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Assessing the Resilience of Adolescents Who Were Raised in Orphanages in Cairo, Egypt

Noha Emam Hassanin

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Orphans in Egypt</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>Definition</b> .....	10
<b>Social Stigma</b> .....	11
<b>Adoption</b> .....	13
<b>Institutional Care of Orphans in Egypt</b> .....	<b>14</b>
<b>Structure of Alternative Care</b> .....	15
<b>Caregivers/ Surrogate Mothers</b> .....	16
<b>Violations</b> .....	18
<b>Laws and Regulations</b> .....	18
<b>Religious Considerations</b> .....	19
<b>Funding for Orphanages</b> .....	20
<b>Capacity-Building for Egyptian orphanages</b> .....	20
<b>Consequences of Institutional Care</b> .....	<b>21</b>
<b>Intellectual Development</b> .....	22
<b>Physical development</b> .....	22
<b>Psychological development</b> .....	23
<b>Attachment relationship</b> .....	23
<b>Resilience</b> .....	<b>24</b>
<b>Deficit-model Shift</b> .....	24
<b>Resilience Definition</b> .....	25
<b>Protective Factors</b> .....	<b>27</b>
<b>Navigation</b> .....	29
<b>Self-efficacy</b> .....	30
<b>Relationships</b> .....	31
<b>Activities</b> .....	32
<b>Positive emotions</b> .....	32
<b>Religion and spirituality</b> .....	32
<b>Identity</b> .....	33
<b>Resilience in out of family care children</b> .....	<b>33</b>
<b>Aim of the Study</b> .....	<b>35</b>
<b>Methods</b> .....	<b>36</b>
<b>Participants</b> .....	<b>36</b>
<b>Instruments</b> .....	<b>36</b>
<b>Procedures</b> .....	<b>38</b>
<b>Analysis</b> .....	<b>39</b>
<b>Results</b> .....	<b>40</b>
<b>Resilience Survey</b> .....	<b>40</b>
<b>Descriptive statistics</b> .....	40
<b>Questions means</b> .....	40
<b>Cronbach alpha</b> .....	42
<b>Interviews</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>The seven themes</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>Relationships</b> .....	43
<b>Access to material resources</b> .....	44
<b>Cohesion</b> .....	44
<b>Social justice</b> .....	46

<b>Identity</b> .....	<b>47</b>
<b>Cultural adherence</b> .....	<b>51</b>
<b>Power and control</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>Discussion</b> .....	<b>53</b>
<b>The Seven Themes</b> .....	<b>54</b>
<b>Relationships</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>Access to material resources</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>Cohesion</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>Social justice</b> .....	<b>56</b>
<b>Power and control</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>Identity and Cultural Adherence</b> .....	<b>58</b>
<b>Navigation and negotiation</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>Implications for Designing Interventions</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>Limitations</b> .....	<b>60</b>
<b>Future Research</b> .....	<b>62</b>
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>62</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>64</b>
<b>Appendix A</b> .....	<b>77</b>
<b>Appendix B</b> .....	<b>80</b>
<b>Appendix C</b> .....	<b>84</b>
<b>Appendix D</b> .....	<b>88</b>
<b>Appendix E</b> .....	<b>92</b>

**List of tables**

Table 1. The seven tensions.....38

Table 2. CYRM-12 questions mean .....41

### Dedication

To my brother who always believed in me and supported me in every step in my life. To the person who taught me how to love and how to give, to the person I know would have been super proud of me while reading this. To Ahmad (Allah's Mercy be upon him)

I dedicate this thesis.

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### **Abstract**

Orphans in Egypt face discrimination at school, in the work place and when finding a marriage partner. They also are at risk for developing physical, emotional and intellectual delays as a result of residing in an orphanage. The small amount of research conducted on orphans in Egypt has focused on these deficits and the hardships. However, it may be more empowering and more effective to focus on the strengths and capabilities of these youth. In particular, during adolescence when Egyptian orphans must leave their institutions, it is especially important to understand how to support resilience and give them the tools they need to handle the coming challenges of life, particularly in the context of the stigma they will face as they try to find a marriage partner, gain a job, and become independent.

The current study assessed the resilience level of youth who resided in orphanages between the ages of 16 and 21, using the Arabic validated version of the CYRM-12 (The Child and Youth Resilience Measure). Those youth who scored the highest on this scale were then interviewed in order to investigate the factors that enabled their resilience. Forty-one youth were surveyed with a mean resilience score of 48.68, indicating high resilience. The youth who were interviewed emphasized the importance of having close supportive relationships especially with a caring adult, and they appreciated having access to material resources especially education. They also had a sense of cohesiveness inside their orphanages, along with a sense of social responsibility toward and social connection with their communities, their places of worship and other orphans. The interviewees were exposed to discrimination, but were able to navigate their way through this challenge using the support from the close relationships, their faith and religion, accepting who they were as orphans, and not caring about what others thought of them. They displayed high levels of self-efficacy and felt in control of their own situations and lives. These results showed how youth who reside in difficult conditions were able to successfully navigate their way to health

sustaining resources within themselves, in the orphanage, and in their communities to enhance their well-being.

*Key words:* orphans, orphanages, resilience, strengths, transitioning youth, Cairo, Egypt

Research has shown that being raised in an orphanage can put a child at risk for physical, psychological and social developmental delays and deficits (Ahmad et al., 2005; Birmaher et al., 1996; Dozier & Rutter, 2008; Fawzy & Fouad 2010; Miller et al., 2005; Smyke et. al, 2007; Van IJzendoorn, Luijck & Juffer, 2008; Van IJzendoorn et al., 2011; Weissman et al., 1999). In addition, orphans raised in orphanages may face stigma and discrimination both during their time at the orphanage and when they leave it (Bargach, 2002; Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005; Thomason, 2008). In Egypt, the main option for an orphaned child is placement in an orphanage. It is therefore important to discover ways to mitigate the risks that Egyptian orphans face and to find ways to promote healthy development, resilience and successful transition to life outside of an orphanage.

### **Orphans in Egypt**

**Definition.** Egypt has 1.7 million orphaned children (UNICEF, 2009). The number of children between the age of 0 and 17 who are currently registered in orphanages is 12,015 (UNICEF and CAPMAS, 2016). This number is clearly underrepresenting the real number, possibly due to the fact that many orphanages are not registered with the Ministry of Social Solidarity (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). An orphan or vulnerable child (OVC) is defined as “a child under the age of 18 whose mother, father, both parents, or a primary caregiver has died, and who is in need of care or protection” (UNICEF & UNAIDS, 1999). However, this definition does not apply to most Egyptian orphans, as there are many children who are considered to be orphans although they have one or both parents alive. Such children are placed in an orphanage because their parents can’t afford to or don’t want to take care of them, and sometimes these parents even remain in contact with their children (Ethnasios, 2012). Orphans discussed in this paper are both those who are placed in an orphanage because they have lost one or both parents, and those whose parents are alive but

who were placed in an orphanage because of their parents' inability to provide them with adequate care.

Unlike the case for Sub-Saharan countries where the main reason for being placed in orphanage is parents who die of HIV (Kirkpatrick, et al., 2012), in Egypt, the main reason is poverty which leads to abandonment (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) 27.8% of Egyptians were living below the poverty line in 2015. Poverty indicates that the family won't have the adequate resources to take care of their children, that's why they send them to an orphanage or abandon them at an orphanage (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). The second most common reason for placement in an orphanage in Egypt is out of wedlock births. If a child was born outside of a marital relationship, they would most likely be abandoned, because of the social stigma associated with children born outside of a wedlock in Islamic nations (Bargach, 2002; Fawzy & Fouad, 2010; Gibbons, 2005; Thomason, 2008). According to the Egyptian law, children born outside of marriage, are not the responsibility of the biological parents (Thomason, 2008). Although, the child's law is intended to ensure "the child's best interest", when it comes to children born out of wedlock, they technically have no legal rights until a father acknowledges that a child is his own, or a proof is provided that the child was conceived during marriage (Moussa, 2017). The death of a spouse, divorce, remarriage or a prison sentence may also lead a family to abandon a child in an orphanage (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). Also, children could end up in orphanages if they were lost or if they were living on the street (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). In all cases the state is responsible for providing alternative care for the child who has no family to look after him/ her (The Child Law 1996, 2008, article 4).

**Social Stigma.** Orphans are often viewed in the Egyptian society as if they have inadequate morals and ethics, which originated from the misconception that all orphans are

non-marital children, making them morally loose like their parents (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). Orphans are harassed at school and called a '*laqeeet*' 'bastard' or are bullied for example, by hitting or stealing their food (Gibbons, 2005). This stigma is found not only in schools, society as a whole actually views orphans as '*laqeeet, 'children of sin children of adultery*' (Bargach, 2002 p.170). Orphans sadly are discriminated against just because their parents might not have been married when they were born and they don't have a family.

*Employment.* When it comes time to seek employment, orphans may have difficulty being hired. Some employers refuse to employ individuals even if they have the required education and training just because they are orphans (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). In addition, nepotism and having connections is of vital importance to finding a job in Egypt, and usually orphans lack these connections (Gibbons, 2005). Finally, sometimes orphans may not get proper education and necessary vocational training which also hinders their chances of getting good employment (Gibbons, 2005).

*Marriage.* Societal stigma also hinders orphans' chances of getting married, which is considered of vital importance in Egypt. Female orphans are not deemed as fit for marriage because they are seen as having the same low morals as their mothers who gave birth to them outside of marriage (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005; Thomason, 2008). Not having a known family lineage is also a problem for both female and male orphans in getting married (Ethnasios, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). Ethnasios (2012), conducted in depth interviews and a focus group with young adult orphans, both male and female, who were still living in an orphanage. The main topic discussed was the disappointments they had faced in seeking marriage. They described how their marriages could not be finalized because they were raised in an orphanage. One of the orphans stated that "marriage is all about family", and that despite being in love, their partners' families wouldn't accept them as suitors because they were orphans.

**Adoption.** Most Islamic countries, which follow *Sharia* law forbid legal adoption, except Indonesia, Malaysia, Somalia, Tunisia, and Turkey (Muslim Women's Shura Council, 2011). Article four of the Egyptian Child Law states clearly that "adoption is prohibited" (The Child Law 1996, 2008). Adoption is basically a permanent relationship between a child and the parent, where the adoptee takes the name of the father, is given equal rights, and shares equal obligations as if he or she were a biological child (Sayed, 2013). Although, Christianity doesn't prohibit adoption, Christians don't adopt because its illegal in Egypt. The idea of the prohibition of adoption in Islam was to place a foundation that inheritance would be given to individuals who shared biological relationship, however, a person is permitted to specify up to third of the inheritance in his/ her will to someone who is not necessary biologically related to them (Sayed, 2013). Another reason for the banning of adoption in Islam is to preserve the identity and the family lineage of the adoptee (Muslim Women's Shura Council, 2011; Sayed, 2013). It's considered of vital importance that a child is aware of his/ her identity and family lineage. A well-recognized family line is considered very important in the Arab culture and that's one of the main reasons why Arabs might not adopt a child; explicitly, because they don't know who their parents were (Thomason, 2008). This could be due to the fact that preserving family lineage is considered one of the five goals of *Sharia* law, "The five essential goals of the *Sharia* are the protection of religion, life, intellect, property and lineage." (Sayed, 2013, P. 511).

However, many Muslim scholars believe that open adoption is supported by the core beliefs of Islam. Since Islam emphasizes the need to act in an orphan's best interest, adoption can be considered as such (Muslim Women's Shura Council, 2011), because according to research the best interest of the child is to live with a family in order to promote healthy physical and psychological development (Van IJzendoorn, Luijck & Juffer, 2008; Van IJzendoorn et al., 2011; Petrowski, Cappa & Gross, 2017). To abide by the restriction of

Muslim inheritance, a will could indicate a third of the inheritance to be left to the adoptee. And to abide by preserving family lineage, open adoption could take place, to make sure that the child doesn't lose contact with his/ her biological family if they are known.

Another reason for the opposition to adoption in Egypt is that there is often a misconception of physical and intellectual delay associated with orphans (Ethansis, 2012; Gibbons, 2005). Additionally, since a large percentage of the Egyptian population are considered very poor, it makes it very difficult for them to financially support a new member who is not connected to them by blood (Gibbons, 2005). Even the middle class in Egypt is struggling financially; people who have decent jobs; such as doctors, lawyers and teachers get paid very low salaries and they can barely afford to support their own families (Ethansis, 2012). As for well-off families, adopting is prohibited by law and religion as mentioned earlier, so families who wish to take care of an orphan, sponsor them in the orphanage instead. The sponsorship is a form of financially taking care of a child, or the child might even live with the sponsor however, there would be no legal parent-child relationship.

*Sharia* law permits *Kafala* which could be seen as an alternative to adoption. It is a system like guardianship or foster parenting, but is more stable. In *Kafala*, a child can live with a family, who provides the child with education, food, care, and protection, however, the family has no legal obligation towards the child, and this relationship is not considered a child-parent legal relationship (Moussa, 2017; Sayed, 2013). Some people do *kafala*, by only financially supporting a particular child. The sponsor *Kafeel* could take the child outside the orphanage to get a meal for example, but that's it, the child doesn't live with the *Kafeel* (Gibbons, 2005). *Kafala* has a formal system in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco; where the state regulates the system (Sayed, 2013).

### **Institutional Care of Orphans in Egypt**

**Structure of Alternative Care.** Infant orphans usually are first placed in nurseries specialized for infants without parental care. In these nurseries surrogate mothers take care of the infants, by feeding and changing them (“الرعاية الاجتماعية، 2017”). The surrogate mother to child ratio varies across institutions. According to the Ministry of Social Solidarity, when they reach age six they are transferred to an orphanage based on their gender (“الرعاية الاجتماعية، 2017”). Most orphanages are gender segregated with very few exceptions. Some orphanages, have both genders, but usually transfer males to a different orphanage when they reach puberty (Gibbons, 2007). Some institutions have the capacity to take care of infants, so the children stay there from infancy to adolescence. Male orphans are expected to leave the orphanage when they turn 18 or when they find a stable employment option, and females are expected to leave when they get married. However, if male and female orphans leave the orphanage and they have no place to stay, or if they lost their employment, they are allowed by the administration of the orphanage to go back and live in the orphanage. For many orphans, their orphanages represent a safe haven from the outside world; a place where they can go back if they have problems or need advice (Ethansois, 2011; Gibbons, 2005; Gibbons, 2007).

Surrogate mothers practically live in the orphanage, although they might take few days off each month to go back to their homes, usually in rural villages (Gibbons 2005). Surrogate mothers/ caregivers of older children mainly take care of their hygiene, food and homework. When the orphans enter adolescence, however, they need emotional support, so having a quality relationship with a caregiver is of significant importance. The good caregivers really care about the orphans and form an emotional bond with them. According to Ethansois (2011), a good quality relationship with one’s caregiver acts as a protective factor for orphans against negative feelings such as sadness and loneliness. Unfortunately, this is not the case in many orphanages, where the orphan to caregiver ratio is huge, in some



orphanages it could be 20:1 which leaves really no time for emotional bond. The number of orphans in an orphanage varies according to the orphanage's available resources. Some orphanages have a very small number of children and have a proper caregiver to child ratio, others who lack the resources don't.

Orphans in Egypt, especially female orphans get very little exposure to the outside world (Ethnasios, 2011; Gibbons 2007). An orphanage's administration is usually very strict in disciplining especially the adolescent girls (Gibbons, 2007), the only exposure they get is sometimes going to school. Keeping their virginity is considered of high significance and an indication of discipline. They want their girls to be well disciplined so they could get marriage proposals. However, some well-run orphanages organize summer trip for the children so they could get some exposure of the outside world (Gibbons, 2007).

Gibbons (2007) conducted an ethnographic study on six girl's orphanages in Cairo, and one of the significant findings was the emphasis of sisterhood in these orphanages. Older girls take care of younger girls. Even when they get married, they go back to the orphanage to visit their sisters. They consider themselves family and the support system of one another. In some orphanages, the caregivers and the administration care about the girls and support them emotionally. Caregivers usually stay in an orphanage from a few months to a few years, resulting in emotional instability. However, the orphanage's administrators are the ones who represent the stability of the family for the girls. This is shown even in married girls, who return to the orphanage's administrator for advice.

**Caregivers/ Surrogate Mothers.** In Egypt, caregivers usually only know how to read and write, and the ones who are considered well educated would have a diploma at best (Gibbons, 2005). They are usually hired by the orphanage's administration from nearby villages. Their employment period ranges from a few months to a couple of years. Some caregivers take the job as a transition until they get married, so they basically work as

caregivers to prepare themselves for motherhood (Gibbons, 2005). It's also an opportunity to get an employment option safe from sexual harassment and save some money for marriage. Its considered an honorable job for a girl as a transition from school to marriage, and parents and future husbands of the girls favor it as a job (Gibbons, 2005).

The main issue in the care giving profession is the high turnover rate, which causes disturbances in children's emotional development (Fawzy & Fouad 2010; Gibbons, 2005; Ethnasios, 2011; Van IJzendoorn et al., 2014). This phenomenon is worldwide in institutional care. A child could interact with multiple caregivers in the early couple of years, which hinders forming an attachment relationship with one of them. Furthermore, caregivers tend to work long hours and take care of a large group of children which often affects the quality of time spent with each child (Van IJzendoorn et al., 2014). Additionally, in most of the orphanages care givers receive really little professional education and training which makes them unqualified to take care of children in such adverse conditions. According to Ghada Wali, the Egyptian minister of social solidarity, the low quality of the caregivers is to be expected given the unfair working conditions, the very low salary they receive and the lack of proper training (Khalil, 2014).

Caregivers do not generally provide emotional and social care, due to this lack of training they receive and also due to the fact that they are mostly seen as responsible for the children's physical needs such as feeding or bathing them. There is minimal emotional connection and warmth in the relationship (Ethnasios, 2011; Van IJzendoorn et al., 2014). In Egypt, the focus in most orphanages is to provide orphans with their basic needs, and an orphanage is considered a good one if it provides good food and clothing to its residents. However, in focus groups with adult orphans, Ethnasios (2011), found that most residents actually need higher order needs. As one resident stated; "we do not need clothes and food, we need equality and good treatment from people... we need respect, education and culture"

(p. 98). On the other hand, some care givers really go the extra mile to adequately care for the psychological needs of the children, and they manage to form an emotional bond with them. Ethnasios (2012) also found that some of the participants felt that having a healthy relationship with their caregivers enhanced their emotional status and was of great assistance for them while growing up.

**Violations.** There have always been violations in Egyptian orphanages, given the poor government regulation and the inadequacy of the staff who deal with the children. However, in the recent years there have been multiple scandals concerning incidents of abuse and neglect in a number of orphanages across Egypt. In 2014 there was a video shared across social media of a man said to be the director of a small orphanage in Cairo, physically abusing children by beating them. The man was arrested and the orphanage was closed. The children were transferred to another orphanage (Khalil, 2014). In another orphanage in Sharkia governorate, eight male children were sexually abused by a caregiver and a girls' orphanage in Nasr City in Cairo was also shut down after it was discovered that the children were physically abused by being beaten and burned. The girls were transferred to a different orphanage which was under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Solidarity after the incident ("Egyptian Orphanage Shut Down", 2016). Another orphanage in Alexandria was also shut down after it was reported that the children were deprived of food and were exposed to physical abuse (Hassan, 2016). The Ministry of Social Solidarity has been trying to monitor the orphanages by sending social workers from the ministry to the orphanages at least six to eight times a year (Al Abnoudy, 2014). Of course, given the lack of human and financial resources this intervention has not been very effective.

**Laws and Regulations.** Egypt has progressed a great deal in protecting the rights of children. The real leap was in 1990 when the Egyptian government signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The second accomplishment was the issuance of the

child's law No. 12 of 1996, which was amended by law No. 16 of 2008. The law aims to protect the rights of children and guarantee their safe upbringing. Article 20 of Egyptian Child Law states that if an infant is found, he/ she must be given to the nearest police station or to an orphanage, that must also inform the police. At the police station a representative from the Ministry of Social Solidarity is contacted and gives the children names and a birth certificates (Gibbons, 2005). Then the children are either sent to governmental or private orphanages to take care of them (Thomason, 2008). According to article four in The Child Law, "The State shall provide the child deprived of family care with alternative care" (The Child Law 1996, 2008). There are, however, no laws or regulations present to identify the procedures taken in admitting other types of orphans; who are placed in the orphanage by their parents, or their relatives for instance (Ethnasios, 2012).

The government's role in regulating orphanages is very little and orphanage owners and managers prefer not to be registered with the Ministry of Social Solidarity because of its ineffectiveness (Ethansis, 2012; Gibbons, 2005; Thomason, 2008). The ministry is supposed to monitor the registered orphanages and make sure that they meet the licensing requirements, but unfortunately this is often not the case (Ethansis, 2012). However, the Ministry of Social Solidarity has had some collaborations recently for the purpose of developing this sector. One very promising initiative was the issuing of the ministerial decree no. 188 (2014) to mandate the Quality Standards for Alternative Care on all institutional homes in Egypt.

**Religious Considerations.** The predominant religion in Egypt is Islam; 90% of Egyptians are Muslims, followed by 10 % Coptic Christians (CAPMAS, 2015). Islam urges the whole society to take care of orphans, and caring for orphans and treating them with kindness was highly reinforced in many verses of the Quran (Quran 1: 83; 3:8, Oxford World's Classics edition), while unfair and harsh treatment was condemned and prohibited

(Quran 93:9). Also, Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) emphasized in many of his speeches and hadith about caring for orphans and being kind to them. The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said, “The one who cares for an orphan and myself will be together in Paradise like this,” and he held his two fingers together to illustrate (Sahih al- Bukhari, 5695).

Additionally, Christianity stresses the urgency of caring for the weak and the “fatherless”; the orphans. “Defend the weak and the fatherless; uphold the cause of the poor and the oppressed” (Psalm 82:3, New International Version). Also, it reinforced the necessity of treating them with fairness and to not take advantage of them; “do not take advantage of the widow and the fatherless” (Exodus 22:22, New International Version). Likewise, taking care of them was highly emphasized (James 1:27, English Standard Version).

**Funding for Orphanages.** There are 454 orphanages in Egypt (Al Abnoudy, 2014), obviously this number is underestimated, since many orphanages are not registered under the Ministry of Social Solidarity. Orphanages in Egypt are mostly managed by civil society, and so many different entities (NGOs, religious institutions, individuals) manage orphanages, that there is no consistency across them (Ethansis, 2012). Most orphanages in Egypt are religion based (Ethansis, 2012). Many individuals open orphanages for the religious benefits of sheltering an orphan, without taking into consideration the other very essential psychological and social aspects of raising a child (Khalil, 2014). Some orphanages are sustained by regular funding from NGOs, others depend solely on donations made by individuals, and others own a small business to sustain the orphanage (Ethansis, 2012; Gibbons, 2005; Thomason, 2008).

**Capacity-Building for Egyptian orphanages.** Wataneya Society, is an Egyptian NGO that is focused on building capacity in orphanages. One of their initiatives was the development of Quality Standards for Alternative Care. They managed through advocacy to have a ministerial decree issued to mandate it in Egypt (decree no. 188, June 2014). So,

starting from June 2014, all institutional homes registered under the Ministry of Social Solidarity were obliged to abide by the Quality Standards for Alternative Care. They are basically applied through six pillars, namely; “child care”, “child protection”, “professional practices”, “management and administration”, “staffing” and “building and facilities” (Quality Standards for Alternative Care, n.d.).

The existence of Wataneya Society is a very promising step in the path of the development of orphanages in Egypt. Wataneya Society’s advantage is that they address multiple ecological levels. They work on the individual orphan’s physical and psychological wellbeing. They work on professionally developing the staff who deal directly with the orphans, like the care givers, for example, the certification program for caregivers. They work on having a suitable physical environment for children to live in through implementation of the Quality Standards. They also worked on the macro level with the Minister of Social Solidarity to advocate for issuing the minister decree (Kelly, 2016; decree no. 188, June 2014).

### **Consequences of Institutional Care**

Unfortunately, institutionally reared and vulnerable children have a higher tendency to develop psychological, social and cognitive deficits (Gibbons, 2005). For the past 50 years there has been a massive body of literature discussing the physical, emotional and intellectual delay that can take place as a result of placing a child in an institution instead of a family (foster families or adoptive families). There has been a consensus that children who were placed in foster families instead of institutions showed better physical, emotional and intellectual development (Morison & Ellwood, 2000; Smyke et al. 2007; Van IJzendoorn, Luijck & Juffer, 2008; Van IJzendoorn et al., 2011). Due to these findings, many countries have reduced the enrollment of children in institutional care and have made efforts to place

children with their families of origin or with foster families (Petrowski, Cappa & Gross, 2017).

**Intellectual Development.** Van IJzendoorn, Luijck & Juffer (2008) conducted a meta-analytic to explore whether children who were raised in orphanages were intellectually delayed in comparison to children raised in families. The results from 19 countries, studying 3,800 children from 75 studies indicated that children who were raised in institutions showed delay in IQ compared to children who were raised in families. The differences were especially large in developed countries. Morison & Ellwood (2000) studied the effect of being raised in an institution on the cognitive development of the child. They looked at a group of children who had been living in a Romanian orphanage for eight to fifty-three months then were adopted by a Canadian family, and compared them with two groups; a group of children who had been adopted from a Romanian orphanage before reaching four months of age and another group of Canadian born-never institutionalized children living with their families. The study was conducted after the children were adopted for three years. The results showed that although the children had been living in a stimulating family environment for three years, the children adopted after the age of two showed lower level of cognitive development in comparison to the other two groups. This supports the idea that being raised in an institution, especially during the early years of childhood, adversely affects a child's intellectual abilities. It also shows that adopting a child at an early age could offset the negative impact of institutional care as children who were adopted before age two showed average levels of cognitive abilities.

**Physical development.** Most institutionally reared children's motor development is delayed, and their physical growth is hindered (Dozier & Rutter, 2008; Van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Juffer, 2007). Smyke et al. (2007), studied 208 babies and toddlers between the age of five to Thirty-one months, living in institutions in Bucharest,

Romania. They were compared with children in the same age who were raised in Romanian families. The results showed that the institutionally reared children displayed lower physical growth.

**Psychological development.** Fawzy & Fouad (2010), conducted a study with the aim of discovering “emotional and developmental disorders” among institutionally reared children in Sharkia governorate located in the northern part of Egypt. Their sample size was 294 children; 227 boys and 67 girls six to twelve years of age. The results showed that the children suffered from anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem. The findings were consistent with other studies on children reared in orphanages, some of who reported high rates of behavioral problems (Ahmad et al., 2005; Birmaher et al., 1996; Dozier & Rutter, 2008; Miller et al., 2005; Smyke et. al, 2007; Weissman et al., 1999).

**Attachment relationship.** According to Bowlby’s Attachment Theory (1958), having a stable relationship with a caregiver is significant for children’s social, emotional and cognitive development. The first year of a child’s life is considered exceptionally important, since during the second half of this year the child begins forming attachment relationship with specific caregivers (Dozier & Rutter, 2008). This attachment relationship results because the caregiver meets certain needs for the child, for instance, the need to eat or sleep, along with warmth and affection (Dozier & Rutter, 2008; Wade, Tavis & Garry, 2015). Secure attachments between a child and caregiver are based in responsive caregiving where the caregiver responds in a consistent way to an infant’s needs. Forming a secure attachment relationship with a caregiver is often not an option to children raised in Egyptian orphanages because, staff to child ratio is often large, and orphanages frequently discourage caregivers from forming special relationships with children (Ethansis, 2012). Unfortunately, given the high turnover rate in the caregiving profession, most children’s relationships with their caregivers are disrupted, which in turn hinders their social and emotional development.



Research on institutionalized children has found that if children are not adopted before age one or two, they are likely to have later problems with attachment (Wade, Tavis & Garry, 2015).

## **Resilience**

**Deficit-model Shift.** Orphans in Egypt face stigma, diminished marriage and employment opportunities, as well as delays and challenges in their psychological, physical and cognitive development, and this can lead to a primary focus on their deficits. Living in adversity is certainly difficult, unfortunately, those who wish to help sometimes worsen this adversity by focusing on the risk factors that an at-risk population such as orphans, faces. For decades intervening with suffering populations was deficit focused; primarily addressing problems, the weaknesses, and the risk factors that might lead to more hardship (Benard, 1995). This deficit focused approach, however, hinders viewing these population's capabilities, and strengths (Zimmerman, 2013). Additionally, having a deficit focused approach traps community helpers into categorizing, labeling, and stereotyping the populations they intervene with, because it hinders them from viewing them as real people, they rather, get trapped in only focusing on their deficit side (Wehmiller, 1992; as cited by Benard, 1995). Further, it leads helpers to come up with strategies based on the needs, and problems they spot in this particular population rather than their strengths (Zimmerman, 2013).

Luckily, researchers, and community practitioners realized the disempowering effect of this deficit model. Researchers started challenging the tradition of having the primary quest of searching for deficits, and problems (Gilligan, 2001). They started thinking of better, more positive ways to alleviate the adversity of those populations. They started thinking of individual's strengths, and coping abilities. They realized that although faced with adversity, some individuals are capable of coping with it, and others don't just cope, but even thrive

after facing adversity (Benson, 1997; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Gilligan, 2001; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Masten, 2001; Lerner, Dowling & Anderson, 2003; Rutter, 2013; Ungar, 2008;2006; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Werner and Smith, 1982; 1992; Werner, 1997; Zimmerman & Brenner, 2010; Zimmerman, 2013). Those who face adversity and are able to cope effectively are seen as having resilience.

**Resilience Definition.** Resilience originated from the Latin verb “*resilire*”, which means to rebound (Masten, 2014). The word resiliency in the English language implies, elasticity, flexibility and resistance (Masten, 2014). Resilience dates back to 1942, when Carl Rogers stated that each person has an innate ability to “bounce back from adversity” (Hill, 2014, p.106). He believed that resilience was within the capacity of everybody. Resilience researchers later on identified resilience as innate to all humans, and within the capacity of any individual to adapt, and change with hazards (Lifton, 1992; Werner and Smith, 1992). According to resilience theory, “there is a force within everyone that drives them to seek self-actualization, altruism, wisdom, and harmony with a spiritual source of strength” (Richardson, 2002, p. 313). Werber & Smith (1982) defined resilience as the capability of successfully coping with internal, and external risks.

Wexler, DiFluvio & Burke (2009) however, argued that resilience is a process rather than a fixed state. They also asserted that it’s both an individual, and a communal search for a common purpose rather than just an individual trait or search for purpose. They concluded that marginalized populations are able to survive hardships when they have a sense of collective purpose to survive oppression and discrimination together as a group. Which is consistent with how Rutter (2013) defined resilience, as a “dynamic process” (p. 479). Rutter (2012), also argued that resilience is a process, and argued that it was not a trait because of the way it develops through an individual’s life time.

Other researchers argued that resilience cannot be viewed on the individual level only, rather it should be viewed ecologically (Gilligan, 2001; Luther, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000; Seccombe, 2002). Some researchers explained resilience as; the successful interaction of the individual with their “social, physical, and environmental contexts” (Windle & Bennett, 2011). Masten (2010) also, described resilience beautifully as the result of what she called “ordinary magic” namely, that resilience can occur “naturally from the interaction of basic adaptive systems that foster, and protect human development” (p. 30). Resilience occurs as a result of the operation of normal human abilities and resources. Masten (2014) also defined resilience in her book *Ordinary Magic: resilience in development* as; “the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability, or development.” (p.10).

The fascinating thing about resilient individuals is not just that they successfully process their resources, and cope with the very challenging situation, it’s also their ability to prosper, and become stronger more capable individuals after the hardship (Richardson, 2002). However, other researchers argue that for an individual to be resilient he/ she doesn’t necessarily have to have a prosper developmentally, he/ she could simply have a sustained normal development, despite facing hardships (Windle & Bennett, 2011). The latter explanation of resilience is rather more realistic, because, for a child, for instance, to go through adversity, yet develop normally, is in and of itself fascinating. It contradicts all the societal expectations; namely, that it would make sense for the child to have poor development and to develop maladaptive behaviors as a result of the adversities he/ she encountered. Interestingly, some of the leaders in resilience research themselves were survivors of adverse conditions; Garmezy, Rutter and Werner (Masten, 2014).

Most of the above definitions, were investigated on western populations, and very little was conducted on nonwestern populations so to understand what resilience meant to

nonwestern, and marginalized populations, Ungar (2008) investigated the meaning of resilience culturally, and contextually through examining approximately 1500 at risk adolescents from 14 different communities on four continents. The rationale of the study was to really understand what resilience meant to these youths globally, and to identify a cross-cultural definition of resilience. The researchers concluded that resilience was “In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways.” (Ungar, 2008, P.225). This is the definition of resilience which will be used in this study.

It is important to note that one of the similarities in the above definitions is “adversity” (Ungar, 2008;2006). No matter how researchers defined resilience; namely, as an individual trait, as a dynamic process, as an interaction with one’s environment, the common thing all researchers agreed upon is the fact that it occurs in the face of adversity.

### **Protective Factors**

Protective factors could be the reason why some people end up resilient, and some don’t. For example, according to resilience literature one important protective factor is the presence of a warm, and healthy close relationship with a parent, family members or a caring adult, results in the child’s resilience (Werner and Smith, 1982; 1992). And in a review of the research on protective factors, Bernard (1992) concludes that “research validates what has nurtured most of us in our own life journeys. It consistently identifies the power of three environmental protective factors that buffer risk and allow development to unfold: caring relationships, positive and high expectations, and opportunities to participate and contribute”.

Benard's conclusions are supported by a 40-year longitudinal study on 698 Hawaiian children (Werner, 1997). The Kauai study aimed to identify how several biological and psychosocial jeopardies, worrying life events and protective factors impacted the 698 children's development. The children in the study were exposed to the risk factors of; living in severe poverty, family conflict, and had parents who suffered from mental illness, and drug addiction. The results showed that 33% of the sample although facing the difficulties "developed into competent, confident, and caring adults" (p.103). The protective characteristics that allowed those children to develop into capable adolescents, and later into accomplished adults were; "autonomy", "ability to ask for help when needed", "communication", "practical problem-solving skills", using "whatever talents they had effectively", having "a hobby that gave them a sense of pride", "strong belief in the effectiveness of their actions", "marked sense of responsibility", and "high self-esteem". Additionally, the environmental factors were: having an adult who they could trust, and were able to develop a nurturing relationship with; having religious beliefs in order to cope with adversities; and having emotional support from competent peers. Many researchers have conducted resilience research after the Kauai study, however, the protective factors that were identified in this study required very little altering.

Masten (2014) summarized her years of research on resilience through these resilience factors for adolescents and children; namely, "effective parents and caregivers", "connections to other competent and caring adults", "problem solving skills", "positive beliefs about the self", "beliefs that life has meaning", "spirituality, faith and religious affiliations", "socioeconomic advantages", "prosocial, competent peers and friends", "effective teachers and schools", "safe and effective communities". Additionally, she identified the following as protective systems for human resilience; "attachment relationships", "human intelligence and information processing", "motivation to adapt and

opportunities for agency”, “self-control and emotional regulation”, “religious and cultural systems that nurture human development and resilience”, “schools and communities that nurture and support human development and resilience”. Masten (2014) asserted that resilience doesn’t require any extraordinary abilities or protective factors, but rather requires the ordinary protective systems to operate normally. She stated that cognitive abilities; namely; intellect, and the capability of an individual to solve problems is one of the internal aspects that promote resilience. She also stated that when an individual is motivated to adapt to the circumstances, and the environment; the individual would probably successfully adapt to the challenges they face. Luthar et al. (2003), asserted as well that children who have positive mastery perspective would be better able to adapt.

Resilience could be promoted by adding more resources to offset the risks that are already present in a child’s life, which is the compensatory effect. Compensatory effect is the idea that the risk effects could be balanced or compensated by sufficient positive resources (Garmezy, Masten & Tellegen, 1984; Masten et al., 1988). Programs to support the addition of resources such as a caring adult, cognitive skills, or a strengthened identity therefore, could be helpful in promoting resilience.

**Navigation.** In the aim of developing the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-28), Unger et. al (2007) conducted interviews with 89 females and male’s adolescents from 14 culturally and contextually different sites. The aim was to find out qualitatively, how do these youths manage to cope with so many risks. The results of the study identified that the resilient youth are those who are able to use the resources they have available to navigate successfully through seven tensions). The tensions were; “access to material resources”, “relationships”, “identify”, “power and control”, “cultural adherence”, “social justice”, and “cohesion” (Ungar et al., 2007, p. 295). These tensions were present across the research sites and there was wide variation in how youth used the available

individual and community resources present to resolve them. For positive development to take place, different resources contribute differently to the development, depending on the risks in the individual's life (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becher, 2000). Additionally, different individuals require different resources to navigate certain difficult situations (Rutter, 2013). Thus, resilience is understood differently in different circumstances (Rutter, 2013) and in different contexts (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011).

**Self-efficacy.** Self-efficacy was cited in many studies to be one of the factors associated with helping children adapt to adversity (Rutter, 2013; Salifu Yendork & Somhlaba, 2015; Werner, 2000). Research shows that an individual gains resistance as her/she gets exposed to a negative experience repeatedly (Rutter, 2013). Rather than avoiding the undesirable experience, facing it allows the individual to learn the skills to cope with it. It also enhances self-efficacy because they were able to successfully cope with a risk, so that strengthens their belief in their capabilities to deal with future risks. Further, since they have been able to cope with difficulties on their own or with the help of others, they develop a larger sense of self efficacy that they are capable of achieving their goals and enhancing their environments (Werner, 2000). Salifu Yendork & Somhlaba (2015) conducted a study on 100 orphans living in orphanages and 100 non-orphans aged 7 to 17 years, living in Accra, Ghana. One of the factors that presented itself very clearly in predicting resilience was self-efficacy. Luthar et al. (2003), asserted as well that children who have positive mastery perspective would be better able to adapt. Self-efficacy was cited in many studies to be one of the factors associated with helping children adapt to adversity (Rutter, 2013; Salifu Yendork & Somhlaba, 2015; Werner, 2000).

Finally, the ability to effectively cope with undesirable experiences acts as a protective factor for risks in the future, leading to resilience (Rutter, 2013). Masten (2010) also asserted that dealing effectively with risks allows the individual to gain skills and

capabilities that helps them cope effectively with future risks. If an individual was able to deal effectively with risks utilizing their current protective factors, different protective factors than the ones they currently have would appear later in life to assist them in dealing with risks (Werner, 2000). So, utilizing one's current protective factors acts as a predictor to have additional protective factors later in life.

**Relationships.** Attachment relationships has been researched extensively in resilience research. Research in this area has shown that forming attachment relationships throughout the lifespan of the individual is of vital importance. So, forming bonds with caregivers in early years, then teachers, mentors, and friends in school years, and significant others later in late adolescence or adulthood is of great significance for normal development (Masten, 2010). The bond children and youth have with these different individuals through their lives provides them with a sense of safety, acceptance, and inclusion that allows the individual especially early on in his/ her life to "explore, and learn" freely. The attachment relationship has shown to be of vital importance to "normal development, and resilience" (Masten, 2010).

Furthermore, having relationships with friends, and with parents, has been proven to be especially important for vulnerable children (Herbers et al., 2011; Masten, 2001), because they provide them with care, and emotional support that fosters their development and allows them to adopt to their environment more effectively. Werner and Smith, (1982; 1992) declared that the presence of a warm, and healthy close relationship with a parent, family members or a caring adult, results in the child's resilience. "Family warmth", specifically "maternal warmth" was proven to be a protective factor against maladaptive behaviors (Bowes, Maughan, Caspi, Moffitt & Arseneault, 2010). Having a warm, caring, supportive, and respectful relationship with a caring adult, like a teacher, for instance, could play the same role as a protective factor (Werner & Smith, 1989). Along the same lines, Rutter (2013) argued that adoption is a protective factor; that a child who has been adopted after



being institutionalized or subjected to considerable neglect and exploitation (Rutter & Sonuga-Barke, 2010; Nelson et al., 2007; Duyme, Dumaret, & Tomkiewicz, 1999) could develop normally, if they were given nurturance, and care.

**Activities.** Having extracurricular activities has been shown to be of significant importance in promoting resilience. During these activities, children learn team work skills and leadership skills and it allows them to develop a sense of belonging, regardless if these activities were organized in a neighborhood, place of worship or at schools (Skovdal, 2012).

**Positive emotions.** Positive emotions could also be indicators of resilience. Broaden and build theory suggests that positive emotions, broadens people's mindset because it allows them to explore, and learn, which in turn leads to that person gaining resources. The resources could be social, psychological or intellectual (Fredrickson, 2004). According to Cohn (2009), the resources gained through positive emotions are usually enduring, which helps the individual cope with several challenges through life, becoming resilient. She argues that positive emotions can enhance an individual's overall performance in life. As well as enhancing the probability of feeling good in the future (Fredrickson, 2003).

**Religion and spirituality.** Having religious beliefs was reported as significant in helping adolescents cope with adversities faced in their lives (Werner, 1997). Spirituality and religion were also generally viewed as protective factors that facilitate resilience (Werner, 1984, 1996). They particularly assist youth develop an optimistic and hopeful view of life (Kim & Esquivel, 2011). Having a meaning and purpose of life has been closely linked to spirituality as well and has proven to assist youth in coping with pitfalls (Kim & Esquivel, 2011; Frankel). Cotton, Larkin, Hoopes, Cromer, & Rosenthal (2005) asserted that in addition to spirituality being a facilitator of resilience, it also acted as a promoter of wellbeing and mental wellness.

Spirituality was identified as an important indicator of resilience, when Abualkibash and Lera (2015) investigated the contribution of different factors to resilience in 537 Palestinian adolescent males and females living in the West Bank. The results showed the importance of spirituality, and family support to adolescent's psychological resilience. Pargament & Cummings (2010) discussed the substantial importance of religion in assisting individuals in coping with stressors and challenges. They also recognized religiousness as a factor that assists individuals to become resilient. They clarified that religion acts as a protective source from life's disappointments, as it allows individuals to view challenges in a meaningful way. It also, assists individuals to be hopeful even when faced with pitfalls. Religiosity was also linked to the ability of facing problems and self-efficacy, which are resilience factors.

**Identity.** Thabet & Sabah (2015) examined the resilience of 502 children living in Gaza, and found out that a sense of belonging and pride in one's identity were predictors of resilience; adolescents who had these two factors scored higher in resilience. This was also indicated in Ungar et al. (2017), when they were researching what resilience meant for 89 adolescents from 11 different countries. Identity was one of the predictors of resilience.

### **Resilience in out of family care children.**

Nourian et al., (2016) conducted a qualitative study with five males and three females aged 13-17 years living in different governmental institutional homes in Tehran, Iran. The purpose of the study was to identify what resilience meant for them. The interviewed adolescents stated that resilience was progressing in face of difficulty. The adolescents were hopeful that the future would be better after departing from the institutional homes. They stated that they avoided overwhelming troubles that they knew they wouldn't be able to handle. They also had the ability to take care of themselves, and protect their current circumstance from worsening. They had the ability to ask for help when they needed. They

associated their capability of handling hardship to their “capacity for endurance”. The Iranian culture had a strong impact on this belief as it’s a culture that promotes tolerating hardship, and gives pride to those who endure adversities. Having a positive, and a hopeful view of their lives was another aspect that defined their resilience. Finally, participants in the study placed great emphasis on their relationship with God. They had so much faith, and peace with their circumstances because they believed it was God’s will, they trusted God’s plan for them which helped them cope. They also believed that their futures would be better. It made sense that they put so much emphasis of their relationship with God, as all the participants stated that they didn’t seek anybody’s help when facing difficulties, and were rather autonomous.

Salifu Yendork & Somhlaba (2015) conducted a study on 100 orphans living in Accra, Ghana between 7 and 17 years of age. The aim of the study was to identify the influence of positive psychological variables and the gender and age of the orphans on the overall quality of life. The positive psychological variables measured were perceived social support, self-efficacy and resilience. The results showed that perceived social support and resilience were forecasters of quality of life. Additionally, levels of resilience and self-efficacy were higher in older orphans than younger ones. Nonetheless, younger orphans had higher levels of perceived social support than older orphans.

Singh & Jha (2017) examined qualitatively the conditions of 31 orphans in an Indian state who had been placed in institutions due to armed conflict which resulted in the loss of one or both parents. The study examined the difficulties those children faced and how they managed to cope with these difficulties. The major difficulty they experienced was that they were disturbed by the sudden change of their lives, being placed in an orphanage instead of a family. They, however, comprehended that this was the best option since the family relatives who were still alive couldn’t afford to take care of them. They expressed their feelings of longing to their relatives, homes, home towns and previous lives. They also had concerns

about the social stigma of being an orphan in the Indian society, they particularly had concern about getting married and finding a job. They expressed their discontent with the frequency of the orphanage's staff changing. Coping strategies that many of the orphans expressed were playing sports, drawing, writing, and discussing their fears with their orphanage companions.

Wanat (2010) explored the challenges and coping strategies of 14 orphans living in institutional care in Indonesia between the ages of 10-24, who had been placed in institutions due to the Indian ocean tsunamis of 2004. The participants showed gratitude for the opportunity of making more friends as a result of living in the institution and the opportunity to receive an education. However, they expressed their concerns about lacking nutritious food, school supplies, hygiene supplies and sleeping places. The lack of concern/ emotional connection of the staff of the institution was another expressed concern. However, the participants explained that they coped with these difficulties by focusing on the positive things, and by not thinking of the problems. They also used religion to cope with their difficulties; it provided them with hope. Finally, they placed great emphasis on the support they received from their friends and families.

### **Aim of the Study**

Despite the importance of identifying and promoting resilience in vulnerable adolescents, there is no research yet conducted in this area in Egypt. This is a significant gap, given that the adolescent stage is usually a period of change, particularly during the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Masten, 2010). And this time of transition is especially important to Egyptian orphans because it's the time when they are expected to move out of the orphanage. It is therefore of great importance for those youth to be resilient, to be able to handle the coming challenges of life, particularly in the context of the stigma they will face as they try to find a marriage partner, gain a job, and become independent.

The aim of the study is first to assess the resilience level of the orphans who have been raised in institutions. Then next, to identify what makes the resilient youth resilient, and discover how they navigate their way through the struggles they face growing up. Given the lack of previous research, this study is exploratory, with a focus on describing what adolescent orphans in Egypt are experiencing in regard to resilience.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

Wataneya society sent emails and conducted phone calls with the orphanages they have partnerships with. From the orphanages, all girls and boys whose age is between 16 and 21 were asked whether or not they were willing to participate in the study. And written consents were sent to the orphanage's managers, staff and participants.

The researcher, as well, researched websites and contacted orphanages and explained the study to them. The ones who agreed to have their orphanage be part of the study scheduled a meeting with the researcher to explain the study further and share the material with them.

The researcher surveyed 41 participants from six orphanages; 75.6% were males and 24.4% were females. Sixty eight percent were Muslim and 31% were Christian. Their average age was 17 years old.

The interviews were conducted with six males and three females, the average age of the participants was 18 years of age. Five of the participants were Muslims and four were Christians.

### **Instruments**

The Child and Youth Resilience Measure CYRM-28 was originally developed using a sample of 1500 youth from 14 different communities, who were exposed to different kinds of risks. The sample included adolescent boys and girls, with the mean age of 16 (Ungar &

Liebenberg, 2011). The aim was to develop an ecologically, contextually, and culturally relevant resilience measure. The Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-12) was used for this study (Liebenberg, Ungar, & LeBlanc, 2013). The Arabic version of the CYRM-12 was validated in Jordan on a sample of 603 adolescents 11-18 years of age, males and females (Panter-Brick et al., 2017). The sample included Jordanians and Syrian refugees living in Jordan.

A meeting with Wataneya's technical manager and two of Wataneya's staff members who were raised in orphanages themselves, took place to check the clarity of the Arabic translations of the CYRM-12. This was as important since translations should really capture the indigenous knowledge, expressions and attitudes; "a linguistically imperfect translation may provide better psychological equivalence than a linguistically perfect one" (Sanchez, 2006 as cited in Ungar and Liebenberg, 2011, p. 133).

The interview questions were developed based on the seven tensions that were identified by Ungar et al. (2007) in which they stated that the resilient youth were the ones who were able to navigate their way through the seven tensions successfully. These tensions are "access to material resources", "relationships", "identity", "power and control", "cultural adherence", "social justice", and "cohesion" (Ungar et al., 2007, P. 295). Since, the interviews were conducted with the youth who scored the highest in resilience, it was interesting to identify their unique ways of navigating through the seven tensions. Identifying the unique resources and strengths that those youth use. Although religion is part of the tension "identity" extra specific questions regarding religion were asked since it has been cited a great deal in the literature (Abuakibash & Lera, 2015; Cummings, 2010; Kim & Esquivel, 2011; Nourian et al., 2016; Werner, 1984, 1996) and it was a topic that was brought up frequently during the meetings with Wataneya Society's staff. In addition, general questions of how the youth cope with difficulties were included to identify if there were more

tensions that those particular youth navigated. Finally, questions regarding strengths and hope were included.

**Table 3 Seven Tensions**

Tension	Explanation
1. Access to material resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability of financial, educational, medical and employment assistance and/or opportunities, as well as access to food, clothing and shelter</li> </ul>
2. Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationships with significant others, peers and adults within one's family and community</li> </ul>
3. Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal and collective sense of purpose, self-appraisal of strengths and weaknesses, aspirations, beliefs and values, spiritual and religious identification</li> </ul>
4. Power and control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experiences of caring for one's self and others; the ability to effect change in one's social and physical environment in order to access health resources</li> </ul>
5. Cultural adherence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adherence to one's local and/or global cultural practices, values and beliefs</li> </ul>
6. Social justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experiences related to finding a meaningful role in community and social equality</li> </ul>
7. Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Balancing one's personal interests with a sense of responsibility to the greater good; feeling a part of something larger than one's self socially and spiritually</li> </ul>

(Ungar, 2008, P.231)

### *Table 1*

## **Procedures**

Waneya Society connected the researcher with the orphanages that agreed to participate in the study. The researcher first scheduled a meeting with the orphanage's manager this took place either on the phone or face to face. During the meeting, the researcher shared the informed consent, the survey and the interview questions with the manager and asked if they had any questions or concerns regarding the study or the questions. Waneya Society was able to connect the researcher with only 2 orphanages which had 18 participants in the age range, because the orphanages either didn't want to be part of the study or they had exams and couldn't cooperate at that time. So, the researcher started searching on websites and asking her colleagues who worked at NGOs and was able to reach 4 orphanages which had 23 participants. The researcher first called the orphanages and asked about their

willingness to be included in the study, then scheduled an interview with the managers of the orphanages that agreed to participate. Then shared the informed consent (Appendix A and Appendix B), the survey (Appendix C) and the interview questions (Appendix D) with the manager and asked if they had any questions or concerns regarding the study or the questions. The researcher then coordinated the appropriate time for filling in the surveys with the orphanage's receptionists. During the visit, the researcher read the informed consent and explained it to the participants, then distributed the CYRM-12 and pens. Then asked the participants whether they preferred that the researcher read each statement and wait for them while they answered, but all the participants in the 5 orphanages preferred to fill in the survey on their own and ask the researcher if they had any questions and clarifications. After analyzing the CYRM-12, the youth with the highest scores were contacted for an interview. Each CYRM-12 had an ID number, a place for writing the participant's name and the name of their orphanage; this was how the researcher tracked the scales back to the participants and was able to reach them for conducting the interviews.

The researcher coordinated a time which was convenient with the youth for the interviews and conducted the interviews accordingly. Two of the interviews were conducted by phone and the rest were conducted in the participant's orphanages in a quiet room. The researcher first asked them whether they minded recording the interview, and depending on their answer she either recorded the interview or didn't. She took detailed notes if they didn't approve of the recording. The interview lasted 40 minutes on average.

### **Analysis**

According to the CYRM-12 user's manual, the scale should be analyzed by calculating the total. Higher scores indicate higher resilience levels. The top 9 participants with the highest scores were contacted for an interview. As for the interviews, the researcher



first transcribed the interviews then translated them from Arabic to English. Pseudonyms were used when transcribing and reporting the interviews.

Thematic analysis was conducted using Braun and Clarke (2006) six-step model (Appendix E). First the researcher familiarized herself with the transcripts, through reading them several times. Then initial codes were generated. Then codes were gathered under themes already identified by the literature (Ungar et al., 2007) the seven tensions. This step was done using deductive coding (Patton, 2002). Then the researcher kept going back and forth between the codes and the themes to make sure that the codes were under the proper themes.

To assess inter-rater reliability, two colleagues, where they sorted a sample of the codes into the themes. There was 87% agreement between the coders.

## Results

### Resilience Survey

**Descriptive statistics.** The mean score for the resilience surveys was 48.68 out of a possible 60, with all of the participants scoring above the midpoint indicating high resilience with a standard deviation of 5.5. The maximum score was 57 (very high resilience) and the minimum was 36 (neutral) with a range of 21; none of the participants scored the highest (60) or the lowest (12) possible scores. Two participants didn't answer *My siblings and the orphanage stand by me in difficult times*, and one participant didn't answer *I try to finish what I start*, and 1 participant didn't answer *I have opportunities to develop myself for the future*.

**Questions means.** The highest possible score is 5, indicating very high resilience, and the lowest possible score is 1, indicating very low resilience. The score of 4 indicates high resilience, 3 indicates neutral resilience, and 2 indicates low resilience (Child and youth resilience measure, 2013). The first aspect of resilience explored was individual strengths and

it seemed that the youth had opportunities to develop and improve themselves for the future (M=4.38) followed by knowing where to go for help (M=4.02). Followed by their awareness of their strengths points (3.82) and trying to finish what they start (M=3.80) having similar means.

The second aspect was relational strengths which had the highest overall mean of aspects of resilience. The highest mean in this aspect of resilience was the feeling of safety between their orphanage's siblings (M=4.34). Followed by having someone to watch out for them (M=4.26) and standing by them in difficult times (M=4.25). And finally, a little lower mean was the orphanage and their siblings knowing a lot about them (M= 3.73).

The third aspect was the contextual aspect which included the question that had the highest mean in all three aspects religion and faith are a source of strength (M=4.43). Followed by enjoying the customs and the traditions of their community (M=4.39). The importance of education to them has a mean of 4.14. Finally, Participation in communal religious activities (M=3.48).

The highest mean of the questions was "religion and faith are a source of strength for me" with a mean of 4.44 and a standard deviation of 0.77. The lowest mean, however, was "I participate in communal religious activities" which had a mean of 3.49 and a standard deviation of 1.05.

<i>Aspect of Resilience</i>	<i>Question mean</i>
<b>Individual</b>	<b>4.01</b>
I try to finish things I start	3.80
I know where to go to ask for help	4.02
I am aware of my own points of strength	3.82
I have opportunities to develop and improve myself for the future	4.38
<b>Relational</b>	<b>4.15</b>
Someone from my surroundings really watches out for me	4.26
My siblings and the orphanage know a lot about me	3.73
My siblings and the orphanage stand by me in difficult times	4.25
I feel safe when I am with my siblings	4.34
<b>Contextual</b>	<b>4.12</b>
Education is important to me	4.14
Religion and faith are a source of strength for me	4.43
I participate in communal religious activities	3.48
I enjoy participating in the customs and traditions of the community in which I'm living in now	4.39

Table 2

**Cronbach's Alpha.** In order to test for reliability, Cronbach alpha was calculated. The score was 0.554, and although this number is considered small, Perry, Brownlow and McMurray (2004), suggested that a Cronbach alpha of 0.5 to 0.7 indicates that the scale is moderately reliable. Additionally, Cronbach alpha is affected by the length of the tool (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011), and since the tool is very short, it could be considered acceptable to have this coefficient. Finally, according to Javali (2011), in order for the measurement of internal consistency to be effective, the sample size should at least be 50, for this study the sample size is 41 which could be another reason for the low coefficient.

## Interviews

Analysis of the data showed that resilient adolescents placed high importance on having close supportive relationships especially with a caring adult, they appreciated having access to material resources especially education, they had a sense of cohesiveness inside the orphanages, they had a sense of social responsibility not necessarily to the entire community

but at least to their orphanages, places of worship and to people like them (residing in orphanages). They were also exposed to discrimination, but were able to navigate their way through this challenge using the support from the close relationships, their faith and religion, accepting who they were as orphans, and not caring about what others thought of them. They displayed high levels of self-efficacy and seemed to believe in their capabilities in having control over their own situations and lives. They were able to navigate their way through the seven tensions; “access to material resources”, “relationships”, “identify”, “power and control”, “cultural adherence”, “social justice”, and “cohesion”.

### **The seven themes**

**Relationships.** The analysis showed that the interviewees felt that the people who were important to them were their orphanage “siblings”, their orphanage’s manager, caregiver, their school friends, and the presence of a caring adult in their lives. The nine interviewees especially emphasized the importance of having a caring adult who treated them like a son or a daughter. Five of the interviewees talked about the importance of having relationships with their orphanage’s “siblings”, and their orphanage’s manager. Four of them stated that their school friends were important to them and three of them declared that the presence of the orphanage’s caregivers was significant to them. They explained that these relationships were important because they provided them with support, were always there for them, helped them in solving problems, provided them with guidance, and encouraged them to succeed in their education and in their life in general. As Raouf\*, 19 years old, said about the people he thought were important to him; “the orphanage’s manager because he helped me get into the school, my friends, a teacher at my school she is like my mother, she supported me a lot, took care of my special circumstances and particularly cared about my education”. The interviewees also emphasized the importance of the presence of these relationships in their lives and explained that they were the ones who gave them hope.

Moneir, 18 years old, talking about his mentor said, "...whenever I tell him about anything he tells me be patient and I am hasty in nature, him being in my life gives me hope, the house (the orphanage) gives me hope".

The interviewees really cared about forming a close emotional connection with an adult. 21-year-old Ahmad stated when talking about the person he considers his role model; "she treats me like her son, really her son". Hana a 16-year-old female talking about her caregiver which she called "mom"; "she loves us all, and loves each of us in a special way". Being treated like their son or daughter was very important for the youth, they were really delighted when they talked about that person to whom they thought were so special. The interviewees used the relationships they formed as resources in the face of challenges and these relationships facilitated their journey in coping with hardship.

*\*All the names are pseudonyms*

**Access to material resources.** All the interviewees stated that the main thing that they valued in the orphanage was their access to education. Most of the youth felt that the orphanage cared about them getting a proper education and provided them with extra private lessons if they needed. All the youth who had family outside the orphanage stated that if they were still living with their families they would have probably not continued their education. Raouf a 19-year-old male, stated about the orphanage's administration; "they encourage us and push us to receive proper education, if I was with my biological family I wouldn't have received an education at all". Additionally, four of the youth asserted that the orphanage provided them with adequate food and clothes and regular allowance. Furthermore, three of the youth mentioned how the orphanage provided them with skills training, and three of the youth who liked sports were allowed to go to practice the sports they liked in a club or a sports facility. The interviewees generally had a feeling of satisfaction for their current state, as 21-year-old Ahmad stated;

I have dealt with people from other orphanages and joined them in activities and realized that our home is different and special, they care about getting us a good education, they sent us to good schools, the way they treat us, they deal with us as if we were regular persons not living in an orphanage. The place is good, food is good, the room I'm staying in good, when I compared our home with the other orphanages I found that Thanks God we are much better than them, I thank God that I was raised in this place not in another place.

However, three of the youth stated that the orphanage didn't provide enough opportunities for them to mingle and deal with the outside world. Naguib, 18 years of age said; "they don't give us any type of responsibility what so ever. I try to do this on my own, I don't have to find a job, but I'm trying now to find a job so I could adapt to the outside world, to understand how things are going".

When asked about the future most youth were worried that they would struggle at the beginning if they left the orphanage; as 19-year-old Raouf stated "I'm still not ready to live alone". The female interviewees declared that that the condition is worse in female orphanages, because they tend to be more over protected, Hana a 16-year-old female stated;

I wish I was able to go out alone, because I'm not allowed to go out alone, I don't even know how to use public transportation, anywhere we go we take the orphanage's bus so we are not exposed. Even when buying things, the maximum I can purchase by myself is a bag of chips but I can't buy for example the basic requirements for living (oil, pasta).

On the other hand, some interviewees believed it wasn't not the responsibility of the orphanage to prepare youth to live on their own in the first place, as 21-year-old Ahmad stated;

I believe that it doesn't depend on the orphanage, it depends on the person, the person is the one who will help himself to live on his own, this is why I try to gain experiences in many things, and many fields, because when I leave the orphanage, if one of the paths I'm walking in was interrupted I would walk in a different path.

**Cohesion.** Cohesion is the feeling of togetherness, belonging and feeling a part of something bigger, it's also the feeling of responsibility for the greater good. Seven of the youth interviewed felt that they belonged to the orphanage they were living in and felt responsible for it, and showed great care for it and the people living inside it. Sixteen-year-old Ali said; "when I first started playing the sport I love for a famous club, the coach chose me because he saw how well I played, and how I was respectable, I felt that I accomplished something for myself and for the orphanage". Ali saw his success as an accomplishment not just for himself but for the whole orphanage. He framed his achievement as part of something bigger than himself. They also felt responsible for their younger siblings living with them in the orphanage, 19-year-old Raouf stated; "I'm asking the administration of the orphanage to fix the computer so the younger children in the orphanage can learn something new instead of wasting their summer doing nothing". Seven of the interviewees felt that they belonged to the orphanage and often said statements like "we are together in one place", "my whole life in here", "the companionship", as a way of indicating how much the orphanage meant to them. Mona, 16 years of age, said when asked about where she felt a sense of belonging; "with my (orphanage) siblings, because we are all together we do everything together and we give each other a sense of security".

Three of the interviewees felt a sense of belonging to the neighborhoods where their orphanages were located. They loved their neighbors and interacted regularly with them. Ali, 16 years of age, stated when asked about where he felt a sense of belonging, "in the home I have been living in (the orphanage), because I was raised here and I'm used to it and lived for

many years, I can't change my friends who are here, and I have a lot of neighbors whom I know and love to interact with and love very much". Naguib, 18 years old, said; "I spent the last nine years of my life here, so all my friends are here and my whole world is here, I know everyone here around the neighborhood. It would be a problem if I left, because I don't know anyone anywhere else".

Five of the interviewees were also civically responsible. They talked about distributing gifts to impoverished communities, teaching children in other orphanages, and befriending schoolmates who were bullied. Many of them had future goals that included helping others who were like them or just helping people in general. They had dreams that showed their concern for the greater good. Raouf, age 19, stated "I wish to have authority so I could solve people's problems, I wish to have the means to do so, I would love to help the impoverished people, and spread knowledge among the ignorant".

**Social justice.** The interviewees thought that whether orphans were treated fairly or not greatly depended on the orphanage they lived in. Farah a 16-year-old female felt that "Some are treated fairly and some are not, I knew a group of girls in my school who came from an orphanage where they were constantly beaten, it depends on the orphanage". Five of the interviewees thought that they were treated fairly in general, however, four of the interviewees mentioned incidents that showed prejudice. The youth who talked about prejudice that took place solely because they were raised in an orphanage clarified that the incidents usually happened at school. They stated that they were either given a harsh comment by a class mate about being raised in an orphanage, or their class mates would treat them unnecessarily sensitively when they found out that they were raised in an orphanage. Finally, they clarified that other students might keep their distance from them as if they were incomplete when they found out that they lived in an orphanage. Ahmad 21-year-old said; "when I was in middle school some school mates when they found out that I lived in an



orphanage they kept their distance from me”. Twenty-two-year-old Gorges said; “when I was young, when one of my friends knew that I was living in an orphanage, he treated me in a very sensitive way as if I was very fragile, from this situation I learned to never reveal to anyone that I was living in an orphanage”.

However, when the interviewees were exposed to these prejudices and rejections they used several techniques to navigate their way through the situation. They either stopped revealing that they lived in an orphanage or stopped caring about what other people thought or said about them. Most of the youth seemed to navigate their way through inequality very well, and the ones most successful were the ones who truly accepted who they were, Ahmad 21-year-old said; “I have peace with myself and who I am.... I have no problem telling people that I live in an orphanage and that I am an orphan”.

More serious incidents, though, took place outside school. Not having connections is considered a serious problem in Egypt for an ambitious person. Sixteen-year-old Ali stated; “I want to be an athlete, I have been practicing a certain sport and working hard, I won championships for the orphanage and played for a famous Egyptian sports club for a while but for me to continue playing in the club I needed connections which I didn’t have, so I stopped playing there”. This incidence of not having connections is an example of social inequality and prejudice against orphans, as because he didn’t have connections, he couldn’t pursue his dream in playing the sport he loved in this club. However, Ali revealed later that he didn’t give up on his dream, but rather kept searching for a club where he could play using only his athletic abilities rather than his connections. He said; “when I started playing for the famous club and the coach said I had to get (wasta) a connection to continue playing, I was devastated and I felt that I failed and I won’t be able to move forward. Then I worked hard and applied for another club and I was accepted and won a championship”. Other youth made sense of the prejudices they faced by gaining strength from God. Twenty-one-year-old

Ahmad was clarifying how God helped him in many situations get over the prejudices he faced just because he was an orphan, he said;

I was able to get over how people were thinking of me just like an orphan! And that they shouldn't deal with me just because I was raised in an orphanage! I shouldn't care about anyone I should be whatever I want, all of these positive thoughts are from God, I shouldn't care about what other people are saying or thinking about me, God helped me get over how other people are thinking about me, God gave me the strength to go on, and bear the hardship and move on.

**Identity.** Themes related to identity included sense of purpose, sense of individual identity, positive emotions, acceptance of orphan status, religious affiliation, and nationality.

*Sense of purpose.* The interviewees showed that they had developed a sense of purpose. Three of them found meaning in working and succeeding in their careers, as Ahmad, age 21, said, "I feel that I belong to my work, if I was to choose between my work and something entertaining I would choose work". Four found meaning in helping others, Mona 16 years of age said that she found meaning in; "helping children and, making them happy". Two of the interviewees found meaning in playing a sport, or excelling at a hobby. Five of the interviewees found meaning in serving their communities, especially serving younger orphans.

*Sense of individual identity.* Six of the interviewees emphasized "I" when talking about themselves and described their characters in individualistic ways. For example, Mona, 16 years old, said "I feel that I have full control over my life; I choose my friend, I'm very stubborn if I want something no matter who is standing in my way I will do it". Ahmad, 21 years of age, said; "thanks God when I want something I am capable of reaching it, whatever I want to do, I do". Sixteen years old Hana said, "I have a very bad temper, I believe it's the

main strength point I have, because it gives me power, people think before they bother me because they know I would stand up for myself”.

*Positive emotions.* Seven of the interviewees displayed hopefulness and optimism in life in general and to the future. They found hope in their orphanage’s siblings, their friends, their mentors, and mostly in their belief in God. They often said things like; “There is always hope”, “you can’t live without hope” and “there is no problem without a solution”. They also displayed an optimistic view of life; “try to take the good side in reality, don’t focus on the bad side” and “stay optimistic”.

*Orphan status.* Seven of the interviewees asserted that they had reached a level where they had made peace with being orphans or living in an orphanage. It became part of who they were and tried to get strength from it. Ahmad 21 years of age said

Thank God, we are here orphans, and we won’t run away from reality, I have no problem with this, don’t put being an orphan as an obstacle in front of you, because I dealt with a lot of orphans and they had a lot of good opportunities, related to work and studying, and they would let the opportunities go giving the excuse of being an orphan.

Hana, 16 years of age, also said

Don’t be upset that you live in orphanage, even the Prophet was an orphan like us, it’s not a big deal, a lot of people live with their families and they have a lot of problems that they can’t solve. As long as we are here in a place where we have people who loves us and care about us what else do we need, it’s completely okay.

*Religious Affiliation.* The nine interviewees affiliated themselves with their religion and were very proud of it whether Muslim or Christian. Raouf, 19 years of age, said; “I’m really proud of my religion, God is what keeps me going”. Spirituality and faith played a great role in youth’s life and they clarified that they got strength from it. As Ahmad, 21 years

of age stated, “God is the one who will do justice to you when the world is unfair, he will support and help you, God is the one who has full control over everything and I owe all the success I have to him. God creates reasons for us and gives us the strength to try again, everything is in his hands”.

Eight of the interviewees used their faith to cope with hardships. Mona, 16 years old said “When I face difficulties, I turn to God and I pray for his help and guidance. I failed in school before and I was very sad, God has helped me cope with this challenge and move on and try to succeed”. Hana 16 years of age said; “That God is the best planner and whatever will happen tomorrow will be a good thing for me. For example, I really wanted to be an engineer, but maybe God sees me better as a lawyer, there is no problem without a solution, we just need to think for a while be calm and think, there is always hope”. The comments of the youth align with the highest mean of the CYRM for the statement; “*Religion and faith are a source of strength for me*” which had a mean of 4.44, which shows how important religion, faith and spirituality are for the youth to negotiate and navigate their way through the challenges they face.

*Nationality.* Four of the interviewees were very pleased with their nationality, and four were not, and one didn’t respond to this question. The ones who were proud of their Egyptian nationality mentioned mainly the warmth and the human connections between people that made them feel lucky that they were Egyptians, one of the interviewees when asked where he felt a sense of belonging, he said; “in my country”. The other interviewees who were not very pleased with being Egyptian mainly mentioned how Egypt was underdeveloped and that the education system was poor. They also mentioned economic challenges which made them worry about their futures in Egypt after they leave the orphanage. As Moneir, 18 years of age said when explaining why he was not very happy being an Egyptian; “the living conditions are very difficult the prices of everything are

soaring, I know a lot of people older and younger than me who are facing a lot of difficulties because of the difficult living conditions, I don't know about me, May God have mercy on us".

**Cultural adherence.** The interviewees admired very much certain aspects of the Egyptian culture. They specifically admired the helpfulness and mutual care between people; namely that people would be there for each other no matter what, even if they didn't know each other very well, especially in times of crisis. Seven of the interviewees stated that they were always there for others when they needed them and indicated that others were also there for them. Ali who was 16-years old said that what he admired about the Egyptian culture was "respect, we genuinely love people, not because we want something in return, because they are like us", 22 years old Gorges also said; "helpfulness and care/ concern, if someone in the street fell, everyone would go help him even if they don't know him".

They themselves adhered greatly to this part of the culture. Seven of the interviewees both had someone that they went to for support, help or guidance, and also offered support and help to others, in line with Egypt's collectivist cultural norms. However, the same youth who gave examples of seeking help when facing a challenge, also gave examples of independence. Six described themselves in both individualistic; "ambitious", "determined", and "when I get an opportunity I use it" and collectivistic terms "I'm always there", "helpful" and "supportive". The interviewees also stated that they wished that people would be more open minded and flexible, and allow them to stray from cultural norms. Eighteen years old Moneir said "I love to be unique but not number one, I like to be different than others". Eighteen years old Naguib had to adhere to the culture although he didn't want to in order to get access to material resources, he said

My style (the way I dress, do my hair) was not accepted by the orphanage's administrators, they told me to either change it or leave. I was honestly going to leave

because I liked my style, but I finally decided to change my style and please them and stayed. (I complied because it was better for me to stay in the orphanage, my family lives in a very poor area and I have many of siblings, if I left the orphanage, my life would be much worse, so I decided to sacrifice my style for a better life.

Although Naguib loved his style, he navigated his way through this tension by compromising and adhering to the culture in order to get access to health resources. So, the interviewees both adhered to and opposed the culture depending on the situation, however, in both routes they reached wellbeing.

**Power and control.** Eight of the interviewees felt that they had control over their lives. They felt that changing their lives was with in in their hands, as twenty-one years old Ahmad said

if a person wants to change something it's in his hands, if they want to change something they can, it's in his own, if someone helped you he/ she might give you hand or help in one thing, but you are the one who will continue till the end, anything that I would like to change in my life is dependent on me, I want to enhance my social status its dependent on me, I want to become an architect.

Hana 16 years of age said; "I feel that I have full control over my life; I choose my friend, I'm very stubborn if I want something no matter who is standing in my way I will do it".

## Discussion

The study sought to assess the resilience level of youth who reside in orphanages and identify what makes them resilient. It was found that overall, the youth in this study had a high level of resilience. The most resilient youth felt that the factors that contributed to their resilience were: the presence of supportive relationships with their peers, orphanage siblings and a caring adult; the presence of faith and religion in their lives; the acceptance of being orphans; belief in their ability to in reach their goals, change their own situations and cope

with difficulties; the sense of belonging they felt inside their orphanages and in their neighborhoods; and finally, participation in their communities.

### **Resilience Scores**

The youth in the sample had a resilience level of 48.68, indicating high resilience. This is similar to at-risk youth in the same age group in two Arab populations. The CYRM-12 was administered on 279 Jordanian youth, and 324 Syrian refugees living in Syria the mean scores were 50.16 and 49.56 respectively (Panter-Brick et al., 2017).

The CYRM-12 measures 3 different aspects of resilience; namely individual, relational and contextual. The highest mean was for the relational (4.15) aspect of resilience, and the contextual aspect followed closely with a mean of 4.12, with the individual aspect having the lowest mean of 4.0. This provides support for the claim that resilience should be examined in ecological context and is not something that depends mostly on the individual (Cicchetti and Becker, 2000; Gilligan, 2001; Luther, 2000; Seccombe, 2002). According to Ungar (2008), resilience is not just the capability of the individual to navigate their way to health sustaining resources, it's also the capacity of the context (community and culture) to provide the individuals with health resources that are meaningful to the individuals.

For positive development to take place, different resources contribute differently to development, depending on the risks in the individual's life (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becher, 2000). Additionally, different individuals require different resources to navigate certain difficult situations (Ruter, 2013). Thus, resilience is understood differently in different circumstances (Ruter, 2013) and in different contexts (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). This study measured the resilience level of the youth who were raised in orphanages and investigated what makes them resilient in this particular context. In order for us to say whether these youths are resilient or not, depends on their view of doing well in their context of residing in an orphanage. For example, doing well doesn't necessarily mean going to

college like most middle and upper class Egyptian youth. For Egyptian orphans doing well is using the resources currently available to get prepared for their lives after they leave the orphanage. So, they might decide to not to go to college so they could find a job and be responsible for themselves, and that would-be health promoting in this context.

### **The Seven Themes.**

**Relationships.** Similar to other research on at-risk youth (Abualkibash & Lera, 2015; Alvord & Grados, 2005; Herbers et al., 2011; Masten, 2001; Wanat, 2010; Werner & Smith, 1982; 1992). Masten (2001) and Werner & Smith, (1982; 1992), youth in the current study found relationships to be an important source of support and strength. In particular, the most often mentioned relationship was a caring, supportive adult who they frequently described as having the role of a family member. As was found in other studies of Egyptian orphans, youth in the current study also frequently mentioned the relationships they had with the other orphans who lived with them. Again, these relationships were often described in familial terms as “brothers” and “sisters”. This tendency to describe supportive relationships in terms of family may be unique to Egypt. Perhaps these relationships contribute to resilience because the youth are creating alternative families for themselves that provide essential emotional support and encouragement.

**Access to material resources.** Interestingly, the youth felt that living in an orphanage was actually an advantage when it came to resources. When the youth who had family outside of the orphanage compared themselves to their biological siblings or peers at school, they appreciated their greater access to education, food, clothes and allowance. This may be a function of this sample as the orphanages in this study were sanctioned by the government and supported by NGOs or donors and therefore are likely to have more resources than orphanages that are not sanctioned or have less outside support.



A study conducted in Malawi found that having access to education was important to orphaned youth because it gave them autonomy (Funkquist, Eriksson & Muula, 2007). The youth in the current study also saw education as a key resource that would enable them to have a better future and to gain independence. However, consistent with other studies on Egyptian orphans (Ethnasios, 2011; Gibbons 2007; Ibrahim and Howe, 2011), the youth declared that they needed more exposure to the outside world, an issue especially important for female orphans who get very little experience of the outside world when residing in the orphanage.

The youth in the current study displayed great feelings of security inside their orphanages, in the company of their orphanage siblings. It's interesting how the youth in the current study displayed feelings of security inside their orphanages and in the company of their orphanages siblings.

**Cohesion.** Having a sense of belonging to a place/ cause/ activity has been associated with resilience (Skovdal, 2012; Thabet & Sabah, 2015) and the youth in the current study felt a great sense of belonging to their orphanages and often called it "home". They associated their success with the orphanage and often felt responsibility for it. Opportunity to not be a victim, to give to others.

Some of the youth reported that the neighborhood where the orphanage was located meant a lot to them as saw it as a health sustaining resource because they knew their neighbors and the shop owners and went to the church or the mosque in the neighborhood. Their neighborhood felt like a safe haven for them because they felt accepted as they were, namely, as youth who resided in an orphanage, and they didn't have to hide this aspect of their life from the neighborhood.

Many of the interviewees also showed responsibility for the greater good and were engaged in community services. Perhaps this promoted resilience because it was an

opportunity for them to step outside of their victim status and to find strength and empowerment in giving to others. Interestingly, those who were engaged in community services usually included in their activities orphans and orphanages, which shows that they felt responsible for others who shared similar living conditions. This finding supports other researchers who have found that having opportunities to participate and the sense of responsibility that comes with community service promotes resilience (Bernard, 1992; Henely, 2010; and Skovdal, 2012; and Werner, 1997).

**Social justice.** The youth displayed clear resilience in this particular tension. Contrary to what has been found in other studies (Ethansis, 2012; Fawzy & Fouad, 2010), the youth in the current study had made peace with the fact that they resided in an orphanage and didn't look at it as a deficiency. They showed great adaptability to the difficult prejudiced situations they encountered. This ability to effectively deal with prejudice may pave the way for effective coping when presented with challenges later in life (Masten, 2010; Richardson, 2002; Rutter, 2013; Werner, 2000). As has been found in many studies (Kim & Esquivel, 2011; Masten, 2014; Wanat, 2010; Werner, 1997), the youth in the current study used their religion to cope. One of the ways that religion assists individuals in dealing with stressors and challenges is that it allows them to view challenges in a meaningful way (Pargament & Cummings, 2010). As in Nourian et al.'s (2016) study of Iranian orphans, the youth in the current study made adversity meaningful through their view that God had a plan for them and adversity was part of that plan.

The high emphasis placed on religion and faith was reflected in the survey scores as well with "religion and faith are a source of strength for me" scoring the highest of all of the items. This may be related more to cultural norms than to their orphan status. In one study ("Religiosity") for example, 97% of Egyptians thought that religion was important to them and played a central role in their lives

**Power and control.** Despite having lived in an institution all of their lives with tight controls, particularly for the girls, these youths were able to maintain a sense of control of their lives. They displayed great belief in their capability to change their own lives and determination in working hard and reaching whatever goal they set. This sense of self-efficacy is a strong predictor of resilience and effective adaptation to challenges (Kiyiapi, 2007; Pargament & Cummings, 2010; Rutter, 2013; Salifu Yendork & Somhlaba, 2015; Werner, 2000), and the youth gave many examples of situations where they were able to maintain control in the face of difficulties.

**Identity and Cultural Adherence.** The youth had a sense of purpose which also may have helped them in facing difficulties and enhancing their well-being (Masten, 2014; Wexler, DiFluvio & Burke, 2009). Much of their sense of being seemed to be derived from seeing themselves as individuals rather than part of a bigger group or cause. This is somewhat unusual in Egypt because of the Egyptian culture's collectivist focus on family. However, Egypt and in particular Cairo is affected by westernization (Amin, 2000; Ungar et al., 2007) and this could have had an effect on the youth's sense of individual identify. Additionally, their condition of being raised outside of family care obliged them to become more independent in order to cope with life's challenges, which is consistent with other studies conducted on youth who resided in orphanages in Arab countries (Ibrahim and Howe, 2011). The youth in Arab countries usually depend on their families in almost everything (for financial resources, employment options and for emotional support) (Ibrahim and Howe, 2011). However, for youth who reside in orphanages they don't necessarily have this option of depending on their families, so they instead depend on themselves by trying to find as much resources as possible in order to survive. Because of the special context of residing in an orphanage in Cairo, the youth had to be independent and self-driven (Ungar et al., 2008). This adherence to the global culture of individualism was declared by the youth to be a

pathway to resilience. Despite this individualist view of themselves, they also identified themselves as helpful and reliable, which is consistent with the more collectivist aspects of the Egyptian culture (Ethansis, 2012; Ibrahim and Howe, 2011). They balanced their sense of individual identity with their willingness to help others and receive help. It was interesting to observe how the youth identified themselves in both an individualistic and a collectivistic way to reach resilience. This balance seemed to be important, since often times they are required to depend on themselves due to the lack of resources and family connections, while on the other hand, they often need help from others to reach well-being.

**Positive emotions.** Similar to other research, many of the youth reported feeling hopeful and optimistic, which allowed them to cope with difficulties (Kim & Esquivel, 2011; Nourian et al., 2016; Wanat, 2010). According to Fredrickson (2004), positive emotions are indicators of resilience, because they broaden the person's mindset and allow them to explore, and learn, which in turn leads to that person gaining resources. These resources are often enduring which allows the person to cope with several challenges through his/ her life (Cohn, 2009).

**Navigation and negotiation.** According to Ungar et al. (2008) for resilience to be fully understood one should look for two processes; navigation and negotiation. The navigation process is demonstrated when the individual exhibits the ability to steer their way to the resources that will bring well-being. The negotiation process occurs when the youth are offered resources by their orphanage or community, for instance, the youth negotiate to ensure that the resources are meaningful to them (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Ungar et al., 2008; Ungar et al., 2007). This was clearly exhibited in the results as the youth showed the personal agency to navigate their way to the health enhancing resources to sustain their well-being. They, for instance, navigated their way to resources like the positive relationships that provided them with support and warmth which enabled them to cope with difficulties

(relationships are considered to this particular population of youth who reside in orphanages in Urban Cairo to be of vital importance, so the youth choose to navigate their way to this particular resource to enhance their well-being and to better adapt to difficulties).

Additionally, the youth navigated their way to opportunities that provided them with skills and experience to be prepared for the outside world. The youth also were able to maximize whatever resource they had to reach well-being. Furthermore, the youth negotiated the resources offered to them by the orphanage to ensure that they were meaningful to them.

### **Implications for Designing Interventions**

This research is the first conducted in Egypt that identifies the resilience level of youth who were raised in orphanages and specify the factors that facilitated resilience for them and discover how they navigate their way through the struggles they face growing up. Given the challenges adolescents who reside in orphanages face, it's of great importance to focus on their capabilities and strengths to design interventions based on their strengths and capabilities rather than their weakness and needs. The focus on strengths would empower the youth and make them feel capable of changing their own lives (Zimmerman, 2000).

Interventions that focus on strength and capabilities were implemented successfully (Foster-Fishman, Law, Lichty, & Aoun, 2010; Smith, Davis, & Bhowmik, 2010).

Since resilience is a process, it could be promoted at any moment during the life span (Harney, 2007), and for orphans who are experiencing the changes of adolescence while preparing to leave their orphanage, it seems especially important. The results of this study could be used to develop a contextually relevant program. The program would be ecological in focusing not only on the individual, but also on the surrounding environment. The individual part would be a training where the youth would learn self-efficacy, self-esteem, assertiveness skills, how to generate positive emotions, effective problem-solving skills, life skills and social skills, gain awareness of their identity, learn to cope with discrimination, and

recognize and utilize recourses. They also would learn how to develop a sense of purpose, how to take pride in being orphans, to turn to faith and religion for strengths, learn to navigate their way to health sustaining resources (positive relationships, opportunities for self-developments, opportunities for education and career development). The ones who would give the training would be youth who transitioned from the orphanages, they would be given a training for the trainers and would give the training. This would help the trainees feel that the training is realistic and that the trainer understands their difficult background.

The youth in the sample asserted that the social support was of vital importance to them, so part of the program could be including older youth who have already transitioned from the orphanage, mentor younger ones. Additionally, having part of the program could focus on more interaction with the outside world while residing in the orphanage, through developing programs to prepare youth to live on their own by giving them certain responsibilities across the orphanage to get them prepared to the financial and household related activities. Also, to get them prepared to deal with the outside world by involving them in internships in the summer to get used to the work environment. In addition to getting them engaged in their communities through a local religious institutions or NGO.

**Limitations.** There were a number of challenges that limit the generalizability of this study. First, the main challenge faced in this research was reaching out to the orphanages. It took the almost four months of making phone calls and making visits and having meetings with managers to obtain permission to conduct the study in the orphanages. This led to a small sample size, since the process of conducting the study with one orphanage took a long time. The second limitation is that the orphanages contacted were all in urban Cairo, due to the limited time for collecting data and the difficulty of reaching orphanages outside of Cairo. Third, although there was outreaching to obtain a diverse sample, it was still difficult to reach slum and more rural areas in Cairo due to the unavailability of their information online and

their non-involvement in the capacity building activities offered by NGOs to orphanages.

This was a disappointment as the especially challenging conditions faced by youth in these orphanages might offer the strongest examples of resilience. Finally, it would have been better to have a similar ratio of males versus females to identify how different is their pathway to resilience experience, but due to the limited time the researcher had and the over protective nature of female orphanages, it was difficult to reach more females.

**Future Research.** There is a gap in research on Egyptian orphans, particularly in research that focuses on strengths and capabilities. Due to limited time and the difficulty in reaching orphanages, the sample is rather small and therefore has limited generalizability. It would be useful therefore to find out what resilience means through larger scale research, having an equal representation of males and females. It would also be useful to identify the factors that facilitates resilience for youth who reside in orphanages located in impoverished areas in Egypt; in Rural Cairo, Slum areas, Delta and Upper Egypt where resources are especially limited.

It would also be useful to make comparisons between orphan youth and youth living outside of orphanages. Some of the youth who had family outside of the orphanage, stated that their lives at the orphanage were better than their biological siblings, and that they had access to resources that were not available were their families resided. It would be interesting to compare children who reside in orphanages that offer adequate resources with children (and perhaps an orphan's siblings) who reside with their families but with limited resources. In addition, one of the surprising findings of the current study is the youth's sense of individual identity. It would be interesting to further investigate whether this sense of individual identity is unique to orphans because of the lack of family connections, or is it common among all Egyptian youth living in Urban Cairo.

Finally, it would be helpful to make comparisons between resilient orphans and those who are less resilient. For example, the youth in the current study described their orphanage siblings, their peers and a caring adult as family, it would be interesting to find out if that was true for non-resilient orphans as well. It would also be useful to follow up on the youth interviewed in the current study and find out whether they were more able to successfully transition from their orphanages and live on their own than those who were less resilient.

### **Conclusion**

Youth who reside in orphanages in Egypt face difficult circumstances, including social stigma and lack of resources. Yet most of the orphans in this study had moderate to high levels of resilience, and those who were interviewed had navigated their way beautifully through the challenges in their lives. They were able to develop health sustaining relationships which provided them with help, support and guidance. They also used the support, power and hopefulness they gained from their religion and faith to cope with the prejudices and challenges faced. They gained strength from the cohesiveness inside their orphanages and in their communities, and they were able to maximize the available material resources to reach well-being. Additionally, they used their belief in their capabilities in changing their own situations to cope with hardships. They adhered to and opposed local and global culture depending on the situation to reach resilience.

These findings suggest a number of ways to facilitate resilience in orphans. These could include interventions such as mentoring programs that facilitate positive relationships with adults and peers; teaching skills for dealing effectively with discrimination and prejudice and taking pride in the orphan status; using religion to cope with difficulties; building cohesiveness in the orphanage and providing opportunities for civic engagement; and finally, teaching life skills that will prepare the youth to live on their own.



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## Appendix A

### CYRM-12 Informed Consent English version



#### Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

**Project Title:** Assessing the resilience of adolescence who were raised in orphanages in Cairo

**Principal Investigator:** Noha Emam Hassanin, [nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu), 01065484824  
You are being asked to participate in a research study about orphan's resilience. The purpose of the research is to assess the resilience of adolescence who were raised in orphanages and identify the factors that facilitated resilience. The findings may be published and presented. The expected duration of your participation is 15 minutes.

The procedures of the research will be as follows: You will be asked to answer closed ended questions on a short survey.

There may be some risk or discomfort associated with this research. Some questions may cause some emotional discomfort to some participants. In the occasion of such discomfort you have the right to skip the question. If you feel that you need to talk to anyone about any issues raised in the survey or the interview kindly contact the researcher. If you feel the need for psychological support contact the researcher to connect you with a specialist

The research may benefit you by giving you an opportunity to reflect on times when you were able to cope with certain difficulties in your life. Your participation will benefit other youth who were raised in orphanages by identifying the factors that facilitate resilience. The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential. The results will be reported in the aggregate and you will not be identified in any description or publication of this research. Only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the completed surveys which will be kept in a locked file.

For questions or concerns about the research, please contact the principal investigator, Noha Emam Hassanin, [nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu), 01065484824.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Please state your name and agreement to be interviewed for this study

Participant's signature

---

Guardian's signature

---

if the participant is under 18

Date

---

## CYRM-12 Informed Consent Arabic Version

# الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

## استمارة موافقة مسبقة للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية

عنوان البحث: تقييم مرونة الشباب الذين نشأوا في دور الأيتام في القاهرة

الباحث الرئيسي: نهى إمام حسانين

البريد الإلكتروني: [nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu)

الهاتف: ٠١٠٦٥٤٨٤٨٢٤

انت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية عن مرونة الأيتام. الهدف منها هو تقييم مرونة الشباب الذين نشأوا في دور الأيتام في القاهرة وتحديد العوامل التي يسرت القدرة على المرونة. نتائج البحث ستنشر في دوريه متخصصة ومؤتمر علمي، والمدة المتوقعة للمشاركة في هذا البحث هي ١٥ دقيقة.

اجراءات الدراسة تنطوي على إجابتك على أسئلة مغلقة في استبيان قصير.

قد يوجد بعض المخاطر أو المضايقات نتيجة المشاركة في هذا البحث. بعض الأسئلة قد تسبب بعض الانزعاج العاطفي لبعض المشاركين، وإن حدث ذلك فإنه لك الحق في تخطي السؤال. إذا كنت تشعر بأنك بحاجة إلى التحدث إلى أي شخص حول أي قضايا أثرت في الاستبيان يرجى الاتصال بالباحث، وإذا كنت تشعر بالحاجة للدعم النفسي يرجى الاتصال بالباحث لتوصيلك بمختص.

المشاركة في البحث قد تنفعك بإعطائك فرصة للتفكير في الأوقات التي كنت قادرا على التعامل مع بعض الصعوبات في حياتك، ومشاركتك ستفيد الشباب الذين نشأوا في ظروف مماثلة بتحديد العوامل التي تيسر القدرة على المرونة.

المعلومات التي ستدلى بها في هذا البحث سرية، وسيتم عرض النتائج بالإجمال دون إفصاح عن هويتك في أي وصف أو نشر لهذا البحث، والباحثة والدكتورة المشرفة على الرسالة يمكنهما فقط الحصول على الدراسات الاستقصائية التي سيحتفظ بها في ملف مؤمن.

أي أسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة أو حقوق المشاركين فيها أو عند حدوث أي ضرر ناتج عن هذه المشاركة يجب ان توجه الى نهى إمام حسانين، ٠١٠٦٥٤٨٤٨٢٤.

أن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ماهي الا عمل تطوعي، حيث أن الامتناع عنها لايتضمن أي عقوبات أو فقد أي مزايا تحقق لك، ويمكنك أيضا التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت دون عقوبة أو فقدان لهذه المزايا.

إمضاء المشارك: .....

التليفون: .....

إمضاء ولي الأمر في حالة ان المشارك تحت سن ١٨ : .....

التاريخ : ...../...../.....



## Appendix B

### Interview informed consent English version



#### Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

**Project Title:** Assessing the resilience of adolescence who were raised in orphanages in Cairo

**Principal Investigator:** Noha Emam Hassanin, [nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu), 01065484824

You are being asked to participate in a research study about orphan's resilience. The purpose of the research is to assess the resilience of adolescence who were raised in orphanages and identify the factors that facilitated resilience. The findings may be published and presented. The expected duration of your participation is 2 hours.

The procedures of the research will be as follows: You will be asked to answer open ended questions on an interview.

There may be some risk or discomfort associated with this research. Some questions may cause some emotional discomfort to some participants. In the occasion of such discomfort you have the right to skip the question. If you feel that you need to talk to anyone about any issues raised in the survey or the interview kindly contact the researcher. If you feel the need for psychological support contact the researcher to connect you with a specialist

The research may benefit you by giving you an opportunity to reflect on times when you were able to cope with certain difficulties in your life. Your participation will benefit other youth who were raised in orphanages by identifying the factors that facilitate resilience.

The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential. The results will be reported in the aggregate and you will not be identified in any description or publication of this research. Only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the interviews which will be kept in a locked file.

For questions or concerns about the research, please contact the principal investigator, Noha Emam Hassanin, [nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu), 01065484824.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Please state your name and agreement to be interviewed for this study

Participant's signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Guardian's signature

\_\_\_\_\_

if the participant is under 18

Date

\_\_\_\_\_

The audio recordings will be transcribed by the researcher and erased once the transcription process is complete. Kindly state below if you agree or disagree to being audio recorded.

	Participant	Guardian
I agree to be audio recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I disagree to be audio recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Interview informed consent Arabic version

# الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

## استمارة موافقة مسبقة للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية

عنوان البحث: تقييم مرونة الشباب الذين نشأوا في دور الأيتام في القاهرة

الباحث الرئيسي: نهى إمام حسانين

البريد الإلكتروني: [nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nohahassanin@aucegypt.edu)

الهاتف: ٠١٠٦٥٤٨٤٨٢٤

انت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية عن مرونة الأيتام. الهدف منها هو تقييم مرونة الشباب الذين نشأوا في دور الأيتام في القاهرة وتحديد العوامل التي يسرت القدرة على المرونة. نتائج البحث ستنتشر في دوريه متخصصة ومؤتمر علمي، والمدة المتوقعة للمشاركة في هذا البحث هي ساعة للمقابلة.

واجراءات الدراسة تنطوي على إجابتك على أسئلة مفتوحة في مقابلة.

وقد يوجد بعض المخاطر أو المضايقات نتيجة المشاركة في هذا البحث. بعض الأسئلة قد تسبب بعض الانزعاج العاطفي لبعض المشاركين، وإن حدث ذلك فإنه لك الحق في تخطي السؤال. إذا كنت تشعر بأنك بحاجة إلى التحدث إلى أي شخص حول أي قضايا أثرت في المقابلة يرجى الاتصال بالباحث، وإذا كنت تشعر بالحاجة للدعم النفسي يرجى الاتصال بالباحث لتوصيلك بمختص.

والمشاركة في البحث قد تنفعك بإعطائك فرصة للتفكير في الأوقات التي كنت قادرا على التعامل مع بعض الصعوبات في حياتك، ومشاركتك ستفيد الشباب الآخرين الذين نشأوا في ظروف مماثلة بتحديد العوامل التي تيسر القدرة على المرونة.

وأن المعلومات التي ستدلى بها في هذا البحث سرية، وسيتم عرض النتائج بالإجمال دون إفصاح عن هويتك في أي وصف أو نشر لهذا البحث، والباحثة والدكتورة المشرفة على الرسالة يمكنهما فقط الحصول على المقابلات التي سيحتفظ بها في ملف مؤمن.

و أن أي أسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة أو حقوق المشاركين فيها أو عند حدوث أي ضرر ناتج عن هذه المشاركة يجب ان توجه الى نهى إمام حسانين، ٠١٠٦٥٤٨٤٨٢٤

و أن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ماهي الا عمل تطوعي، حيث أن الامتناع عنها لا يتضمن أي عقوبات أو فقد أي مزايا تحق لك ، ويمكنك أيضا التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت دون عقوبة أو فقدان لهذه المزايا.

إمضاء المشارك: .....

إمضاء ولي الأمر في حالة المشارك تحت سن ١٨ : .....

التاريخ : ...../...../.....  
سيتم نسخ التسجيلات الصوتية من قبل الباحث ومحوها بمجرد اكتمال عملية النسخ ، يرجى ذكر أدناه إذا كنت توافق أو لا توافق على تسجيل الصوت.

ولي الأمر	المشارك	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	موافق على تسجيل الصوت
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	غير موافق على تسجيل الصوت

## Appendix C

## CYRM-12 Questions English Version Muslims

## Appendix

- Do you have family members?
- Do you visit them, or do they visit you?

	A lot	Quite a bit	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
Education is important to me					
<i>Someone from my surroundings</i> really watches out for me					
<i>My siblings</i> and the orphanage know a lot about me					
I try to finish things I start					
Religion and faith are a source of strength for me					
I know where to go to ask for help					
<i>My siblings</i> and the orphanage stand by me in difficult times					
I am aware of my own points of strength					
I participate in communal religious activities (such as group prayers, <i>Jumaa prayer</i> /attending religious classes)					
I feel safe when I am with <i>my siblings</i>					
I have opportunities to develop and improve myself for the future					
I enjoy participating in the customs and traditions of the community in which I'm living in now ( <i>I enjoy participating in celebrations, feasts, gatherings in Ramadan</i> )					

## CYRM-12 Questions Arabic Version Muslims

- هل لديك أقارب يقيمون خارج الدار؟ -----
- هل يقومون بزيارتك، أو هل تزورهم؟ -----
- كم عمرك؟ -----
- ولد ولا بنت؟ -----

١ أبداً	٢ قليل	٣ وسط	٤ أكثر من الوسط	٥ كثير	
					التعليم شيء مهم بالنسبة لي
					في حد من اللي حوالية بيهتم بيا
					إخواتي والدار يعرفوا كثير عني
					أنا بحاول أنهي الشيء اللي بدأه
					الدين والإيمان مصدر قوة بالنسبالي
					أنا بعرف أروح لمين عشان أطلب مساعدة
					إخواتي والدار بيقفوا معايا في الاوقات الصعبة
					أنا عارف نقاط القوة العندي
					أنا بشارك في النشاطات الدينية العامة (زي صلاة الجمعة/ صلاة الجمعة / دروس الدين)
					بشعر بالأمان لما يكون مع إخواتي
					عندي فرص لتطوير مهارات مفيدة ولتحسين نفسي للمستقبل
					أنا بمستمع بالمشاركة بعبادات وتقاليد المجتمع اللي بعيش فيه حالياً (بمستمع بالمشاركة في الاحتفالات والأعياد والمناسبات وعزومه رمضان)

**Appendix C****CYRM-12 Questions English Version Christians**

- Do you have family members?
- Do you visit them, or do they visit you?
- How old are you?
- Female or Male?

	A lot	Quite a bit	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
Education is important to me					
Someone from my surroundings really watches out for me					
My siblings and the orphanage know a lot about me					
I try to finish things I start					
Religion and faith are a source of strength for me					
I know where to go to ask for help					
My siblings and the orphanage stand by me in difficult times					
I am aware of my own points of strength					
I participate in communal religious activities (such as praying in the Church, attending mass, Sunday school)					
I feel safe when I am with my siblings					
I have opportunities to develop and improve myself for the future					
I enjoy participating in the customs and traditions of the community in which I'm living in now					

## CYRM-12 Questions Arabic Version Christians

١ أبداً	٢ قليل	٣ وسط	٤ أكثر من الوسط	٥ كثير	
					التعليم شيء مهم بالنسبة لي
					في حد من اللي حوالية بيهتم بيا
					إخواتي والدار يعرفوا كثير عني
					أنا بحاول أنهى الشيء اللي ببدأه
					الدين والإيمان مصدر قوة بالنسبالي
					أنا بعرف أروح لمين عشان أطلب مساعدة
					إخواتي والدار بيقفو معايا في الاوقات الصعبة
					أنا عارف نقاط القوة العندي
					أنا بشارك في النشاطات الدينية العامة (زي القداس / الصلاة في الكنيسة/ مدرسة الاحد)
					بشعر بالأمان لما بكون مع إخواتي
					عندي فرص لتطوير مهارات مفيدة ولتحسين نفسي للمستقبل
					أنا بمستمع بالمشاركة بعبادات وتقاليد المجتمع اللي بعيش فيه حالياً (بمستمع بالمشاركة في الاحتفالات والأعياد والمناسبات)



## Appendix D

### Interview questions English version

#### Relationships:

- Who are the people who are the most important to you? And why are they important?
- Who is the person that you feel comforted by? Describe them.
- Do you have someone that you consider a role model? Can you describe them
- Do you face any challenges dealing with people who were not raised in orphanages? How do you handle these challenges?
- Is there somebody in the orphanage that you specially admire? What traits do you admire in them?

#### Access to material resources:

- What are the things that you value here in the orphanage? What do you think was missing?
- How has the orphanage prepared you to live on your own? How were you provided with opportunities to develop your skills for the future?
- Do you think that there are any benefits that you have that others who were not raised in an orphanage don't?

#### Cohesion:

- In what way do you feel that you belong at your school/ orphanage/ religion group/ place of worship/ country?
- Do you feel it's important to serve your community? Do you feel it's your responsibility? In what way? Can you give an example of a time you served your community?

#### Cultural adherence:

- What do you value in your culture?
- What aspects from different cultures do you integrate to your life?

#### Social justice:

- Do you think you are treated fairly?
- Have others treated you differently because you were raised in an orphanage?

#### Identity:

- How do you view yourself?
- Are you proud of your ethnic background? In what way?
- Do you have personal goals and aspirations? What are they?

#### Religion:

- Has your religion impacted the way you cope with difficulties? In what way? Can you give me an example of a time you used your religion to cope with a difficulty?
- Is religion a source of strength for you? In what way? Or if not, why not?

#### Power and control:

- Do you have opportunities to make change in your own life/ your orphanage/ your community? Can you give me an example of a time you made such a change?
- Do you have a sense of control over your world? How does this affect your life?

#### Coping with challenges:

- Can you share a story about how you managed to overcome challenges you faced personally, in your orphanage or outside in your community/ school?
- What do you do when you face difficulties in life?

- What advice do you have for someone who is currently living in an orphanage?

**Strengths:**

- Without being modest, what do you value about yourself, what are your greatest strengths? Can you give some examples of times you have used your strengths?
- What makes you hopeful? Can you tell me about a time when things weren't going well and you were worried or feeling bad? What did you do to keep hopeful in that situation?

Arabic interview questions

### Interview questions Arabic version

#### العلاقات:

- من هم الأشخاص المهمين بالنسبة إليك؟ ولماذا تعتبرهم مهمين؟
- من هو الشخص الذي يريحك؟ أوصفهم
- هل تعتبر أحد مثلاً أعلى لك؟ أوصفهم
- هل تواجهك تحديات في التعامل مع الأشخاص الذين لم ينشؤوا في بيوت زي البيت ده؟ كيف تتعامل مع هذه التحديات؟
- هل هناك شخص في البيت يعجبك بشكل خاص؟ ما الصفات التي تعجبك بهم؟

#### الحصول على الموارد المادية:

- ما هي الأشياء التي تقدرها هنا في البيت؟ من رأيك ماذا كان مفقوداً؟
- كيف أعدك البيت/الدار للعيش بمفردك؟ كيف تم تزويدك بفرص لتطوير مهاراتك للمستقبل؟ (لما تكبر وتعيش لوحدهم وتفتكر البيت-إيه اللي كنت تحبه يكون موجود)
- هل تعتقد أن هناك أي فوائد لديك ليست متاحة لدي الآخرين الذين لم ينشؤوا في بيت زي البيت ده؟ (معشوش في بيت زي بيتنا)

#### التماسك:

- أين تشعر بالانتماء؟ لماذا تشعر بالانتماء هناك؟
- هل تشعر أنه من المهم خدمة مجتمعك؟ هل تشعر أنه من مسؤوليتك؟ كيف؟ هل يمكنك تقديم مثال على الوقت الذي خدمت فيه مجتمعك؟

#### الالتزام/الالتصاق الحضاري:

- ما الذي تقدره في عاداتنا/تقليدنا/في مفاهيمنا؟
- هل هناك حضارات/ثقافات/عربية أو غربية أخرى تعجبك؟ لماذا تعجبك؟

#### العدالة الاجتماعية:

- هل تعتقد أن الأيتام يعاملون معاملة عادلة من قبل المجتمع؟
- هل تعامل الآخرون معك بطريقة مختلفة لأنك نشأت في البيت ده؟

#### الهوية:

- ما هي 10 كلمات ستستخدمها لتصف نفسك؟ لماذا اخترت تلك الكلمات؟
- هل أنت فخور بخلفيتك (الدين/الجنسية)؟ كيف؟
- هل لديك أهداف وتطلعات شخصية؟ ما هي؟

#### الدين:

- هل الدين مصدر قوة بالنسبة لك؟ كيف؟ أو لا، لماذا لا؟
- هل أثر دينك على الطريقة التي تتعامل بها مع الصعوبات؟ كيف؟ هل يمكن أن تعطيني مثلاً لوقت استخدمت دينك للتعامل مع تحدي؟

#### القوة والتحكم/السيطرة:

- هل لديك فرص لإحداث تغيير في حياتك / في البيت / مجتمعك؟ هل يمكنك أن تعطيني مثلاً لوقت قمت فيه بإحداث مثل هذا التغيير؟
- على مقياس من 1 إلى 10، ما مدى السيطرة والتحكم الذي لديك على حياتك؟ قل لي لماذا اخترت هذا الرقم.

#### مواجهة التحديات:

- هل يمكنك مشاركة قصة عن كيفية تغلبك على التحديات التي واجهتها شخصيا، في البيت أو خارجها في مجتمعك / مدرستك؟
- ماذا تفعل عندما تواجه صعوبات في الحياة؟
- ما هي النصيحة التي لديك لشخص يعيش حاليا في بيت زي ده/ في دار؟

#### نقاط القوة:

- بدون تواضع، ماذا تقدر في نفسك، ما هي أعظم نقاط القوة لديك؟ (الناس الي تعرفك هتقول ايه هي نقاط القوة اللي عندك) هل يمكنك إعطاء بعض الأمثلة عن المرات التي استخدمت نقاط القوة الخاصة بك؟
- ما الذي يجعل عندك أمل؟ هل يمكن أن تخبرني عن وقت لم تسير فيه الأمور بشكل جيد وكنت قلقا أو تشعر بالسوء؟ ماذا فعلت للحفاظ على الأمل في هذه الحالة؟

### Appendix E

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Description of the process</b>
1. Familiarising yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking in the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

(Braun & Clarke, 2006 p. 35)