

Parent-Adolescent Conflict and Adolescents' Adaptation: A Longitudinal Study of Albanian Immigrant Youth Living in Greece

Frosso Motti-Stefanidi*, Vassilis Pavlopoulos and Spyros Tantaros

Department of Psychology, School of Philosophy, University of Athens, Athens, Greece

Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict and the quality of adaptation of immigrant Albanian adolescents and of their native Greek classmates. Aims of the present study were: (a) to compare the frequency of immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents' conflicts with their parents; (b) to compare the quality of their adaptation with respect to core developmental tasks and to their psychological well-being; and (c) to examine how parent-adolescent conflict is related to adaptation in immigrant and non-immigrant youth. These questions were investigated using two waves of data from a longitudinal study of immigrant students from Albania and their non-immigrant classmates ($N = 392$, mean age 12.73 years). Frequency of conflict, self-esteem and psychological symptoms were assessed through self-reports. Academic achievement, conduct in school and popularity were assessed with multiple methods and informants. A complex pattern of relationships was found between the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, on the one hand, and adolescents' quality of adaptation and psychological well-being, on the other, differentiated by domain of adaptation, and ethnic group.

Keywords

parent-adolescent conflict, immigration, adaptation, longitudinal study

During the past decade the phenomenon of migration and its consequences have increasingly attracted researchers' attention. The adaptation of immigrants, an aspect of this phenomenon, has been the focus of many studies. A significant share of this attention has been devoted to the adaptation of immigrant youth, whose future has been argued to be inextricably linked to that of the host society (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2008).

The quality of immigrant youth's adaptation is judged based on the way they deal with core developmental and acculturative tasks in the context of a

complex social reality (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chrysoschoou, Sam, & Phinney, in press). Like all children, they face normative developmental challenges. Three of the core developmental tasks faced by nearly all young people in contemporary Western societies, regardless of their ethnicity, are academic achievement, rule-abiding conduct and peer social competence (Masten, Burt, & Coatsworth, 2006; Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2009). They also need to address acculturative challenges that stem from the need to adapt to the realities of at least two cultures to a much greater extent than non-immigrant children. However, the quality of immigrant youth adaptation is not only judged by external criteria. Good internal functioning (versus distress and misery) is also an important marker of positive adaptation (Masten et al., 2006).

The adaptation of immigrant youth is generally reported to be good, and sometimes better than that of the national peers. In recent years, findings have been reported revealing that some immigrant students are doing better in school than their national peers and,

*Address for correspondence

Frosso Motti-Stefanidi, Department of Psychology, School of Philosophy, University of Athens, Panepistimiopolis, 15784 Athens, Greece.
E-mail: frmmotti@psych.uoa.gr

¹ The project is supported by a grant to the first author, which is co-funded by the European Social Fund and Greek National Resources (EPEAEK II-PYTHAGORAS), and, partially, by the Special Account for Research Grants of the University of Athens, Greece.

in any case, better than expected, given the fact that they live with higher socioeconomic risk (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), a phenomenon known as the “immigrant paradox” (Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008). Similarly, Fuligni (1997) reported that first generation immigrant youth and second generation youth born in immigrant families tend to receive better grades, and to exhibit fewer behavior problems than their non-immigrant counterparts. However, this phenomenon has not been observed in all receiving societies (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008), nor all immigrant groups within a society (e.g., Fuligni, 1997), or even in all domains of adaptation (e.g., Sam et al., 2008). For example, Sam et al. (2008) pointed out that the immigrant paradox seems to hold for adaptation with respect to developmental tasks but not with respect to psychological well-being. In general, significant variation has been found both across and within ethnic groups living in the same host country (e.g., Fuligni, 1997).

The purpose of this study is to test elements of a conceptual framework, which examines adaptation in context, and integrates different perspectives within psychology in order to account for individual differences in immigrant youth adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi et al., in press). Adaptation is examined in developmental and acculturative contexts, taking into account multiple levels of analysis. The backbone of the framework consists of three levels: the individual level, the level of social interaction among individuals, and the societal level. The interactions that shape the individual life course of immigrants take place in contexts, such as the family, school and peer groups. Factors at each of these three levels may independently, but also in interaction with each other, contribute to the adaptation of immigrant youth. The focus of this paper is on the influence of two contextual factors, i.e., parent-adolescent conflict, a social interaction level variable, and immigrant status, a societal level variable, on immigrant adolescents’ adaptation with respect to developmental tasks, as well as on their psychological well-being.

Parent-Adolescent Conflict and Adaptation

Adolescence is a developmental period that has been associated, on the one hand, with increasing conflict with parents and, on the other, with increasing closeness with peers and extra-familial adults (Collins & Laursen, 2004). However, according to some reports, the frequency of conflict with parents decreases from early adolescence to mid-adolescence, even though the

anger associated with these conflicts seems to increase during the same period (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998), whereas according to other reports, between the ages of 11 and 14, adolescents perceive greater parent–child conflict, less parental involvement in their lives, less positive regard for their parents, and that their parents have less positive regard for them (McGue, Elkins, Walden, & Iacono, 2005). The magnitude of the changes reported in these studies is generally moderate.

Sex differences in the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict have received some empirical attention, but are generally poorly understood because there are too few studies that report findings separately for girls and boys to permit reliable analyses (McGue et al., 2005). There is evidence that adolescent daughters are more likely than sons to report conflicts with their mothers (Collins & Laursen, 2004), as well as contradictory evidence that shows that daughters and sons do not differ in the frequency of conflict with their parents (McGue et al., 2005). However, the latter study showed that daughters’ reports of conflict increased more than the report of sons between the ages of 11 and 14.

Adolescents’ need for more autonomy often leads to a renegotiation of roles and responsibilities within the family, which may lead to disagreements between parents and adolescents (Allison & Schultz, 2004). When conflict with parents is not excessive, it seems to have a beneficial effect on adolescents’ development and adaptation as it contributes to their increasing autonomy and construction of identity (McGue et al., 2005). Adolescents who report moderate levels of conflict with their parents seem to have a higher academic achievement and fewer adjustment difficulties than adolescents who report either no conflict or frequent conflict. High levels of continuous conflict have been shown to be related to both externalizing and internalizing problems (Smetana, 1996), and may contribute to a deterioration of the relationship between parents and adolescents (Collins & Laursen, 2004).

In an immigration context, the development of autonomy and relatedness becomes more complicated because both parents and adolescents are involved in an acculturation process. Immigrant adolescents and their parents have different experiences of cultures and different future expectations (Kwak, 2003). This acculturation gap between parents and their children may result in conflicts within the family. The underlying assumption regarding this conflict is that immigrant children acquire the prevailing values and norms of their settlement society, which often stress the need for the development of autonomy, much faster than their

parents do, who often emphasize more the need for relatedness (Birman, 2006).

Parent-adolescent conflict in immigrant families has often been studied as a possible mediator between the parent-adolescent acculturation gap and adolescents' psychological symptoms. The results are mixed regarding the effect of intergenerational acculturation discrepancies on parent-adolescent conflict, on the one hand, and adolescents' psychological symptoms, on the other. In contrast, high frequency of conflict between immigrant parents and their adolescent children has consistently been found to be associated with adolescents' internalizing and externalizing problems.

A longitudinal study of Mexican-American adolescents has shown, for example, that acculturation gaps between them and their parents were not associated either with parent-adolescent conflict or with an increase in adolescents' conduct problems over time, but that parent-adolescent conflict was an important predictor of an increase in adolescents' conduct problems (Lau, McCabe, Yeh, Garland, Wood, & Hough, 2005). Similar results were reported in a cross-sectional study of Latino adolescents in the US (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2006). Parent-adolescent conflict was a significant risk factor for adolescent aggression, but did not mediate the relationship between adolescents' cultural involvement and aggression. In contrast, Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels, and Crijnen (2007), conducted a cross-sectional study of adolescents of Moroccan origin living in the Netherlands, and found that parent-adolescent conflict mediated the relationship between adolescents' acculturation patterns and internalizing and externalizing problems in girls, but not in boys.

The Present Study

The present study is part of the ongoing Athena Studies of Resilient Adaptation (A.St.R.A.), a collaborative longitudinal project¹ focusing on the quality of adaptation of immigrant youth living in Greece (Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, & Masten, 2011; Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, Dalla et al., 2008; Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, & Masten, 2008).

A significant proportion of students enrolled in Greek public schools, amounting to more than 10% of the total school population, is comprised of immigrant

children and adolescents. Immigrants from Albania are the largest immigrant group in Greece. After more than 40 years of communist rule (1945–1989) during which the population was completely secluded from the rest of the world, Albania turned towards the West and faced the challenges of transformation to a capitalist democracy (Pango, 1996). A large proportion of the Albanian workforce, together with their families, emigrated in the 1990s to neighboring Greece and Italy.

Albanians in Greece are both ethnic Albanians and Albanians of Greek heritage. However, as Triandafyllidou (2000) has reported, the status of Albanians of Greek origin in Greece has been insecure and ambivalent since their "Greekness" has been officially recognized only very recently for political reasons. As has been reported by government officials at the time data were collected it was not possible to reliably differentiate between Albanians of Greek origin and ethnic Albanians (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002). Ethnic Albanians have been observed to change their names to Greek names and to baptize their children in the Greek Orthodox Church in order to be better accepted by the Greek community (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004). On the other hand, ethnic Greeks from Albania, in spite of the fact that they have common historic and ethnic ties with non-immigrant Greeks, also share some important commonalities with ethnic Albanians. They were both born in the same country, Albania, and neither lived in Greece before migrating. Initially they both came to Greece as undocumented economic immigrants and were treated as guest workers. Both faced significant discrimination from non-immigrant Greeks (Fakiolas, 1999), which was more pronounced against ethnic Albanians, but was also significant against ethnic Greeks from Albania (Triandafyllidou, 2000).

The present study draws on longitudinal data. However, the results reported here are based on Wave 1 (T1) and Wave 3 (T2) data.

We will address mainly three research questions:

1. Do immigrant adolescents report more frequent conflicts with their parents than non-immigrant youth? According to the literature on the acculturation gap, it is expected that immigrant adolescents will report more frequent conflict with their parents than non-immigrant youth (Birman, 2006; Kwak, 2003).
2. Does the quality of immigrant youth's adaptation in school and psychological well-being differ from that of their non-immigrant Greek peers? Based on our studies, we expected that

¹ A collaboration between the Department of Psychology of the University of Athens, Greece, the Institute of Child Development of the University of Minnesota, USA, and the Department of Psychology of Humboldt University, Berlin.

immigrant youth would have lower school adjustment than non-immigrant youth, but would not differ from them in psychological well-being (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, Dalla et al., 2008).

3. Is parent-adolescent conflict related to adolescents' adaptation? Since the literature concerning the relation of parent-adolescent conflict and adolescents' adaptation is contradictory, with some authors arguing that the higher the conflict the worse is adolescents' adaptation (e.g., see Collins & Laursen, 2004; Smetana, 1996), and others that moderate levels of conflict may be better for adaptation than either no or high conflict (McGue et al., 2005), these analyses were exploratory. Finally, no predictions could be made regarding whether conflict would relate in the same way to changes in adaptation outcomes in the two ethnic groups. Therefore, these analyses were also exploratory.

Method

Participants

Participants were immigrant adolescents who were either born in Albania, or were themselves born in Greece but both their parents in Albania. High school principals identified these students in their schools. Furthermore, students answered questions regarding their parents' and their own place of birth. However, due to the reasons described in the introduction, and to the fact that, on the one hand, families are not required to provide legal documentation to register their children in school and, on the other, many ethnic Albanians declare themselves to be of Greek ethnic origin, it was impossible to differentiate between ethnic Albanians and Albanians of Greek ethnic origin. Therefore, all immigrant students who were either born in Albania or who had Albanian-born parents are treated as one group.

Participants at T1 were 724 students enrolled in the first grade of high school in 9 schools of the wider Athens metropolitan area. Permission to conduct the study in these schools was granted by the Greek Ministry of Education. 95% of all parents gave permission for their children to participate in the study. Of the 724 students, 269 were immigrants from Albania (80.7% first generation) and 455 were non-immigrant Greeks. Their mean age was 12.73 years ($SD = 0.65$, min = 12.00, max = 17.92), with immigrants from Albania ($M = 13.06$) being significantly older than non-immigrant Greeks ($M = 12.54$),

$F(1, 708) = 121.64, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.38$. The mean educational level of father and mother differed as a function of immigrant status. Using a 5-point scale, where 1 = 'Primary School' and 5 = 'University', parents from Albania ($M = 3.17$) were found to have a lower mean level of education than non-immigrant Greek parents ($M = 3.45$), $t(667) = 3.26, p < 0.001$.

The sample that was used in the analyses for this study consisted of 392 students who were in the same school at both times of measurement. Of them, 262 were Greeks (133 boys and 129 girls) and 130 were immigrants from Albania (69 boys and 61 girls). Among them, 101 (55 boys and 46 girls) were first generation immigrants, i.e., born in Albania, and 29 (14 boys and 15 girls) were second generation immigrants, i.e., their parents were born in Albania but they themselves were born in Greece².

Attrition analyses compared adolescents who participated in the study only at T1 ($N = 332$), and were not included in the analyses, with those who were present at both T1 and T2 ($N = 392$), and were actually included in the analyses for the present study, on both predictors and outcomes. It was found that the two groups (dropouts vs. non-dropouts) differed as a function of immigrant status, $\chi^2(1, N = 724) = 5.83, p < 0.05$. As a result, students from Albania represented 41.9% of the initial sample vs. 33.2% of the sample that was finally used in this study. The dropout group also had a lower mean level of parental education compared to the non-dropout group ($M = 3.20$ vs. 3.48), $t(667) = 3.41, p < 0.001$. As a consequence, initial differences between immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents' level of parental education were erased ($M = 3.40$ for Albanian parents vs. 3.51 for non-immigrant Greeks). In addition, the dropouts were somewhat older than non-dropouts ($M = 12.8$ vs. 12.6), $t(708) = 4.05, p < 0.001$, they reported higher frequency of conflicts with their parents ($M = 7.74$ vs. 6.83), $t(682) = 2.10, p = 0.036$, and a lower level of self-esteem ($M = 3.80$ vs. 3.94), $t(670) = 5.58, p < 0.01$. They also exhibited less positive conduct according to their teachers' evaluations ($M = 4.53$ vs. 4.68), $t(699) = 27.81, p < 0.01$. However, the two groups did not differ in terms of immigrant generation, gender, family status, GPA, peer popularity, or psychological symptoms. This drop-out rate reflects the reality in Greek public schools, where students with fewer personal and social resources leave school pre-

² In Greece the children of immigrant parents who are born in the country do not automatically get Greek citizenship, and are considered second generation immigrants.

maturely. Actually, from the 1st to the 3rd year of high school the classrooms in many of the schools we visited, decreased from 4 or 5 at T1 to about 2 or 3 at T2 due to lack of students.

Measures

The present study draws on longitudinal data. Frequency of conflict, as well as self-esteem and psychological symptoms were assessed through self-reports. Academic achievement, conduct in school and popularity were assessed with multiple methods and informants. Information on all dependent and independent variables was collected three times over the course of three consecutive school years with a one-year interval, starting when the adolescents were in the first grade of Gymnasium, which is part of compulsory education. However, the results reported here are based on Wave 1 (T1) and Wave 3 (T2) data.

The questionnaires administered, were available in both Greek and Albanian language. All questionnaires were translated from Greek into Albanian and were then back-translated into Greek by two bilingual speakers. The vast majority (over 90%) of the students chose to respond to the questionnaires presented in the Greek language.

Parent-Adolescent Conflicts

The *A.St.R.A Parent-Adolescent Conflict Questionnaire* was developed by Motti-Stefanidi and collaborators for the purposes of this study. The questionnaire is composed of 14 items referring to issues that may be the cause of conflict between Greek adolescents and their parents (see items in Appendix). These issues refer to: (a) adolescents' appearance and attitude (e.g., "Last month, did you disagree with your parents because they think you talk to them in an inappropriate way?"); (b) the peers they associate with, as well as issues related to youth's free time outside home (e.g., "Last month, did you disagree with your parents because they don't approve of your friends?"); and (c) school achievement and other related issues (e.g., "Last month, did you disagree with your parents because they want you to study more?").

Information was collected on the frequency and the intensity of conflict, on the parent they disagreed most often with, and on the way these disagreements were resolved. For this study we used data concerning the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict with respect to these issues.

Frequency was measured based on the number of times adolescents had such disagreements with their parents during the last month. Adolescents could answer 0 = 'not at all', 1 = '1–2 times', or 2 = '3 or more times' (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.88$ and 0.86 at T1, and 0.83 and 0.80 at T2, for immigrants and non-immigrants, respectively).

Adaptation Measures

Adaptation with respect to developmental tasks was measured with multiple methods and informants.

Academic achievement scores were based on the grade point average (GPA) of students collected from school records (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.95$ at T1 and 0.94 at T2). GPA consisted of their grades in the first trimester in five main subjects (Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Physics, Mathematics, and History), assigned to the pupils by at least four different teachers (20-point scale; below 10 the student is failing).

Classroom conduct scores were based on 5 items presented to Greek language teachers, who assessed the degree to which each student disturbed the class or was aggressive towards his/her peers. These items were rated on 5-point scales, ranging from 1 = 'not at all' to 5 = 'very much' (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.84$ at T1 and 0.86 at T2). Items were recoded so that high scores indicate positive adaptation, i.e., less disruptive/more rule-obeying behavior.

Peer popularity was measured using a sociometric test. All students in each classroom were asked to list three classmates whom they "like the most", and three whom they "like the least" (Coie et al., 1982). Only positive nominations were analyzed in this study. The sum of the positive peer nominations was divided by the number of students in the class and multiplied by 100.

Psychological Well-Being was Assessed Through Two Self-Report Measures

Goodman's (1997) *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ) was used to assess students' psychological symptoms. The scores on 20 items describing psychological symptoms of adolescents (emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity-inattention and peer problems) were summed to calculate the total difficulties score (range 0–40). Each item was scored on a 3-point scale ranging from 0 = 'not true' to 2 = 'certainly true' (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.80$ at T1 and 0.84 at T2).

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (1965) was also used. Students indicated agreement for 10 items (e.g., "I am satisfied with myself") scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = 'strongly disagree' to 5 = 'strongly agree'. A total score is calculated by averaging the 10 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.76$ at T1 and 0.84 at T2).

Results

Treatment of Missing Data

Preliminary analyses showed that missing data from the 17 variables used in this study ranged from 0% to 9.4% with the exception of GPA at T1, where missing cases reached 20% since the director of one school did not provide access to school records. Overall, the mean number of missing observations was 5.6%. Inspection of these data did not reveal systematic patterns of missing information for specific cases or variables. Also, students in the school with missing GPA data at T1 fell well within the range of distribution of the remaining 5 schools in terms of their demographic and adaptation profile.

Therefore, it was decided to impute missing data in order to approximate full variability of the population under study and, at the same time, maximize comparability and interpretability of findings from analyses with different sets of variables. The expectation maximization method with multivariate normal distribution was used (Little & Rubin, 1987). This imputation procedure can produce less biased estimates than complete-case methods (e.g., Schafer & Graham, 2002) and has been implemented in immigration research in previous studies (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, & Masten, 2008).

Reported Frequency of Conflicts with Parents Among Immigrant Adolescents and Non-Immigrant Youth

A repeated-measures ANOVA 2 (time) \times 2 (immigrant status) \times 2 (sex) was conducted with frequency of parent-adolescent conflicts as the dependent variable (see Table 1). Overall, adolescents reported lower frequency of conflicts at T2 as compared to T1, $F(1, 388) = 11.21$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. Moreover, Albanians reported higher frequency of conflicts than non-immigrant youth, $F(1, 388) = 11.69$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. A significant interaction of time of measurement by immigrant status was also revealed. Although the frequency of conflicts of both non-immigrant and immigrant youth was lower at T2 ($M = 6.65$, $M = 5.79$) than at T1 ($M_{ALB} = 8.28$, $M_{GR} = 6.05$), this was especially true for Albanian adolescents in such a way that T2 differences due to immigrant status were no longer substantial, $F(1, 388) = 5.74$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$. The interaction of time by sex was also significant. Although the overall number of conflicts between boys and girls did not differ, the decrease across time was more prominent for boys ($M_{T1} = 7.18$, $M_{T2} = 5.54$) than it was for girls ($M_{T1} = 7.15$, $M_{T2} = 6.89$), $F(1, 388) = 6.00$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$.

In order to test whether the above results were confounded to relevant demographic variables, a repeated-measures ANCOVA 2 (time) \times 2 (immigrant status) \times 2 (sex) was conducted with frequency of parent-adolescent conflicts as the dependent variable, and adolescents' age, percent of life spent in Greece and the education level of their parents as covariates. It was found that age of adolescents was related to frequency of conflicts at T1 ($B = 1.28$, $p < 0.05$). After controlling for the covariates, the main effects of time of measurement and immigrant status, as well as their

Table 1

Mean Scores of Parent-Adolescent Frequency of Conflicts and Adaptation Measures as a Function of Time, Immigrant Status, and Sex

| | <i>Time of measurement</i> | | <i>F</i> | η^2 | <i>Immigrant status</i> | | <i>F</i> | η^2 | <i>Sex</i> | | <i>F</i> | η^2 |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-------|----------|----------|-------------------------|-------|-----------|----------|------------|-------|----------|----------|
| | T1 | T2 | | | ALB | GR | | | Boys | Girls | | |
| | Mean | Mean | | | Mean | Mean | | | Mean | Mean | | |
| <i>Conflicts</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 7.17 | 6.22 | 11.21*** | 0.03 | 7.46 | 5.92 | 11.69*** | 0.03 | 6.36 | 7.02 | 2.15 | 0.01 |
| <i>Adaptation</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GPA | 13.80 | 13.43 | 20.14*** | 0.05 | 12.15 | 15.08 | 125.14*** | 0.24 | 13.00 | 14.23 | 22.03*** | 0.05 |
| Conduct | 4.67 | 4.43 | 37.29*** | 0.09 | 4.55 | 4.56 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 4.34 | 4.76 | 62.30*** | 0.14 |
| Peer popularity | 2.75 | 2.71 | 0.14 | 0.00 | 2.37 | 3.09 | 17.66*** | 0.05 | 2.78 | 2.69 | 0.27 | 0.00 |
| Self-esteem | 3.92 | 3.92 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 3.89 | 3.95 | 0.99 | 0.00 | 4.00 | 3.85 | 6.19* | 0.02 |
| Psych. symptoms | 0.48 | 0.50 | 1.40 | 0.00 | 0.49 | 0.48 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.44 | 0.53 | 9.14** | 0.03 |

Note. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. ALB: Albanian immigrants. GR: non-immigrant Greek.

interaction, were no longer important. On the contrary, the interaction of time by sex continued to be significant, $F(1, 385) = 5.70$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$, with a similar pattern to the one already described above, i.e., the decrease across time was more prominent for boys ($M_{T1} = 7.07$, $M_{T2} = 5.48$) than it was for girls ($M_{T1} = 7.10$, $M_{T2} = 6.87$), $F(1, 385) = 5.70$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$.

Quality of Adaptation and/or Psychological Well-Being among Immigrant Adolescents and Non-Immigrant Peers

A series of repeated-measures ANOVAs 2 (time) \times 2 (immigrant status) \times 2 (sex) were conducted with the 5 adaptation indices (i.e., GPA, conduct, peer popularity, self-esteem and psychological symptoms) as dependent variables (see Table 1). Overall, adolescents at T2 had lower GPA and worse conduct as compared to T1. Albanians scored lower on GPA and peer popularity than their Greek peers.

Three significant interactions of time of measurement by immigrant status were found on GPA, conduct, and popularity. Although Greek students ($M_{T1} = 15.40$, $M_{T2} = 14.76$) had higher GPA than Albanian students ($M_{T1} = 12.20$, $M_{T2} = 12.10$) at both time points, the school grades of Greek students decreased at T2 while those of Albanian students did not change across time, $F(1, 388) = 10.71$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. Moreover, the conduct of Greek students was evaluated less positively by their teachers at T2 ($M = 4.39$), compared to T1 ($M = 4.72$). This trend was less evident, though towards the same direction, for Albanian youth ($M_{T2} = 4.47$, $M_{T1} = 4.62$), $F(1, 388) = 5.32$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$. Finally, although Greek adolescents were more popular among their peers than Albanian students, their popularity tended to decrease across time points ($M_{T1} = 3.22$, $M_{T2} = 2.96$), whereas the popularity of Albanian youth slightly increased ($M_{T1} = 2.29$, $M_{T2} = 2.46$), $F(1, 388) = 3.85$, $p = 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$.

As expected, girls received overall better grades than boys, and their conduct was evaluated more positively by their teachers. However, they reported lower self-esteem and more psychological problems than boys. A significant interaction of time of measurement by sex was found on GPA. Boys received lower grades at T2 ($M = 12.67$) than at T1 ($M = 13.33$), while girls' school performance remained more stable across time points ($M_{T1} = 14.27$, $M_{T2} = 14.19$), $F(1, 388) = 12.08$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$.

A series of covariance analyses followed in order to account for differences as a function of adolescent's age, percent of life spent in Greece and parental level of education. It was found that age had a significant effect on conduct at T1 ($B = -0.14$, $p < 0.05$) and at T2 ($B = -0.25$, $p < 0.01$), as well as on GPA at T1 ($B = -0.65$, $p < 0.05$). In addition, parental education was related to GPA at T1 ($B = 0.58$, $p < 0.001$) and at T2 ($B = 0.71$, $p < 0.001$), and to self-esteem at T2 ($B = -0.08$, $p < 0.05$). After controlling for these demographic variables, all initial differences in adaptation between T1 and T2 disappeared. The same applies for two of the three interactions of time by immigrant status previously found to be significant, i.e., on GPA and peer popularity. On the contrary, the effect of immigrant status on GPA ($M_{ALB} = 12.37$, $M_{GR} = 14.97$), $F(1, 385) = 50.77$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.12$, and marginally on peer popularity ($M_{ALB} = 2.57$, $M_{GR} = 3.00$), $F(1, 385) = 2.95$, $p < 0.10$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$, the interaction of time of measurement by immigrant status on conduct (T1: $M_{ALB} = 2.57$, $M_{GR} = 3.00$, T2: $M_{ALB} = 2.57$, $M_{GR} = 3.00$), $F(1, 385) = 4.35$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$, as well as all sex differences [GPA: $M_B = 13.07$, $M_G = 14.27$, $F(1, 385) = 22.91$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.06$; conduct: $M_B = 4.35$, $M_G = 4.76$, $F(1, 385) = 60.28$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.14$; self-esteem: $M_B = 4.01$, $M_G = 3.87$, $F(1, 385) = 5.81$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$; psychological symptoms: $M_B = 0.44$, $M_G = 0.53$, $F(1, 385) = 9.39$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$] remained significant towards the same direction as in the ANOVAs.

The Relation of Parent-Adolescent Conflict to Adolescents' Adaptation and Well-Being

To address this question, first two correlation matrices, one for adaptation and conflict at T1 and another for adaptation and conflict at T2, were computed (Table 2). It was found that frequency of conflicts is associated to more psychological symptoms at T1 and T2, to lower GPA at T1, and to lower self-esteem at T2 for both ethnic groups. Parent-adolescent conflicts were negatively related to self-esteem at T1 and to GPA at T2 only for Greek students; also, conflict tended to relate negatively to conduct of Albanian youth at T1. Overall, the above pattern of findings indicates that frequency of parent-adolescent conflicts is associated towards the expected direction to adaptation with respect to developmental tasks, as well as to psychological well-being, although the strength of these relationships ranges from low to moderate, and varies across immigrant and non-immigrant youth.

Table 2

Intercorrelations (pearson coefficients) of Adaptation Measures and Frequency of Parent-Adolescent Conflicts for Immigrant Albanian (lower left, $N = 130$) and Non-Immigrant Greek (upper right, $N = 262$) Adolescents at T1 and T2

| | GPA | Conduct | Peer popularity | Self-esteem | Psychol. symptoms | Conflicts frequency |
|---------------------|---------|---------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Time 1</i> | | | | | | |
| GPA | – | 0.40*** | 0.31*** | 0.12* | –0.09 | –0.15* |
| Conduct | 0.34*** | – | 0.09 | –0.01 | –0.03 | –0.01 |
| Peer popularity | 0.39*** | 0.05 | – | 0.03 | –0.07 | –0.08 |
| Self-esteem | 0.13 | –0.09 | 0.12 | – | –0.42*** | –0.17** |
| Psychol. Symptoms | –0.25** | 0.10 | –0.27** | –0.54*** | – | 0.31*** |
| Conflicts frequency | –0.22* | –0.16+ | –0.12 | –0.04 | 0.20* | – |
| <i>Time 2</i> | | | | | | |
| GPA | – | 0.30*** | 0.11+ | 0.04 | –0.03 | –0.16** |
| Conduct | 0.27** | – | 0.05 | 0.15* | –0.21*** | –0.03 |
| Peer popularity | 0.10 | 0.13 | – | 0.01 | –0.14* | –0.03 |
| Self-esteem | 0.18* | 0.11 | 0.24** | – | –0.60*** | –0.24*** |
| Psychol. symptoms | –0.08 | –0.20* | –0.27** | –0.64*** | – | 0.29*** |
| Conflicts frequency | –0.13 | –0.10 | –0.08 | –0.33*** | 0.40*** | – |

Note. + $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

In order to predict adolescent adaptation at T2 from parent-adolescent conflicts at T1 over and above adaptation at T1, a series of hierarchical regressions were conducted. In these analyses, order of entry of predictors was as follows: T1 adaptation or psychological well-being was entered at Step 1. Demographic information (sex, age, percent of life spent in Greece, parental education) was entered at Step 2. T1 frequency of parent-adolescent conflict was entered at Step 3. To test whether a curvilinear pattern better explains the relationship between conflict and outcomes, a quadratic model (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003) was tested by including the squared term of T1 frequency of conflicts at Step 4. Immigrant status followed at Step 5. Finally, Step 6 tested for linear and quadratic interaction effects of parent-adolescent conflicts by immigrant status. Interaction terms were computed following procedures described by Aiken and West (1991). Separate analyses were run for each adaptation measure (i.e., GPA, conduct, peer popularity, self-esteem, and psychological symptoms). The results are summarized in Table 3.

Adaptation at T1 was significantly related to all T2 adaptation outcomes, but the relationship was especially high for GPA. The effect of demographic variables was in line with the results of the covariance analyses, described earlier in this section. Sex was related to GPA and to conduct. Girls scored higher than boys on both measures. Adolescents' age predicted conduct. Older adolescents were described as exhibiting worse conduct. Parental education was related to higher GPA, but also to lower self-esteem and to more psychological symptoms at T2.

After controlling for these variables, significant linear effects of T1 conflicts on T2 GPA, conduct, self-esteem and psychological symptoms were found in step 3, where the likelihood of negative outcomes showed a linear increase as conflict increased. Specifically, higher frequency at T1 of parent-adolescent conflicts predicted lower GPA, worse conduct, lower self-esteem and more psychological symptoms at T2. Furthermore, significant quadratic effects of conflicts at T1 were found in step 4 on conduct, psychological symptoms and, marginally, on peer popularity at T2. As can be seen in Fig. 1, a steep increase in psychological symptoms and conduct problems, and a decrease in popularity, were detected only after a certain threshold in the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict was reached. That is, after that point the likelihood of negative outcomes increased exponentially.

Immigrant status continued to contribute significant amount of explained variance over and above demographics and T1 frequency of conflicts in the prediction of conduct at T2. Albanian adolescents received more favorable teacher evaluations in this domain of behavior at T2 than their Greeks counterparts. This finding is congruent with the findings from the ANOVAs.

To examine whether the effect of the frequency of parent-adolescent conflicts on changes in adaptation is the same in immigrant and non-immigrant youth we tested for linear and quadratic interaction effects of parent-adolescent conflicts by immigrant status on outcomes. These exploratory analyses (Step 6 of the hierarchical regressions) yielded significant effects of conflict by immigrant status on changes in psychological symptoms, $\Delta R^2 = 0.03$, $F(2, 381) = 6.10$,

Table 3

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for The Prediction of Adolescent Adaptation at T2 from Adaptation at T1, Demographics, Parent-Adolescent Conflicts Frequency at T1 and Immigrant Status ($N=392$)

| Predictors | T2 Adaptation | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | GPA | Conduct | Peer popularity | Self-esteem | Psychol. symptoms |
| | β ΔR^2 | β ΔR^2 | β ΔR^2 | β ΔR^2 | β ΔR^2 |
| <i>Step 1</i> | 0.74*** | 0.13*** | 0.17*** | 0.15*** | 0.20*** |
| T1 Adaptation | 0.87*** | 0.36*** | 0.41*** | 0.39*** | 0.44*** |
| <i>Step 2</i> | 0.02*** | 0.04*** | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| T1 Adaptation | 0.87*** | 0.29*** | 0.40*** | 0.39*** | 0.46*** |
| Sex | 0.10*** | 0.18*** | 0.01 | -0.03 | -0.01 |
| Age | 0.04 | -0.12* | 0.01 | -0.03 | 0.02 |
| % life in Greece | -0.05 | -0.09+ | 0.06 | 0.01 | -0.01 |
| Parental education | 0.06* | 0.01 | 0.03 | -0.10* | 0.11* |
| <i>Step 3</i> | 0.01** | 0.01* | 0.00 | 0.03*** | 0.02** |
| T1 Adaptation | 0.85*** | 0.28*** | 0.40*** | 0.37*** | 0.42*** |
| Sex | 0.10*** | 0.19*** | 0.01 | -0.03 | -0.01 |
| Age | 0.05 | -0.11* | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 |
| % life in Greece | -0.05+ | -0.10* | 0.06 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| Parental education | 0.07* | 0.02 | 0.03 | -0.08+ | 0.10* |
| T1 Conflicts freq | -0.08** | -0.11* | 0.01 | -0.16*** | 0.14** |
| <i>Step 4</i> | 0.00 | 0.01* | 0.01+ | 0.00 | 0.01* |
| T1 Adaptation | 0.85*** | 0.28*** | 0.40*** | 0.37*** | 0.43*** |
| Sex | 0.10*** | 0.19*** | 0.01 | -0.03 | -0.01 |
| Age | 0.05 | -0.11* | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| % life in Greece | -0.05+ | -0.10* | 0.06 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| Parental education | 0.07* | 0.02 | 0.03 | -0.08+ | 0.10* |
| T1 Conflicts freq | -0.12 | 0.13 | 0.23+ | -0.12 | -0.19 |
| (T1 Conflicts freq) ² | 0.04 | -0.26* | -0.23+ | -0.04 | 0.34* |
| <i>Step 5</i> | 0.00 | 0.01* | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| T1 Adaptation | 0.85*** | 0.29*** | 0.40*** | 0.37*** | 0.43*** |
| Sex | 0.10*** | 0.19*** | 0.01 | -0.02 | -0.01 |
| Age | 0.05 | -0.11* | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.01 |
| % life in Greece | -0.05 | -0.01 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Parental education | 0.06* | 0.02 | 0.03 | -0.08+ | 0.10* |
| T1 Conflicts freq | -0.12 | 0.11 | 0.23+ | -0.14 | -0.20 |
| (T1 Conflicts freq) ² | 0.05 | -0.25+ | -0.23+ | -0.04 | 0.35** |
| Immigrant status | 0.00 | 0.13* | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.03 |
| Total R^2 | 0.77*** | 0.20*** | 0.18*** | 0.19*** | 0.24*** |

Note. + $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Positive coefficients for sex and immigrant status refer to girls and Albanian adolescents, respectively.

$p < 0.01$, and marginally in conduct, $\Delta R^2 = 0.01$, $F(2, 381) = 2.66$, $p = 0.07$, and self-esteem, $\Delta R^2 = 0.01$, $F(2, 381) = 2.54$, $p = 0.08$. Specifically, psychological symptoms were predicted by the interaction of the linear effect of conflicts by immigrant status ($\beta = -0.80$, $t = -2.89$, $p < 0.01$), and by the interaction of the quadratic effect of conflicts by immigrant status ($\beta = -0.75$, $t = -3.37$, $p = 0.001$). Moreover, conduct was predicted by the interaction of the linear effect of conflicts by immigrant status ($\beta = 0.63$, $t = 2.21$, $p < 0.05$) and by the interaction of the quadratic effect of conflicts by immigrant status ($\beta = -0.53$, $t = -2.31$, $p < 0.05$). Finally, self-esteem was predicted by the interaction of the quadratic effect of conflicts by immigrant status ($\beta = -0.45$, $t = -1.96$, $p = 0.05$). As can

be seen in Fig. 2, after a threshold was reached, an exponential increase in psychological symptoms and conduct problems, and a decrease in self esteem, were observed in immigrant, but not in non-immigrant, youth. In non-immigrant youth increases in conflict seemed to be related to slight increases in negative outcomes in these domains.

Discussion

This study tests elements of a conceptual framework, which integrates individual and contextual factors to account for individual differences in immigrant youth adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi et al., in press). The main purposes were, first, to compare the frequency of

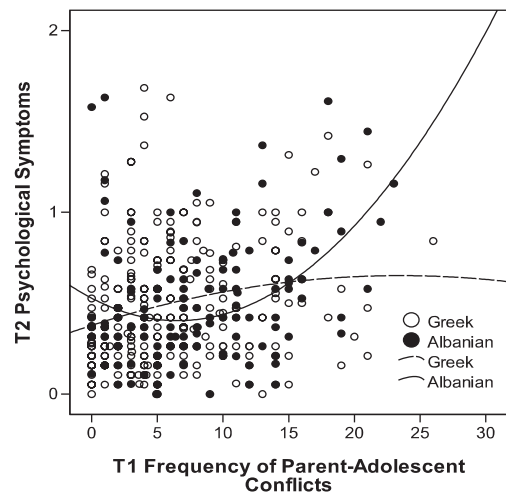
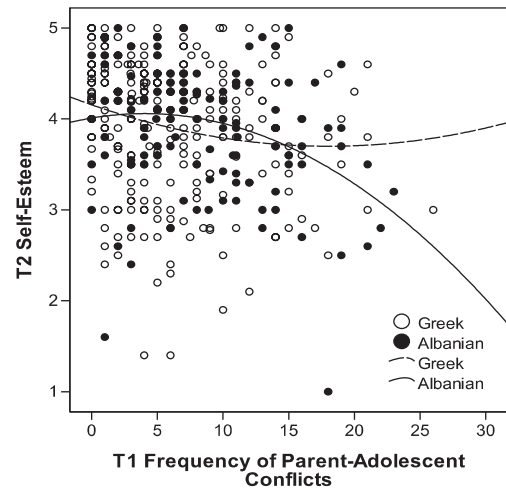
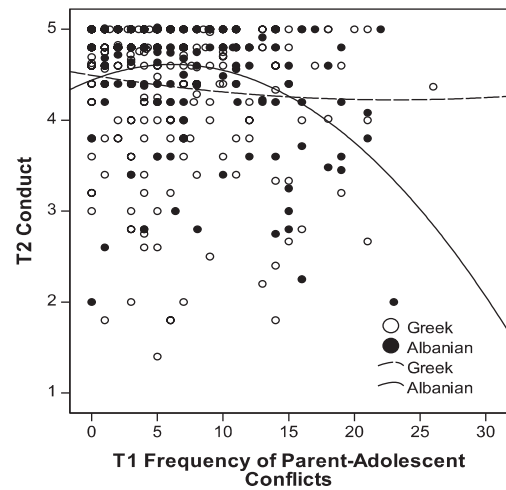
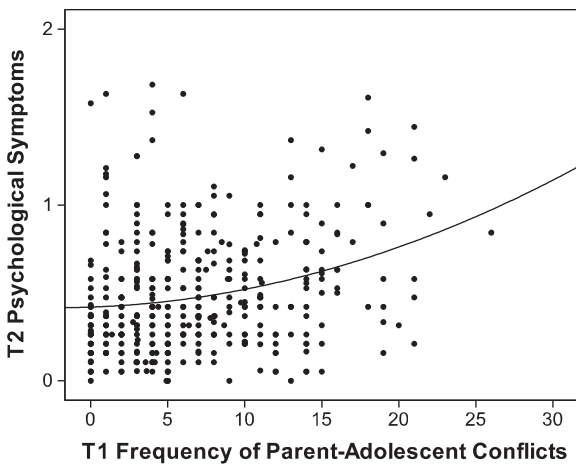
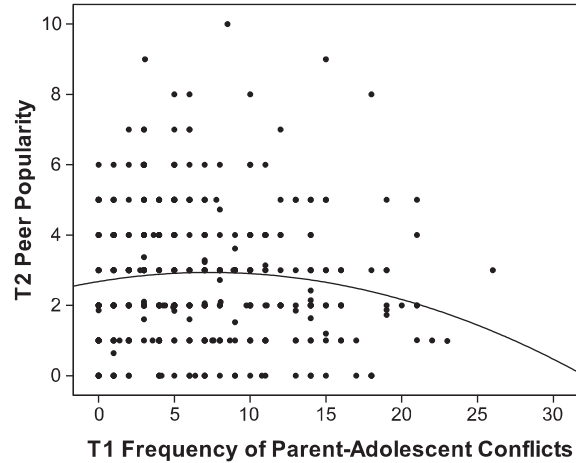
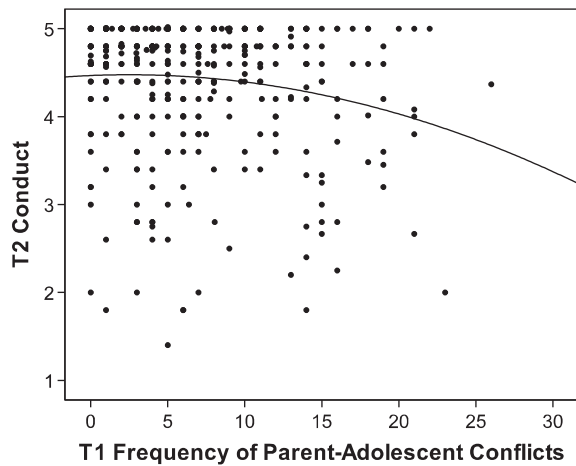


Fig. 1. Quadratic effect of parent-adolescent frequency of conflicts at T1 in the prediction of adolescents' conduct, peer popularity and psychological symptoms at T2.

Fig. 2. Quadratic effect of parent-adolescent frequency of conflicts at T1 by immigrant status in the prediction of adolescents' conduct, self-esteem and psychological symptoms at T2.

immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents' conflicts with their parents; second, to compare the quality of their adaptation with respect to core developmental tasks and to their psychological well-being; and third, to examine how parent-adolescent conflict relates to adaptation in immigrant and non-immigrant youth. The results revealed a complex pattern of relationships between frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, on the one hand, and adolescents' quality of adaptation and psychological well-being, on the other, suggesting that a more nuanced approach to the issue, which takes into account the domain of adaptation under investigation and the ethnic group, is necessary.

Parent-Adolescent Conflict: A Comparison of Immigrant and Non-immigrant Youth

Immigrants reported more frequent conflict with their parents than non-immigrants did. Furthermore, even though both immigrants' and non-immigrants' frequency of conflict with their parents decreased over time, frequency of conflict of immigrants decreased more than that of non-immigrants. As a result, at the second time of assessment, Albanian students did not differ significantly in terms of frequency of parent-adolescent conflict from their non-immigrant peers. However, all these differences became non significant after controlling for the age of the adolescents, indicating that they may actually have been due to the fact that Albanian students were significantly older than their Greek counterparts. Similarly, Fuligni (1998) in a highly cited longitudinal study including immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds also found no differences in the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, as well as, a lack of change in conflict.

Our hypothesis that immigrant youth would report a higher frequency of conflict with their parents than non-immigrant youth was not supported by our data after adolescents' age was controlled for. This hypothesis was based on the observation that immigrant, unlike non-immigrant, adolescents and their parents face both intergenerational disagreements and an acculturative gap (Kwak, 2003). Parent-adolescent disagreements often arise as the adolescent increasingly demands more autonomy. They offer both parties an opportunity to reconsider and revise expectations and renegotiate roles and responsibilities. Achieving autonomy is considered to be a developmental goal for parents and adolescents in Western societies (Masten et al., 2006), and fulfilling this goal requires that parents allow the

increasingly maturing and competent adolescent to make decisions and to become more responsible for his/her life (Smetana, 1996).

However, the extent to which parents expect and grant autonomy, or instead emphasize relatedness/connectedness with the family, depends on the society, the ethnic group and the socioeconomic status of the family (Kağıtçibaşı, 2007). As immigrant parents and their adolescent children, who usually come from more traditional societies, adopt at different rates the values and norms of the host culture, an acculturation gap is created. This gap may result to increased conflict between parents and adolescents (Kwak, 2003).

One possible explanation, for the finding that Albanian adolescents did not differ from their Greek classmates on frequency of conflicts with their parents, could be related to the cultural distance and the familiarity between the home and host cultures (Kwak, 2003). However, this argument does not seem to hold in the case of Albanian and Greek cultures, since immigrants from Albania have been described to endorse significantly more often traditional, conservative values regarding the role of the father in the family and family relations than Greeks (Besevegis, Dalla, & Gari, 2009). Alternatively, it could be the case that since the social settings of the larger host society do not support immigrant parents' more traditional beliefs about autonomy and parental authority, these may change to more closely approximate the norms of the dominant group (Fuligni, 1998). As a matter of fact, Albanian immigrants have been described to make radical changes (for example, change their names to Greek names, baptize their children and become baptized themselves in the Greek Orthodox Church) in order to be better accepted by the Greek community (Baldwin-Edwards, 2004).

Adaptation: A Comparison of Immigrant and Non-immigrant Youth

Albanian youth had worse grades and peer popularity than non-immigrant youth, but did not differ from them in the teacher-rated conduct and in their psychological well-being, i.e., self-esteem and psychological symptoms. These results stood up after controlling for adolescents' age, education of parents and percent of life in Greece. The school achievement and conduct of all adolescents declined over time, but this result became nonsignificant after controlling for the three demographic variables. One of three initially significant interactions between Time and Immigrant status, remained significant after controlling for the

demographic variables, namely, the conduct of Albanian youth, which was considered to be worse than that of non-immigrant youth at the first time of assessment, was rated as better than theirs two years later.

These results are in general agreement with results from a previous cross-sectional study of the A.St.R.A group which was based on a different sample (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, Dalla et al., 2008). They are also consistent with results described in another article, where adaptation over three time assessments was examined with hierarchical linear models which allow to control for missing values (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2011 (not submitted)). A word of caution here is that, as was described in the method section of this article, we had to use data for these analyses of immigrant and non-immigrant youth that took part in both time assessments. These adolescents had more personal and social resources than youth who were not included, because they had dropped out of school.

The “immigrant paradox” described lately in the literature (Sam et al., 2008), whereby first-generation immigrant youth are better adapted in school than their non-immigrant peers, was not found in our study. In what concerns school achievement, Albanian immigrants may need educational support, since most do not know Modern Greek well enough to do well in school. Yet schools provide little or no such support to immigrant students who are enrolled in high schools (Nikolaou, 2000). Furthermore, Albanian youth live under greater social adversity than their Greek counterparts (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, Dalla et al., 2008), something that has been consistently associated with worse school adjustment (McLoyd, 1998).

A possible reason for the lower popularity of Albanian youth may be related to discrimination against them. Albanians face significant discrimination from non-immigrant Greeks, more than other ethnic groups (Fakiolas, 1999; Triandafyllidou, 2000). However, the fact that they were the relative minority in their classrooms may also partially account for this result, since, according to a phenomenon called “friendship homophily”, children and adolescents tend to choose friends who are similar to themselves in ethnicity (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2009).

The fact that Albanian youth did not differ from their Greek peers in terms of psychological well-being can be considered a paradoxical finding, although a stable one in our studies. Albanian youth’s lower school achievement and popularity would have been expected to have a negative effect on their self esteem (Harter, 2006). Our opposite findings may reflect self-protection. It has been

reported in the literature that children who do poorly in school tend to disengage themselves from school-related activities and feedback as a way to protect their self esteem (Eccles, 2004). They may be placing value and evaluating their competence in different domains than their non-immigrant schoolmates. Furthermore, their popularity was assessed in the school context and not in other contexts, such as their neighborhood, where they may have more opportunities to associate with peers from their own ethnic group.

Parent-Adolescent Conflict and Adaptation

Frequency of parent-adolescent conflict was related to adolescents’ adaptation and psychological well-being. However, the type of relationship between conflict and adaptation differed depending on the domain of adaptation and psychological well-being under consideration. Increases in conflict at T1 predicted linear decreases in GPA and self esteem at T2. In contrast, a threshold curvilinear model better describes the relationship between conflict at T1, on the one hand, and psychological symptoms, conduct and peer popularity at T2. In this case, conflict predicted an exponential increase in negative outcomes only after a certain level in the frequency of conflict had been reached.

Parent-adolescent conflict was a significant risk factor for adolescents’ adaptation and psychological well-being. There is an ongoing debate in the risk literature regarding whether the effect of cumulative risk can be better captured by linear or curvilinear models (Obradović, Shaffer, & Masten, in press). Our results offer support to both sides depending on the outcome under consideration. The effect of parent-adolescent conflict on GPA and self esteem reveals a “risk gradient”, where the likelihood of negative outcomes increases linearly with the addition of more risk factors. More conflict is related to worse grades and self esteem. On the other hand, the effect of parent-adolescent conflict on psychological symptoms, conduct and popularity is better captured by a threshold or curvilinear model of cumulative risk. After a certain threshold in the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict was reached, a steep increase in negative outcomes was observed.

Similarly, other researchers have also found that high levels of excessive conflict between parents and adolescents is related to more internalizing and externalizing problems both in non-immigrant (e.g., Smetana, 1996) and immigrant (e.g., Lau et al., 2005) samples. However, our results did not agree with findings showing that moderate levels of conflict are related to better

outcomes than either no conflict or high levels of conflict (Collins & Laursen, 2004).

In the literature one finds the distinction between normative squabbling and disagreements and the more serious kind of frequent conflicts that may be hiding serious relationship issues between parents and their adolescent children. Such relationship problems are not new between parents and their children in the period of adolescence, but usually date back in the school years (Collins & Laursen, 2004). Conflict is just one aspect of any relationship, the other, complementary one, being closeness and cohesion. The balance between closeness and disagreement seems to determine adolescents' short term, as well as, long term quality of adaptation (Smetana, 2008).

The relationship between conflict and adaptation was the same for immigrant and non immigrant youth in the case of GPA and peer popularity, both core developmental tasks for all youth (Motti-Stefanidi et al., in press). However, the relationship between conflict, on the one hand, and psychological well being and conduct, on the other, was not the same for immigrant and non immigrant youth. Three significant interactions between the quadratic effects of conflict by immigrant status on psychological symptoms, self esteem, and conduct revealed that immigrant status was carrying the weight of the quadratic relationship. That is, after a threshold was reached, an exponential increase in psychological symptoms and conduct problems, and a decrease in self esteem, were observed in immigrant, but not in non-immigrant, youth. In non-immigrant youth increases in conflict seemed to be related to slight increases in negative outcomes.

As was argued by Obradović et al., (in press) regarding nonlinear effects of cumulative risk, unmeasured risk factors may account for the apparent acceleration of risk, such as in the case of immigrant youth in this study. It is possible that the number of uncounted risks, such as SES adversity, negative life events, immigration related stressors, may be rising with increasing conflict between parents and their children, since, as it has been established in the risk literature, risks tend to co-occur (Masten, 2001).

Gender Differences

Gender findings were generally congruent with the developmental literature, and lend support to the validity of the assessments. Boys presented better psychological well-being, i.e., higher self esteem and fewer psychological symptoms, and girls had better grades

and conduct in school. Furthermore, girls, who have been reported to identify with Western values more often than boys, had a smaller decrease in the frequency of conflicts they had with their parents, than boys.

Limitations and Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to test elements of a conceptual framework, which examines adaptation in developmental and acculturative context (Motti-Stefanidi et al., in press). The role of two contextual factors, i.e., parent-adolescent conflict, which is a normative developmental phenomenon, and immigrant status, on immigrant adolescents' changes in adaptation with respect to developmental tasks, as well as on changes in their psychological well-being was studied.

The study of other aspects of parent-adolescent conflict, such as its intensity or ways of solving these disagreements, would have provided richer information on the processes that predict adaptation, as well as, difficulties in adaptation. More time periods of data collection would also have allowed us to better understand the interplay between conflict and adaptation as they unfold over longer periods of time. Another limitation of this study is that parents' reports of conflict with their children were not examined.

The fact that ethnic Albanians and ethnic Greek immigrants from Albania had to be treated as one group was another methodological limitation. Future studies should try to disentangle these two immigrant groups, one being an immigrant group of the Diaspora. This will be possible when legislation that officially recognizes Albanian-born Greeks is enacted.

However, this study contributes to the literature by studying a normative phenomenon of adolescence, in both immigrant and non-immigrant groups, and by examining its effect on both positive outcomes, which are important indicators of competence in all youth, independently of ethnicity and social status, and on negative ones. Furthermore, using multiple methods and informants, different domains of adaptation with respect to developmental tasks and different indices of youth's psychological well-being were studied.

Appendix

A.St.R.A Parent-Adolescent Conflict Questionnaire

Frosso Motti-Stefanidi, Marina Dalla, Nikos Takis, Vassilis Pavlopoulos, Athanasia Papathanasiou Conflict Issues

During the past month:

1. Did you disagree with your parents about your appearance/because they think your appearance is too "trendy" (i.e., hair style, piercings, etc.)?
2. Did you disagree with your parents because they think you dress in a provocative manner?
3. Did you disagree with your parents because they think you talk to them in an inappropriate way?
4. Did you disagree with your parents because they think your language is inappropriate when you talk with your friends?
5. Did you disagree with your parents because they want to know who your friends are?
6. Did you disagree with your parents because they don't approve of your friends?
7. Did you disagree with your parents because they want you to come home early when you go out with your friends?
8. Did you disagree with your parents because they want you to help more around the house?
9. Did you disagree with your parents because they want you to study more?
10. Did you disagree with your parents because they want to know where you go and with whom when you go out?
11. Did you disagree with your parents because they don't want you to go out alone at night?
12. Did you disagree with your parents because you watch TV too much?
13. Did you disagree with your parents about dating?
14. Did you disagree with your parents about your allowance?

References

- Aiken, L.S., & West, S.G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Allison, B.N., & Schultz, J.B. (2004). Parent-adolescent conflict in early adolescence. *Adolescence*, 39, 101-119.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2004). Albanian emigration and the Greek labour market: Economic symbiosis and social ambiguity. *South-East Europe Review*, 1, 51-66.
- Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L., & Vedder, P. (2006). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts*. Hove, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, UK.
- Besevegis, E., Dalla, M., & Gari, A. (2009). The state-trait anger expression and family values in native Greeks, immigrants and remigrants. *Psychology*, 16, 71-88. [In Greek].
- Birman, D. (2006). Measurement of the 'Acculturation gap' in immigrant families and implications for parent-child relationships. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, In M.H. Bornstein, & L.R. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships* (pp. 113-134). Mahwah, NJ.
- Coie, J.D., Dodge, K.A., & Coppotelli, H. (1982). Dimensions and types of social status: A cross-age perspective. *Developmental Psychology*, 18, 557-570.
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S.G., & Aiken, L.S. (2003). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences (3rd ed.)*. Erlbaum, Hillsdale.
- Collins, W.A., & Laursen, B. (2004). Changing relationships, changing youth: Interpersonal contexts of adolescent development. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 24, 55-62.
- Eccles, J.S. (2004). Schools, academic motivation and stage-environment. In R. M., Lerner, & L. Steinberg, *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 125-153). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Fakiolas, R. (1999). Socioeconomic effects of immigration in Greece. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 9, 211-229.
- Fuligni, A.J. (1997). The academic achievement of adolescents from immigrant families: The roles of family background, attitudes, and behavior. *Child Development*, 68, 351-363.
- Fuligni, A.J. (1998). Authority, autonomy, and parent-adolescent conflict and cohesion: A study of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, and European Backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 782-792.
- Fuligni, A.J., & Eccles, J.S. (1993). Perceived parent-child relationships and early adolescents' orientation towards peers. *Developmental Psychology*, 29, 622-632.
- Goodman, R. (1997). The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire: A research note. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 38, 581-586.
- Harter (2006). Developmental and individual difference perspectives on self-esteem. In D.K., Mroczek, & T.D. Little, Eds., *Handbook of personality development* (pp. 311-336). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates London.
- Hernandez, D.J., Denton, N.A., & Macartney, S.E. (2008). Children in immigrant families: Looking to America's future. *Social Policy Report*, XXII, 1-24.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2007). *Families, self and human development across cultures: Theory and applications*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.
- Kwak, K. (2003). Adolescents and their parents: A review of intergenerational family and relations for immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Human Development*, 46, 115-136.
- Lau, A.S., McCabe, K.M., Yeh, M., Garland, A.F., Wood, P.A., & Hough, R.L. (2005). The acculturation gap-distress hypothesis among high-risk Mexican American families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 19, 367-375.
- Laursen, B., Coy, K.C., & Collins, W.A. (1998). Reconsidering changes in parent-child conflict across adolescence: A meta-analysis. *Child Development*, 69, 817-832.
- Little, R.J.A., & Rubin, D.B. (1987). *Statistical analysis with missing data*. New York: Wiley.
- Masten, A.S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, 56, 227-238.
- Masten, A.S., Burt, K., & Coatsworth, J.D. (2006). Competence and psychopathology in development. In D., Cicchetti, & D. Cohen, Eds., *Developmental psychopathology*. Vol. 3: *Risk, Disorder and Psychopathology* (2nd ed., pp. 696-738). Wiley, New York.
- Masten, A.S., & Motti-Stefanidi, F. (2009). Understanding and promoting resilience in children: Promotive and protective processes in schools. In T., Gutkin, & C. Reynolds, Eds., *The Hand-*

- book of School Psychology (4th ed., pp. 721-738). Hoboken, NJ, Wiley.
- McGue, M., Elkins, I., Walden, B., & Iacono, W.G. (2005). Perceptions of the parent-adolescent relationship: A longitudinal investigation. *Developmental Psychology*, 41, 971-984.
- McLoyd, V.C. (1998). Socioeconomic disadvantage and child development. *American Psychologist*, 53, 185-204.
- Motti-Stefanidi, F., Masten, A.S., & Asendorpf, J.B. (2011). Adaptation of immigrants in adolescence: The mediating and moderating role of personality. In F. Motti-Stefanidi & A.S. Masten (Chairs), *Personality, vulnerability, and resilience in development: International perspectives*. Symposium at the Biennial Meeting of SRCD, Montreal.
- Motti-Stefanidi, F., Berry, J., Chrysoschoou, X., Sam, D.L., & Phinney, J. (in press). Positive immigrant youth adaptation in context: Developmental, acculturation, and social psychological perspectives. In A.S. Masten, K. Liebkind, & D. Hernandez Eds., *Capitalizing on migration: The potential of immigrant youth*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Motti-Stefanidi, F., Pavlopoulos, V., Obradović, J., Dalla, M., Takis, N., Papathanassiou, A., & Masten, A.S. (2008). Immigration as a risk factor for adolescent adaptation in Greek urban schools. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 5, 235-261.
- Motti-Stefanidi, F., Pavlopoulos, V., Obradović, J., & Masten, A.S. (2008). Acculturation and adaptation of immigrant adolescents in Greek urban schools. *International Journal of Psychology*, 43, 45-58.
- Nikolaou, G. (2000). *Inclusion and education of foreign students in elementary schools: From "homogeneity" to multiculturalism*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata. [in Greek].
- Obradović, J., Shaffer, A.E., & Masten, A.S., (in press). Adversity and risk in developmental psychopathology: Progress and future directions. In L. C. Mayes & M. Lewis Eds., *A Developmental Environment Measurement Handbook*. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.
- Pango, Y. (1996). *Secondary education in Albania*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press.
- Phinney, S.J., Kim-Jo, T., Osorio, S., & Vilhamsdottir, P. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in adolescent-parent disagreement: Ethnic and developmental factors. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 20, 8-39.
- Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Sam, D.L., Vedder, P., Liebkind, K., Neto, F., & Virta, E. (2008). Immigration, acculturation and the paradox of adaptation in Europe. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 5, 138-158.
- Schafer, J.L., & Graham, J.W. (2002). Missing data: Our view of the state of the art. *Psychological Methods*, 7, 147-177.
- Smetana, J.G. (1996). Adolescent-parent conflict for adaptive and maladaptive development. In D., Cicchetti, & S.L. Toth, Eds., *Rochester Symposium on Developmental Psychopathology. Vol. 7. Adolescence: Opportunities and Challenges* (pp. 1-46). University of Rochester, Rochester, NY.
- Smetana, J.G. (2008). Understanding mother-adolescent conflict discussions: Concurrent and across-time prediction from youths' dispositions and parenting – Commentary. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 73, 161-168.
- Smokowski, P.R., & Baccallao, M.L. (2006). Acculturation and aggression in Latino adolescents: A structural model focusing on cultural risk factors and assets. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 34, 659-673.
- Stevens, G.W.J.M., Vollebergh, W.A.M., Pels, T.V.M., & Crijnen, A.A.M. (2007). Problem behavior and acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands: Effects of gender and parent-child conflict. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 38, 310-317.
- Titzmann, P.F., & Silbereisen, R.K. (2009). Friendship homophily among ethnic German immigrants: A longitudinal comparison between recent and more experienced immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 23, 301-310.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2000). The political discourse on immigration in southern Europe: A critical analysis. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 10, 373-389.
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Veikou, M. (2002). The hierarchy of Greekness. Ethnic and national identity consideration in Greek immigration policy. *Ethnicities*, 2, 189-208.

Bio Sketches

Frosso Motti-Stefanidi is Professor of Psychology of the University of Athens, Greece. She was the President, and is currently the Past-President, of the European Association of Personality Psychology (2008–2010). She is currently Secretary of the European Society for Developmental Psychology (2009–2011). Her area of research is mainly in developmental psychopathology. She currently studies risk and resilience of immigrant adolescents. For this purpose she has initiated a collaboration (the Athena Studies of Resilient Adaptation, ASARA) between the Department of Psychology of the University of Athens, Greece, the Institute of Child Development of the University of Minnesota, U.S.A, and the Department of Psychology of Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany.

Spyridon Tantaros is Assistant Professor of Psychology of the University of Athens, Greece. Since 2005, he is the Secretary General of the Hellenic Psychological Society. His area of research is Developmental Psychology. He currently studies issues that deal with parenting and its relations to cognitive and emotional development of preschoolers, school aged children and adolescents.

Vassilis Pavlopoulos received his Ph.D. from the University of Athens, Greece, in 1998. His thesis was about parental perceptions of child personality across five countries. He is currently Assistant Professor of Cross-Cultural Psychology at the Department of Psychology, University of Athens, Greece. He is coordinator of the Social Psychology section of the Hellenic Psychological Society. He has been Secretary General of the 18th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (Spetses, Greece, 2006) and of the 13th European Conference on Personality (Athens, Greece, 2006). His current research interests focus on acculturation and adaptation of immigrants, perceived discrimination, norms of social justice, and the cultural processes of behavioral intentions.