

# Beliefs About Parental Authority Legitimacy Among Refugee Youth in Jordan: Between- and Within-Person Variations

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We examined within- and between-person variations in parental legitimacy beliefs in a sample of 883 Arab refugee youth ( $M_{\text{age}} = 15.01$  years,  $SD = 1.60$ ), 277 Iraqis, 275 Syrians, and 331 Palestinians, in Amman, Jordan. Latent profile analyses of 22 belief items yielded 4 profiles of youth. The *normative* profile (67% of the sample,  $n = 585$ ) most strongly endorsed parental authority legitimacy for prudential (risky) items, followed by moral, conventional, and then friendship items, with legitimacy lowest for personal items. The *low-normative* profile (10%,  $n = 85$ ) followed a similar pattern, although legitimacy ratings were significantly lower than *normative* youth for most items, but not the personal ones. *Rebellious* youth (11%,  $n = 96$ ) held deviant peer values; they endorsed less legitimacy, particularly for prudential and friendship items, than did youth in other profiles. *Mixed* youth (12%,  $n = 101$ ) were similar to *rebellious* youth in some judgments and *low-normative* youth in others. Profile membership did not differ by adolescents' age or parental socioeconomic status but did differ by gender and national background. Youth fitting the *normative* (and to some extent, the *low-normative*) profile rated parents higher in support, behavioral control, and knowledge of adolescents' activities and lower in psychological control-disrespect and harsh punishment than did *rebellious* or *mixed* youth. *Normative* (and also, but less consistently, *low-normative*) youth reported better psychosocial adjustment across multiple measures than did *rebellious* and *mixed* youth.

**Keywords:** Arab refugee youth, parental legitimacy beliefs, latent profile analysis, parenting, adjustment

Children are active agents in evaluating parental rules and expectations. A number of studies have shown that youth endorse parents as having the legitimate authority to make rules—and even believe parents are obligated to do so—about a wide variety of issues (Smetana, 2011). More specifically, parents and adolescents almost unanimously agree that parents have the legitimate authority to regulate *moral* issues (pertaining to others' welfare or fairness), *conventional* issues (pertaining to arbitrary, contextually

relative social norms), and *prudential* issues (pertaining to harm, safety, or discomfort to the self; Smetana, 1988, 2000; Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Parents and adolescents also agree that children should have some authority over *personal* issues involving control over one's body, privacy, and personal preferences and choices (e.g., regarding issues such as leisure activities and friends), although they typically disagree about where the boundaries of personal control should be drawn (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Adolescents generally believe that they have more authority than parents think they do (Keijsers & Laird, 2014; Smetana, 1988, 2000), which may result in intergenerational disagreements (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Referred to as *multifaceted*, conflictive issues such as staying out late at night and unsupervised peer and romantic relationships overlap the domains and are often seen as prudential or conventional by parents but as personal by teens.

Similar domain distinctions in legitimacy judgments have been found among youth from different ethnic backgrounds in the United States (Fuligni, 1998; Keijsers & Laird, 2014; Smetana, 2000) and other cultures. This includes youth in Asia (Darling, Cumsille, & Peña-Alampay, 2005; Zhang & Fuligni, 2006) and South America (Cumsille, Darling, Flaherty, & Martinez, 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2005; Darling, Cumsille, & Martinez, 2007, 2008; Nucci, Camino, & Sapiro, 1996), with some cultural and age variations, particularly in what is seen as personal.

These beliefs also have consequences for adolescents' behavior. For instance, adolescents who believe that issues are more legiti-

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mately regulated by parents are more obedient, open to socialization, and comply more with rules than youth lower in legitimacy beliefs (Darling et al., 2007; Kuhn, Phan, & Laird, 2014); they also disclose more to parents and keep fewer secrets (Keijsers & Laird, 2014). Finally, youth who engage in problem behaviors have much weaker legitimacy beliefs than do youth who do not (Darling et al., 2008), and weaker beliefs are bidirectionally associated with more perceived parental psychological control and greater association with antisocial peers (Kuhn & Laird, 2011).

Using latent class analyses, several studies conducted in Chile (Cumsille et al., 2006; Darling et al., 2007, 2008) have identified different patterns of adolescents' legitimacy beliefs: *parent control*, where youth endorsed parental control over most issues (e.g., personal, prudential, and multifaceted); *shared control*, where parents were seen as having legitimate authority over prudential and multifaceted but not personal items; and *personal control*, where teenagers believed they should control all issues. These patterns were strongly associated with socioeconomic status (SES) and age, with membership in the parental control class more likely among lower SES and younger youth and shared control more likely among middle SES youth.

In addition, longitudinal analyses have shown that although there is considerable over-time stability in adolescents' membership in these classes and in parental control over prudential and multifaceted issues, there was a shift toward more shared control over time (Cumsille et al., 2009) and more over-time stability in the personal control class among youth higher in problem behavior. However, it is not clear whether these results are broadly generalizable, given the profound cultural, political, and economic changes in Chile over the past two decades. These have led to a rejection of authoritarian values, and among the younger generation, a loosening of social and sexual norms, more permissive attitudes toward parental rules, and increased self-governance regarding prudential issues than in the United States (Cumsille et al., 2009). This differs from the more authoritarian parenting found in other parts of the world, including the Middle East.

### Refugee Youth in the Middle East

Arab families across the Middle East share similar cultural values and beliefs about parenting (Abudabbeh, 2005; Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserie, Farah, & Sakhleh, 2006; Haboush, 2005). They typically endorse a strongly authoritarian approach to parenting, with family relations based on harsh punishment, negative criticism, and restrictive parental control (Al-Simadi & Atoum, 2000; Baxter, 2007; Dwairy et al., 2006). Arab families emphasize loyalty and responsiveness to the extended family (Sharifzadeh, 2004), along with obedience, conformity, community, and family honor. Furthermore, interdependence is said to be valued over individuality and autonomy, and the hierarchical nature of traditional Arab families is typically experienced as oppressive for women, who have less privilege and autonomy than their male counterparts (Wainryb & Turiel, 1994).

Very little research has examined associations between beliefs about parental authority and parenting practices in Middle Eastern families. However, one study indicated that Arab-Israeli 12th graders kept information from parents regarding plans, problems in school, and relationships with boyfriends and girlfriends (Azaiza, 2005), suggesting that they were attempting to control their per-

sonal domains. Also, studying Iranian mothers (of 14-year-olds) varying widely in literacy, modernity, and SES, Assadi, Smetana, Shahmansouri, and Mohammadi (2011) found that, regardless of background, mothers believed that they had the greatest authority over conventional issues and the least over personal issues, with prudential issues falling in-between. Unlike the United States, but similar to findings in Japan (Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004), mothers viewed friendship issues (friendships with unsuitable persons; going places with friends; time spent with friends) as prudential concerns, much like cigarette smoking and illegal drug use. Higher levels of maternal education were associated with greater acceptance of parental authority over prudential and friendship issues. However, this study did not include adolescents. In addition, this research, as well as past studies of parental legitimacy beliefs, focuses on youth living in relatively stable family situations and political circumstances. Given the aforementioned evidence that legitimacy beliefs are associated with key measures of successful socialization, it is of interest to study these beliefs among youth who are growing up in more challenging circumstances, where parenting is potentially disrupted and youth are at higher risk for maladjustment.

The United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR, 2014) estimates that at the end of 2013, there were over 16.7 million refugees worldwide, with over 50% of them children. The largest majority of refugees are Syrians. Large numbers of youth in the Middle East have been displaced due to political and ethnic violence (Barber, 1999, 2014; Dubow, Huesmann, & Boxer, 2009). The Kingdom of Jordan provides asylum for a very large number of displaced families, including Palestinian refugees, who, as a consequence of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, have resided in Jordan for generations (UNHCR, 2014); Iraqi refugees, who emigrated to Jordan following the 1991 Gulf War and after the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq (Sassoon, 2011); and Syrians, who are the most recent refugees fleeing the current political conflict and violence in Syria.

These three national groups are very diverse in terms of the length of their displacement, their direct exposure to political conflict and violence, their current living situations, and their SES. Palestinians in Jordan primarily live in one of 13 refugee camps administered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA], 1995), and rates of poverty and unemployment are high. The vast majority of Syrian refugees in Jordan are also from low SES families, but those living in Northern Jordan live in noncamp settings. In contrast, Iraqi refugees tend to be middle and upper-middle class professionals, government employees, or business people who had the financial resources to immigrate to Jordan (Sassoon, 2011).

Exposure to political conflict and violence, as well as conditions common to refugees, such as parental unemployment, chronic poverty, or downward mobility, have been found to have profound, negative effects on adjustment (Leavitt & Fox, 1996; Shaw, 2003). These conditions may be associated with disrupted parenting, which may lead to variations in adolescents' legitimacy beliefs. Other research, however, has shown that whether children experience adverse effects or are resilient depends on their interpretations of these events as harmful and threatening or as opportunities for personal growth (Dubow et al., 2010; Dubow, Huesmann, & Boxer, 2009; Seginer, 2008). This also may influence adolescents'

beliefs about the legitimacy of parental rules and expectations, independent of the effects of parenting.

### The Present Study

The present person-centered study extends our understanding of parental authority legitimacy by (a) examining heterogeneity in the patterning of legitimacy beliefs in Arab refugee youth living in Jordan, (b) investigating demographic, parenting, and adjustment correlates of these patterns, and (c) extending past research on individual differences in these beliefs by examining a wider range of issues, including moral, conventional, prudential, friendship, and personal issues. Although three patterns of authority beliefs have been identified in past research, these studies have not included groups that are strongly traditional and authoritarian in their cultural values and parenting practices, as is the case among Arabs in the Middle East. They also have not included groups whose life circumstances are challenging and in flux. Thus, we expected to find between- and within-person variations in the patterning of different items that do not necessarily reflect the same three profiles found in past research.

Studying a sample of primarily middle adolescent refugees, we hypothesized that, similar to Cumsille et al.'s (2006) *shared control* profile, the largest percentage of youth would fit a normative pattern, where parents would be viewed as having legitimate control over moral, conventional, and prudential but not personal issues. Research on Iranian mothers (Assadi et al., 2011) suggested that friendship issues may be seen as legitimately under parental control, much like moral and conventional issues. However, as this previous study focused on mothers, who typically endorse more control over such issues than teens (Smetana & Asquith, 1994), we expected that adolescent reports of legitimacy over friendship issues may fall in-between moral and conventional and personal issues. We also expected to see a small group of youth who largely reject legitimate parental authority (e.g., reflecting what Cumsille et al. (2006) referred to as *personal control*), particularly over conventional, prudential, and friendship issues but not necessarily over moral issues. Because of the dearth of research on authority beliefs and practices in Middle Eastern youth, let alone refugee youth, we had no specific hypotheses about other profiles or the number of profiles to expect beyond these two patterns.

Past research on legitimacy beliefs and parenting in different cultures and ethnic groups in the United States indicates that authoritative parenting is associated with positive adjustment, even among ethnic minority groups for which authoritarian parenting prevails (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013; Steinberg, 2001). Based on this research, we expected that youth endorsing a normative pattern would evaluate their parents as more authoritative (e.g., more supportive and higher in behavioral control but lower in harsh punishment and psychological control) and would evidence better adjustment, as assessed across multiple dimensions, than youth fitting other profiles. Furthermore, we expected that youth fitting a profile endorsing weaker legitimacy beliefs over moral, conventional, and prudential issues would report more authoritarian parenting (e.g., less supportive, lower in behavioral control and higher in harsh punishment and psychological control) and poorer adjustment than youth in other classes.

## Method

### Sample

Participants were 883 refugee youth ( $M_{\text{age}} = 15.01$  years,  $SD = 1.60$ ), 277 Iraqi (50% male), 275 Syrian (50% male), and 331 Palestinian (49% male). Palestinians were significantly older than Iraqi or Syrian teens,  $F(2, 882) = 30.33$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $M_s = 15.55$ , 14.53, 14.58 years,  $SDs = 1.05$ , 1.99, 1.85. Nearly all youth lived with their birth mothers (94%), and the majority (76%) also lived with their birth fathers in intact, two-parent families. Remarried, stepparent families were rare in our sample, with 1% living with a stepmother and 1.6% living with a stepfather; the rest were single parent families. Family status did not differ significantly by nationality. Family size was larger among Palestinian than Syrian youth, who in turn, had larger families than Iraqis,  $F(2, 792) = 60.20$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $M_s = 8.03$ , 7.54, 5.72,  $SDs = 2.27$ , 3.38, 1.91, respectively. The majority of Syrian and Palestinian adolescents had fathers who had completed only a high school education (50% and 63%, respectively), whereas among Iraqi youth, 57% of fathers (compared to only 30% of Syrians' and 27% of Palestinians' fathers) had attended or graduated from college. Mothers of youth in our study followed a similar pattern (see Smetana, Ahmad, & Wray-Lake, 2015, for more detail).

The Palestinian youth we studied were fourth-generation Palestinians recruited from six UNRWA schools located in the Baqa'a and Jabal al-Hussein refugee camps in Amman, the capital city of Jordan. The Baqa'a camp was created in 1968 and holds almost 80,100 Palestinians, whereas the Jabal al-Hussein camp, created in 1962, holds 29,000 refugees. Reflective of the Iraqi refugee population in Jordan, Iraqi youth in our sample were primarily middle and upper-middle class and were living in apartments in Amman. Most Syrian refugees in Jordan arrived within the past few years in response to the recent uprisings in Syria and like the Iraqis, resided in noncamp settings. Iraqi and Syrian youth were recruited from 18 public schools in Amman.

Data were collected in 2013. Prior to obtaining parental consent, permission to conduct the research was obtained from the Ministry of Education as well as the Education program for the Jordan field office for UNRWA schools. Mothers gave permission for their adolescents to participate, and adolescents filled out questionnaires in school.

### Measures

The measures for the present study were translated into Arabic by the second author, with the assistance of a team of translators consisting of students who received their bachelors' degrees with honors in Applied Linguistics at the University of Jordan. Two native American-Arabic speakers back-translated the measures.

### Demographic Background

As part of the demographic survey, adolescents indicated each parent's highest level of education on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*did not attend school*) to 6 (*University or higher*). They also specified their mothers' and fathers' occupations on a 5-point scale ranging from unemployed to professional occupations. Furthermore, youth indicated how long they had resided in Jordan (in

years and months). Palestinian youth who had been born in a refugee camp in Jordan responded to this question in terms of their age.

### Beliefs About Parental Authority Legitimacy

The stimuli for the belief assessments were 22 items drawn from previous research (Smetana, 2000; Smetana & Asquith, 1994) and shown in Table 2. Several items were replaced with more culturally appropriate items (e.g., drinking alcohol was omitted because it violates religious rules and thus was seen as offensive, but smoking hookah was added as a prudential item). Based on past research (Smetana, 2000; Smetana & Asquith, 1994), participants rated whether it was acceptable for parents to make a rule or have a firm expectation about the issue, rated on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (*not okay*) to 3 (*okay*).

Although the belief items were analyzed at the item level, for descriptive purposes we also compared results by category. Alphas for moral, conventional, prudential, friendship and personal items (see Table 2) were .79, .76, .83, .83, and .91, respectively.

### Parenting

**Harsh punishment.** Harsh punishment was measured using three of the four items from Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, and Wu (1991). This measure assesses how often, on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*), each parent hits or slaps, hits the teen with an object, or locks the teen out of the house. Cronbach alphas for ratings of fathers ranged from .65 to .72 and for mothers ranged from .67 to .76 for youth in the three refugee groups.

**Psychological control–disrespect.** Youth rated mothers and fathers separately on Barber et al.'s (2012) eight-item Psychological Control–Disrespect Scale. Items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all like me*) to 4 (*very much like me*). Alphas ranged from .71 to .76 for ratings of fathers and from .69 to .79 for ratings of mothers for youth in the three groups.

**Parental support.** Adolescents rated each parents separately on Barber, Stolz, and Olsen's (2005) eight-item measure of parental support. Items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all like me*) to 4 (*very much like me*). Cronbach alphas ranged from .84 to .86 for ratings of fathers and from .89 to .90 for ratings of mothers for youth in the three groups.

**Parental knowledge.** Parental knowledge of adolescents' activities was assessed using Stattin and Kerr's (2000) five-item measure. Youth responded separately regarding their mothers and fathers on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach alphas for ratings of fathers and mothers ranged from .77 to .81 and from .85 to .88, respectively, for youth in the three groups.

**Behavioral control.** Using Stattin and Kerr's (2000) five-item measure, teens rated their mothers' and fathers' use of behavioral control on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach alphas ranged from .85 to .86 for ratings of fathers and from .77 to .89 for ratings of mothers for youth in the three refugee groups.

Ratings of mothers and fathers were positively associated for each of the parenting variables; correlations ranged from .46 to .65,  $p < .001$ . Thus, for analysis purposes, we obtained mean scores

for adolescents' ratings of mothers and fathers for each parenting variable.

### Adjustment

**Norm-breaking.** Adolescents rated their norm-breaking on Stattin and Kerr's (2000) nine-item scale. Two items (drinking alcohol and trying hashish or marijuana) were dropped, as these are seen as sinful and are not culturally accepted in Arab culture, resulting in a seven-item measure. Norm-breaking was rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach alphas ranged from .76 to .79 for youth in the three national groups.

**Internalizing symptoms.** Adolescents completed an 18-item shortened version of the 53-item Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis, 2000) measuring feelings of somatization, depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation. Participants rated how much they were distressed by different symptoms over the past 7 days on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*). A mean score for all items was obtained. Cronbach alphas ranged from .90 to .93.

**Academic performance.** Youth reported their academic performance in school at the end of the previous semester on a 100-point scale; higher scores indicated better performance.

**Self-concept clarity.** Participants rated their self-concept clarity, or the extent to which they perceived themselves clearly, internally, and with a stable opinion using Campbell et al.'s (1996) 11-item scale. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach alphas ranged from .74 to .83 for youth in the three groups.

**Hopefulness.** Adolescents rated their feelings of hopefulness versus hopelessness about the future on a 20-item subscale drawn from the Beck Depression scale (Beck, Weissman, Lester, & Trexler, 1974). They responded "true" or "false" to each item (scored 0 or 1, respectively). Items assessing hopelessness were reverse scored and then summed to obtain a single scale of hopefulness. Alphas ranged from .76 to .81 for youth in the three groups.

**War trauma.** We selected 23 items from Layne, Stuvland, Saltzman, Djapo, and Pynoos's (1999) 49-item self-report measure of exposure to different types of war-related trauma and loss (see Layne et al., 2010). Items pertained to witnessing violence or property damage, harm or threat to loved ones, and loss and displacement. The Jordanian Ministry of Education did not permit us to include items pertaining to life threat. Adolescents indicated whether each item was experienced, with 0 = no and 1 = yes. Mean scores were obtained. Cronbach's alphas ranged from .87 to .89 for youth in the three groups.

### Plan of Analyses

We used latent profile analyses (LPA) to examine the patterning of adolescents' beliefs about legitimate parental authority across the 22 items. We examined beliefs at the item level rather than by conceptual domain to provide a more detailed and nuanced assessment of within-person variations in evaluations. In contrast to factor analysis, which is variable-centered, LPA is a person-centered approach designed to capture the underlying similarities across different individuals in their responses to items. In LPA, individuals are described in terms of a set of mutually exclusive

and exhaustive latent classes, which are derived from responses across a set of observed variables. LPA yields posterior probabilities for each individual’s likelihood of being in each latent profile. These probabilities can be used to classify individuals into groups and then link participants’ profile membership to outcomes.

LPA was run using *Mplus* 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012). Missing data were handled with full information maximum likelihood, an estimation method that uses all available data to reduce bias to parameter estimates (Enders & Bandalos, 2001). A variety of fit indices and information criteria statistics were used to test profile membership (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007). To determine the optimal number of latent classes, we chose the solution with the lowest Bayesian information criterion (Schwartz, 1978) and Akaike information criterion (Akaike, 1987); these criteria are typically used for model selection because the values of these indices decrease until the best-fitting model is attained and then level off or increase again. Furthermore, we also used a significant bootstrap likelihood ratio as an indication that adding a latent profile significantly improved model fit (Nylund et al., 2007), as well as high entropy. These different criteria are usually compared for 1- to *k*-class models to find the best fit. In addition, and as recommended, we also considered whether the latent classes are parsimonious and theoretically meaningful. Finally, to ensure that we obtained a stable solution, we also examined whether the log-likelihood values were replicated (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2012).

## Results

### Latent Profile Analyses

Based on our criteria, and as shown in Table 1, the four-profile solution provided a better fit than either a three- or five-profile solution. There was a large drop in the Bayesian information criterion and Akaike information criterion from the three- to the four-profile solution, but not from the four- to the five-profile solution, and the bootstrap likelihood ratio was significant ( $p < .001$ ) for four classes but not for three or five classes. For the four-class solution, entropy was .97, indicating high accuracy in classification, and the log likelihood, run initially with 600 20 random start settings, was replicated when the starts were

doubled, indicating stability in the findings. Findings are depicted in Figure 1.

Because the probabilities of participants being assigned to a single latent profile identified by the LPA model were extremely high ( $> .93$ ), we assigned each participant to the profile associated with the highest posterior probability (Goodman, 2007) and then ran analyses of variance (ANOVAs) by profile membership to determine if the four profiles differed in their ratings of each item. Results are indicated in Table 2. As noted earlier, for descriptive purposes, we also obtained mean scores for the moral, conventional, prudential, friendship, personal items and then ran paired-sample *t* tests within each profile, with Bonferroni corrections to control for the number of tests, to assess differences across item types.

As hypothesized, the largest class, which we refer to as *normative*, included 67% of the sample ( $n = 585$ ). Youth in this profile endorsed prudential legitimacy at nearly ceiling levels and at significantly higher levels than for all other issues. Similar to past research assessing normative trends in legitimacy beliefs (Smetana & Asquith, 1994), adolescents in this profile also rated legitimacy at high levels for moral and conventional items, and significantly more so than for friendship and personal issues. Legitimacy ratings for friendship issues were moderate but were significantly higher than for personal issues (all  $ps < .001$ ), which were at or below the scale midpoint.

Another group of youth, comprising 10% of the sample ( $n = 85$ ) and referred to as *low-normative*, followed a relatively similar pattern, except that their ratings of legitimacy for nearly all prudential and conventional items, two friendship items, and one moral item were significantly lower than among adolescents fitting the *normative* profile (see Table 2). These youth did not differ significantly from *normative* teens in their evaluation of personal items except that they rated parents as having less legitimate control over choice of clothes and TV programs, movies, and DVDs than did *normative* youth. Comparing beliefs within this class, and in contrast to *normative* youth, *low-normative* adolescents rated moral and conventional items as higher in legitimacy than all other issues. They also rated prudential and friendship issues as higher in legitimacy than personal issues (all  $ps < .001$ ).

Youth in the third class, comprising 11% of the sample ( $n = 96$ ), had significantly lower legitimacy judgments regarding moral and conventional issues than did youth in the *normative* class, although their ratings were still above the scale midpoint, and these judgments did not differ significantly from youth in the other two profiles. Members of this profile also had lower legitimacy ratings (e.g., endorsed more personal authority) for most of the prudential and friendship issues than did youth in the other classes; thus, they appeared to be uniquely oriented toward deviant peer values. Therefore, we refer to these youth as *rebellious*. However, they did not differ significantly from *normative* youth in their judgments regarding any of the personal items, although interestingly, they rated parents as having more legitimacy over choice of clothes than did *low-normative* youth. Comparing within-profile ratings, *rebellious* youth granted parents more legitimacy over moral and conventional than prudential, friendship, or personal issues and more legitimacy over prudential than friendship and personal issues ( $ps < .003$ ).

The final group, which included 12% of the sample ( $n = 101$ ), shared similarities with both the *rebellious* and *normative* youth

Table 1  
Fit Statistics for Two-, Three-, Four-, and Five-Class Solutions

	Two classes	Three classes	Four classes	Five classes
AIC	33,626.20	33,453.84	32,782.25	32,147.55
BIC	35,046.18	34,983.41	34,421.42	33,896.32
Adjusted B-LRT	969.78	216.97	645.14	744.56
<i>p</i> Value	.00	.48	.00	.15
Entropy	.96	.96	.97	.97
<i>N</i> (%) in class	203 (23%) 664 (77%)	107 (12%) 92 (11%) 668 (77%)	101 (12%) 85 (10%) 585 (67%) 96 (11%)	68 (8%) 74 (9%) 587 (68%) 54 (6%) 84 (10%)

Note. AIC = Akaike information criterion; BIC = Bayesian information criterion; B-LRT = bootstrap likelihood ratio.

Table 2  
*Legitimacy Beliefs and ANOVA Class Differences*

Item	Class differences (ANOVAs)
M Telling the truth to parents	Normative > mixed, low normative, rebellious
M Keeping promises to parents	Normative > mixed, rebellious
M Getting along with siblings	Normative > mixed, rebellious
C Doing household chores	ns
C Talking respectfully to parents	Normative > low normative > rebellious
C Using appropriate table manners	Normative > mixed, low normative, rebellious
Pr Smoking cigarettes	Normative > mixed > low normative > rebellious
Pr Using illegal drugs	Normative, low normative > mixed, rebellious
Pr Smoking hookah	Normative > mixed > low normative > rebellious
Pr Reckless driving	Normative > mixed, low normative > rebellious
Fr Staying out late	Normative > low normative, rebellious
Fr Going places with friends	Normative > mixed, low normative
Fr Time spent with friends	Normative > mixed > rebellious
Fr Choice of friends	ns
P Cleaning up bedroom	ns
P Time to get up	ns
P Choice of hair styles	ns
P Choice of music	ns
P How to spend free time	ns
P How to spend earnings/allowance	ns
P Choice of clothes	Mixed, rebellious > low normative
P Choice of TV, movies, videos	Normative > low normative

Note. ANOVA = analysis of variance; M = moral; ns = not significant; C = Conventional; Pr = prudential; Fr = friendship; P = personal.

and thus is referred to as *mixed*. Youth in this profile rated moral items as lower in legitimacy than did *normative* youth but did not differ significantly from *rebellious* youth. However, they evaluated most of the conventional and some of the prudential items as

significantly lower in legitimacy than did *normative* youth but significantly higher than *rebels*. *Mixed* profile youth also evaluated parents as having significantly less legitimacy regarding illegal drug use than did *normative* and *low-normative* youth, but their

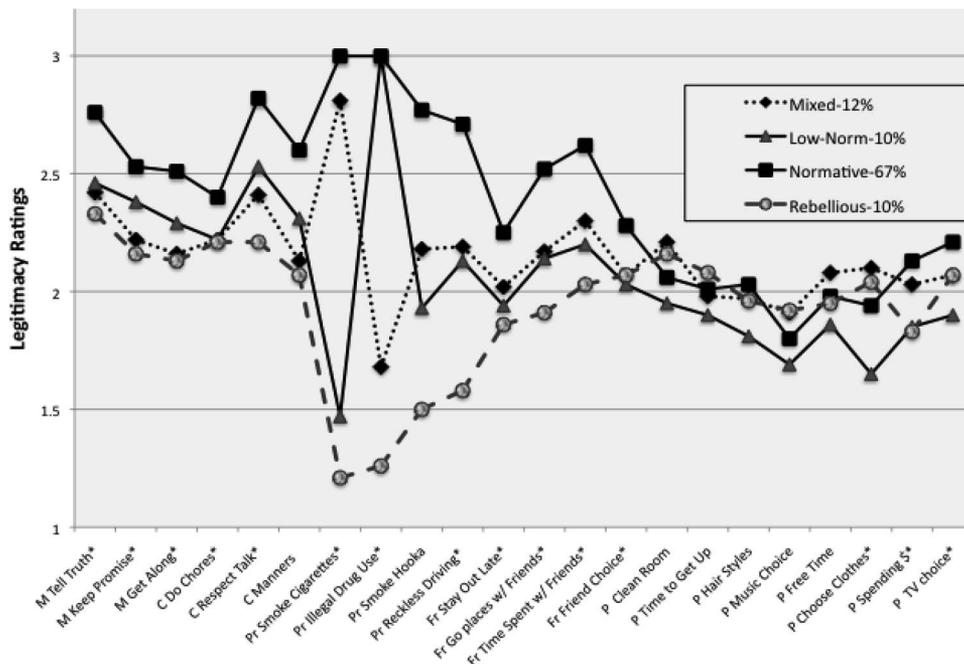


Figure 1. Profiles of parental legitimacy beliefs. Higher scores signify greater legitimacy. M = moral; C = conventional; Pr = prudential; Fr = friendship; P = personal. \* Items that differed significantly by class (post hoc *t* tests for "spending allowance or earnings" did not yield significant differences).

evaluation of this item did not differ significantly from *rebellious* adolescents. Finally, like *rebels*, youth identified as *mixed* viewed parents as having greater legitimacy to regulate choice of clothes than did *low-normative* youth. Comparing within-class, legitimacy judgments were higher for moral, conventional, and prudential than personal issues ( $ps < .001$ ).

### Profile Differences in Demographic Background, Parenting, and Adjustment

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the independent variables are shown in Table 3. As can be seen, there were low to moderate correlations among the parenting variables, with moderately high associations between harsh parenting and psychological control-disrespect and also among behavioral control, parental knowledge, and parental support. Associations among the adjustment variables were relatively low, although internalizing distress was moderately positively associated with norm-breaking and moderately negatively correlated with hopefulness. Correlations between parenting and adjustment were low to moderate.

Given the very high conditional probabilities for individuals' identification in the classes and infrequent missing data (we had complete data on 98% of the sample for most dependent measures), ANOVAs yielded nearly identical results to analyses of conditional probabilities and are easier to interpret. Thus, we present the results of ANOVAs, or where appropriate, chi-square tests, to examine differences in national and demographic background as a function of profile membership. Separately for the parenting (harsh punishment, psychological control-disrespect, behavioral control, support, and knowledge) and adjustment correlates (norm-breaking, internalizing, self-concept clarity, grade point average, hopefulness, and war trauma), we first ran multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) to provide an omnibus test of differences due to latent profile membership and then, for significant MANOVA results, univariate ANOVAs with post hoc Scheffé tests. Means and significance tests are in Table 4.

**National and demographic background.** Youth in the four profiles did not differ significantly in age, but they did differ in how long they had lived in Jordan. *Rebels* and *mixed* youth reported having lived longer in Jordan than adolescents identified

as *normative* and *low-normative*. The four profiles of adolescents also differed significantly in gender and national background. Males were overrepresented in the *low-normative* class, whereas females were overrepresented in the *normative* class, but the proportion of males and females in the *rebellious* and *mixed* profiles did not differ. All three national groups were represented in the four profiles, although there were statistically significant deviations from expected frequencies. Iraqis were overrepresented and Palestinians were underrepresented in the *normative* profile, whereas there was a disproportionately greater number of Syrian and Palestinian youth and a smaller number of Iraqi youth in the *rebellious* class. Although this might suggest that these findings reflect socioeconomic status differences, neither mothers' nor fathers' education, nor either parent's occupation differed significantly among youth in the four profiles.

**Parenting.** As shown in Table 4, there was a significant multivariate effect of profile membership for the parenting variables, as examined using Wilks' lambda. Univariate ANOVAs showed that youth in the *normative* profile reported significantly less parental harsh punishment and psychological control-disrespect than did *rebellious* and *mixed* profile youth. *Normative* youth also reported more supportive and behaviorally controlling parenting and greater parental knowledge of their out-of-home activities than did youth in the other three classes.

**Adolescent adjustment.** As shown in Table 4, the MANOVA on adjustment variables yielded a significant multivariate effect for class membership. Univariate ANOVAs revealed that *normative* profile youth reported less internalizing distress, less norm-breaking, and higher levels of hopefulness than did youth in the other three classes. Both *normative* and *low normative* youth also higher self-concept clarity than *mixed* and *rebellious* profile teens. However, war- and conflict-related trauma did not differ by class. Also, despite the significant ANOVA for academic performance, post hoc tests did not reveal significant class differences.

### Discussion

The present study extended previous research on adolescents' parental legitimacy beliefs by studying a novel sample of Iraqi, Syrian, and Palestinian teenage refugees displaced from their home

Table 3  
Means and Correlations Among Independent Variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Sex: Female	.50	.50	-.06	-.20**	-.13**	.01	.09**	.14**	-.21**	.06	.04	.10**	-.02	-.10**
2. Years in Jordan	11.12	5.70	1.0	.11**	.04	-.05	-.19**	-.17**	.17**	.05	-.04	-.22**	-.01	-.43**
3. Harsh punishment	1.67	.64		1.00	.58**	-.37**	-.23**	-.14**	.38**	.39**	.13**	-.20**	-.31**	.08*
4. Disrespect	1.57	.49			1.00	-.49**	-.31**	-.26**	.33**	.40**	.11**	-.16**	-.35**	.10**
5. Support	3.13	.62				1.00	.52**	.39**	-.26**	-.28**	.05	.14**	.40**	-.06
6. Behavioral control	3.88	.84					1.00	.65**	-.31**	-.22**	.10**	.16**	.30**	.01
7. Parental knowledge	4.07	.88						1.00	-.21**	-.07*	.16**	.13**	.22**	.05
8. Norm-breaking	1.77	.92							1.00	.41**	.11**	-.07*	.23**	.11**
9. Internalizing	1.91	.61								1.00	.31**	-.09**	-.44**	.25**
10. Self-clarity	3.78	.99									1.00	.01	-.17**	.20**
11. GPA	79.51	12.39										1.00	.14**	.07
12. Hopefulness	1.61	.21											1.00	-.22**
13. War trauma	.41	.27												1.00

Note. Disrespect = psychological control-disrespect. Higher scores for the parenting and adjustment variables signify higher levels of the construct.  
\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 4  
Means (SDs) and Multivariate or Univariate  $F$  Values (or  $\chi^2$ ) for Class Membership Correlates

	Mixed (12%)	Low normative (10%)	Normative (67%)	Rebellious (11%)	$F$ value	$\eta_p^2$
<b>Demographics</b>						
Sex (% male)	57%	62%	45%	52%	$\chi^2(3) = 12.50^{**}$	
%Iraq/Syrian/Palestinian	11/6/17%	8/13/9%	73/74/57%	8/7/16%	$\chi^2(6) = 43.64^{**}$	
Years in Jordan	11.03 <sup>a</sup> (6.30)	8.85 <sup>b,c</sup> (7.11)	8.32 <sup>c</sup> (6.69)	11.38 <sup>a</sup> (6.72)	8.86 <sup>**</sup>	.03
<b>Parenting</b>						
Harsh punishment	1.68 <sup>a</sup> (.76)	1.54 <sup>a,b</sup> (.76)	1.33 <sup>b</sup> (.55)	1.71 <sup>a</sup> (.85)	16.84 <sup>**</sup>	.04
Psychological control	1.86 <sup>a</sup> (.50)	1.76 <sup>a</sup> (.50)	1.62 <sup>b</sup> (.40)	1.89 <sup>a</sup> (.54)	17.66 <sup>**</sup>	.07
Supportive	2.82 <sup>a</sup> (.66)	2.99 <sup>a</sup> (.62)	3.24 <sup>b</sup> (.55)	2.89 <sup>a</sup> (.67)	22.93 <sup>**</sup>	.07
Behavioral control	3.53 <sup>a</sup> (.90)	3.65 <sup>a</sup> (.76)	4.02 <sup>b</sup> (.78)	3.53 <sup>a</sup> (.91)	20.70 <sup>**</sup>	.07
Knowledge	3.71 <sup>a</sup> (.97)	3.91 <sup>a</sup> (.77)	4.21 <sup>b</sup> (.83)	3.69 <sup>a</sup> (.97)	18.22 <sup>**</sup>	.06
<b>Adjustment</b>						
Norm-breaking	2.09 <sup>a</sup> (1.18)	2.01 <sup>a</sup> (.90)	1.65 <sup>b</sup> (.82)	2.02 <sup>a</sup> (.11)	11.90 <sup>**</sup>	.04
Internalizing	2.06 <sup>a</sup> (.63)	2.06 <sup>a</sup> (.66)	1.83 <sup>b</sup> (.57)	2.05 <sup>a</sup> (.71)	8.46 <sup>**</sup>	.03
Self-concept	3.65 (1.06)	3.72 <sup>a</sup> (.92)	3.84 <sup>a</sup> (.95)	3.54 <sup>b</sup> (1.13)	3.40 <sup>*</sup>	.01
GPA	76.88 (12.35)	80.45 (12.95)	80.32 (12.08)	77.19 (13.43)	3.30 <sup>*</sup>	.01
Hopefulness	28.60 <sup>a</sup> (4.16)	29.38 <sup>a</sup> (3.91)	30.75 <sup>b</sup> (4.25)	28.67 <sup>a</sup> (3.54)	13.71 <sup>**</sup>	.05
War trauma	.41 (.24)	.45 (.26)	.41 (.27)	.41 (.27)	.90	.00

Note. For parenting and adjustment variables, higher scores signify higher levels of the construct. Different superscripts are significantly different at  $p < .05$ .

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

nations due to political conflict and war and currently living in Jordan. The study also contributed to our understanding of parenting beliefs and their correlates among Arab refugee youth in the Middle East. The sample varied widely in terms of how long youth had resided in Jordan, the circumstances in which they or earlier generations had left their home country and immigrated to Jordan, their current living situation and socioeconomic status, and their direct experiences of war and associated trauma. Similar to previous research, we found both between- and within-person variations in their legitimacy beliefs, although the specific patterning of those beliefs differed from past research and was systematically associated with parenting and adjustment, and to a lesser extent, socioeconomic status and current circumstances.

### Patterning of Arab Refugee Youths' Legitimacy Beliefs

Using latent profile analyses, we identified four profiles of parental legitimacy beliefs in this unique sample of Arab refugees. Youth in the four classes differed significantly in their evaluations of various moral and conventional, and particularly, prudential, and friendship items. However, unlike past research examining heterogeneity in legitimacy beliefs (Cumsille et al., 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2008), there were few significant differences among youth in the four classes in their judgments of personal items. Indeed, differences were found for only two of the seven personal items, as well as choice of friends, which is typically treated as personal in the United States, and more generally, in Western cultures, but is less consistently treated as personal in other cultures (e.g., Assadi et al., 2011; Hasebe et al., 2004). Furthermore, judgments of personal issues were mostly at or slightly below the scale midpoint, showing that on average, these items were endorsed as under adolescents' rather than parents' authority. These results suggest a strong normative trend toward Middle Eastern adolescents' control over personal issues (Smetana et al., 2015), with very little between-groups variability. However, further re-

search is needed to better understand the meaning of these findings in this cultural context.

Our finding also differed from previous research examining heterogeneity in legitimacy beliefs in that the four profiles identified here did not include what others have referred to as a *parental control* class (Cumsille et al., 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2008), where teens view all issues as largely under parental control. Although Arab parenting has been described as highly authoritarian and entailing strict control (Al-Simadi & Atoum, 2000; Baxter, 2007; Dwairy et al., 2006), the findings suggest that the Arab adolescents in our study viewed parental control as bounded and legitimate for some types of issues but systematically allowing for areas of personal discretion and choice for others. This is consistent with past research on Iranian mothers (Assadi et al., 2011) and on Arab high school students residing in Israel (Azaiza, 2005). It is also possible that we did not find a parental control class because strong legitimacy beliefs are most characteristic of early adolescents (Kuhn & Laird, 2011). However, this seems unlikely, given the wide age range in our sample.

Furthermore, our findings differ from past cross-cultural research (Cumsille et al., 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2008) in that age and socioeconomic status, as assessed here in terms of mothers' or fathers' education and occupation, did not differentiate youth in the four classes, although our sample had significant variability on these dimensions. It is possible that using family income rather than or in addition to parental education and occupation would have yielded significant results. However, past research demonstrating a *parental control* class has been conducted primarily in a culture undergoing major political and economic shifts, where parenting differs dramatically from the Middle East and where family life is more stable than among the refugees we studied. Teens in our study may have been more unwilling to grant parents control over all areas of their lives precisely because of this instability. Refugee youth may be more aware than others their age that their life circumstances are beyond parental control; thus,

claiming an area of personal jurisdiction may take on particular importance. Future research examining teens' justifications for judgments would be needed to test this hypothesis. Differences between our findings and past research highlight the need for more research in different cultural contexts to identify factors influencing different patterns of legitimacy beliefs.

The largest majority of Arab refugee youth in our study were identified as members of what we referred to as the *normative* profile (which is similar to what Cumsille et al., 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2008 called *shared control*). As hypothesized, adolescents in this profile strongly endorsed parental authority for moral and conventional items but were higher—and at near ceiling levels—for prudential items. They also endorsed parental authority, but somewhat less so, for some friendship issues and were at or below the scale midpoint for personal issues. This pattern is generally consistent with the findings of research examining normative age-related trends in legitimacy beliefs conducted around the world (as reviewed in Smetana, 2011). However, the higher ratings for prudential than moral issues differ from past findings with a European American sample (Smetana & Asquith, 1994), where moral issues were prioritized most. It is possible that among this well-adjusted group of refugee youth, the prudential items were seen as having greater risks—and thus more legitimately subject to parental control—than the moral and conventional items.

Although substantial numbers of youth from the three national backgrounds studied here were found in the *normative* profile, Palestinians were significantly underrepresented (although more than half of the Palestinian sample fell in this group). This may explain the finding that *normative* youth had spent less time residing in Jordan than adolescents in the other profiles, as the Palestinians in our sample had lived in Jordanian refugee camps their entire lives. That these youth were underrepresented in the *normative* class, with their high ratings of parental authority legitimacy, is consistent with past research showing that Palestinian refugee youth are a vulnerable group, suffering high rates of depression and norm-breaking and low self-esteem (Ahmad, Smetana, & Klimstra, 2014; Al-Simadi, & Atoum, 2000).

*Normative* youth were distinct from youth in the other three profiles in their ratings of parenting and adjustment. Arab cultures across the Middle East are characterized as utilizing authoritarian parenting practices, including harsh punishment, strict control, and strong expectations for obedience (Abudabbeh, 2005; Dwairy et al., 2006; Haboush, 2005). However, *normative* youths' ratings of parenting were more consistent with an authoritative rather than an authoritarian parenting style. That is, adolescents in this profile reported relatively high mean levels of parental behavioral control, parental support, and parental knowledge of adolescents' out-of-home activities; indeed, their ratings on each of these dimensions were significantly higher than youth in the other three profiles. Consistent with authoritative parenting, *normative* adolescents also reported low levels of harsh punishment and psychological control-disrespect; their levels were significantly lower than among *rebellious* and *mixed* adolescents. These findings are consistent with past research showing that lower levels of psychologically controlling parenting were associated with stronger legitimacy beliefs (Kuhn & Laird, 2011).

Furthermore, and although this has been hotly debated, these findings are consistent with past research suggesting that due to

greater nurturance and parental involvement (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013), authoritative parenting is associated with better adjustment across cultures (Barber et al., 2005; Steinberg, 2001). *Normative* youth reported more hopefulness and less norm-breaking and internalizing distress than youth in the other three profiles and along with youth in the *low-normative* profile, higher self-concept clarity than *rebellious* youth. However, it is important to note that because our data are not longitudinal, we cannot determine the causal direction (or reciprocal associations) among these variables. For instance, parenting has been found to both mediate and moderate the effects of displacement and war-related trauma on Middle Eastern refugee youths' adjustment (Punamäki, Quota, & el Sarraj, 1997). Furthermore, although there was a relatively balanced number of males and females in the *normative* profile, there was a significant and unexpected sex difference, with girls more likely to be represented in this class than boys. It is unclear whether this reflects differences in how Arab girls and boys are parented or gender differences in resilience. Nevertheless, the finding that the majority of youth in our sample (including Palestinians) were found to exhibit a normative profile in their legitimacy beliefs suggests that despite their varied experiences of displacement and for many, poverty, downward mobility, and family stress, youth were engaged in age-typical normative developmental processes that are important for successful socialization and autonomy development (e.g., Darling et al., 2007; Keijsers & Laird, 2014; Kuhn & Laird, 2011).

Youth in the *low-normative* profile were similar to *normative* adolescents in the patterning of their legitimacy beliefs, except that their ratings of most conventional and prudential items and a few moral and friendship items were significantly lower (although still above the scale midpoint). The findings supported the utility of examining legitimacy beliefs at the item level, as distinctions were largely between different prudential items. *Low-normative* youths' judgments were most distinctive in that they strongly rejected parents' authority to regulate cigarette smoking and smoking hookah while strongly endorsing parental authority regarding illegal drug use. These differences were reflected in the finding that, in contrast to *normative* youth, *low-normative* youth rated prudential items as lower in legitimacy than moral and conventional items. Rates of both cigarette and hookah smoking are much higher among Middle Eastern teenage males than females (Centers for Disease Control, 2004); thus, the findings for smoking may be partially explained by the greater frequency of males than females in this profile. However, this does not explain the extreme values for these items or the disparity between beliefs about smoking and illegal drug use. As smoking cigarettes and hookah are legal and drug use is not (as described by this item), it is possible that youth in this profile endorsed experimentation or use of risky substances, but within the limits of the law. Youth in the *low-normative* and *normative* classes did not differ in the number of years they had spent in Jordan, but *low-normative* youth were less likely than expected to be Syrian (who, of the three national groups, were the most recent arrivals in Jordan and were fleeing the civil war in Syria).

Our results are consistent with past research indicating that lower levels of legitimacy are associated with more problem behavior and less parental support and monitoring (Darling et al., 2008). That is, *low-normative* teens, like *rebellious* and *mixed* profile teens, reported lower levels of parental support, behavioral

control, and parental knowledge and poorer adjustment (more norm-breaking and internalizing distress and less hopefulness) than youth in the *normative* class. They also did not differ significantly from *rebellious* and *mixed* profile adolescents in their reports of parental harsh punishment and psychological control-disrespect. Because the patterning of beliefs was similar to *normative* youth, our findings suggest that the lower levels of legitimacy in the *low-normative* group contributed to their poorer adjustment.

*Rebels* were distinctive from youth in the other classes in their judgments. They were significantly lower in their legitimacy beliefs regarding moral items than *normative* and *low-normative* teens. They were also lower in legitimacy ratings of conventional items than *normative* and, depending on the item, either *low-normative* or *mixed* profile adolescents. Additionally, they were lower than *low-normative* and *mixed* profile adolescents in legitimacy judgments for most prudential and some friendship items (e.g., staying out late and time spent with friends). Thus, of the four profiles found here, they were most similar to what Cumsille, Darling, and their colleagues (Cumsille et al., 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2008) have referred to as the *personal control* profile, although it should be noted that in the present study, these youths' evaluations of moral and conventional items were still above the scale midpoint. Thus, though their legitimacy ratings were lower than other youth, they still endorsed parental authority over these issues. This could reflect a cultural difference between Middle Eastern youth and youth from other regions of the world in that Middle Eastern youths' legitimacy beliefs might be somewhat higher for moral and conventional domains, even among those who express the lowest levels of legitimacy beliefs compared to their peers. This hypothesis bears further examination in other cultural contexts.

Although the number of adolescents in the *rebellious* profile was small, Palestinians were twice as likely to be represented in this class than were Iraqi or Syrian youth (although they only constituted 16% of the Palestinians in our sample). Consistent with this, *rebels* reported residing longer in Jordan than did youth in the *normative* and *low-normative* classes. *Rebellious* adolescents' reports of parenting were consistent with descriptions of authoritarian parenting; they, like youth in the *mixed* class, reported higher levels of harsh punishment and psychological control-disrespect than *normative* youth and lower levels of support, behavioral control, and parental knowledge than *normative* and *low-normative* adolescents. *Rebels* also reported poorer outcomes on all adjustment variables examined here (except war trauma and academic performance) than youth in the *normative* profile and also had poorer self-concept clarity than *low-normative* youth. These findings are consistent with some past research on psychosocial outcomes associated with different parenting styles, which has claimed that authoritarian parenting is associated with poor adjustment (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). However, others have claimed that in cultural contexts where such parenting is normative (as is said to be the case among Arab parents in the Middle East; Dwairy et al., 2006), parental harshness and restrictiveness is seen as reflecting love and concern, and therefore, the negative effects of harsh parenting are diminished (Gershoff et al., 2010). Although our study was not specifically designed to address these issues, our findings do not support such an interpretation.

## Study Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study made several novel contributions to the literature, several limitations must be acknowledged. First, the present design, with its single occasion of measurement, limits the conclusions that can be drawn about the causal direction of the findings. Future longitudinal research should determine how variations in Middle Eastern refugee youths' distinctive experiences and family processes lead to differences in their patterning of legitimacy beliefs and the reciprocal associations among legitimacy beliefs, parenting, and adjustment.

Furthermore, although past research has suggested that Middle Eastern youth from different national backgrounds share similar beliefs about parenting, future research should assess those cultural beliefs directly. This would be necessary to differentiate among cultural influences on legitimacy beliefs, contextual factors related to their experiences as refugees (e.g., downward mobility, parental unemployment), and parenting. The present results suggest that membership in the different profiles found here reflects a complex interaction among these factors, as well as their effects on youths' interpretations of parental rules and expectations and their resilience in response to the stresses of displacement (Dubow et al., 2009; Seginer, 2008).

It also should be noted that although we found considerable variability in refugee youths' reports of war trauma, these reports were not associated with membership in the different profiles. Past research has shown that the experience of war trauma is largely subjective, with large between-person differences in response to similar events. Thus, even though we were not permitted to ask questions about whether youth witnessed the death of a loved one, we feel confident that our measure of war trauma adequately captured youths' experiences.

In addition, in future research, it is important to determine if legitimacy beliefs differ for mothers versus fathers and if distinctive profiles of legitimacy beliefs emerge if mothers and fathers are considered separately. We decided not to do so here both to be consistent with past research (Cumsille et al., 2006, 2009; Darling et al., 2007, 2008; Smetana, 1988, 2000; Smetana & Asquith, 1994), and also because doing so would have placed an undue burden on participants, given the already large number of measures in the present study. However, examining parent-specific legitimacy beliefs would be particularly interesting given the importance of traditional gender roles in Arab families (Azaiza, 2005).

Thus far, studies of the effects of political violence and conflict in the Middle East have focused largely on Palestinian youth, and thus, our comparison of Palestinian with Syrian and Iraqi refugees is a novel and important contribution to the literature. It is important to note that the circumstances of Palestinians (at least in Jordan) are unique from other refugee groups in the region in that, by international agreement, they are not allowed to integrate into Jordanian society and thus must remain in camps. This leaves them little hope for better housing, employment, and citizenship, and we found, greater hopefulness was associated with more adaptive functioning. More generally, given the very large and increasing number of refugees, and particularly youth in the Middle East displaced or growing up in refugee camps (UNHCR, 2014), more research on the social development and adjustment of refugee youth clearly is warranted.

Despite some limitations, the present study makes a novel contribution to our understanding of legitimacy beliefs, as well as to the social development of youth in the Middle East. Our results, as well as past research showing that adolescents' greater endorsement of legitimacy beliefs is associated with greater obedience, rule compliance, and socialization, (Darling et al., 2007; Kuhn et al., 2014), suggest that the normative profile may best benefit youth in terms of becoming engaged citizens of their societies, while at the same time satisfying their needs for autonomy. Future research needs to examine links among evaluations of parental authority legitimacy and their extensions to beliefs about the legitimacy of political, societal, and legal systems, especially as this pertains to an understanding of inequalities, rights, and social justice. Such investigations may be particularly useful for understanding development among youth growing up in the midst of political conflict, such as is occurring in the Middle East.

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