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# Heterogeneity in Perceptions of Parenting Among Arab Refugee Adolescents in Jordan

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Heterogeneity in parenting was examined in 883 Arab refugee adolescents in Jordan ($M_{age}$ = 15.01 years, $SD$ = 1.60). Latent profile analyses of five parenting dimensions rated separately for mothers and fathers yielded *authoritative*, *authoritarian*, *indifferent*, *punitive*, and for mothers, *permissive* profiles, with most mothers (60%) and fathers (66%) classified as *authoritative*. Parenting was more often *authoritative* for women than men and *punitive* (for fathers) or *permissive* (for mothers) of boys than girls. *Authoritative* fathers and *authoritarian* mothers were better educated than *punitive* parents, whose offspring reported more norm breaking and internalizing symptoms and lower academic achievement than other youth. Adjustment was better when adolescents had at least one *authoritative* parent than when parents were either consistent or discrepant but non*authoritative*.

Although there has been much interest in describing parenting in non-Western contexts, there has been relatively little research on Arab parents in the Middle East and even less on Arab refugee parents. This is particularly important and timely, given that the Middle East is experiencing a refugee crisis due to ongoing political violence and that over half of the refugees are children under the age of 18 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2016). The Middle East is currently hosting more refugees, including parents and children, than any other region in the world, leaving large numbers of Middle Eastern youth displaced (Barber, 1999, 2014). Yet, surprisingly little is known about parenting and its associations with adolescent adjustment in this vulnerable group. To address this significant gap in the literature, the present study took a person-centered approach to examine perceptions of mothers' and fathers' parenting in a sample of Arab refugee adolescents from three national backgrounds living in Jordan.

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## *Arab Parenting in the Middle East*

Arab parents are described as patriarchal and very authoritarian in their family decision making (Al-Simadi & Atoum, 2000; Dwairy et al., 2006). Obedience to authority, loyalty, and respect for the family are strongly emphasized (Ahmad, Smetana, & Klimstra, 2014; Dahir, 1987; Sharifzadeh, 2004). These values stem from Islamic principles (Oweis, Gharaibeh, Maaitah, Gharaibeh, & Obeisat, 2012), are deeply rooted in Arab culture and are relatively consistent across Middle Eastern countries and regions (Abudabbeh, 2005; Dwairy et al., 2006).

Correspondingly, Arab adolescents have been described as viewing relationships with parents as based on punishment, negative criticism, and restrictive parental control (Dwairy et al., 2006; Punamäki, Quota, & El Sarraj, 1997). Indeed, physical and emotional abuse is not uncommon in some Arab countries (Haj-Yahia & Ben-Arieh, 2000), especially among lower socioeconomic status (SES) Arab families, where parents are uneducated and families are large (Dwairy & Achoui, 2006). Furthermore, there are stricter norms for Arab women than men (Dwairy et al., 2006). Although these norms are sometimes oppressive for women (Baxter, 2007; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994), boys receive more physical punishment and perceive their parents as more

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authoritarian, hostile, and rejecting than do girls (Dwairy, 2004; Dwairy et al., 2006; Punamäki et al., 1997).

Although Middle Eastern Arab parenting is traditionally authoritarian, considerable variability also has been observed. For instance, the rapid urbanization and modernization observed in some Middle Eastern countries (Dwairy et al., 2006) have led to greater contact with, influence of, but sometimes active rejection of, Western values (including regarding parenting). A study comparing Israeli Arab and Jewish college students' reports of parenting styles found that authoritative parenting was the preferred style for both but more so among women than men (Dor & Cohen-Fridel, 2010). Slone, Shechner, and Farah (2011) found that Israeli Arab and Jewish parents of 10- and 11-year-olds did not differ in their parenting styles, as assessed using the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ; Buri, 1991), although psychological distress was greater among Arab youth with authoritarian than authoritative or permissive mothers.

In the most comprehensive study to date on Arab parenting, Dwairy and his colleagues (Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Dwairy et al., 2006) studied a sample of nearly 3,000 middle adolescents from eight Middle Eastern countries. They examined associations among mental health, demographic background, and parenting styles, as assessed on the PAQ. They found that, much as reported elsewhere, authoritarian parenting was associated with lower levels of parental education, SES, and urbanization, with youth from more traditional societies such as Yemen and Saudi Arabia rating parents above the study mean in authoritarian parenting. Youth from more modern countries such as Lebanon rated parents above the study mean in permissiveness, but they also strongly endorsed authoritarian parenting. High ratings of both permissive and authoritarian parenting also were observed among youth from traditional societies such as Algeria, suggesting that Arab parenting may be heterogeneous, regardless of modernity or SES.

### *Parenting in Arab Refugee Youth*

Al-Simadi and Atoum (2000) concluded that authoritarian parenting, as assessed by responses to a few items from the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire, also is the norm among Palestinian teens living in Jordanian refugee camps. However, in their sample of Palestinian early adolescents living in Gaza, Punamäki et al. (1997) found that authoritarian parenting, assessed by a latent variable consisting of high levels of punishment/rejection and strictness/control and low levels of love/intimacy, was associated with poorer adjustment (more neuroticism and lower self-esteem). Moreover, like youth in other regions of the world, Arab refugee youth believe they should have decision-making authority over personal issues (Smetana, Ahmad, & Wray-Lake, 2015).

Refugees vary in their educational background, SES, current living conditions, and direct experiences of political conflict and war. Studying these diverse groups provides a unique opportunity to examine how the various stressors experienced by refugee youth are associated with parenting and adjustment. Furthermore, a better understanding of parenting in heterogeneous Arab refugee samples has applied significance, given that vast numbers of families from different national backgrounds are fleeing political conflict in the Middle East and that nations in that region, as well as in Europe and North America, are struggling to address the needs of a large influx of Arab refugees. More research is needed to understand the patterning of parenting in these groups as well as their sociodemographic and adjustment correlates.

Studies worldwide have shown that youth who have been displaced due to war experience a variety of mental health issues and personality sequelae, including anxiety, depression, aggression, and disruptive behavior (Boxer et al., 2013; Dubow, Huesmann, & Boxer, 2009; Fayyad, Karam, Karam, Tabet, & Ghosn, 2004; Harel-Fisch et al., 2010; Layne et al., 2010; Shaw, 2003). In their study of Palestinian youth, Punamäki et al. (1997) found that exposure to traumatic events influenced adjustment both directly and indirectly through parenting. Slone et al. (2011) found that more psychological distress was associated with greater exposure to political violence, but Arab youth exposed at high levels reported less psychological distress when their fathers were authoritative rather than authoritarian. Studying the same sample, Lavi and Slone (2012) found that parental warmth moderated the effects of political violence on children, whereas maternal authoritative parenting appeared to be a protective factor.

Although problems due to exposure to political violence resolve over time for some youth (Shaw, 2003), the contextual conditions common to refugee families, such as poverty, crowded living conditions, and downward mobility (Shaw, 2003), also may disrupt parenting and worsen negative psychological effects. For instance, beyond SES, research has shown that living in physically run-

down, unsafe neighborhoods has negative consequences for parenting and youth adjustment (Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder, & Sameroff, 1999; Hill & Herman-Stahl, 2002).

Although these studies offer important insights, they have several limitations. One is that most studies have assumed the validity of Baumrind's (1991) parenting styles for Arab families (refugee and nonrefugee alike) and have assessed parenting using the PAQ rather than empirically identifying culturally and contextually relevant patterns of parenting. Furthermore, few of these studies have distinguished between mothers' and fathers' parenting, although Arab fathers are seen as more punitive (Punamäki et al., 1997) and as having more power in the family than mothers (Wainryb & Turiel, 1994). Latent profile analyses (LPA), a statistical technique used to identify relatively homogeneous subgroups of individuals who differ in their patterning along several dimensions, could be very useful in understanding heterogeneity in Arab refugee youths' perceptions of parenting.

### *The Present Study*

The present study extends our understanding by (a) using LPA to examine the patterning of Arab refugee adolescents' perceptions of mothers' and fathers' parenting, (b) investigating the sociodemographic and adjustment correlates of these patterns, and (c) examining congruence between Arab refugee mothers' and fathers' parenting profiles. We examined patterns of parenting emerging from ratings of several commonly studied parenting dimensions. This included *behavioral control*, which involves the provision of clear expectations, monitoring, structure, and guidance (Barber & Harmon, 2002; Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2005), and *parental knowledge* of adolescents' activities, which is associated with reductions in problem behavior (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). We also assessed *psychological control*, which is often used as an indicator of authoritarian parenting (Barber & Harmon, 2002) and includes behaviors that violate individuals' sense of self through parental intrusiveness, guilt induction, love withdrawal, and, as refined more recently, disrespect (Barber et al., 2012). To assess affective dimensions of parenting, we included parental support and responsiveness, which is consistent with authoritative (but not authoritarian) parenting. Finally, given its frequent use in some Arab families (Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Haj-Yahia & Ben-Arieh, 2000), we also included a measure of harsh punishment.

Given that little prior research has explicitly sought to describe heterogeneity in perceptions of parenting among Arab refugee adolescents, it was unclear how many profiles would emerge from our analyses or their exact characteristics. But past research (Dor & Cohen-Fridel, 2010; Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Lavi & Slone, 2012; Slone et al., 2011) led us to expect that for both parents we would find distinctive profiles similar to the characteristics associated with authoritative parenting (e.g., high levels of behavioral control, parental knowledge, and support and low levels of harsh punishment and psychological control) and authoritarian parenting (e.g., high levels of both behavioral and psychological control and low levels of support). In keeping with differences in Arab mothers' and fathers' parenting (Punamäki et al., 1997), we also hypothesized that harsh punishment might feature more prominently in profiles of fathers than mothers and that other, more mixed forms of parenting might emerge. Given the conflicting findings from past research and the vulnerable nature of our sample, we did not test specific hypotheses about which parenting patterns would predominate.

The youth in our study included Syrian, Iraqi, and Palestinian refugees. Jordan currently provides asylum for about a million refugees from Syria, who are fleeing the violence in their country (UNHCR, 2016). The exact numbers of Syrian refugees are in flux but are increasing due to the ongoing nature of the political conflict. About 20% of the Syrian refugees in Jordan reside in camps, with the remainder impoverished but living in noncamp settings. About 13% reside in Amman, the capital of Jordan and the site of our research.

As of July 2015, approximately half of the 60,000 Iraqis residing in Jordan, most of whom are from Baghdad, were registered as refugees (UNHCR, 2016). Iraqi refugees in Jordan consist mostly of upper-middle class professionals, government employees, or business people who were financially able to immigrate to Jordan (Sassoon, 2011). Iraqi refugee families tend to be higher in SES than other refugee groups, and some Iraqi youth attend private schools.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA, 1995) defines Palestinian refugees as individuals who resided in Palestine for 2 years before the Arab–Israeli conflict in 1948 and lost homes and lands, as well as refugees living in UNRWA camps in the region. Although Palestinian families may have lived in Jordan for generations, they remain refugees, unable by law to integrate into Jordanian society and living in

UNRWA-administered refugee camps, where rates of poverty and unemployment are high. Guided by our study aims and past research showing that national differences do not account for much of the variance in Arab parenting (Dwairy et al., 2006), we conducted LPA on the sample as a whole rather than by youths' nation of origin. This allowed us to take full advantage of our large sample size, as a recent simulation study has suggested that samples greater than 500 are needed to estimate the correct number of classes in LPA (Tein, Coxe, & Cham, 2013).

Our sample offered a novel opportunity to determine associations between parenting profiles and different sociodemographic conditions, including adolescents' sex, SES, national background, neighborhood condition, and family size. We also examined length of residency in Jordan (as a measure of recency of war exposure or displacement) and war-related trauma. Past research in the Middle East and elsewhere led us to hypothesize that families that were lower in SES (as assessed by parental education and occupation), larger in size, and living in more unsafe neighborhoods would be more represented in parenting profiles reflecting more psychologically controlling and punitive parenting. Based on past findings (Dwairy, 2004; Dwairy et al., 2006; Punamäki et al., 1997), we further hypothesized that boys would be more represented in parent profiles featuring high levels of coercive control and harsh punishment than would girls.

We also examined the adjustment correlates of different parenting profiles. Based on previous research on not only the psychological sequelae of war-related conflict but also the need for adolescent refugee youth to prepare for adulthood, we focused here on internalizing symptoms, norm breaking behaviors, and academic achievement. Past research (Punamäki et al., 1997; Slone et al., 2011) led us to hypothesize that, over and above the effects of demographic background and poor neighborhood conditions, profiles reflecting harsher, more punitive parenting would be associated with poorer adjustment.

Furthermore, we considered the joint contribution of mothers' and fathers' parenting to Arab refugee youths' adjustment. We adopted a strategy employed by Fletcher, Steinberg, and Sellers (1999) in their sample of U.S. adolescents from two-parent families to examine the degree and type of congruence between adolescents' perceptions of mothers' and fathers' parenting and their implications for adjustment. These researchers compared the influence of having one versus two authoritative parents with parents who had congruent but nonauthoritative parenting styles and families who were mismatched but nonauthoritative. Based on Fletcher et al. (1999), as well as the notion of assortative mating, we expected to find a great deal of congruence—more than would be expected by chance—in profiles of mothers and fathers' parenting. Based on past research suggesting the benefits of authoritative parenting for Arab youth (Dor & Cohen-Fridel, 2010; Lavi & Slone, 2012; Slone et al., 2011), we hypothesized that refugee youth who perceived at least one of their parents as having a more authoritative style would evidence better adjustment than adolescents whose parents fit other patterns.

## Method

### *Sample*

Participants in this study were a total of 883 refugee youth ($M_{age}$ = 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, $SD$s = 1.05, 1.99, 1.85. Almost all youth lived with their birth mothers (94%), and the majority (76%) also lived with their birth fathers in two-parent, intact families. The rest were primarily single parent families, with very few remarried stepmother (1%) or stepfather families (1.6%). Family status did not differ significantly by nationality. Palestinian families were larger in size than were Syrian and, in turn, Iraqi families, $F(2, 792) = 60.20$, $p < .01$, $M$s = 8.03, 7.54, 5.72, $SD$s = 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 57% of fathers of Iraqis (compared to only 30% of Syrians and 27% of Palestinians) had attended or graduated from college. Mothers of youth in our study followed a similar pattern (see Smetana et al., 2015 for more detail).

Consistent with the Iraqi refugee population in Jordan, the Iraqi youth in our sample were living in apartments in Amman and were primarily middle and upper-middle class. 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. The Palestinian youth in this study were 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. Our study was conducted in 2013. 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 (Ikhlas Ahmad), with the assistance of students who had graduated from the University of Jordan with degrees in Applied Linguistics. Two native American-Arabic speakers back translated the measures.

### *Demographic Background*

Participants indicated each parent's highest level of education on a 6-point scale: *did not attend school* (scored as 1), *completed some primary education* (scored as 2), *primary education* (3), *lower secondary* (4), *higher secondary* (5), or *attended/completed university or higher* (scored as 6). They also specified their mothers' and fathers' occupations on a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (*unemployed*) to 5 (*professional*) and indicated the number of individuals living with them.

Ten items from Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) were used to assess the physical condition of their residential neighborhoods (e.g., "there is graffiti on some buildings," "there is a lot of trash and litter on the streets"). Items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*), with higher values indicating more distressed neighborhoods. Cronbach's alphas ranged from .67 to .76 for youth in the three groups.

### *War- and Political Conflict-Related Experiences*

#### *War Trauma Screening Inventory*

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). These included items pertaining to harm or threat to loved ones, witnessing violence or property damage, and loss and displacement. The Jordanian Ministry of Education did not permit us to include items pertaining to life threat. Youth 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 the three groups.

#### *Length of Residence in Jordan*

Youth indicated (in years and months) how long they had lived in Jordan. Palestinian youth responded to the latter question in terms of their age.

### *Parenting*

#### *Parental Support*

Adolescents rated each parent separately on Barber et al.'s (2005) eight-item measure of parental support. Support/responsiveness (e.g., "believes in showing his/her love for me") was rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all like me*) to 4 (*very much like me*). Cronbach's alphas for youth in the three groups ranged from .84 to .86 for ratings of fathers and from .89 to .90 for ratings of mothers.

#### *Parental Knowledge*

Using Stattin and Kerr's (2000) five-item measure, youth responded separately regarding their mothers and fathers' knowledge of their activities (e.g., "knows what I do during my free time," "knows who my friends are") on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's alphas for youth in the three national groups ranged from .77 to .81 for ratings of fathers and from .85 to .88 for ratings of mothers.

#### *Behavioral Control*

Adolescents rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) mothers' and fathers' use of behavioral control on Stattin and Kerr's (2000) five-item measure (e.g., "Before I go out on a Saturday night, my mother requires me to tell her where I am going and with whom"). Cronbach's 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.

#### *Harsh Punishment*

Youth separately rated each parent's use of harsh punishment on three of the four items from Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, and Wu (1991). The items assessed how often, on a 5-point scale ranging from 1

(*never*) to 5 (*always*), each parent hits or slaps the teen, hits the youth with an object, or locks the teen out of the house. Cronbach's alphas for ratings of mothers and fathers ranged from .65 to .72 and from .67 to .76, respectively, for youth in the three groups.

### *Psychological Control*

Mothers and fathers were separately rated on Barber et al.'s (2012) eight-item Psychological Control–Disrespect Scale (e.g., "ridicules me or puts me down," "tries to make me feel guilty for something I have done or thinks I should do") on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all like me*) to 4 (*very much like me*). Cronbach's alphas ranged from .71 to .76 and from .69 to .79 for youths' ratings of mothers and fathers in the three groups, respectively.

## *Adjustment*

### *Academic Performance*

Consistent with how academic achievement is reported in schools in Jordan, youth reported their academic performance in school at the end of the previous semester on a 100-point scale; higher scores indicated better performance.

### *Internalizing Symptoms*

Adolescents completed an 18-item shortened version of the 53-item Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis, 2000) measuring feelings of somatization (e.g., "pains in the heart or chest"), depression (e.g., "feeling blue"), anxiety ("suddenly scared for no reason"), and suicidal ideation ("thoughts of ending your life"). 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*). The subscales were combined based on their high intercorrelations; Cronbach's alphas for the three national groups ranged from .90 to .93.

### *Norm Breaking*

Using Stattin and Kerr's (2000) nine-item measure, adolescents rated their norm breaking (e.g., been part of a physical fight, caught by the police) on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Two items (drinking alcohol and trying hashish or marijuana) were dropped, as these are seen as sinful in Arab culture, resulting in a seven-item scale. Cronbach's alphas ranged from .76 to .79 for youth in the three national groups.

## *Plan of Analyses*

Latent profile analyses were used to examine the patterning of adolescents' ratings of each parent on the five parenting dimensions. In contrast to factor analysis, which is variable centered, LPA is a person-centered approach designed to describe individuals in terms of a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive latent classes, which are derived from responses across a set of observed variables. Thus, this method captures the underlying similarities across different individuals in their responses to items and yields posterior probabilities for each individual's likelihood of being in each latent profile. These probabilities can be used to classify individuals into groups, which can then be used to link participants' profile membership to outcomes.

LPAs were run using M*Plus* 7.3.1 (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. There was very little missing data; we had complete data on 98% of the sample for most dependent measures. Profile membership was tested using different fit indices and information criteria statistics (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007). To determine the optimal number of latent classes, we used the Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978) and the Akaike's information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987); these are typically used for model selection because their values decrease until the best-fitting model is attained and then level off or increase again. We also sought high entropy, significance on the adjusted likelihood ratio (A-LRT) as an indication that adding a latent profile significantly improved model fit (Nylund et al., 2007) and the parsimony and theoretical meaningfulness of the solution. These different criteria are usually compared for 1- to *k*-class models to find the best fit. Finally, to ensure that the solution was stable, we examined whether the log-likelihood values were replicated (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2012).

# Results

## *Latent Profile Analyses*

### *Mothers*

Based on our criteria, we chose the five-profile solution (see Table 1 and Figure 1), which provided a better fit than the two-, three-, or four-profile solutions, as indicated by lower BIC and AIC

Table 1
*Fit Statistics for 2-, 3-, 4-, 5- and 6 and 5-Class Solutions for Arab Refugee Adolescents' Ratings of Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting*

| | Mothers | | | | | Fathers | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 Classes | 3 Classes | 4 Classes | 5 Classes | 6 Classes | 2 Classes | 3 Classes | 4 Classes | 5 Classes |
| AIC | 9,286.80 | 8,836.88 | 8,677.45 | 8,517.07 | 8,396.68 | 9,496.34 | 9,091.75 | 8,927.13 | 8,830.48 |
| BIC | 9,363.24 | 8,941.99 | 8,811.22 | 8,679.51 | 8,577.79 | 9,572.82 | 9,196.91 | 9,060.97 | 8,993.00 |
| A-LRT | 906.98*** | 450.83** | 167.32 | 168.24* | 138.97 | 675.70** | 406.60*** | 172.39** | 106.04$^{+}$ |
| Entropy | .87 | .88 | .88 | .88 | .90 | .89 | .87 | .87 | .87 |
| *N* (%) in class | 203 (23) | 181 (21) | 43 (5) | 72 (8) | 43 (5) | 741 (84) | 641 (72) | 137 (14) | 43 (5) |
| | 675 (77) | 585 (67) | 123 (14) | 57 (6) | 497 (57) | 139 (16) | 141 (16) | 582 (66) | 108 (12) |
| | | 112 (13) | 175 (20) | 142 (16) | 59 (7) | | 98 (11) | 118 (13) | 49 (6) |
| | | | 437 (61) | 77 (9) | 65 (7) | | | 43 (5) | 556 (63) |
| | | | | 530 (60) | 46 (5) | | | | 124 (14) |
| | | | | | 168 (19) | | | | |

*Note.* AIC = Akaike's information criterion; BIC = Bayesian information criterion; A-LRT = adjusted likelihood ratio. $^{+}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

values and a significant A-LRT. Although the BIC and AIC continued to decline in the six-profile solution, the A-LRT for this solution was not significant, and membership in four of the six profiles was small ($\underline{>}$ 7% of the sample). Thus, the five-profile solution was seen as more parsimonious and interpretable. Entropy for this solution was .88, indicating good accuracy in classification. The log-likelihood, run initially with 600 20 random start settings, was replicated when the starts were doubled, indicating stability in the findings.

Because the probabilities of participants being assigned to a single latent profile identified by the LPA model were high (> .90), 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, followed by post hoc Sheffe' tests, to determine if the five profiles differed in their ratings of each dimension.

As can be seen in Table 1, the largest class included 60% of the sample ($n$ = 530). We refer to this as *authoritative*, as youth in this profile rated their mothers as high in support, behavioral control, and knowledge of adolescents' activities—more so than in the other profiles (see Table 2) and very low in harsh punishment and psychological control. Sixteen percent of the sample ($n$ = 142) was classified in what we refer to as the *indifferent* profile. These mothers were rated as moderate but below the scale midpoint in support, behavioral control, and knowledge, relatively low in harsh punishment, and very low in psychological control.

Two profiles, *authoritarian* (8%, n = 72) and *punitive* (9%, n = 77), were characterized by high ratings on the negative dimensions of parenting. Mothers classified as *authoritarian* were rated significantly higher in psychological control than *punitive* mothers and, in turn, mothers in the other three profiles, whereas *punitive* mothers were seen as significantly higher in harsh punishment than *authoritarian* mothers and, in turn, than mothers in the other profiles. *Authoritarian* mothers were seen as less supportive, knowledgeable, and behaviorally controlling than were *authoritative* mothers but were significantly higher on behavioral control and knowledge than mothers in the other profiles. *Authoritarian* mothers also were more supportive, and *punitive* mothers were more knowledgeable and behaviorally controlling, than *indifferent* mothers.

Finally, mothers identified as *permissive* were distinguished by high ratings of support, which were significantly higher than for all other mothers except those classified as *authoritative*. *Permissive*

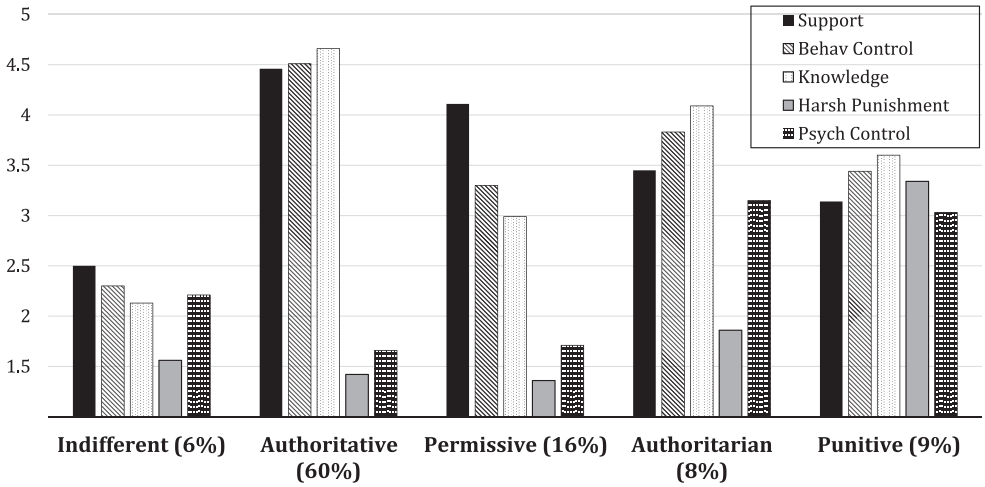


*Figure 1.* Mothers' parenting profiles.
*Note.* To aid in interpretation, the measures of support and psychological control were rescaled from 4- to 5-point scales for this figure.

Table 2
*Profile Differences in Parenting Dimensions*

| Dimension | Profile differences | *F* value | $\eta_p^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mothers | | | |
| Support | Authoritative > Permiss > Authoritarian, Punitive > Indiff | 196.50** | .48 |
| Behav control | Authoritative > Authoritarian > Punitive, Permiss > Indiff | 260.12** | .54 |
| Knowledge | Authoritative > Authoritarian > Punitive > Permiss > Indiff | 370.08** | .63 |
| Harsh punish | Punitive > Authoritarian > Indiff, Authoritative, Permiss; Indiff > Permiss | 334.36** | .61 |
| Psych control | Authoritarian > Punitive > Indiff > Authoritative, Permiss | 247.65** | .53 |
| Fathers | | | |
| Support | Authoritative > Indiff, Authoritarian > Punitive | 99.57** | .25 |
| Behav control | Authoritative > Indiff, Authoritarian, Punitive; Authoritarian > Punitive | 151.84** | .35 |
| Knowledge | Authoritative > Indiff, Punitive > Authoritarian | 274.66** | .48 |
| Harsh punish | Punitive > Authoritarian > Authoritative, Indiff | 986.25** | .77 |
| Psych control | Punitive > Indiff > Authoritarian > Authoritative | 147.72** | .34 |

*Note.* Behav = behavioral; Psych = psychological; Punish = punishment; Indiff = indifferent; Permiss = permissive. **$p < .01$.

mothers were seen as moderately behaviorally controlling and knowledgeable about their teens' activities; indeed, only youth with *indifferent* mothers rated their mothers higher on these dimensions. *Permissive* mothers did not differ significantly from *punitive* mothers in behavioral control; they were also rated significantly lower than mothers in the other profiles in their use of harsh punishment and, except for *authoritative* mothers, psychological control.

### *Fathers*

As shown in Table 1, both the three- and the four-profile solutions fit the data well, with large drops in the BIC, a significant A-LRT, and little difference in entropy. Both solutions were stable, as indicated by the ability to replicate the settings with higher start values. We report on the four-profile solution, as the results are meaningful and interpretable. As with ratings of mothers, the probabilities of participants being assigned to a single latent profile identified by the LPA model were high (> .89). Therefore, as with ratings of mothers, we used fathers' hard classifications based on the profile with the highest posterior probability (Goodman, 2007). ANOVAs by profile membership, followed by post hoc Sheffe' tests, were run to determine if refugee adolescents in the four father profiles differed in their ratings.

Consistent with the findings for mothers, the largest class (66%, $n = 582$) in Arab refugee adolescents' ratings of fathers was consistent with descriptions of *authoritative* parenting. That is, ratings of fathers' support, behavioral control, and knowledge of adolescents' activities were significantly higher—and ratings of psychological control and harsh punishment were significantly lower—than in the other profiles except for *indifferent* fathers' harsh punishment (see Table 2 and Figure 2). As with ratings of mothers, *indifferent* (13%, $n = 118$), *authoritarian* (16%, $n = 137$), and *punitive* profiles (5%, $n = 43$) also emerged. *Punitive* fathers were distinguished by significantly higher ratings of harsh punishment and psychological control, and significantly lower ratings of support than fathers in the other three profiles. They were also seen as less behaviorally controlling than *authoritative* and *authoritarian* fathers. *Authoritarian* and *indifferent* fathers did not differ significantly in support or behavioral control, but the former were seen as higher in harsh punishment and lower in psychological control than the latter and as less knowledgeable than fathers in the other three profiles.

### *Correlates of Parenting Profiles*

Given the high conditional probabilities for individuals' identification in the classes and very low levels of missing data, 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 separately for mothers and fathers to examine differences in demographic background and war trauma as a function of profile membership. Correlations among background and adjustment variables are in Table 3, and means, standard deviations, and significance tests are in Tables 4 and 5 for mothers and fathers, respectively.

#### *Correlates for Mothers*

Consistent with hypotheses, girls were more likely than boys to view their mothers as *authoritative*, whereas boys were more likely than girls to view their mothers as *permissive*. Mothers of Palestinians were more likely to be classified as *indifferent* or *punitive* and less likely to be classified as *authoritative.* Refugee youth with *authoritative* and *authoritarian* mothers had spent less time living in Jordan and lived in less dangerous neighborhoods than did youth with *punitive* and, for years spent in Jordan, *indifferent* mothers. In addition, *authoritarian* mothers were better educated than *punitive* mothers and had smaller families than either *punitive* or *permissive* mothers. However, youth in the three profiles did not differ significantly in their reports of war trauma, maternal occupation, and age (the $F$ value for age was significant, but post hoc tests were not).

To assure that differences in adjustment were due to mothers' profile membership rather than associated sociodemographic characteristics, we ran analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) by profile membership on the three adjustment variables (grade point average [GPA], internalizing symptoms, and norm breaking), controlling for adolescent age and sex, maternal education, family size, neighborhood physical condition, and war trauma.

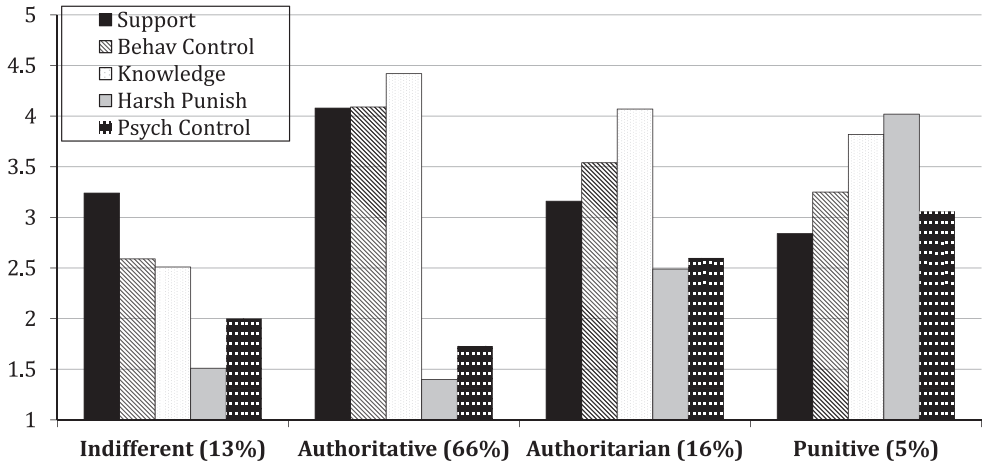


*Figure 2.* Fathers' parenting profiles.
*Note.* To aid in interpretation, the measures of support and psychological control were rescaled from 4- to 5-point scales for this figure.

Table 3
*Bivariate Correlations Among Sociodemographic and Adjustment Variables*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Teen sex | 1.0 | .05 | .00 | −.06 | .03 | −.14** | −.10** | −.02 | .10 | .07* | −.21** | .06 | −.02 |
| 2. Teen age | | 1.00 | .05 | .04 | .05 | .40** | −.04 | .17** | −.13** | .13** | .11** | .05 | .03 |
| 3. Mom educ | | | 1.00 | .26** | −.10** | .09* | −.08* | .01 | .12** | −.03 | .04 | .41** | .23** |
| 4. Mom occ | | | | 1.00 | −.04 | .13** | −.07+ | .05 | .03 | −.01 | .07+ | .10** | .22** |
| 5. Family size | | | | | 1.00 | .19** | −.05 | .01 | −.11** | −.03 | −.03 | −.08* | −.03 |
| 6. Yrs Jordan | | | | | | 1.00 | −.52** | .29** | −.22** | .05 | .21** | .08* | .14** |
| 7. Trauma | | | | | | | 1.00 | −.11** | .07+ | .26** | .11** | −.08* | −.18** |
| 8. Neighbor | | | | | | | | 1.00 | −.10** | .14** | .16** | −.01 | .03 |
| 9. GPA | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | −.09** | −.07** | .17** | .15** |
| 10. Depress | | | | | | | | | − | 1.00 | .41** | −.09** | −.17** |
| 11. NormBreak | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .02 | .01 |
| 12. Dad educ | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .39** |
| 13. Dad occ | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 |

*Note.* Educ = education; Occ = occupation; Yrs Jordan = years in Jordan; Neighbor = neighborhood physical condition; GPA = academic performance, grade point average; Depress = internalizing distress; NormBreak = norm breaking. $^{+}p < .10$. $*p < .05$. $**p < .01$.

Table 4
*Means (SDs) and F Values (or $\chi^2$) for Correlates of Mothers' Class Membership*

| Profiles: | Authoritative | Authoritarian | Punitive | Permissive | Indifferent | *F* value/$\chi^2$ | $\eta_p^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | | | | | | | |
| Age (years) | 14.87 (1.75) | 15.00 (1.61) | 15.09 (1.62) | 15.28 (1.72) | 15.60 (1.16) | 3.53** | .03 |
| Sex (% male/female) | 52/69 | 8/9 | 11/7 | 22/10 | 7/6 | 32.80** | |
| Iraqi/Syrian/Palestinian (%) | 66/65/52 | 10/7/8 | 6/6/13 | 14/17/16 | 3/4/11 | 32.57** | |
| Years living in Jordan | $8.19_a$ (6.67) | $8.70_a$ (6.47) | $11.44_b$ (6.08) | 9.99 (6.94) | $11.86_b$ (5.91) | 7.63** | .04 |
| Mothers' education | 4.27 (1.54) | $4.47_a$ (1.64) | $3.72_b$ (1.67) | 3.99 (1.72) | 4.26 (1.47) | 2.99* | .01 |
| Mothers' occupation | .36 (1.33) | .78 (1.88) | .31 (1.23) | .63 (1.70) | .69 (1.94) | 2.17+ | .02 |
| Family size | 6.97 (2.47) | $6.52_a$ (2.12) | $7.54_b$ (2.42) | $7.84_b$ (3.93) | 7.23 (2.50) | 3.77** | .03 |
| Neighborhood | $2.36_a$ (.47) | $2.35_a$ (.47) | $2.58_b$ (.47) | 2.37 (.46) | 2.46 (.58) | 4.22** | .02 |
| War trauma | .41 (.28) | .46 (.26) | .42 (.24) | .38 (.27) | .38 (.25) | 1.19 | .01 |
| Adjustment[a] | | | | | | | |
| Norm breaking | $1.54_d$ (.70) | $2.02_{bc}$ (1.03) | $2.70_a$ (1.25) | $1.72_c$ (.80) | $2.19_b$ (1.04) | 27.80** | .13 |
| Internalizing symptoms | $1.80_a$ (.55) | $2.22_{bc}$ (.70) | $2.46_c$ (.57) | $1.81_a$ (.56) | $2.03_{ab}$ (.63) | 27.97** | .11 |
| Academic performance | $81.45_a$ (11.78) | 78.27 (10.40) | $77.14_b$ (12.71) | 78.90 (13.00) | 78.15 (12.44) | 1.88+ | .01 |

*Note.* Subscripts indicate means that differ significantly. [a]*F* values are with teens' age and sex, mothers' education, family size, neighborhood condition, and war trauma controlled. $^{+}p < .10$. $**p < .01$.

Controlling for these variables, we found significant profile effects for internalizing symptoms and norm breaking and marginally significant effects for academic performance (see Table 4).

Refugee youth whose mothers were classified as *authoritative* and *permissive* reported less internalizing distress than did adolescents with *punitive*, *authoritarian*, and compared to the *permissive* profile, *indifferent* mothers; teens with *punitive* and *authoritarian* mothers did not differ significantly but reported more internalizing distress than youth in the other profiles. Offspring of *authoritative* mothers reported significantly less, and children of *punitive* mothers reported significantly more norm breaking than all other youth. Furthermore, norm breaking was lower among teens with *permissive* than *indifferent* mothers. Finally, academic performance was better among teens with *authoritative* than *punitive* mothers.

### *Correlates of Fathers' Profiles*

As shown in Table 5, refugee youth with *authoritative* fathers were more likely to be female, whereas those with *authoritarian* fathers were more likely to be male. Palestinians were

Table 5
*Means (SDs) and F Values (or $\chi^2$) for Fathers' Class Membership*

| Profiles: | Authoritative | Authoritarian | Indifferent | Punitive | *F* value/$\chi^2$ | $\eta_p^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | | | | | | |
| Age (years) | 14.94 (1.73) | 15.14 (1.65) | $15.38_a$ (1.55) | $14.56_b$ (1.69) | 3.35* | .01 |
| Sex (% male/female) | 58/74 | 21/11 | 13/14 | 8/2 | 36.65** | |
| Iraqi/Syrian/Palest (%) | 75/70/56 | 12/14/20 | 8/15/16 | 5/2/8 | 34.81** | |
| Years in Jordan | $8.40_a$ (6.72) | 10.35 (6.51) | 9.86 (6.84) | $11.16_b$ (5.60) | 5.36** | .02 |
| Dad educ (years) | $4.48_a$ (1.53) | 4.04 (1.66) | 4.24 (1.73) | $3.93_b$ (1.59) | 4.03** | .02 |
| Dad occupation | 2.05 (2.21) | 1.63 (2.00) | 1.66 (2.15) | 1.57 (.25) | $2.22^+$ | .01 |
| Family size | $6.96_a$ (2.52) | 7.19 (2.52) | $7.99_b$ (4.02) | 7.03 (2.26) | 3.87* | .02 |
| Neighborhood | $2.35_a$ (.46) | 2.48 (.49) | $2.34_a$ (.52) | $2.58_b$ (.47) | 5.50** | .02 |
| War trauma | .40 (.28) | .44 (.26) | .40 (.28) | .49 (.21) | $2.29^+$ | .01 |
| Adjustment[a] | | | | | | |
| Norm break | $1.57_a$ (0.72) | $2.13_b$ (1.05) | 1.94 (1.08) | $2.89_c$ (1.13) | 28.09** | .10 |
| Internalizing | $1.79_a$ (.55) | $2.16_b$ (.63) | 2.00 (.60) | $2.56_c$ (.66) | 29.23** | .11 |
| GPA | $81.52_a$ (1.94) | $76.67_b$ (12.15) | 78.88 (10.96) | $74.89_c$ (14.09) | 4.95** | .01 |

*Note.* Subscripts indicate means that differ significantly. Palest = Palestinian; Educ = education; GPA = academic performance, grade point average. [a]*F* values for adjustment are with teens' age and sex, fathers' education, family size, neighborhood condition, and war trauma controlled. $^+p < .10$. $*p < .05$. $**p < .01$.

underrepresented in *authoritative* father profiles and overrepresented in families with *indifferent* fathers. Iraqi fathers were less likely to be *indifferent* than were Syrian or Palestinian fathers. In addition, *punitive* fathers were less educated, their teens had spent more time living in Jordan, and they lived in more physically run-down neighborhoods than did youth with *authoritative* fathers and, for neighborhood conditions, *indifferent* fathers. Family size was also larger among adolescents with *indifferent* than *authoritative* fathers. Reports of war trauma and fathers' occupation did not differ by father profile.

With covariates controlled, Arab refugee youth with *authoritative* fathers reported lower levels of internalizing symptoms, less norm breaking, and better academic achievement than youth with *authoritarian* fathers, who in turn, reported better adjustment on all measures than did youth with *punitive* fathers. Teens with *indifferent* fathers did not differ significantly in adjustment from youth in the other profiles.

### *Comparisons of Mother and Father Profiles*

Next we compared the patterning of profile membership for mothers and fathers. A significant omnibus chi-square test, $\chi^2(12) = 342.46$, $p < .001$, indicated that the percentage of dyads showing specific patterns of profile membership differed significantly from what would be expected based on the frequencies of profile membership for mothers and fathers individually. As expected, the profiles of mothers and fathers matched 60% of the time, which is greater than would be expected based on the frequencies of mothers and fathers in those profiles ($p < .01$).

To better understand the effects of different parenting styles on adjustment, we ran a final set of ANCOVAs, controlling for the same sociodemographic variables as in the previous analyses and collapsing across groups. Guided by past research (Fletcher et al., 1999), we compared four groups: (a) those with two *authoritative* parents ($n = 452$), (b) those with one *authoritative* and one non*authoritative* parent ($n = 192$), (c) those whose parents were consistent but not *authoritative* ($n = 72$), and (d) those whose parents had discrepant, non*authoritative* profiles ($n = 152$). Significant main effects for group were found for internalizing symptoms, $F(3, 710) = 20.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, norm breaking, $F(3, 710) = 17.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, and academic performance, $F(3, 677) = 2.92$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Post hoc tests showed that Arab refugee youth with either one or two *authoritative* parents reported less internalizing distress (*M*s = 1.94, 1.76, *SD*s = 0.61, 0.53, respectively) than youth whose parents were consistent or discrepant but not *authoritative* (*M*s = 2.16, 2.00, *SD*s = 0.66, 0.66, respectively). Similar findings were obtained for norm breaking, but in addition, adolescents with two authoritative parents ($M = 1.52$, $SD = 0.69$) reported less norm breaking than youth with only one authoritative parent ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 0.92$;

*M*s = 2.15, 2.00, *SD*s = 1.13, 0.66 for consistent or discrepant but not *authoritative*). Finally, youth with one ($M = 77.14$, $SD = 14.05$) versus two ($M = 81.64$, $SD = 11.86$) *authoritative* parents did not differ significantly in academic performance, but youth with two *authoritative* parents had better academic performance than those with parents who were consistent ($M = 77.14$, $SD = 14.05$) or discrepant ($M = 75.60$, $SD = 12.31$) but not *authoritative*.

## Discussion

The present study contributed to an understanding of parenting and adjustment in a diverse sample of Arab refugee adolescents living in Amman, Jordan. One of the novel contributions of our study is that, rather than employing measures of parenting styles developed using Western samples, we sought to better understand the parenting patterns emerging in our sample by employing person-centered analyses of different parenting dimensions. The results showed that: (a) Arab refugee adolescents' ratings of mothers yielded five and their ratings of fathers yielded four distinct profiles but that for both a profile consistent with authoritative parenting had the largest membership; (b) membership in the different profiles was associated with sociodemographic and neighborhood characteristics but not war trauma and that youth from different national backgrounds were found in all of the profiles; and (c) perceptions of mothers' and fathers' parenting were largely congruent and that, even after controlling for salient background variables, youth with at least one authoritative parent evidenced better adjustment than youth whose parents were classified as either consistent or discrepant but non*authoritative*. These findings are discussed next.

### *Patterns of Arab Parenting*

A novel contribution of our research was that we used LPAs to identify patterns of parenting emerging from Arab refugee adolescents' ratings of their mothers' and fathers' parenting along several theoretically important dimensions. This differs from past research with Middle Eastern Arab refugee or nonrefugee families, which has largely relied on measures of parenting styles developed on Western adolescents and their parents. Furthermore, whereas several previous studies have examined associations among parenting, adjustment, and experiences of political violence among Arab youth living in Israel or Palestinian youth in the Occupied Territories or Jordan, to our knowledge, this is the first study of Arab parenting to include refugee youth from Syria and Iraq. Although these different groups have distinct histories and vary widely in SES, living conditions, and direct experiences of political violence, the three national groups studied here were all represented to varying degrees in the different profiles. This is consistent with Dwairy et al. (2006), who suggested that national background is less important than other factors in Arab adolescents' perceptions of parenting. Therefore, the profiles observed here do not appear to be nation specific but rather capture heterogeneity more broadly across the groups.

Our results are also consistent with past research (Dor & Cohen-Fridel, 2010; Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Slone et al., 2011) showing that Arab parenting is not as monolithically authoritarian as theorizing about Arab parenting suggests (Abudabbeh, 2005; Oweis et al., 2012). At the same time, it is interesting that the empirically derived profiles obtained here were largely consistent with Baumrind's (1991) description of authoritative, authoritarian, and, for mothers, permissive parenting. Both mothers and fathers were most frequently classified as *authoritative*, as indicated by high ratings of support, behavioral control, and knowledge of their activities and very low levels of harsh punishment and psychological control. In keeping with past descriptions of Arab parenting, an *authoritarian* profile also emerged, although the characteristics differed somewhat for mothers and fathers. Authoritarian mothers and fathers were both rated as moderate in parental support and behavioral control, and high in knowledge of youths' activities; the latter may be because both fathers and mothers were also highly psychologically controlling. Fathers were viewed as moderate to high in their use of both harsh punishment and psychological control, especially as compared to *indifferent* and *authoritative* fathers. In contrast, mothers were primarily high in psychological control, which is considered a defining feature of authoritarian parenting (Barber & Harmon, 2002). It also should be noted that although the number of youth who were identified as having a parent in the *authoritarian* profile was relatively small, there were twice as many fathers than mothers. This is consistent with descriptions of the patriarchal nature of Arab families and with past research in Western contexts, where fathers tend to be more authoritarian than mothers (Barber & Harmon, 2002).

We expected and found a distinctive but very small profile of *punitive* fathers. Arab fathers in this profile were rated as very high in their use of both psychological control and harsh punishment, and low to moderate in their levels of behavioral control, knowledge, and support. *Punitive* fathers differed significantly—and were at the more extreme ends of the scales on all of the dimensions studied here—from *authoritarian* fathers. More unexpectedly, however, we also found a similar, distinctive *punitive* profile for mothers. These mothers were viewed as relatively high in both the positive and negative parenting dimensions. This punitive style is consistent with Haj-Yahia and Ben-Arieh's (2000) description of Arab parenting as sometimes abusive, but our research is novel in identifying distinct punitive and authoritarian parenting patterns, which, as discussed next, had different correlates.

We also found a small *permissive* profile in our sample but only for mothers. This is consistent with previous research on Arab adolescents in the Middle East (Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Dwairy et al., 2006), but because past studies used variable-based analyses of the PAQ, high means levels of permissiveness and authoritarian parenting were found to co-occur. Thus, our use of person-centered analyses helped to highlight the distinctive characteristics of mothers' *permissive* profile. As the label suggests, much like *authoritative* mothers, *permissive* mothers were seen as having high levels of supportiveness and very low levels of psychological control and harsh punishment, but they were less behaviorally controlling and less knowledgeable about adolescents' activities than were *authoritative* mothers.

Finally, we identified an *indifferent* profile for both mothers and fathers. Consistent with past research in the West (Steinberg, 2001), these parents were neither highly responsive (supportive) nor highly demanding (in terms of behavioral control) and were characterized by relatively low levels of psychological control and harsh punishment. Mothers in the fifth, *indifferent* profile were found to be lower in behavioral control and knowledge of teens' activities than were other mothers. Thus, these parents seemed to be largely disengaged.

### *Correlates of Profile Membership*

Past research has shown that Middle Eastern Arab males perceive their parents as more authoritarian and that they are treated more harshly than are girls (Dwairy, 2004; Dwairy et al., 2006; Punamäki et al., 1997). Consistent with these findings, girls in the present study were more likely than boys to view both mothers and fathers as *authoritative*, whereas boys were more likely than girls to view their fathers as *punitive* or *authoritarian*. At the same time, boys were more likely than girls to rate their mothers as *permissive*. Although this may seem surprising, Abudabbeh (2005) noted that Arab children spend more time with and typically have more open communication with mothers than with fathers, and that strictness is accompanied by unconditional love, particularly toward boys.

Dwairy et al.'s (2006) large-scale study of Arab youth found that authoritarian parenting was strongly associated with lower levels of parental education and SES. Somewhat surprisingly, in our study, *authoritarian* mothers' and fathers' background differed mostly from *punitive* (and sometimes, *indifferent*) parents but not consistently from *authoritative* parents. Thus, for instance, children of *authoritative* and *authoritarian* mothers did not differ; both lived in less distressed neighborhoods and had spent less time living in Jordan than teenagers with *punitive* mothers. *Authoritative* fathers had better education, their families were smaller and lived in better neighborhoods, and their teens reported less time living in Jordan, particularly as compared to *punitive* parents. Our findings may have differed from Dwairy et al. (2006) because our methods allowed us to make finer distinctions in parenting than they were able to do, based on their reliance on the PAQ. Furthermore, our focus was on refugee families, where parenting may be more challenged than in the different national samples Dwairy et al. (2006) studied. The multiple stressors of having to provide for many family members and living in dangerous neighborhoods may result in more punitive parenting as a way to keep children out of trouble.

Palestinian mothers and fathers in our sample were less likely to be *authoritative* and more likely to be *punitive* or, for mothers, *indifferent*, than would be expected by chance. However, it should be noted that over 50% of Palestinian mothers and 56% of Palestinian fathers were seen as *authoritative*. Thus, although profile membership differed significantly according to national background, these differences were relatively small and may reflect the different experiences and circumstances (particularly poverty) of these three refugee groups. Notably, profile membership was not differentiated by ratings of war trauma. This may be because war trauma was significantly correlated with the length of time residing in Jordan, which

appeared to have a stronger association with profile membership.

Although the sociodemographic correlates did not strongly differentiate *authoritative* parenting from the other profiles, the adjustment correlates did. Adolescents with *authoritative* parents generally demonstrated better adjustment than teens in the other profiles, with youth with *punitive* parents generally faring worse on the adjustment measures than adolescents in the other profiles. Fewer differences were found between *authoritative* as compared to *indifferent* and *permissive* parents. That authoritative parenting was generally associated with better adjustment is consistent with research in the United States (Steinberg, 2001), as well as with past research with Arab youth in Israel (Dor & Cohen-Fridel, 2010; Lavi & Slone, 2012).

Interestingly, offspring of *permissive* mothers had better adjustment (e.g., reported less internalizing distress and norm breaking) than did youth with *indifferent*, *punitive*, and *authoritarian* mothers. They did not differ from children of *authoritative* mothers in their levels of internalizing distress, but compared to them, they reported more norm breaking. As our study was cross-sectional, these findings must be interpreted cautiously. However, it is possible that the warmth and support that characterizes permissive parenting may have buffered offspring of *permissive* mothers from poorer mental health outcomes, much as Lavi and Slone (2012) found in terms of the effects of political violence on Arab refugee youth. However, *permissive* as compared to *authoritative* mothers' lower levels of behavioral control and knowledge of teens' activities may have contributed to their comparatively greater involvement in norm breaking.

Offspring of *punitive* parents had poorer adjustment, at least as compared to adolescents with *authoritative* and *authoritarian* parents. As *punitive* parents were characterized by high levels of physical punishment, our findings are consistent with Punamäki et al.'s (1997) study of Palestinian youth in Gaza and with research across cultures demonstrating its deleterious effects on children's adjustment (Gershoff et al., 2010).

### *Comparisons of Parenting Profiles for Mothers and Fathers*

These results were further elaborated in analyses comparing Arab refugee youths' parenting profiles across mothers and fathers, and the implications of congruence versus discrepancy for adjustment. Profiles for mothers and fathers were found to be highly consistent, with nearly 60% of youth living with two parents classified in the same profile. Our results are comparable to Fletcher et al. (1999), who found that 72% of the two-parent families in their large U.S. sample had consistent parenting styles. Such congruence is not surprising, given the likelihood of assortative mating, the possibility that parents influence each other's beliefs and values, and perhaps, informant effects (e.g., that teens were rating both parents).

Our study goes beyond past research on Arab parenting, which has rarely considered the joint influence of mothers' and fathers' parenting on adjustment. Examining consistency versus inconsistency in parents' profiles, and with sociodemographic background variables controlled, we found that Arab refugee adolescents reported better adjustment (e.g., lower levels of norm breaking and internalizing symptoms) when at least one parent was *authoritative* and the lowest levels of norm breaking when both rather than only one parent was *authoritative*. In contrast, adolescents reported the poorest adjustment on all three measures examined here when neither parent was *authoritative* or when parents were consistent but non*authoritative*. Along with findings considering mothers' and fathers' profiles separately, these results are consistent with—and strengthen the claim—that authoritative parenting confers benefits for adjustment across different cultures (Steinberg, 2001).

### *Study Limitations and Future Directions*

Although the present study made novel contributions to our understanding of parenting in Arab refugee samples, several study limitations must be acknowledged. First, because the present study was cross-sectional, conclusions cannot be drawn about the causal direction of the findings. Longitudinal research is needed to examine links among the patterns of parenting obtained here for Arab refugees' reports of mothers and fathers, differences in sociodemographic background, neighborhood conditions, experience with political conflict, and adolescent adjustment. These constructs need to be modeled in terms of their reciprocal transactions and associations over time.

Second, our study focused on youths' reports. Others (Fletcher, Steinberg, Darling, & Dornbusch, 1995) have pointed to the extensive literature demonstrating that adolescents can provide accurate and reliable reports of their parents' parenting practices (as well outcomes such as academic performance). In addition, some have claimed that

because teens act on the basis of their perceptions, studies should focus on adolescents' ratings. Still, it would be worthwhile in future research to include Arab refugee parents to determine if similar profiles emerge in their reports and to examine consistency between reporters. Adolescents' reports of academic performance also should be verified by obtaining school records. In addition, our sample was limited in that it only included teens who were attending school. As some recent refugee youth in Jordan (particularly Syrians) must work to provide for their families rather than attend school, efforts should be made to include these youth in future research.

In addition, the measures used here did not assess all of the salient features of parenting styles. For instance, we did not assess whether parents explained their positions, which is characteristic of authoritative parenting (Baumrind, 1991), and our measure of behavioral control did not assess parental demands for obedience, which is an important element of authoritarian parenting. Because psychological control is often used as a proxy for authoritarian parenting (Barber & Harmon, 2002), however, we have confidence that our parenting measures adequately distinguished between beneficial and coercive control and that labeling these two profiles as *authoritative* and *authoritarian* was warranted. Future research should replicate the present findings using a broader set of parenting dimensions. Also, others have found that the normativeness of harsh punishment moderates (but does not alleviate) its negative effect on adjustment (Gershoff et al., 2010). Thus, it would be interesting to examine how Arab refugee youth interpret some of the more negative parental behaviors examined here and whether these behaviors are viewed as indicating parental caring or concern. Likewise, a broader set of adjustment variables that includes positive outcomes should be examined.

Finally, youth from the three national groups studied here have very different histories and experiences as refugees, and variations in sociodemographic and national background, living conditions, and refugee experiences are complexly intertwined. Although we controlled for different background factors in our analyses, this complexity makes it difficult to determine the factors that most strongly contribute to differences in parenting and adjustment, and whether refugee youth differ from nonrefugee youth on other dimensions not assessed here. Nevertheless, we believe that our analysis strategy of conducting the LPAs on the three national groups combined was a more powerful, parsimonious, and useful approach than examining each national group separately. Future research should also untangle effects of cultural values from other variables studied here.

Despite these limitations, the present study makes an important and novel contribution to our understanding of parenting among Arab refugee youth in the Middle East. The findings suggest that despite the depictions of Arab parenting as highly authoritarian, the elements of authoritative parenting, including support and responsiveness and behavioral (but not psychological) control combined with low levels of harsh punishment, are commonly reported and also beneficial for Arab refugee youths' adjustment. Given the current and growing refugee crisis in the Middle East (and beyond), there is a pressing need for more research on the parenting of Arab refugee youth and how different factors associated with their refugee status disrupt or facilitate effective parenting and healthy adjustment.

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