanted to play outside of the home as they usually would do, they were prevented to do so by their mothers as mothers did not want to be filmed outside their homes. For future studies, naturalistic observation can be adapted by prolonging the filming time where mothers would get used to the camera and most possibly forget about its presence. Another suggestion would be to film the mother-child interaction in a time where usually the home with their mothers. This could be during the evenings when children are at home or during meal times.

Another challenge of the observational measures was the number of people present while filming. As mentioned earlier, Yemeni family sizes are large and therefore during the home visit, there were many people present besides the mother and the target child. The number of people present at the location of the video observation apart from the mother and the target child was high ($M = 6.49$, $SD = 3.43$). People present were not only family members (i.e., other children of the mother, her husband, relatives) but also curious neighbors and acquaintances who for the first time came in close contact with a video camera. To minimize the level of distraction for the mothers in homes where the number of people present was large, people present were allowed to stay in the observation location but not in the scene in front of the camera. This was in line with the wishes of many female relatives and neighbors who did not want for themselves to appear in the video. This however, created some awkwardness for some mothers as they were children would be at being observed not only by the video camera but also by other people present who were standing behind the camera. Some of the children and adults present ended up instructing either the child or the mother on how they should behave in front of the camera. In those occasions, attempts by the research assistant to prevent

instructions to the mother were in vein. Women and children who were present felt that they were part of the show and wanted to help the mother in any way they could. As a solution for future studies, the timing of the filming can be changed to the evenings when visitors are usually not around. Another option is to prolong the filming time in which visitors might eventually leave and more one-on-one mother-child interaction might occur.

One last challenge of the observational tasks was the nature of the tasks. Mothers were observed during two different video observational tasks. One was a naturalistic observation to measure maternal sensitivity and the other was the don't touch task to measure maternal discipline. In the naturalistic observation task, mothers were asked to do what they would normally do with their children. As mentioned above, Yemeni children usually play outside the home in the street. Mothers do not spend time with their children at home doing activities such as playing, conversing or simply spending time together. Thus, the observation task created a challenge for some mothers as they often did not understand what type of activity they were expected to do or did not know what to do. To avoid the situation of no interaction, the research assistant suggested some interaction activities based on advice from some mothers and community facilitators. However, once examples were offered to those mothers who did not know what to do as an activity, a small number of mothers basically did the activity suggested to them as an example even though it would be something they usually did not do with their children. This was reflected in the awkwardness of the situation during the activity for those mothers and their children alike where activities clearly did not approximate an actual everyday interaction between mother and child. Such activities that were used as examples by the research assistant, and then duly taken as literal instructions by the mothers included chores like folding clothes and cooking, which were a major theme of the activities chosen by some mothers. For future studies, more pre-investigation within the slum community of what type of activities mothers do with their children would be helpful. This could be done by asking more mothers of what they usually do with their children or simply by having a female researcher who would mingle with mothers to have a closer view of what type of activities they usually do with their children.

The other observational task was the don't touch task which aimed at measuring maternal discipline through a play session between the mother and child. One challenge in this task was the playtime that the mother was supposed to spend with her

child. Some mothers simply did not play with their children during the whole observation, while others did not feel at ease playing with their children. This is in line with results from studies in other non-Western contexts, where parent-child play is not considered part of the parent's role (Super and Harkness, 1986; Lancy, 2007; Salinas, Fouts, Neitzel, & Bates-Fredi, 2019), Another challenge was the type of toys selected for this observation task. Despite great efforts from the research team to select the task toys that fit within the slum context, yet the toys presented a challenge for the children and mothers alike as they may have been too attractive or completely unfamiliar to them. This resulted in some mothers themselves exploring and playing with the toys while their children would watch them in frustration. For future studies, the don't touch task can be adapted to suit the cultural context. This could be done by asking mothers to prevent their children from touching something they already have at home and the children usually are not allowed to touch it, like a mobile phone, tools that are used in the kitchen, or for sewing, etc.

Challenges were also faced when using the questionnaires. Some of the questionnaires were difficult to comprehend by our participants. For example, the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire, which is often used and validated to measure child behavioral problems included some behavioral problems, presented some problems such as hyperactive behaviors which were too abstract for low-educated mothers living in slum conditions whose prominent child-related problems might be more related to physical health problems or basic needs related issues like hunger and general health. Future studies in similar samples should consider using questions that are phrased less abstract. Other questionnaires were simply dropped after interviewing half of the mothers in our sample as the answers showed the mothers did not really grasp the content of the question which was about what people in other countries could learn from their parenting.

Implications for Future Studies

The results of this dissertation were based on a cross sectional, non-experimental design which makes it impossible to conclude anything about causality. Therefore, future research can test causal relations of some of the cross-sectional relations presented in this dissertation using experimental research. For example, the causal role of sensitive parenting on young children's resilience can be tested by improving mater nal sensitivity and then testing if children's wellbeing in general and behavior problems

in specific will be influenced. Also the role of education can be tested by improving education (in a randomized controlled trial) and investigating if partner conflict decreases and sensitivity improves as a result of this. Similarly, future studies can test the role of partner conflict by attempting to reduce it and testing whether that will improve sensitivity, and the role of harsh discipline by using an intervention aimed at reducing harsh discipline and testing whether it would decrease child behavior problems.

Moreover, our results showed that there was high number of mothers who were insensitive, which might suggest the idea of implementing a parenting program that increases sensitivity. An example of an intervention program for at-risk mothers who experience higher levels of sociodemographic risk is Mom Power (MP) (Muzik et al. 2011). The program key intervention principles are focused around the importance of trust-enhancing self-efficacy through empowerment, and skills-building around self-care/mental health, problem-solving, and parenting competence (Muzik, et al., 2015). The program includes 10-weekly group intervention sessions and three individual sessions. This type of intervention can work in the Yemeni collective culture where people prefer to do things more in groups rather than individually. Mothers' group discussions led by professional facilitators might lead to successful results in terms of improved parenting skills in the less sensitive mothers.

Moreover, our results have shown that maternal education is associated with maternal sensitivity. Mothers who were more educated showed more sensitivity to their children. Therefore, intervention research can be suggested to improve education and to test whether sensitivity improves and partner conflict decreases. In addition, our results showed that maternal education rather than maternal intelligence is associated with maternal sensitivity.

Our results also emphasized the role of maternal religiosity as a moderator in the relation between harsh physical parenting and child outcomes, with higher religiosity exacerbating the negative effects of harsh physical parenting on children. For those parents with higher levels of religiosity, future studies can be suggested to test parenting skills interventions which aim at promoting positive parenting by bodies that work directly with mothers in slum areas like local NGOs, child clinics, and public organizations, etc. This can be done by incorporating positive parenting skills with religious teachings that highlight warmth, support, and care towards children.

Finally, all the studies in the present dissertation focused only on maternal

background, views and behaviors. Having obtained information on fathers' background like their level of education, intelligence, religiosity and on their general role in rearing their children, would have given a clearer picture of child development in Yemeni slums. For example, one might expect to find that the level of the father's religiosity also plays a role in child behavioral problems or in harsh parenting. In a culture where rearing young children is solely a mother's task, learning more on how father-related variables would be associated to children's behaviors, emotions, and relation-ships would be a great asset to literature on this sample.

Concluding Remarks

This dissertation shows the applicability of the video observation of parenting in the non-Western Arab Muslim slum context in Yemen. To our knowledge, this is the first attempt to study parenting in a culture where filming fully veiled women is a challenging task. Moreover, the studies in this dissertation have yielded some meaningful results on factors that play an important role in child development such as maternal sensitivity, education, religiosity, harsh parenting and partner conflict. Even though the results of this dissertation raise a lot more questions, its studies are first steps in the direction of getting more knowledge about parenting and child development in a Yemeni Arab Muslim Slum context. We hope with its valuable results, this dissertation opens the door for future research using naturalistic video observation measures which can help to increase our knowledge on parenting and child development in that context in general and to be able to contribute to parenting support and child development in Yemen in particular.

References

Ainsworth, M. D. S., Bell, S. M., & Stayton, D. F. (1974). Infant-mother attachment and social development: Socialization as a product of reciprocal responsiveness to signals.

Belsky, J. (1984). The determinants of parenting: A process model. *Child development, 83-96.*

Berry, J. W. (1969). On cross-cultural comparability. *International journal of Psychology, 4(2), 119-128.*

Canino, G., & Bravo, M. (1994). The adaptation and testing of diagnostic and outcome measures for cross-cultural research. *International Review of Psychiatry, 6(4), 281-286.*

Conger, R. D., Elder Jr, G. H., Lorenz, F. O., Conger, K. J., Simons, R. L., Whitbeck, L. B., ... & Melby, J. N. (1990). Linking economic hardship to marital quality and instability. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 643-656.*

Decety, J., Cowell, J. M., Lee, K., Mahasneh, R., Malcolm-Smith, S., Selcuk, B., & Zhou, X. (2015). The negative association between religiousness and children's altruism across the world. *Current Biology, 25(22), 2951-2955.*

Diehl, K. (1997). Adolescent mothers: what produces positive mother-infant interaction?. MCN: The American Journal of Maternal/*Child Nursing, 22(2), 89-95.*

Dwairy, M., Achoui, M., Abouserie, R., Farah, A., Sakhleh, A. A., Fayad, M., & Khan, H. K. (2006). Parenting styles in Arab societies: A first cross-regional research study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37(3), 230-247.*

Ellison, C. G., Musick, M. A., & Holden, G. W. (2011). Does conservative Protestantism moderate the association between corporal punishment and child outcomes?. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 73(5), 946-961.*

Ispa, J. M., Fine, M. A., Halgunseth, L. C., Harper, S., Robinson, J., Boyce, L., ... & Brady-Smith, C. (2004). Maternal intrusiveness, maternal warmth, and mother–toddler relationship outcomes: Variations across low-income ethnic and acculturation groups. *Child development, 75(6), 1613-1631.*

Kochanska, G., Coy, K. C., & Murray, K. T. (2001). The development of self-regulation in the first four years of life. *Child development, 72(4), 1091-1111.*

Lancy, D. F. (2007). Accounting for variability in mother–child play. *American Anthropologist, 109(2), 273-284.*

Lansford, J. E., Chang, L., Dodge, K. A., Malone, P. S., Oburu, P., Palmérus, K., ... & Tapanya, S. (2005). Physical discipline and children's adjustment: Cultural normativeness as a moderator. *Child development, 76(6), 1234-1246.*

Letourneau, N. L., Fedick, C. B., & Willms, J. D. (2007). Mothering and domestic violence: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Family Violence, 22(8), 649-659.*

Mahoney, A., Pargament, K. I., Tarakeshwar, N., & Swank, A. B. (2008). Religion in the home in the 1980s and 1990s: A meta-analytic review and conceptual analysis of links between religion, marriage, and parenting.

Mahoney, A. (2010). Religion in families, 1999–2009: A relational spirituality frame work. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72(4), 805-827.*

Mertesacker, B., Bade, U., Haverkock, A., & Pauli-Pott, U. (2004). Predicting maternal reactivity/sensitivity: The role of infant emotionality, maternal depressiveness/anxiety, and social support. Infant Mental Health *Journal: Official Publication of The World Association for Infant Mental Health, 25(1), 47-61.*

Mesman, J., van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2012). Unequal in opportunity, equal in process: Parental sensitivity promotes positive child development in ethnic minority families. *Child Development Perspectives, 6(3), 239-250.*

Muzik, M., Hadi, Z., & Rosenblum, K. (2011, January). Comprehensive care model for mothers and children in need: the Mom Power Project. In *INFANT MENTAL HEALTH JOURNAL (Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 120-121). NJ USA: WILEY-BLACKWELL.*

Muzik, M., Rosenblum, K. L., Alfafara, E. A., Schuster, M. M., Miller, N. M., Waddell, R. M., & Kohler, E. S. (2015). Mom Power: preliminary outcomes of a group intervention to improve mental health and parenting among high-risk mothers. *Archives of women's mental health, 18(3), 507-521.*

Nemri, N. Hitting Children Is Allowed in the Arabic Laws. Raseef, an Online Media Platform. 2015. Available online: https://raseef22.com/life/2015/10/03/*child-abuse-is-permitted-in-arab-laws/ (accessed on).*

Pike, R. (1966). Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. The Hague: Mouton.

Pike, K. L. (1967). Etic and emic standpoints for the description of behavior.

Pinderhughes, E. E., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., Pettit, G. S., & Zelli, A. (2000). Discipline responses: Influences of parents' socioeconomic status, ethnicity, beliefs about parenting, stress, and cognitive-emotional processes. *Journal of family psychology, 14(3), 380.*

Raven J. The Raven's Progressive Matrices: Change and stability over culture and time. Cognitive Psychology. 2000; 41:1–48. doi: 10.1006/cogp.1999.0735.

Salinas, D. A., Fouts, H. N., Neitzel, C. L., & Bates-Fredi, D. R. (2019). Young Children's Social

Networks in an Informal Urban Settlement in Kenya: Examining Network Characteristics Among Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo, and Maasai Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 50(5), 639-658.*

Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The revised conflicttactics scales (CTS2) development and preliminary psychometric data. *Journal of family issues, 17(3), 283-316.*

Super, C. M., & Harkness, S. (1986). The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture. *International journal of behavioral development, 9(4), 545-569.*

Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Shannon, J. D., Cabrera, N. J., & Lamb, M. E. (2004). Fathers and mothers at play with their 2-and 3-year-olds: Contributions to language and cognitive development. *Child development, 75(6), 1806-1820.*

Vijver, F. V. D. (1997). Meta-analysis of cross-cultural comparisons of cognitive test performance. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 28(6), 678-709.*