

Parenting Intervention Programs as a Violence Prevention Strategy: Can Culturally Adapted Parenting Interventions Mitigate Violence in Low Income Communities of Color?

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Abstract

It has been well researched that childhood and adolescent delinquency can lead to adult criminality. One of the strongest indicators used to predict a child's behavioral trajectory are the parents and family. Parenting interventions have been widely implemented as a method to improve poor parenting skills and reduce child behavioral issues. However, there is limited research available to understand the effect of parenting programs on minority and low-income populations and even less known about the impact culturally adapted parenting programs have on these groups. The proposed study seeks to examine the impact of adaptations on the effectiveness of parenting programs and how the process of adapting programs can be enhanced to achieve more sustained results. Findings were inconclusive in determining the impact of individual adaptations on results, but the process does lend itself to be more inconclusive of youth perspectives to aid in program development and the incorporation of additional material that directly addresses violence.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In urban areas across the United States, reducing violent crime remains a difficult task. In cities like New York, Chicago, and Baltimore, a myriad of violence prevention strategies have been employed with varying degrees of success (BCHD, 2017; City of New York, n.d.; Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs, n.d.) Researchers agree that one pathway towards correcting delinquent behavior is through the parent(s) and family. Parenting programs and interventions have proven to be an effective tool in improving ineffective parenting and reducing childhood and adolescent delinquency (Piquero, Farrington, Welsh, Tremblay & Jennings, 2009). A singular focus on the individual ignores a great many personal, institutional and historical influences that contribute to one's development. Parenting programs, interventions and education account for some of these influences (Goetting, 1995; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Sampson & Laub, 1993) but research has shown that they generally are not designed to address and incorporate the cultural, economic and environmental factors that affect parenting and contribute to delinquency amongst racially and economically diverse populations (Bae, Hopkins, Gouze, & Lavigne, 2014). Because the process of creation from concept to application and evaluation has overwhelmingly concentrated on a higher earning White demographic (Bae, Hopkins, Gouze, & Lavigne, 2014), educators have begun to develop and evaluate tailored or culturally adapted programming designed specifically for underrepresented audiences. Thus, a concerted effort is required to fill the gap in the literature by analyzing adapted interventions for more diverse populations. This study seeks to add to the knowledge base about culturally adapted parenting interventions by examining their effectiveness on people of color and low-income populations by analyzing the impact of individual adaptations and extent to which the process of adaptation can be enhanced to deliver more focused content

around violence prevention.

Statement of the Problem

The problem is there is a limited pool of research available to fully understand the true impacts that adaptation can have in the field of parenting programs focused on improving child behavioral outcomes. This pool shrinks considerably in the evaluation of such interventions for people of color and low-income groups. The field also lacks understanding of the process required to adapt an intervention, how; if at all, that process influences results and how it can possibly be enhanced to deliver more focused interventions around violence to specified groups. Additional research is required to substantiate and better understand how race, ethnicity, income, culture, environment, adaptation and its process impact the effectiveness of parenting interventions.

Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to fill the gap of knowledge concerning the impact of adapting evidence-based parenting programs for populations for which they were not traditionally designed and implemented. With the United States experiencing increasing rates of diversity, it is imperative that existing programs can adequately service these populations or create new ones as needed. Thus, minority and low-income populations need to be the focus of program design, implementation and research.

Ultimately, the purpose is to gain a better understanding of how parenting interventions can be better utilized as a violence prevention strategy in inner cities. More specifically, this study will provide greater insight into how culturally adapted parenting interventions impact diverse populations, which may lead to improvements in the development and delivery of crucial resources and services.

Research Question(s)

What impact do cultural adaptations have on the outcomes of parenting interventions and how can the development these programs be enhanced to mitigate future delinquency in low income communities of color?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

There has been much literature dedicated to the study of parenting and the effects that parenting education and intervention programs have on the overall well-being of a child. Some parenting intervention programs focus on physical welfare and development (Mihelic, Morawska, & Filus, 2017), while others concentrate on the social and behavioral aspects of child development (Hutchings, 2007; Leijten, Raaijmakers, Orobio de Castro, van den Ban & Matthys, 2017; Olds et al., 1988). Although there are many studies of parenting programs, few studies focus on child delinquency as a primary measure, and even fewer on the offending of adolescents and young adults (Piquero et al., 2009). Additionally, there has been limited exploration about how culture, race and socioeconomic factors can be considered to enhance the design and implementation of parenting programs for historically underserved and disinvested communities. The proposed study will focus on parenting training and interventions as a crime prevention strategy. It will seek to illustrate that implementation of culturally adapted parenting interventions can potentially lead to higher or more sustained positive outcomes for both parents and children, which in turn may result in reductions in youth delinquency and offending in urban pockets still plagued by violence.

This literature review first explores the relationship between parenting and youth delinquency, including offending, crime and violence and the many pathways that lead to those behaviors in adolescence and into adulthood. The second section delves into a few different parental trainings and interventions and various studies examining their effectiveness in altering childhood and adolescent behavior and preventing future criminality. The last section examines the adaptation of parenting interventions and the role culture, race and economic factors have on

their effectiveness. In sum, this review demonstrates the need for continued exploration into the development and evaluation of culturally informed interventions designed for this population to reduce delinquency and current crime trends.

Role of Parenting in the Development of Youth Delinquency

There is consensus amongst researchers and criminologists that strong linkages exist between parents, families and youth delinquency that includes offending, crime and violent behavior (Goetting, 1995; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Though many other factors may contribute—influences and interactions outside of the home, the structural environment youth navigate and the family structure (one versus two parents, marital status, etc.)—parent and family-child relations provide the strongest indicators of and contributors to child delinquency (Goetting, 1995). Goetting argues that although there is a theoretical consensus to support this theory, there is not enough quality data to empirically show a causal relationship given the complexities of youth delinquency and parenting.

The role the family plays in the development of childhood delinquency has been explained in the literature in several ways. Steinburg (2000) identifies six pathways that illustrate how poor parenting can lead to child delinquency. The presence of aggression, hostility and conflict connects these pathways to those poor outcomes. The first pathway is through modeling—when children are exposed to violence or are victims of it, the chances they become involved in those behaviors are increased. The second pathway is biological factors. Though there is limited evidence to support the role of hereditary influences (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986), it has been shown that biological factors may play a role in child conduct when physical development is compromised during prenatal stages by drugs, alcohol or neglect (Steinburg, 2000). The third pathway is mental health. Poor parenting can put children at risk of developing mental health

problems and those with mental health issues can become more susceptible to violent behaviors. The fourth conduit is personality development which can manifest in two ways, as emotional instability or biased views of the world. The fifth link is poor academic performance. Evidence shows poor school performance generally precedes violent activities, especially because school provides an opportunity for troubled youth to meet, which leads to the final pathway: peer pressure. Much of youth crime occurs in groups with other teens; therefore, the lack of positive parenting can put youth at risk of negative peer influences (Steinburg, 2000).

Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) conducted a meta-analysis of concurrent and longitudinal studies on the relation of family factors to juvenile delinquency and identified four paradigms: neglect, conflict, deviant behaviors and attitudes and disruption. The neglect paradigm looks at parent-child involvement and engagement; the conflict paradigm examines discipline practices and the dynamic of parent-child rejection; the deviant behaviors and attitudes paradigm analyzes parental criminality, and deviant attitudes and values; and the disruption paradigm explores marital conflict and parental absence (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) posited that a three-tier system of indicators emerged within the studies they analyzed to predict delinquency. The strongest sign was socialization factors, followed by background factors and the weakest included parental discipline, health and absence from the child. These pathways and paradigms can all merge and diverge at different points and manifest in diverse forms and capacities to alter a child's behavioral trajectory and create long-term effects into adulthood (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Schroeder, Bulanda, Giordano & Cernkovich, 2010; Steinburg, 2000).

The literature focusing on the latent effects of poor parenting into adulthood is also vast. Sampson and Laub (1993) explore this connection and suggest it occurs because the potential

development of social attachments to people and institutions is thwarted when youth are involved in early delinquent behavior as a consequence of poor or ineffective parenting. It should be noted that these outcomes can be achieved through other means as well. Without those connections, youth offenders are at higher risk of continuing those behaviors long term. Sampson and Laub (1993) referred to this process as “cumulative continuity”, while Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) characterized it as “sleeper effects”. A Schroeder, Bulanda, Giordano, and Cernkovich (2010) study examines this dynamic further by integrating race as a variable. Though poor parenting affects people of all races and ethnicities, their research highlighted how poor parenting can result in higher levels of deviance and lower levels of social attachment for Black versus White ethnic groups due, in part, to the unique experiences of people of color. Steinburg’s (2000) research corroborates this finding. She argues that ineffective parenting and delinquent behavior are more closely related to social and economic stressors experienced by a group than they are to the individual demographic components of a group.

In many urban communities largely comprised of people of color or people living at or below the poverty line, violence remains an issue, especially compared to White, higher earning communities. It has been shown that areas such as these have historically been neglected, underfunded and undervalued (Jackson, 2015). Consequently, large segments of those communities consistently exhibit lower levels of economic and educational attainment (DCP, n.d.b) and home ownership and higher levels of under- and unemployment (DCP, n.d.a), incarceration rates and lifetime touches with the justice system (DOH, 2016; New York City Neighborhood Health Atlas, n.d). As a result of these and other stressors, people in communities such as these are at higher risk of displaying negative social behaviors (Sektan, McClelland, Acock & Morrison, 2010). Though it must be stated that these conditions alone not do guarantee

the development of delinquent behavior and ineffective parenting; they are indeed strong contributors for those that exhibit these challenges. Conversely, people from more affluent backgrounds also experience these same challenges (Steinburg, 2000). Thus, there is a need to understand how focused parenting interventions can improve parenting and mitigate youth and adult deviance for all people, but especially for underserved populations.

Parenting Programs, Interventions and Education

Research shows that there is a strong connection between parenting, child development and delinquency throughout a child's life course (Bernazzani, Cote & Tremblay, 2001; Piquero, Farrington & Blumstein, 2003). Evidence suggests that disruptive, negative behaviors left unattended become increasingly harder to correct as youth age (Frick & Loney, 1999; Tremblay, 2000); therefore, early parental intervention has been widely accepted as an evidence-based strategy to combat this issue. According to a page on a United Kingdom government Home Office website from 2008, "good parenting is really important in determining children's life chances, acting as a protection against poverty, social exclusion, poor academic attainment as well as crime and anti-social behavior" (Lucas, 2011, p. 182). Although studies conducted in the United States and abroad testing the effectiveness of parenting programs on child behavioral outcomes have yielded mixed results, consensus amongst researchers points to parent training programs as an effective tool to improve parenting skills, child development and behavior and parent-child relations (Kanigsberg & Levant, 1988; Leijten et al., 2017; Lucas, 2011; Mihelic, Morawska, & Filus, 2017; Piquero et al., 2009).

Around the world a multitude of different types and combinations of interventions have been implemented, a few of which include home visitation, school-based programs and parent training with and without additional services. These programs occur in various locations

including in the home, children's schools, medical facilities and other community-based spaces. Services can also be offered to the parent(s) individually or in a group setting and can include training for the child and other family members (Farrington & Welsh, 2003; Greenwood, 2008; Piquero et al., 2009). A meta-analysis conducted by Piquero et al. (2009) aimed to build upon prior research conducted about the extent of the effectiveness of parenting programs implemented specifically for the prevention of childhood behavioral problems. Their study included 55 international studies that met specific inclusion criteria. The researchers found that the most replicated models in their sample were the Incredible Years Parenting Program (IYP), Triple P- Positive Parenting Program and Parent-Child Interaction Therapy (PCIT); IYP was most frequently used. The goal of IYP is to improve parenting skills in the areas of monitoring and disciplining children's behavior (Piquero et al., 2009) and adjust parental attitudes to enable parents to have more empathy for their children (Finders, Diaz, Geldolf, Sektnan & Rennekamp, 2016).

Triple P was the second most used model. It utilizes a multi-level approach to train parents to manage their children's behavior. Each stage provides a different level of intervention based on need- increasing from informational materials and webinars to more intensive and interactive programming and services (Piquero et al., 2009).

PCIT involves a two-pronged approach that provides intervention to both the parent and child. This intervention generally occurs with a therapist and aims of foster better parent-child relations by providing tools to parents to improve parenting skills. Piquero et al.'s (2009) meta-analysis concluded that parenting programs were effective at reducing negative behavioral outcomes and noted several studies showing evidence of long-term success in lowering rates of juvenile arrests and offending versus comparison samples.

Other forms of interventions include home visits which are usually performed by nurses during the prenatal and infancy stages but can also occur with families with older children. It has been shown that the long-term effectiveness of this intervention varies (Farrington & Welsh, 2003). Notably, most of the studies of home visitation used by Farrington and Welsh (2003) demonstrated no effect on child behavioral outcomes with the exception the Olds et al. (1998) study. Piquero et al (2009) noted several studies that were inconclusive.

Combining interventions is also a very common approach. Parenting education offered in conjunction with daycare services were found to yield slightly better results than those without (Piquero et al., 2009). Setting also played a role in the level of effectiveness of programs. Analysis by Farrington and Welsh (2003) revealed that of the 55 programs studied in different settings, the most effective were parent education sessions implemented by various delivery methods in mixed locales and the least effective were those occurring in schools. Of the seven school programs within their analysis effectiveness was strongly influenced by the length of the program.

Difficulties in Evaluating Interventions

Both Piquero et al. (2009) and Bernazzani, Cote and Tremblay (2001) noted the same limitations in their studies. Piquero et al. (2009) stated that due to the variation of program type, delivery method, implementation time (prenatal, infancy, high school), length of program, age of youth and level of delinquency, finding enough studies, to fit the criteria was an arduous task. They were also very critical of the quality of studies stating that very few studies were designed well or with the intent to track child delinquency, particularly crime, as a primary outcome. The Bernazzani, Cote and Tremblay (2001) study, which focused on assessing the impact of home visitation and parenting programs on behavior problems and delinquency, drew the same

conclusions after finding only 7 quality studies matching their search criteria. Because studies usually had smaller sample sizes, the ability to make definitive statements and generalizations about what works and why was lessened. As a result, there is limited data available to understand the long-term effects of parent education on crime reduction and offending into adolescence and young adulthood.

Kanigsberg and Levant (1988) considered how utilization of different instruments impacted the information captured in follow-up surveys. Their study focused on assessing the change in parental attitudes and their children's perception of said changes following participation in parenting programs. Participation was voluntary and included 34 parents randomly split into three groups: a communication skills group, a behavioral skills group and a no treatment comparison group. In their study, they utilized the Hereford Parent Attitude Survey, the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and the Becker Bi-Polar Adjective Checklist, all of which relied on self-reporting from either the parent or child and varied in the number of questions asked and time required to complete. Consequently, the lack of standardization was an issue because researchers were reliant upon other researchers work. Finally, as with many programs and studies, assessing causation is virtually impossible. Given the multi-layered approach of many interventions and outside influences, identifying the active ingredients requires much more research (Farrington & Welsh, 2003; Welsh & Farrington, 2002).

Cultural Adaptation of Parenting Programs

The implication of culture, race, income and environment on parenting programs is an area in need of further exploration. Traditionally, interventions and studies have been designed for homogeneous samples largely consisting of White, middle class parents and children (Bae, Hopkins, Gouze, & Lavigne, 2014; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson & Brotman 2004). However,

evidence confirms that people of color and low- income families are much more likely to experience disadvantage and need resources than their White counterparts (McLyod, 1998). There is data that suggests that low income families tend to benefit less from parenting programs. This may be due to the higher volume of stressors that exist for people of color living near or below the poverty line (Dumar & Wahler, 1983). Considering the levels of diversity in the United States, especially with the increasing rates of Latino citizens (Flores, 2017), there has been more interest in understanding the impact of parenting programs across other cultural and socioeconomic groups.

The cultural adaptation of evidence-based interventions is a tool used to address this very issue. Cultural adaptation entails one or more modifications that are culturally sensitive and tailored to a specific group (Kumpfer, Alvarado, Smith & Bellamy, 2002). Some researchers argue that these modifications can occur on a continuum ranging from cultural adaptation to cultural grounding (Lauricella, Valdez, Okamoto, Helm & Zaremba, 2016). The difference between the two is seen in the process. Grounded modifications implore a “bottom up” approach that includes researchers working collaboratively with an assortment of members from the target group and community to create a product informed by their values, norms, views and lived experiences. Conversely, by adapting a program using a “top down” approach driven by researchers who infuse cultural context into an existing intervention; contact with the target group may occur minimally, if at all, which could result in an intervention that is less relevant to the intended audience (Lee, Vu & Lau, 2013). By and large, many researchers use the term adaptation to include any modifications made to an intervention in an effort to customize it to a group whether they are grounded, deep level changes involving the development of curriculum incorporating social and environmental factors, or surface level adaptations involving changes to

observable aspects such as language and imagery (Castro, Barrera, & Holleran Steiker, 2010).

Cultural frameworks are used to guide the development and types of adaptations integrated into evidence-based interventions. Many researchers have classified them under varying terms, but they generally fit into two categories: those informing changes to program content and the process by which the adaptations come to be and are applied. Some of the more popular frameworks include surface versus deep structure adaptations (Resnicow, Soler, Braithwait, Ahluwalia, & Butler, 2000), Barrera and Castro (2006) classifies the framework as information gathering, preliminary adaptation, preliminary adaptation test and adaptation refinement; and the Ecological Validity Model (EVM) by Bernal, Bonilla and Bellido (1995) breaks adaptations down into eight domains: language, person, metaphor, content, concept, goals, method and context. There is no one way to adapt interventions, thus; many of these frameworks are often used in conjunction with each other.

A reoccurring tension encountered during the adaptation process is illustrated by the fidelity verses fit dilemma (Castro, Barrera & Martinez, 2004). The two approaches are in direct opposition to each other; one calls for a universal intervention that has been tested and proven, the other involves the design of a customized intervention for a specific group, altering features of the evidenced based program. In a study conducted of 44 different prevention program models, it was observed that many of them were culturally mismatched across many different demographic factors (Schinke, Brounstein & Gardner, 2002). The study found that the major sources of the fit issues revolved around group characteristics, program delivery staff and administrative or community factors, which resulted in programs that did not fully align with community needs or were incapable of adequately addressing them. Despite these findings, questions still remain as to whether adaptation (on any level) compromises the integrity, efficacy

and effectiveness of the program as compared to the standard model (Castro et al., 2010; Elliot & Mihalic, 2004). The continued evaluation of culturally adapted parenting programs and interventions will provide more research in support of this issue.

Role of Culture, Race & Economic Factors

In a study conducted by Finders, Diaz, Geldhof and Rennekamp (2016), researchers set out to examine if Latino families participating in standard parenting programs in the United States would have greater perceptions of effectiveness in the improvement of parenting skills and children's behavior than White families and whether those perceptions differed across income levels. They argued that knowing this information would allow for parenting programs to be better designed and tailored for the Latino community. Unfortunately, their study was inconclusive in determining if greater impact was achieved for Latino versus White families. Though all participants reported improvements in skills, researchers did observe a few important differences across ethnic and income boundaries. For instance, parents that attended sessions in which the majority in attendance were low-income expressed higher levels of improvement versus those that attended programs with more high-income participants. Additionally, Latino parents who attended majority Latino sessions reported improvements in their children's behavior, but their parenting skills did not see significant changes. It was not noted whether majority White or high-income sessions experienced similar outcomes.

Similar results were observed in the Leijten et al. (2017) study conducted in the Netherlands. Researchers examined the effectiveness of the IYP across different ethnic backgrounds and economically disadvantaged groups and found that overall all participants experienced improvements in behavioral outcomes. Any reported differences could not be definitively attributed to ethnic or income variances. It should be noted that the racial and

economic landscape in the United States and the Netherlands are opposites (Leijten et al., 2018); thus, the same types of disparities would not exist there.

Though research shows lower income and racial differences do not cause statistically significant variances on parenting and child behavioral outcomes (Finders, Diaz, Geldhof and Rennekamp, 2016), the layering of additional socioeconomic classifications like low educational attainment and sub-standard housing might begin to create the divide (Leijten et al., 2018). Coard, Wallace, Stevenson and Brotman (2004) suggested that an emphasis on race, culture and other environmental factors could enhance the impact of parenting programs for underserved groups. They posited that because the African American experience can be filled with many obstacles, incorporating specific cultural techniques like racial socialization into the design of parenting programs would impact a myriad of child outcomes including anger management, pro-social bonding and parent-child relations. Their study of African American parents saw a majority utilize racial socialization to parent; hence, they theorized that for parenting programs to be more effective with this population their cultural teachings should be incorporated. For example, one teaching that was exhibited by most parents was preparing their children for the future bias and hostility they would face; this facet of African American parenting would not be broached in standard parenting curricula due to the audience for which it was originally designed. Their study sought to determine the aspects of racial socialization that could be integrated into parenting programs to potentially achieve that goal. Still, due to a small sample of mixed results, some are skeptical as to whether culturally adapted interventions are the most suitable option for underserved groups (Kazdin, 1993).

Despite mixed or inconclusive findings to support the impact of culture and race variances on the implementation of standard interventions and the impact of cultural adaptation,

research has supported the theory that cultural, economic and environmental factors do have some effect (Finders et al., 2016). The study of intervention design, development, and application is nuanced; thus, any variable can significantly alter the outcomes for participants and make analysis more difficult (Castro et al., 2010; Gringer & Smith, 2006). Regardless, gaining a deeper understanding of the impact of cultural adaptation and how the process can be enhanced may have a great influence on communities in need of resources and alternative options. This study will help further our knowledge in that pursuit.

Research Processes

This study seeks to add to the research examining the process and effectiveness of adaptation of parenting interventions for underserved groups to understand how greater or more sustained impacts on child delinquency and future violence can be achieved. Retrospective approaches utilized by Whiteside-Mansell, Bradley, and McKelvey, (2009), Finders et al. (2016), and van Mourik, Crone, de Wolff and Reis (2017) employed the use of databases to gain samples from which to study. Researchers from these studies devised strict selection criteria for inclusion that included but was not limited to, the outcome of interest, program/intervention used, presence of an adaptation and participant demographics. This study utilizes some of the same techniques implemented in those studies to comparatively analyze participant demographics, interventions and adaptations used, program outcomes and the approach to adaptation.

Summary

This review of the literature provides evidence of the role of parental and familial relations into youth and adult offending and future criminality. For underserved populations this relationship is especially critical. Research illustrates that parenting education and training can be a useful tool to correct ineffective parenting, increase skills and reduce or prevent adverse

conduct in children and adolescents. Though there is consensus regarding its general effectiveness, not enough is known about sustaining outcomes long term. Even less research has been conducted to provide data about the impact of parenting interventions amongst people of color and low income. Cultural adaptation presents an opportunity to tailor programming for a specific group and purpose. Thus far, study results of culturally adapted interventions have been mixed or inconclusive in determining how participants' demographics and environmental factors impact program effectiveness. However, further exploration is warranted to better understand this relationship. The nation's cultural and economic diversity provides the ideal setting to examine what culturally enhanced parenting education and interventions could look like as a crime prevention strategy.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This study seeks to better understand the impact of cultural adaptations including how the development process for adaptation can be augmented to mitigate negative child behavioral outcomes. The researcher identified a set of published studies evaluating culturally adapted parenting interventions that met selection criteria. The study sample was quantitatively analyzed.

Research Criteria

The researcher aimed to select studies of culturally adapted programs meeting the following criteria for inclusion. Program participants had to meet the following requirements: live in an urban area in the United States, be racially ethnic/non-White, and be a parent with at least one child over two years old at risk of or exhibiting behavioral issues but not clinically diagnosed with any mental health or behavioral problems. Other participant demographics remained broad including marital status, total number of children, etc. Immigration status was not an exclusionary factor. Programs with participants of varying income were considered if the ethnicity requirements were met.

These demographic characteristics were ideal for this study to best understand how effective adapted interventions are for diverse parents and families and how they can be used to further enhance outcomes. Predominately, when parenting programs are administered a curriculum designed for a higher earning White demographic is utilized regardless of the race and ethnicity of the participants. However, published studies provide evidence that culturally adapted programs are equally if not more effective across multiple parent and child outcomes (Martinez & Eddy, 2005). Utilization of a racially diverse sample will allow the researcher to further understand this relationship.

Eligible studies had to explicitly state or demonstrate that the program was culturally adapted for the population that participated and be delivered in a group setting; those that were exclusively, or majority individualized treatment were excluded. Preference was given to studies conducted that compared differently adapted interventions within the same study; however, the absence of such analysis was not an exclusionary factor. Preference was also given to studies that detailed the process of adaptation including development and implementation. Programs were not restricted to one intervention type; additional services could be layered. Studies had to provide thorough assessment of results, especially child related outcomes.

Exclusion criteria included studies programs conducted outside of the United States, in a foreign language, programs without an adaptation, with inadequate racial/ethnic demographic data of participants, samples without or containing too low a percentage of racially ethnic participants, and those that did not measure or report on child behavior outcomes.

A computer search of key search terms was used to identify potential studies. Various combinations of key words were used including, but not limited to, parenting programs, minority groups, cultural adaptation, and low income and disadvantaged populations. The search was limited to studies published within the past 25 years. The databases included but were not be limited to the following: PsycINFO, PsycArticles, Sociological Abstracts, Social Science Abstracts, CINAHL, Medline, ERIC, and Springer. Meta-analyses of culturally adapted programs were also used as a source.

Instruments

Instruments were modeled after those used in studies conducted by van Mourik et al. (2017) and Mejia, Leijten, Lachman and Parra-Cardona (2017) to organize and evaluate various components of the selected studies. Table 1 provides key characteristics present from each

intervention (See Appendix A). Table 2 categorizes the adaptations implemented and the process used for development to aid in analysis across multiple variables.

Data Analysis

Study samples were analyzed to note relevant participant demographics and significant findings of each intervention. Secondly, an analysis of the process of the adaptation was evaluated, including the types of adaptations adopted, to deduce the extent to which the process impacts effectiveness as well as discern opportunities for enhancement. Gaining a better understanding of such findings can lead to more insight to improve services for those most in need.

Assumptions

This study will assume that all parenting interventions regardless of the approach were equal and will result in positive parental and child behavioral outcomes. The researcher assumed that the different forms of adaptations implemented were equal, effective and appropriate for the participants of the program.

Summary

The current research available on the impacts of culturally enhanced parenting programs for low income, ethnic populations is limited. Though findings from this study cannot be used to generalize theories about what works; it will add to the knowledge base that can improve programming for this demographic in the future. Additionally, it will highlight the importance and need for continued research in this area.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The database search yielded 20 studies of culturally adapted parenting interventions. Additional studies were located from various meta-analyses that were discovered within queries. After reading through the studies, 6 studies were chosen that met the criteria for selection.

Study Description

All studies were randomized control trials and focused on a target population of parents or caregivers whose children presented with non-clinically diagnosed behavioral issues or were at risk for the development of delinquent behavior due to a combination of one or more socioeconomic factors. Only one study criterion required the focus child to exhibit behavioral issues at baseline (Parra-Cardona et al., 2017). All studies took place in urban environments; three interventions were school based and three were community based. The target population of the studies was majority Black and Latino participants; three had racially homogenous samples and three were more than one race. Of the multi-racial samples, the lowest combined percentage of Black and Latino participants was 37%, which equaled the percentage of White participants in that study (Webster- Stratton et al., 2001).

All but two interventions were designed for parents with children under five; *Nuestras Familias* (Martinez & Eddy, 2005) targeted parents with 5 and 6-year old's and BPSS focused on parents with middle school aged youth (Coard et al., 2007). The length of the intervention was close to standard at 12 sessions; the IYP (Webster-Stratton et al., 2001) offered four booster sessions in year two of their program. Intervention assessments were a mixture of self-reporting by parents and teachers and in-person and recorded observations by researchers. Table 1 (see

Appendix A) provides an overview of the key characteristics and findings observed in each study.

Findings

Adaptation

All interventions incorporated some form of modifications to the original intervention from which they were based. Table 2 provides a snapshot of the adaptations implemented and categorized by different cultural frameworks developed by Resnicow et al. (2000), Bernal et al. (1995) and Barrera and Castro (2006). As expected, all interventions utilized surface level adaptations, which involve changes to language, imagery and materials, while deep level structural changes occurred in all but one. The Webster-Stratton et al. (2001) study, which evaluated the Incredible Years Parenting program, was the exception. This study provided the least amount of information regarding adaptations to the base model and no indication that any changes were made to tailor the program to the user. Most of the changes mentioned in this study included translation of materials, sessions offered in a native language and matching facilitators by ethnicity to enable program delivery. No adaptations were incorporated in response to cultural or socioeconomic factors experienced by the target population. The biggest modification was the pairing of a teacher training component with the parenting intervention to increase parent and child outcomes. Conversely, four of the five remaining studies, heavily applied cultural elements, to varying degrees, into the core of their interventions that directly addressed ethnic, cultural, economic and environmental factors that influence parenting and youth behavior. In some cases, the intervention added a number of specific lessons to address topic areas concerning biculturalism and immigration (Parra-Cardona et al., 2017), racial socialization (Coard et al.,

2007), and aspects of parenting that can be polarizing like spanking (Gross et al., 2009) and respect (Martinez & Eddy, 2005).

Table 2 Adaptations utilized and categorized by different cultural frameworks

Study	Resnicow et al. (2000)		Bernal et al. (1995)							Barrera & Castro (2006)			
	Surface Level	Deep Level	Language	Person	Metaphor	Content	Goals	Methods	Context	Information Gathering	Preliminary Adaptation	Preliminary Adaptation Test	Adaptation Refinement
Gross et al. (2009)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Parra- Cardona et al. (2017)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Coard et al. (2007)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Martinez & Eddy (2005)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Brotman et al. (2001)	✓	✓	✓	50/50	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Webster-Stratton et al. (2001)	✓		✓	✓						✓			

Approach to Adaptation

Three studies gave detailed explanations describing the process to adapt the base model (Gross et al., 2009; Martinez & Eddy, 2005; Parra-Cardona et al., 2017); one study provided some information regarding the approach (Coard et al., 2007) and the Webster-Stratton et al. (2001) study did not provide any details. ParentCorps (Brotman et al., 2001) did not use a base model and created a new intervention; some details were provided. Base models were chosen for several different reasons which included having a tested track record of efficacy with a universal audience, core components that aligned with the cultural values of the group, or flexibility to facilitate seamless integration of desired additions.

The three programs providing the greatest amount of information regarding their approach to adaptation utilized grounded, iterative, multilayered approaches. The approaches incorporated the input of a combination of researchers, community leaders and stakeholders that

reflected the target population to steer development of the program (Gross et al., 2009; Martinez & Eddy, 2005; Parra-Cardona et al., 2017). Their feedback would entail key ideas and perspectives regarding target subgroups, the issues that most affected them as well as their assessments on the relevance, feasibility and efficacy of the program.

Community engagement and feedback mechanisms took on slightly different forms with each study. Researchers employed parent advisory groups (Gross et al., 2009), focus groups (Martinez & Eddy, 2005), and the more traditional CBPR methods (Parra-Cardona et al., 2017). Brotman et al.'s (2001) study utilized input from teachers, parents and the community; however, the mechanism by which feedback was received was not specified. Coard et al.'s (2007) study did not indicate the use of community input during program development but, extensive research and studies about Black parenting and racial socialization were conducted and findings were woven into the intervention. Apart from the Webster-Stratton et al. (2001) study, all approaches consisted of the top-down and bottom up strategies described by Lee, Vu and Lau (2013).

Intervention Outcomes

All programs within this study were described as preventative programs. Each resulted in increased positive parent, child or teacher measures and decreases in negative outputs for those groups. All studies experienced high retention rates and participant satisfaction; the lowest retention rate was observed with the IYP evaluated by Webster-Stratton et al. (2001). Three studies completed assessments after program completion at the six month and one-year markers. All post intervention assessments illustrated that positive outcomes were maintained. It was also noted that dosage (the number of sessions attended) had an influence on the level of effectiveness observed with participants. Researchers posited that those parents that attended the most sessions or remained in the program to completion were the parents that were at highest

risk or whose children were highest risk at the baseline assessments, therefore, they experienced the biggest differentials from baseline to completion. Martinez and Eddy (2005) found that youth nativity (US born vs. foreign born) also played a role in results; however, their study was not designed to test for this factor and further analysis was not completed.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Discussion

The current study looked to assess the impact of adaptations on the outcomes of parenting interventions as well as understand how the process of adaptation could be enhanced to strengthen such interventions for long term impact. Based on my analysis, several observations were noted, and some recommendations were developed. Published research supports the idea that parenting programs, regardless of whether they are the standard or modified versions, are generally successful in attaining positive outcomes for both parent and child (Piquero et al., 2009). My findings aligned with the literature in that, the adapted interventions were all relatively successful at improving the effectiveness of parenting practices and decreasing adverse child conduct.

Many of the studies implemented both surface and deep level adaptations to appeal more directly to the target audience. In the five studies that made the most modifications to the base model, only three made significant changes to the curriculum that directly related to ethnicity and the cultural practices, issues and challenges unique to that group (Coard et al., 2007; Martinez & Eddy, 2005; Parra-Cardona et al., 2017). The remaining two created tailored interventions that were designed to be more universal; thus, cultural aspects were only infused during group discussions about general topics and concepts despite the solicitation of input from parents and community stakeholders (Brotman et al., 2001; Gross et al., 2009). These two programs also took place in a school setting which may be an indication that an “adapted universal” program may work best for interventions implemented in spaces where selectivity is restricted. The inclusion of explicit cultural components and modifications such as direct

messaging and ethnic matching of facilitators was best suited for programming that occurred in neutral settings that support selectivity.

The study designed by Parra-Cardona et al. (2017) was the best example to examine the effect of adaptation because it evaluated two differently adapted interventions against each other and a waitlist control. The CAPAS-Original (CA) only made surface level adaptations to the PMTO model and the CAPAS- Enhanced (CE) was comprised of the CA plus two sessions on biculturalism and immigration. In comparing the adapted programs to each other results showed that there were high levels of satisfaction with the core components of the program of both interventions and minimal differences were observed in parenting outcomes at the 6 months follow up. As it relates to child outcomes, parents in the CE reported significant changes in child internalizing behavior while those reporting from the CA never reached statistical significance. Interestingly, only fathers in the CE reported any statistically significant changes in child externalizing behavior. Researchers attributed this occurrence to differences in observations made by parents because of gender and other cultural variables. Overall, I interpreted findings from this study to be evidence that utilizing a proven standard intervention as the foundation of an adapted intervention is key. I also observed that the use of cultural components that directly relate to the client could be expanded and enhanced to provide more focused content on mitigating future delinquency.

Unfortunately, as the literature attests, it was difficult to assess and calculate the impact of the individual adaptations on program outcomes. All but one program (ParentCorps) used established base models as their core which made it difficult to determine the extent to which the adaptation made a difference. Though ParentCorps was a newly formed intervention, the assessment of its adaptations was thwarted due to the limited information provided about its

development. Ironically, this barrier helps support some researchers' claim that standard parenting interventions are effective for low income groups and people of color because a clear distinction was not possible. Nevertheless, I also feel that culturally adapted interventions can relate to and impact specific groups on a deeper level than just parenting in its most basic form.

Analysis of the process of program development and adaptation shows that it is beneficial to include the perspectives of many voices, especially people from the community that may work with the target population and people who directly represent that group. Most of the studies were successful in doing that; however, there was one group that was noticeably absent from the process- youth. Understandably, it may not be feasible to solicit feedback from younger youth, but it could be worthwhile to gain insights directly from youth that are important factors in program interventions. Widening the source of feedback would allow for the discovery of different types of culturally specific content and material deemed important from a youth perspective and could impact how lessons are designed for parents. Older youth and adolescents especially could help researchers more closely connect existing core and adapted curriculum to their day to day experiences and potential involvement in delinquent or violent behavior and activities.

Furthermore, increasing the amount of adapted material in interventions could aid in creating the direct linkage to delinquency and violence prevention. The cultural adaptations described in these studies did not go far enough especially since its proven how socioeconomic factors greatly contribute to poor parenting and child conduct problems. Serious thought should be given towards addressing youth violence and delinquency more directly with parents as well as providing guidance to mitigate latent development of such behavior post intervention. More emphasis on real-time stressors that lead to the development of negative social behaviors in

youth and illustration of pathways that are proven reduce risks for youth like education and sustainable employment. The infusion of practical material and guidance in conjunction with the core curriculum could create more substantial long-term impacts for parents and their children.

Recommendations

As Piquero et al. (2009) noted and my study corroborates, most parenting interventions do not have child outcomes as the central focus. As a result, many interventions are geared toward parents with youth under five, who are often not those experiencing prevalent behavioral issues, which positions parental skills as the primary objective and program design follows suite. Locating interventions for parents with older youth was extremely challenging therefore, increasing the quantity and evaluation of interventions for parents with older youth and youth at transitional stages is critical. This could potentially help parents and youth sustain positive practices by providing support during the ages when youth begin to explore.

There are a few other recommendations that would assist in increased understanding of the development and impact of culturally adapted parenting programs. Making standardization of metrics measured and reported a requirement for publication across the field would allow for comparative analyses of interventions. Individual studies would still have their own focus and objectives but providing enough detail about the process of program development especially adaptations would be invaluable to begin filling the gaps. Additionally, the development of more studies of differently adapted programs would provide the opportunity to understand the impact of specific types of adaptations. Finally, to fully gauge long term effects longitudinal studies are needed to track outcomes post intervention.

Limitations

The results from this study cannot be generalized to account for the effectiveness of

culturally adapted programs across all races and ethnicities. Also, this study will not provide evidence of a causal relationship between culturally adapted programs and their effectiveness for low income, ethnic populations. The researcher cannot account for the quality of studies conducted which include participant selection, data collection and reported, outcomes and other factors that may have influenced results.

Conclusion

Though this study did not provide conclusive evidence about the impacts that cultural adaptations have on outcomes for parents and children, the analysis of these six studies have added to the knowledge base illustrating that culturally adapted interventions are effective for low income, ethnic populations. It also shed some insight onto whether parenting interventions could eventually be utilized as a violence prevention strategy. Though, to get to that point, further development and bolstering of the intervention with additional components and supportive services is needed. As more new interventions are developed and research is published, new information will lead to fuller understanding and more impactful programming for individuals and communities in need.

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Appendices

Appendix A	40
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Appendix A

Table 1- Study Characteristics

Study	Intervention/ Program Name; Base Model	Location	Target Population/Group; Child's Age; # of Sessions; Setting	Sample size; Racial breakdown	Design & Comparison Group(s)	Assessment Intervals & Results
Gross et al. (2009)	Chicago Parent Program (CPP); <i>Incredible Years Program-Basic</i>	Chicago	Parents with children enrolled in day centers serving low income families; 2-4; 12; school-based incl. teacher assessments	253; 59% AA, 33% L, 4% W	RCT; Intervention vs. waitlist control	(pre, post, 6m, 1yr) 87% retention rate, high participant satisfaction. At 1yr, parents used less corporal punishment; reduction in child behavior issues. Increased dosage resulted in greater changes
Parra-Cardona et al. (2017)	CAPAS-Original / Enhanced; <i>PMTO</i>	Detroit	Low income first generation Spanish-speaking Latina/o immigrant families; 4-12; 12; Community-based	103; 100% L	RCT; Intervention-2 (CA, CE) vs waitlist control	(pre, post, 6m) 82% retention, high satisfaction. Significant improvements in parenting skills in CA and CE vs control. CE: lower child internalizing behaviors vs control at 6m
Coard et al. (2007)	Black Parenting Strengths and Strategies (BPSS); <i>PSWC</i>	North and Southeast (US)	Low income African American parents; 5-6; 12; Community-based	30; 100% AA	RCT- ran twice; Intervention vs waitlist control (ran twice)	(pre, post) 88% retention (100% for intervention); Parents reported high satisfaction with content and delivery. Treatment group displayed increased racial socialization strategies, positive parenting practices and reductions in harsh discipline and child conduct problems
Martinez & Eddy (2005)	Nuestras Familias; <i>PMT</i>	US	Low income 2 parent Spanish-speaking Latino immigrant parents of middle school children at risk of problem behaviors; 11-13; 12; Community-based	66; 100% L	RCT- ran twice; Intervention vs control	(pre, post) 90% retention; high levels of satisfaction. Increases in positive parenting skills and reductions in negative child behaviors. Youth nativity status influenced outcomes for both parent and child
Brotman et al. (2001)	ParentCorps; <i>No base model</i>	NYC	Parents of children enrolled in federally subsidized Pre-K in schools in large urban districts; 4; 13, School-based incl. teacher facilitators + assessments	171; 39% AA, 24% L, 13% W, 12% A	RCT; Intervention vs control (ran twice)	(pre, post) 95% retention. Improvement in parenting and child behavior. Results improved w/ dosage. Similar results observed across risk levels for Black and Latino families. Increased dosage increased positive results
Webster-Stratton et al. (2001)	Incredible Years Parenting Program	US	Mothers of children enrolled in day centers (Head Start) for low income families; 4; 12 (4 boosters in year 2); School-based and home based option incl. teacher training component + assessments	292; 19% AA, 18% L, 37% W, 22% A	RCT; Intervention vs control	(pre, post, 1yr) 74% retention; high parent satisfaction. Intervention mothers had significantly lower negative parenting and children had lowered negative results than control. Higher dosage increased these results. Observations maintained at 1 year.

AA= African American/Black L= Latina/o W= White/Non-Hispanic A=Asian