



Fatherhood
Research
& Practice
Network

Two Generation Strategies to Engage and Serve
Low-Income Fathers, October 3, 2017

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Who is FRPN?



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Overview of FRPN

- Five-year, \$4.8 million cooperative agreement to Temple University/CPR
- Funding by U.S. DHHS, ACF, Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, October 2013-September 2018
- Targets fatherhood researchers & programs serving low-income fathers (OFA and non-OFA grantees, state fatherhood commissions, CBOs, programs funded by TANF, child welfare & child support)



Fatherhood Research And Practice Network

#1

Promote
Rigorous
Evaluation

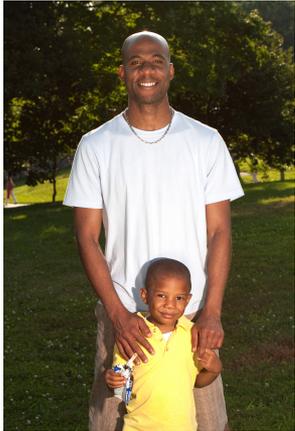
#2

Build
Evaluation
Capacity

#3

Disseminate
Information





Why a Webinar on Two-Generation Approaches?

- Research shows that children benefit when fathers are involved in their lives.
- Growing interest in 2Gen approaches to reducing poverty (e.g, Two-Generation State Policy Network--National Governors Association and CLASP)--involving mothers & children
- Fatherhood programs struggle to enroll, engage and retain low-income, non-resident fathers in services that aim to improve their parenting abilities and positive engagement
- 2Gen approaches may be more appealing to fathers than traditional class formats
- 2Gen approaches provide opportunities for fathers to practice & staff to observe and work on fathers' interactions with children
- Some experiments with non-traditional, activity-based parenting-class formats that involve fathers and children are showing promising results for both

Presenters



Rachel Barr, Ph.D.

Professor of Psychology, Georgetown University
Just Beginnings (aka “Baby Elmo”)



Terry Harrak

Just Beginnings Program Manager,
Youth Law Center, San Francisco
Just Beginning (aka “Baby Elmo”)



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Professor of Health, Behavior and Health Education and
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The Fathers and Sons Program



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The Coaching Our Acting-Out Children



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Terry HARRAK

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Youth Law Center, San Francisco

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Just Beginning Program

Two- generational parenting intervention

Rachel Barr and Terry Harrak

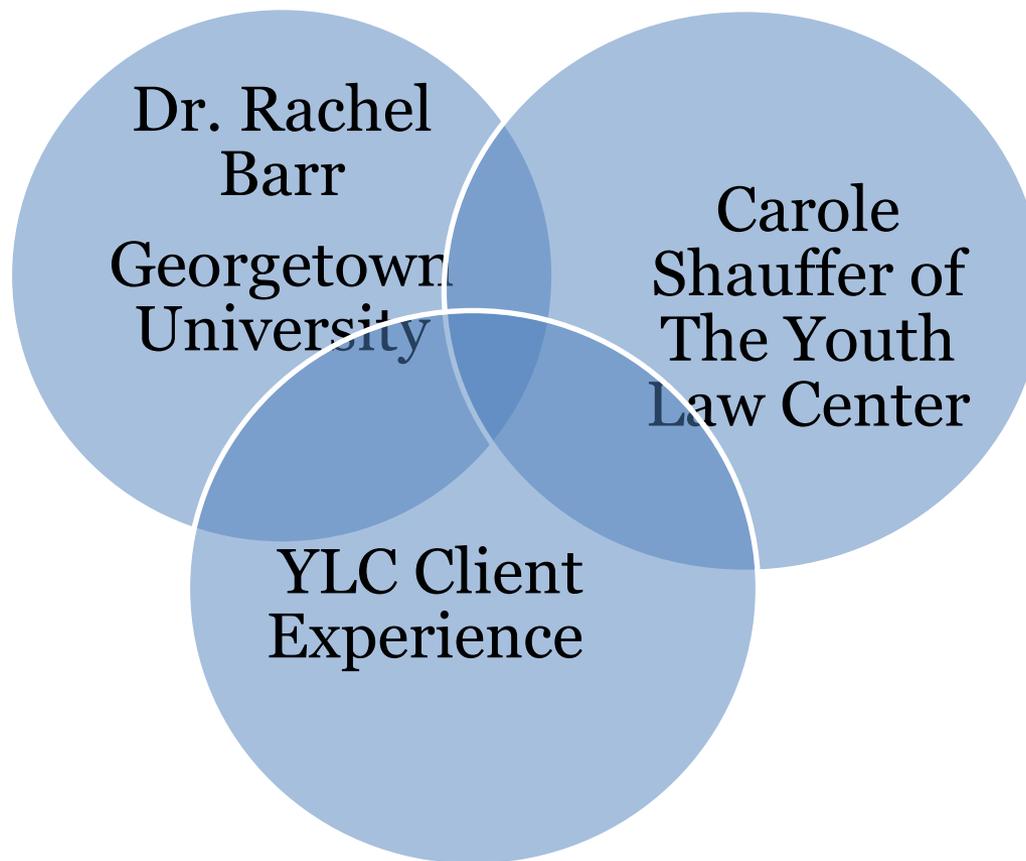


justbeginning



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

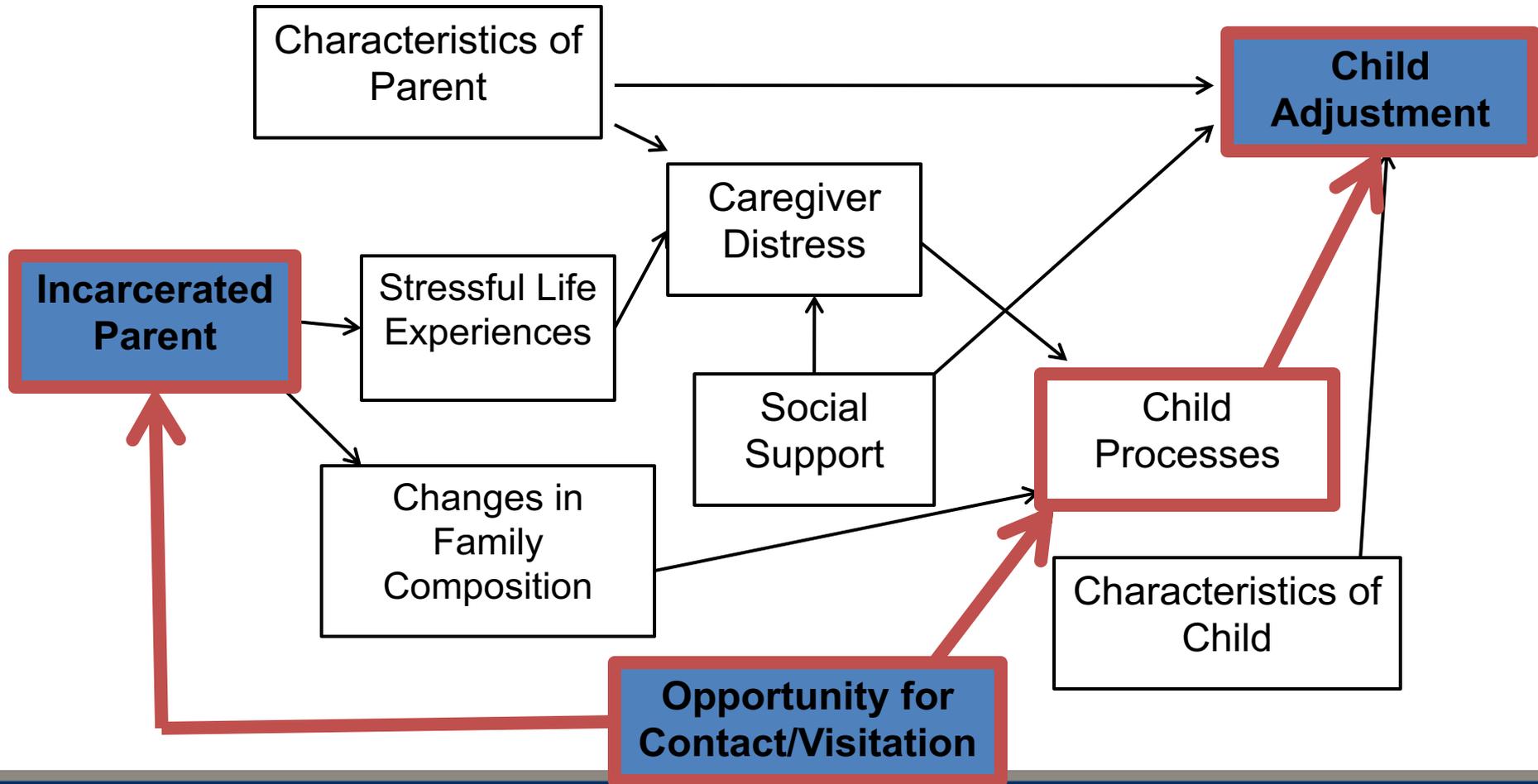
Developed By



Identified Need: Incarcerated Parents

- ~2.5 million children in the U.S. have a parent in prison
- **92%** of incarcerated parents are fathers. (King et al., 2015)
- Estimates of **20 to 30%** of all incarcerated **teen males** are fathers (Nurse, 2002)
- This is a 2-generational problem.
 - Children of incarcerated parents are at higher risk of negative outcomes including delinquency.

Child Adjustment After Parental Incarceration



Research base: Influence of fathers on infant development

- Fatherhood involvement associated with better **social and cognitive outcomes** (Cabrera, Tamis-Lemonda, Bradley, Hofferth & Lamb, 2000; Stone & McKenry, 1998)
- Sensitive, supportive fathering practices are associated with positive infant cognitive outcomes
- Four domains are associated with positive outcomes:
 - Cognitively Stimulating Activities
 - Physical play
 - Warmth
 - Caregiving Activities

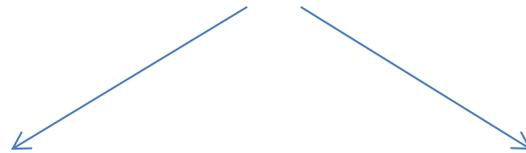
Origin of the Program

Just Beginning combines three factors:

- An identified need for teen fathers and children to interact
- Building body of research on the critical importance of fathers for positive child outcomes
- Research showing that active and engaged learning leads to better learning and retention

Overview of Just Beginning

Just Beginning gives fathers the tools and skills to develop a positive relationship with their baby and maintain that relationship.



Parenting classes that focus on relationship skill building and use video to illustrate key concepts

Parent-child play sessions to try out the key concepts.

Description of the Program



Intervention design

- Changing environment and training facilitators
- Parent training sessions
 - Lessons broken down
 - Use of Media
- Parent-child visits
- Post-session debrief



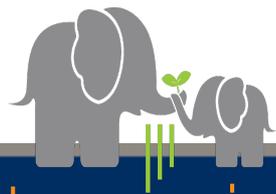
Make a Space for Play Sessions



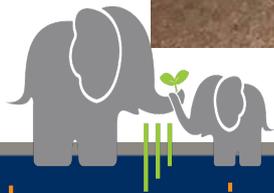
Before



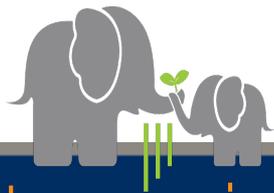
After



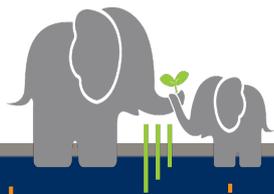
Pop-up Play Space



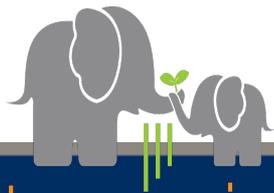
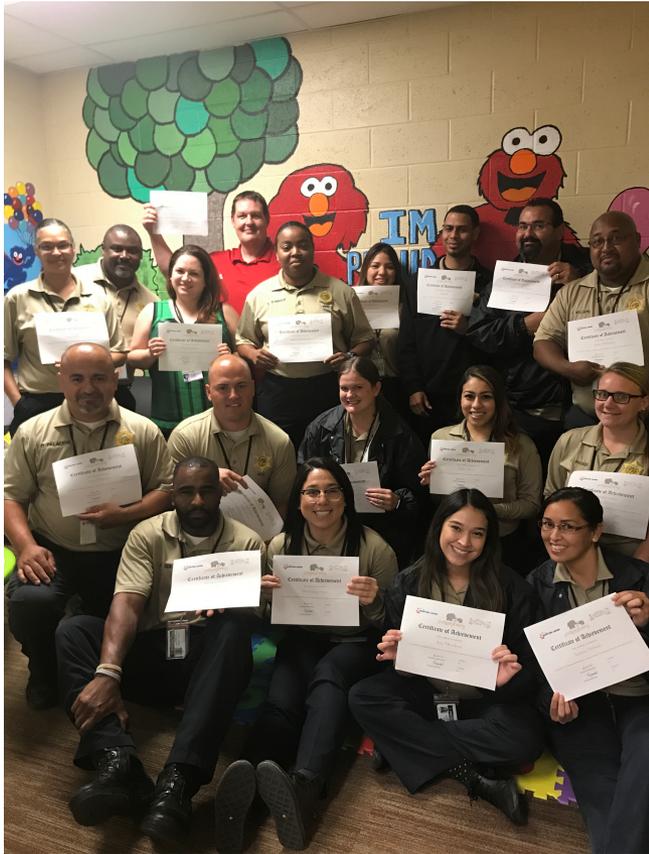
Engaging Fathers in Play Space Creation



Space Impact on Staff



Staff Training

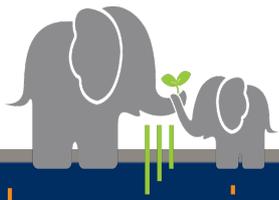
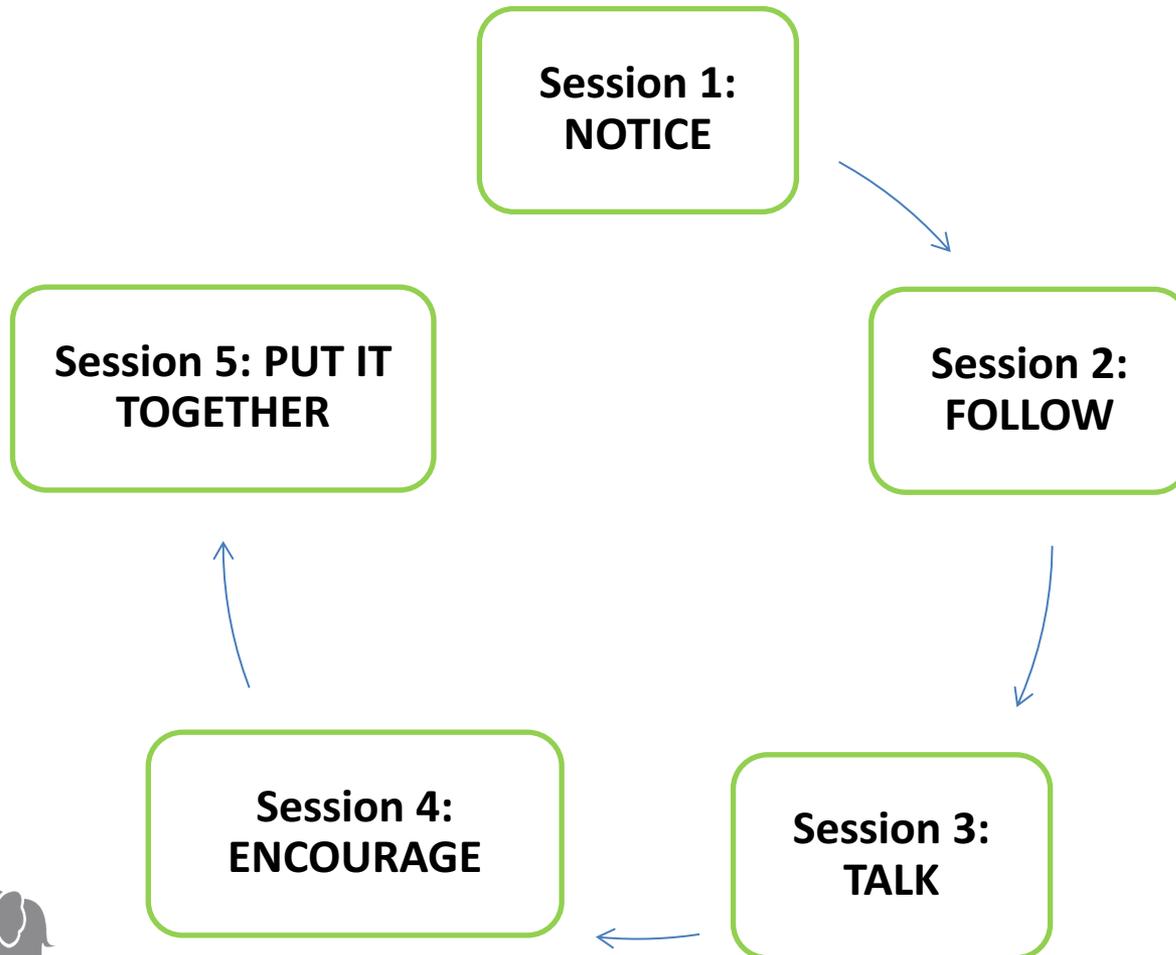


Intervention Design

- Changing environment and training facilitators
- Parent training sessions
 - Lessons broken down
 - Use of Media
- Parent-child visits
- Post-session debrief and facilitator workshop

Overview

Goal: Relationship formation and communication



Using Media in Parenting Programs

Interventions that include educational video components are effective for adolescent parents and parents from low income backgrounds.
(Cohen, Barlow, & Stewart-Brown, 2003)

Interventions need to combine media and active interaction and feedback.

(Sharry, Guerin, Griffin, & Drumm, 2005; Heubner & Meltzoff, 2005)

Parent Training Model

- “Sesame Beginnings” video provides modeling of appropriate parent-infant interaction styles



Intervention Design

- Changing environment and training staff
- Parent training sessions
- Parent-child visits
- Post-session debrief and facilitators workshop







During the play session

The parent

- Interacts with child using the skills discussed in the session

The facilitator

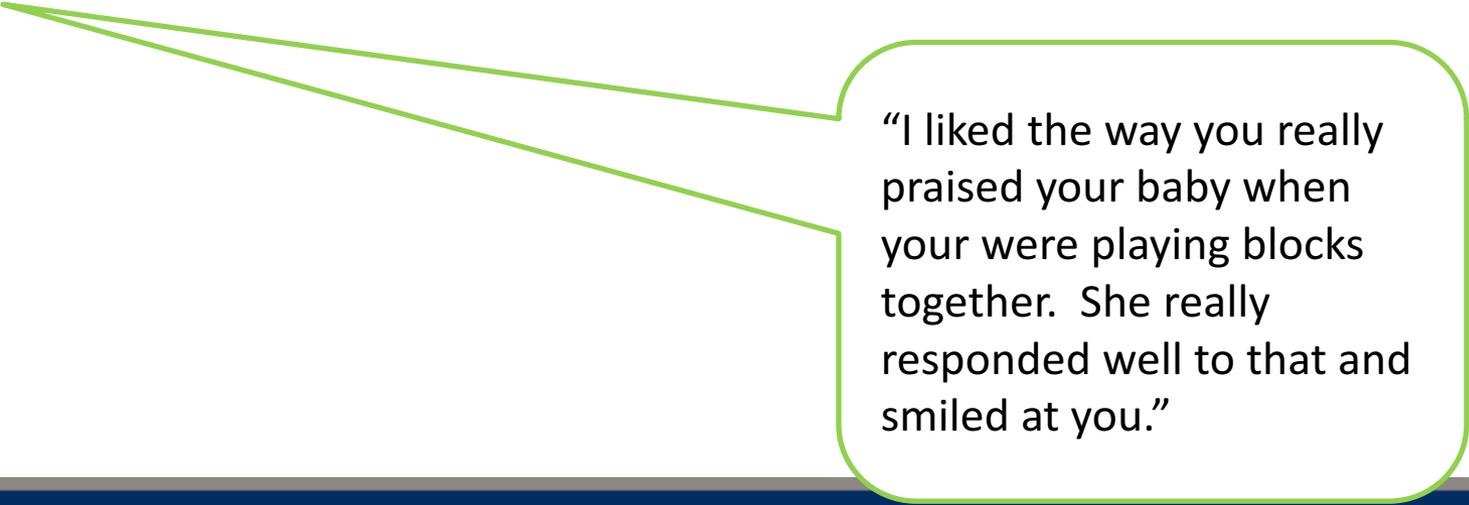
- Notes specific examples of weekly skills in play session checklist

Intervention Design

- Changing environment and training staff
- Parent training sessions
- Parent-child visits
- Post-session debrief

Post-Session Debrief

- This is the place to offer helpful tips and positive feedback from the checklist.
- Start and end with a positive note that emphasizes what the father has been learning.



“I liked the way you really praised your baby when you were playing blocks together. She really responded well to that and smiled at you.”

Intervention Design

- Changing the environment to set the stage for learning
- Lessons broken down into easily understood topics and activities
- Media provides clear audio-visual examples
- Hands-on learning: Play sessions with child offer opportunities to practice key skills acquired during sessions

Outcome



Jacob Guerrero
Just Beginning Graduate / Texas Can Academy Graduate

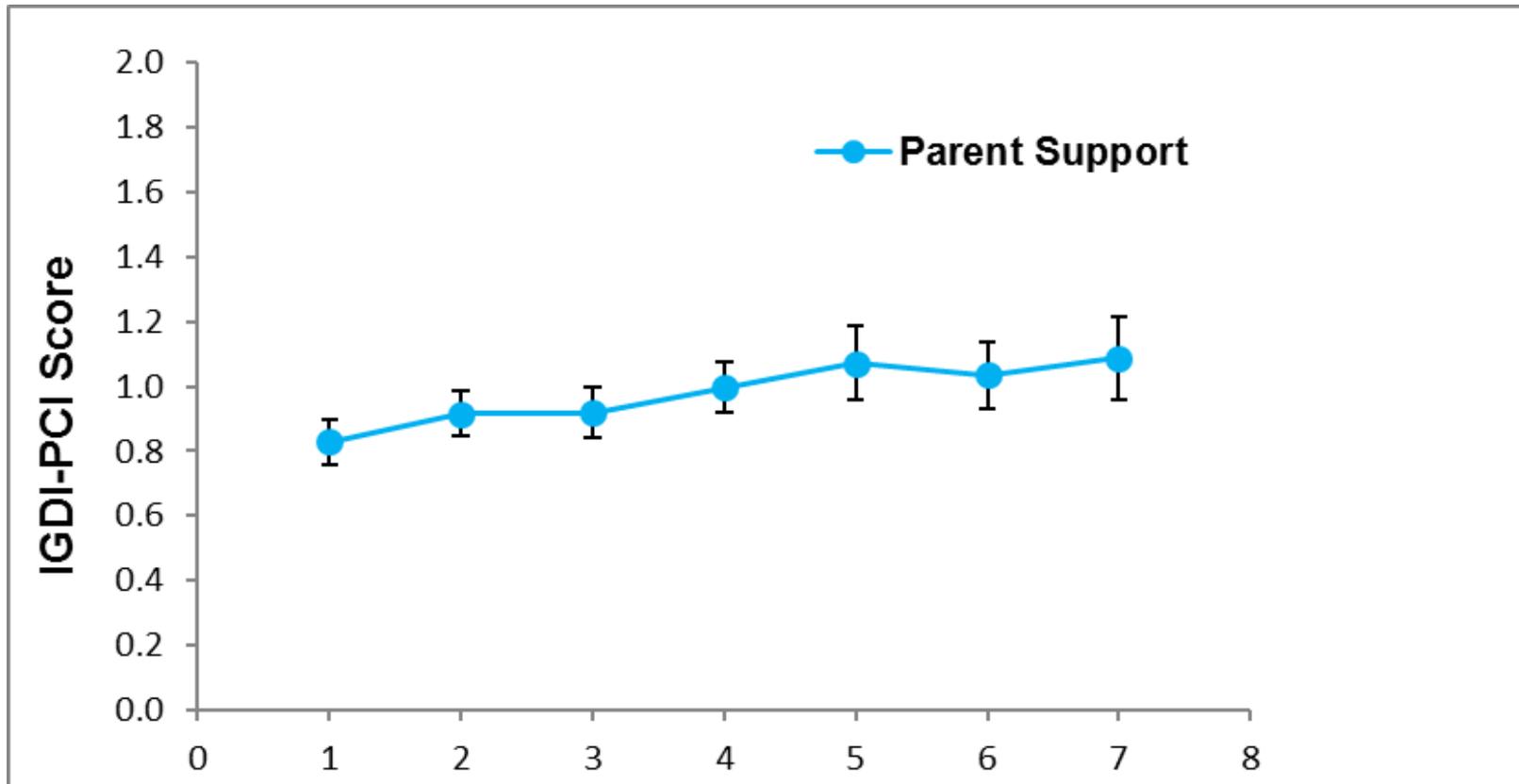
Evaluation Findings



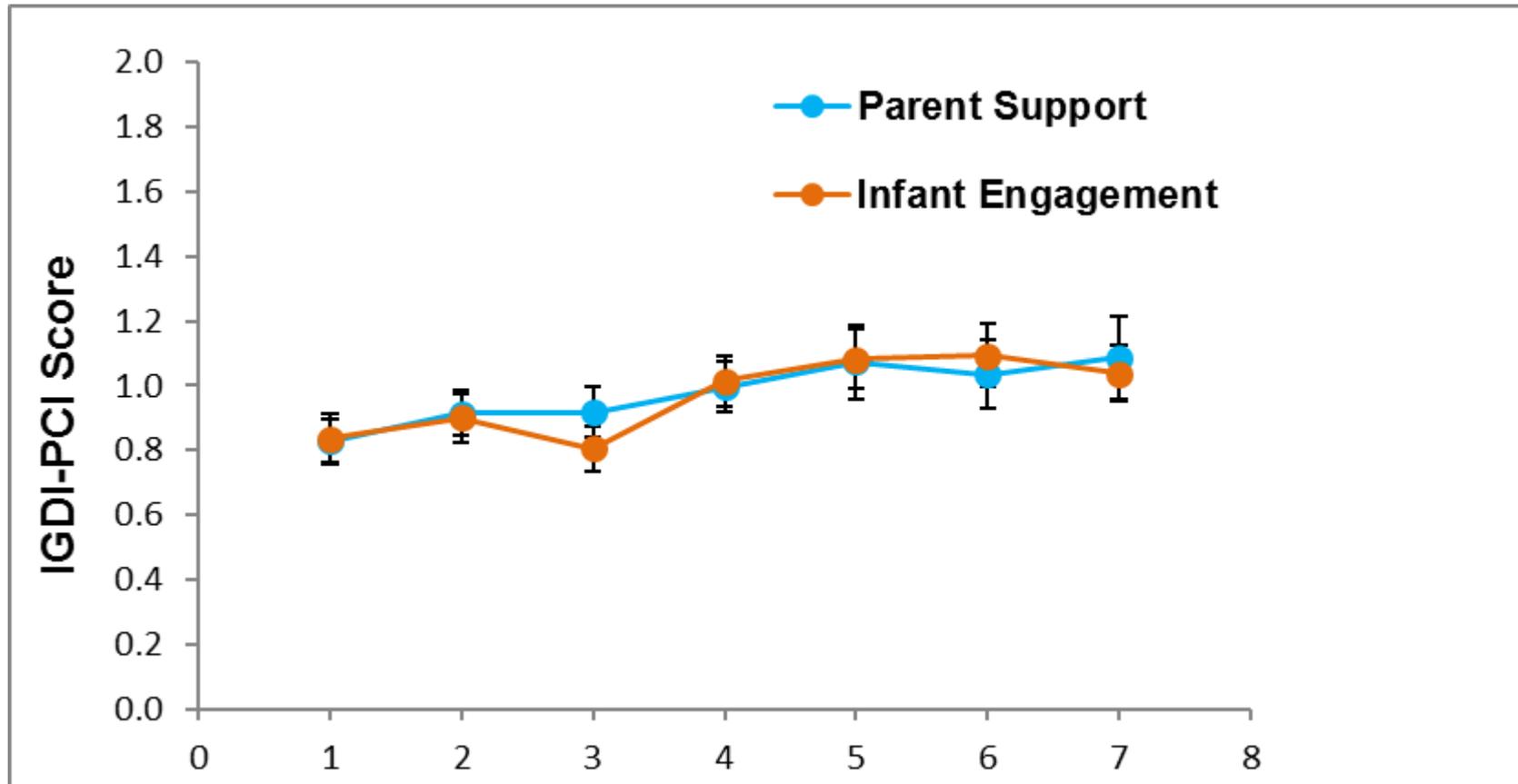
Infant Growth and Development Indicators—Parent Child Interaction (IGDI-PCI)

Parent Support Behaviors	
Play Skills	Introducing materials or interacting in a novel manner to maintain and/or extend the child's focus without disrupting the child's attention.
Follow the lead	Noticing what interests the child and either commenting on the child's interest or joining in the same activity without interrupting the behavior.
Talk	Comments that both label and connect objects and actions or connect nouns and adjectives.
Encourage	Smiling at child, making positive comment to or about child, providing gentle affectionate touch, agreeing with child, indicating child's behavior is correct, thanking the child, praising child's effort.

Parent support



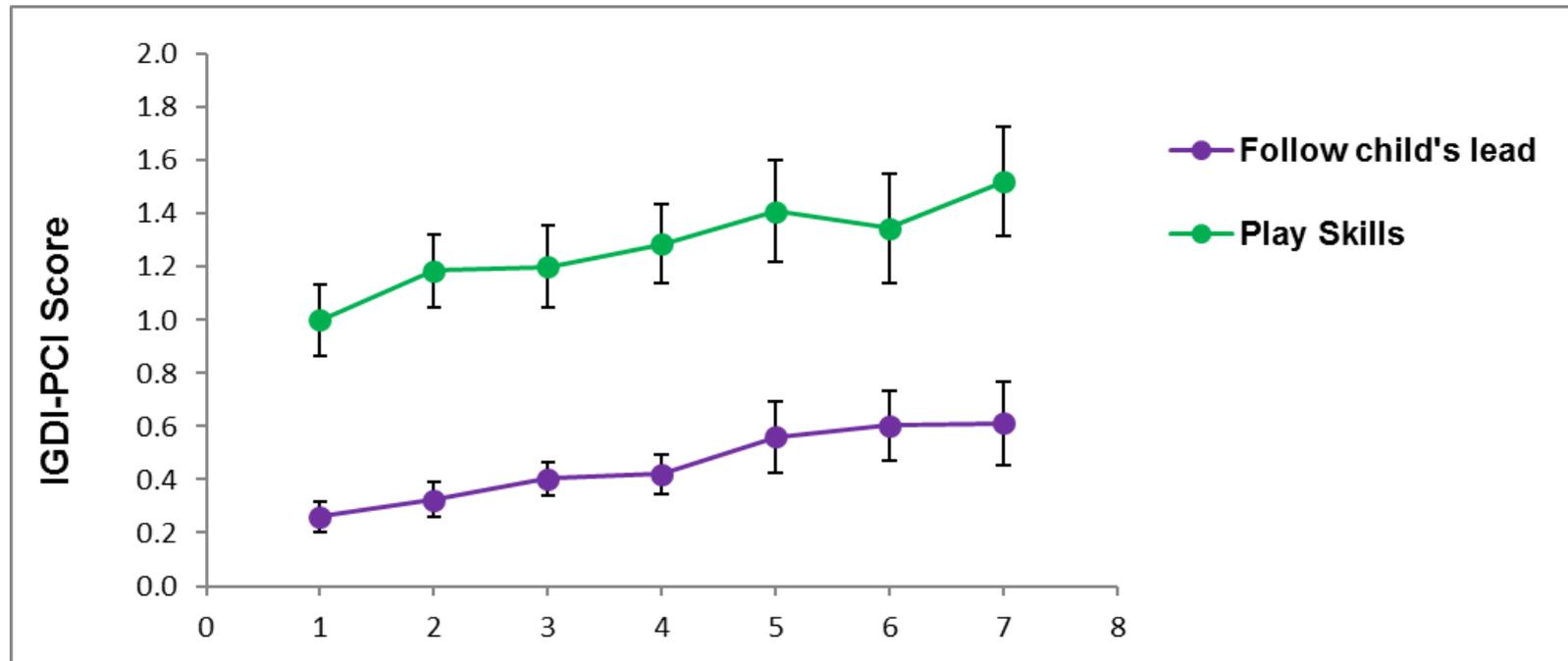
Parents and infants



Infant Growth and Development Indicators—Parent Child Interaction (IGDI-PCI)

Parent Support Behaviors	
Play Skills	Introducing materials or interacting in a novel manner to maintain and/or extend the child's focus without disrupting the child's attention.
Follow the lead	Noticing what interests the child and either commenting on the child's interest or joining in the same activity without interrupting the behavior.

Follow the lead and play



Infant Growth and Development Indicators—Parent Child Interaction (IGDI-PCI)

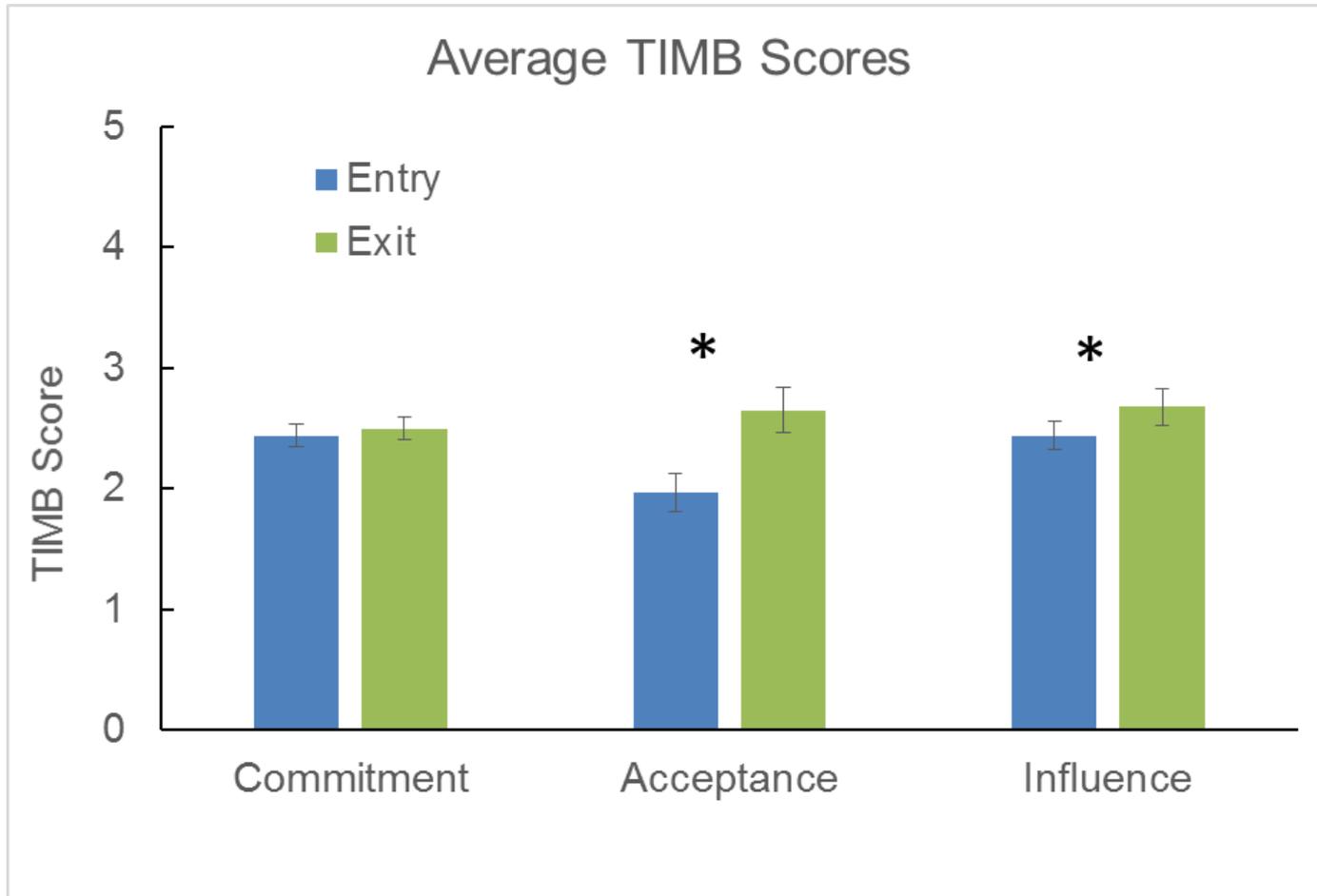
Parent Support Behaviors	
Talk	Comments that both label and connect objects and actions or connect nouns and adjectives.
Encourage	Smiling at child, making positive comment to or about child, providing gentle affectionate touch, agreeing with child, indicating child's behavior is correct, thanking the child, praising child's effort.

“This Is My Baby” (TIMB)

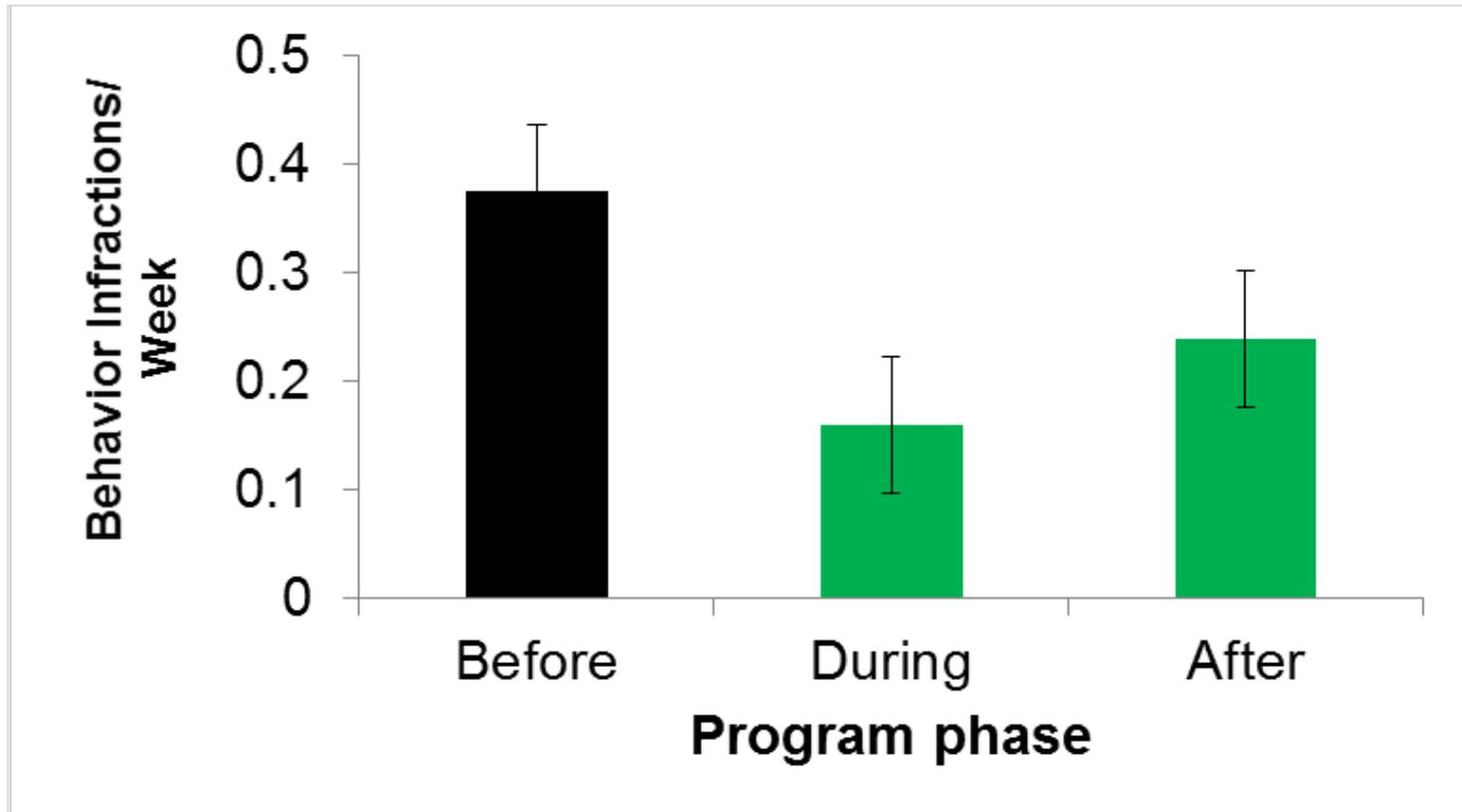
Will parent attitude toward his/her parenting involvement improve?

- Semi-structured interview measuring:
 - Parent commitment to child
 - Parent acceptance of child
 - Parental influence on child

Pre- to post- TIMB scores



Behavioral change within facility



Lessons Learned

- Dads can and do learn important skills!
- Program structure is important
 - Research-based content
 - Trained facilitators and media presentations
 - Fathers have active learning via play to practice skills and receive feedback
- Training and evaluation vital
 - Onsite training
 - Fidelity maintained by remote TA assurance
 - Ongoing evaluations

Acknowledgements



- Youth Law Center and Early Learning Project Lab Members
 - Natalie Brito, Marisa Morin, Samantha Reina and Ben Richeda, Hannah Ayasse, Terry Harrak
- Grants by:
 - Georgetown University Reflective Engagement; California First Five Commissions, Van Loben Sels Rembe Rock Foundation, California Wellness Foundation, GU Reflective Engagement Initiative Grant, American Psychological Foundation Weiss Innovation Grant.
- Detention facilities :
 - Fresno county, San Bernardino county,
 - Orange county, Yolo county,
 - Santa Barbara county, Ventura County
 - Sacramento county,
 - Ohio Cuyahoga county, Indian River, Circleville
 - Dallas County



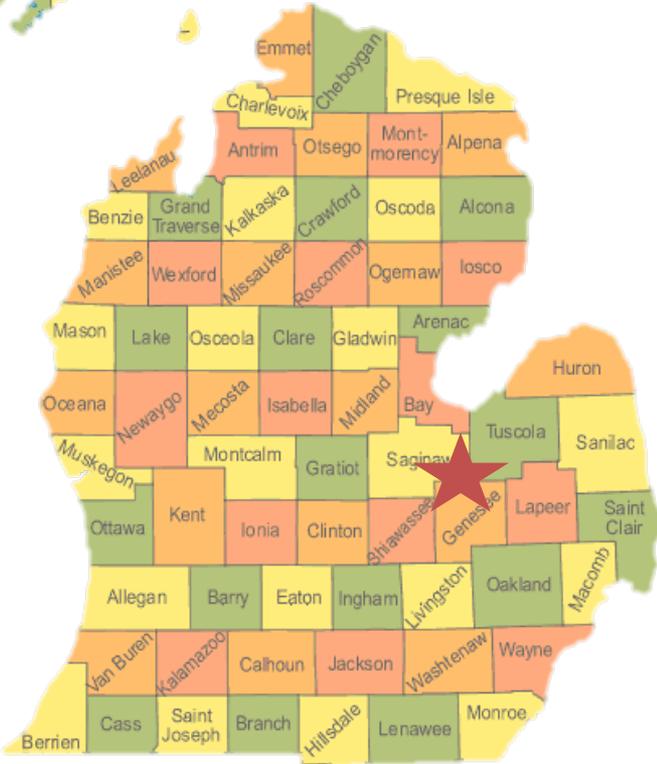
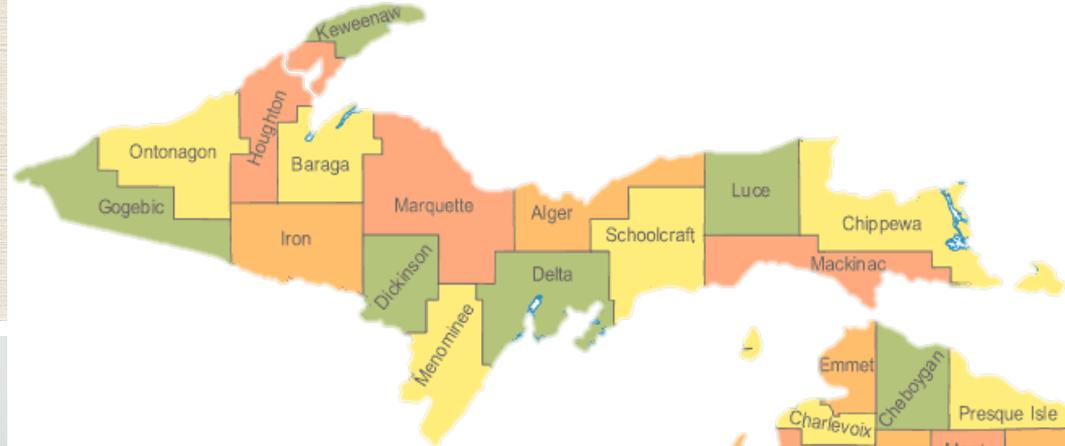
JustBeginning



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Two Generation Strategies to Engage and Serve Low-Income Fathers: The Fathers and Sons Program



The Fathers and Sons Program¹

Original Study Aims:

To strengthen bonds between nonresident African American fathers and their preadolescent sons to:

1. Prevent or reduce substance use, violent behavior and early sexual initiation among **sons** by improving **fathers' parenting behaviors**.
2. Enhance positive health behaviors among **fathers** and **sons** (i.e., physical activity; request for services)

Original Approach²



Program Design

- Quasi-experimental design
 - Intervention vs. comparison group
 - Pretest-posttest
 - 4-month follow-up
- Theoretically guided
- Intergenerational African American families
- Culture, gender & development considered



Sample

- Nonresident, African American fathers
- 8 - 12 year old sons
- 287 families
 - Intervention Group = 158 families
 - Comparison Group = 129 families

Curriculum Delivery

- 15 intervention sessions / 2 months



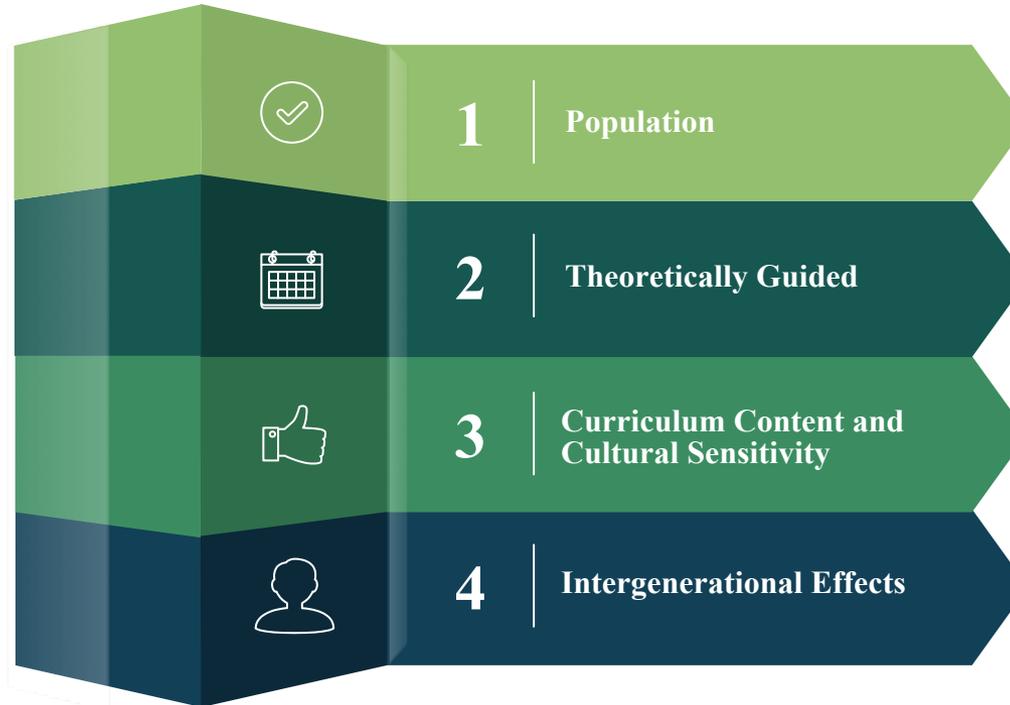
Parenting and Men's Health: The Utility of the Fathers and Sons Program³

Current RCT Study Aims:

Compared to a physical activity and nutrition control group, the *Fathers and Sons* intergenerational parenting program will:

1. Prevent or reduce risky behaviors among sons;
2. Reduce depression and substance use, and increase use of services among fathers.

Innovative Aspects



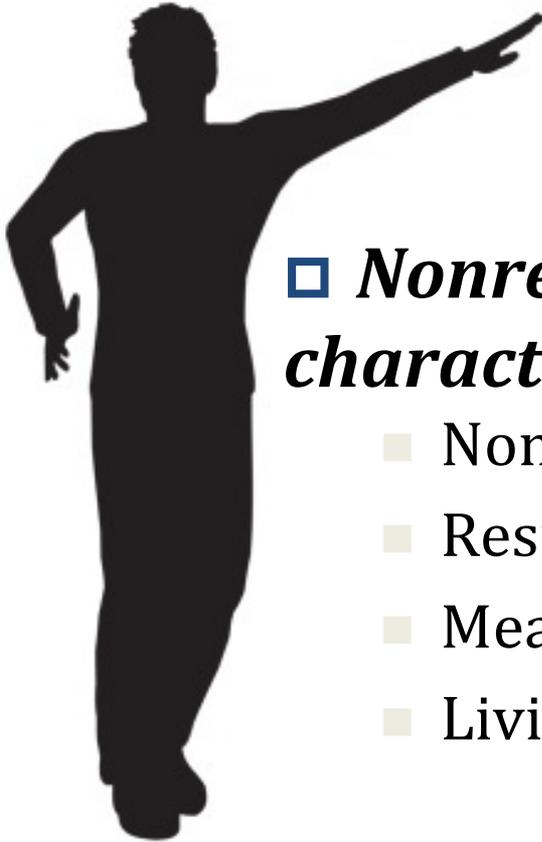
Population

□ 8-12 year old boys

□ *Nonresident fathers are not a monolithic group*

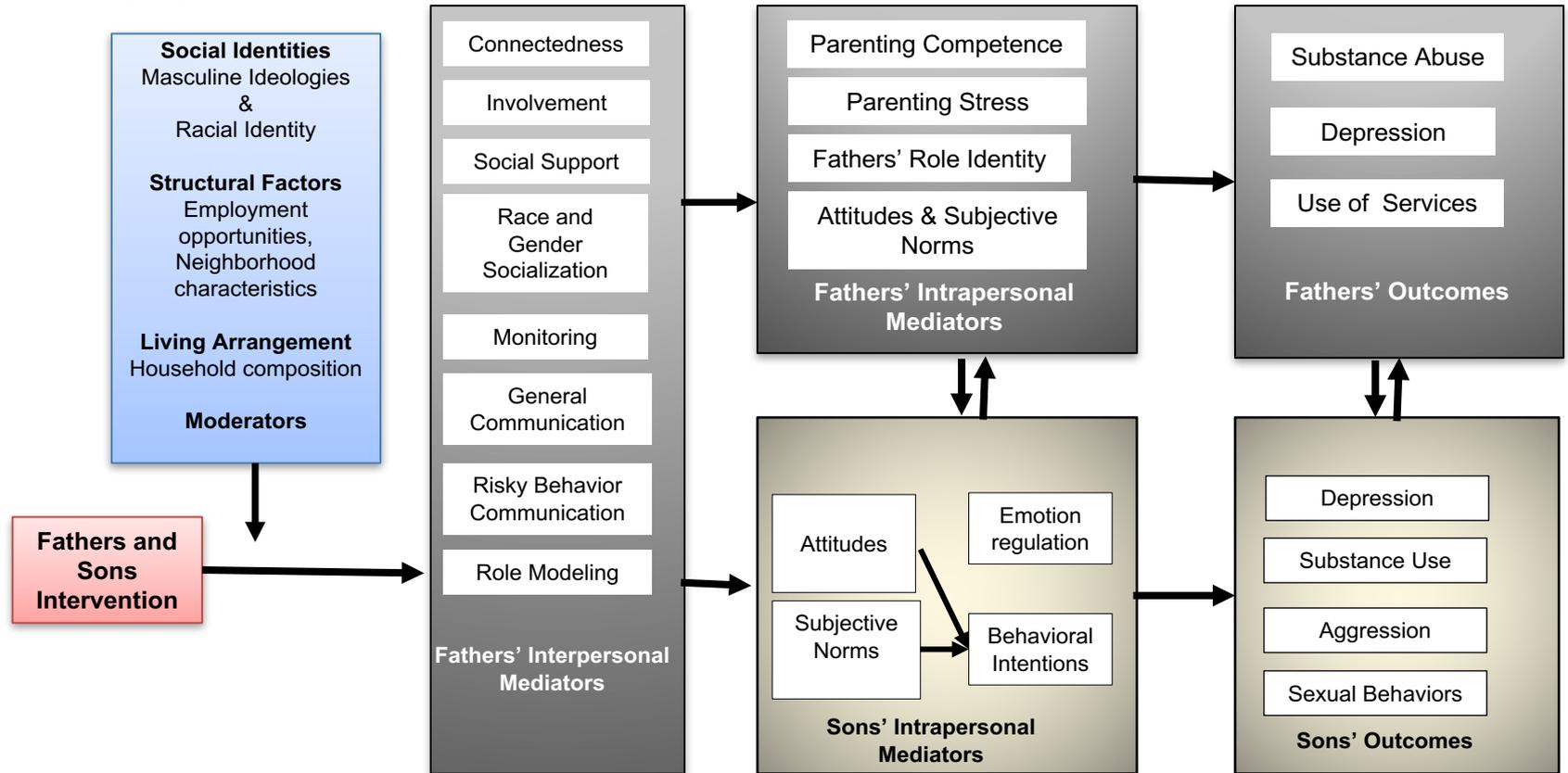
□ *Nonresident fathers' characteristics:*

- Nonresident to some children
- Resident to other children
- Meaning of family across households
- Living arrangements with sons



Intergenerational Theory-Based Curriculum³

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Flint Curriculum

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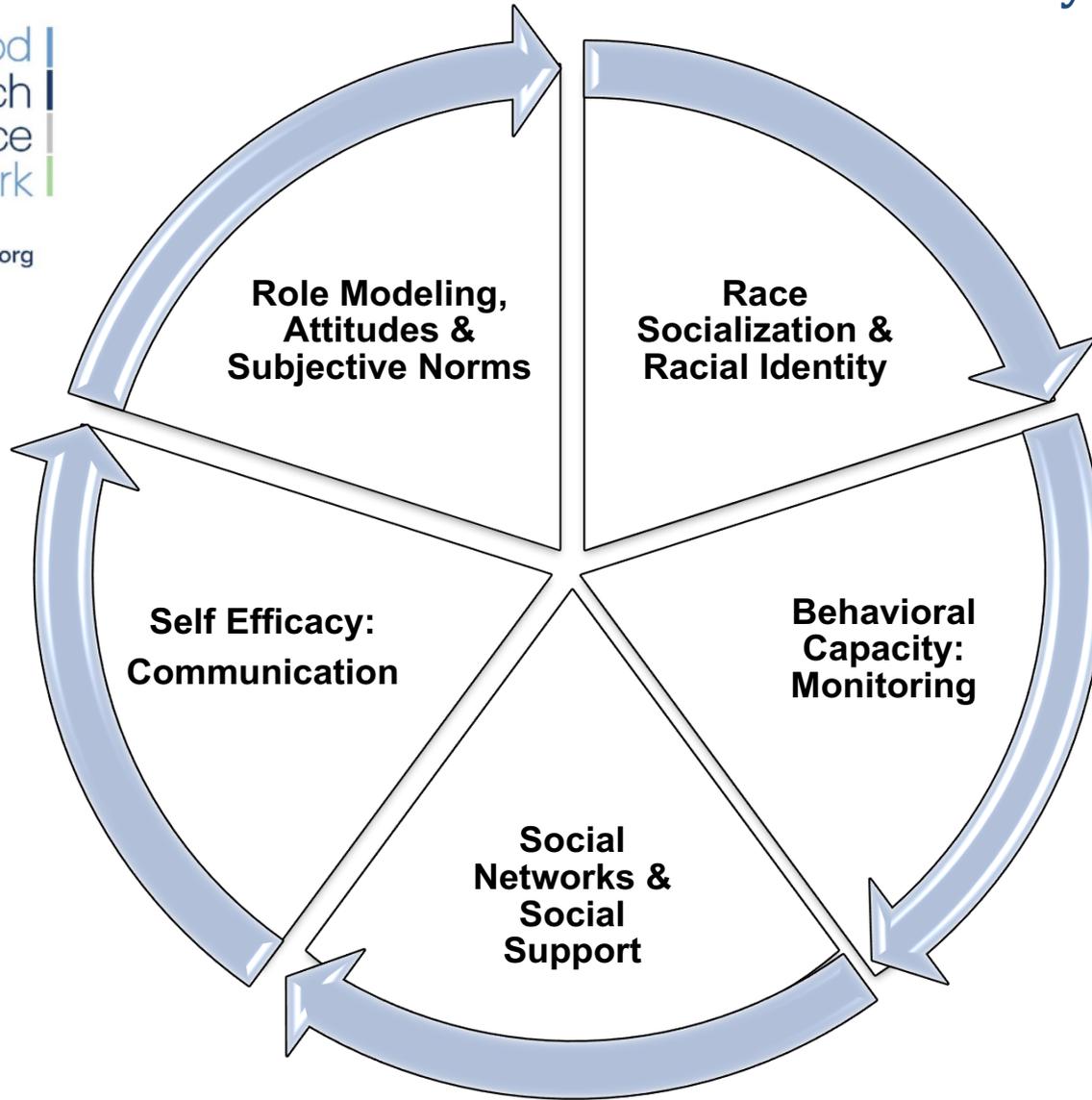
- Flint & Saginaw, MI
- 15 sessions over two months
- Total of 45 hours
 - 2 – 3 hour sessions
 - Homework assignments
 - Community events
 - Pre-post evaluation interviews
- 4-month booster session



Curriculum Content Linked to Theory

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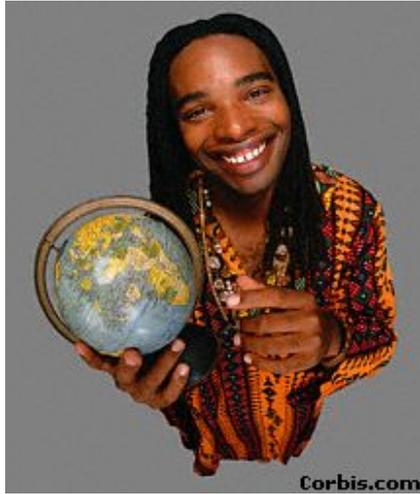
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Processes Enhanced by an Intergenerational Approach in the Fathers and Sons Parenting Program

Culturally Sensitive

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Think about your Strengths



Learn about your culture



Recognize your contributions to society



FINDINGS



Intergenerational Effects of Intervention: Sons' Outcome⁵

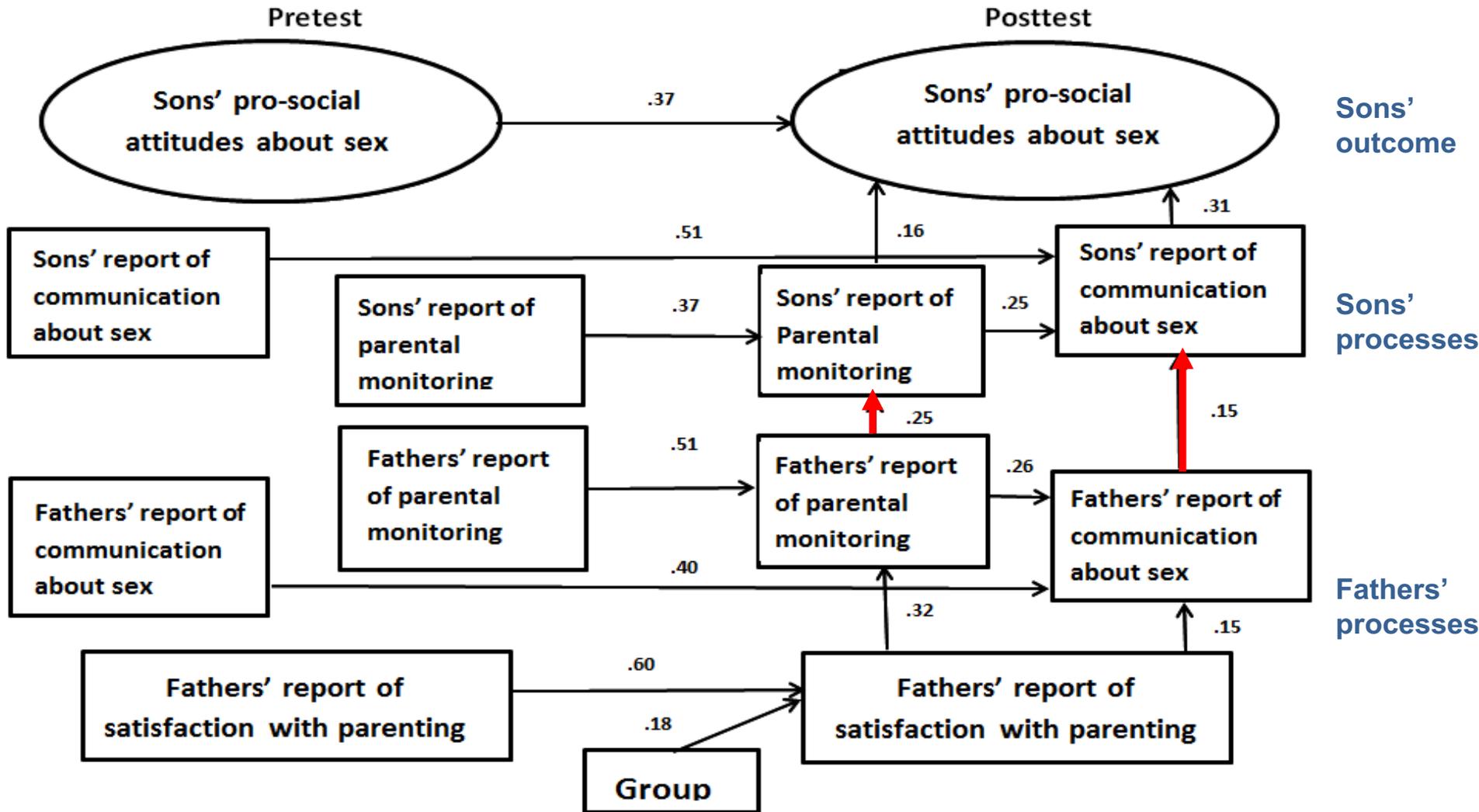
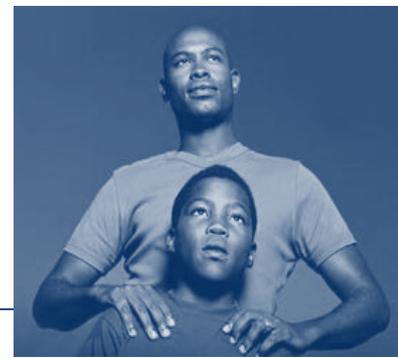


Figure 1: Structural Equation Model of Fathers' Influences on Sons' Pro-social Attitudes about Sex
 $\chi^2 = 149.230, p < .001, df=91, \chi^2 / df = 1.640, CFI = .964, RMSEA = .043$

More Intervention Findings for Sons

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- Improving **risky behavior communication** in fathers linked to sons':
 - Intentions to avoid **risky behaviors** generally
 - Intentions to avoid early **sexual debut**
 - **Racial socialization** messages recalled⁵
- Improving nonresident fathers' **communication about risky behaviors** associated with less aggressive behaviors in sons.⁶
- Increasing father-son **contact**, improving father-son **relationships**, and, enhancing fathers' **intentions to exercise** associated with more intentions to exercise among sons.⁷
- No direct effect** on these outcomes for sons.



Intergenerational Effects: Fathers' Outcomes

- ❑ After intervention fathers reported *fewer depressive symptoms*.⁸

- ❑ Having a **good relationship** with son linked to:
 - less depressive symptoms* &
 - less drinking*for fathers.^{9, 10, 11}

- ❑ A good **co-parenting** relationship with mothers **x** more **cultural masculinity ideology** was associated with *more depressive symptoms* for nonresident African American fathers.⁹

Conclusions

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- ❑ Nonresident African American fathers can improve their parenting skills in a family-centered program that involves their sons.^{12, 13}
- ❑ Cultural sensitivity is critical for creating a safe environment for father-son participation in intergenerational programming with other families.¹⁴
- ❑ Involving fathers and sons in programs together can improve outcomes for both fathers and sons.
- ❑ Every moment is a teachable moment¹⁵
 - Sharing values and expectations are critical...



Acknowledgements

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Flint Fathers & Sons Steering Committee

Fathers and sons who participated

Funders

CDC Grant #R06/CCR521580

The Community Foundation of Flint

CDC Grant #U48/CCU515775

NICHD/NIH #R01 HD084526

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Effective Strategies to Engage and Retain Fathers in Programming

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Acknowledgements: The work described in this manuscript was supported by funding from the NIMH (5F31MH064243, 1R34MH078051), Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences (R305A150230) the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (1U01CE001653), and the Administration for Children and Families (90PD0278)

So What Can We Do to Increase Father Participation?

A BPT PROGRAM DESIGNED SPECIFICALLY FOR FATHERS

- To involve and engage fathers in ADHD the **Coaching Our Acting-out Children: Heightening Essential Skills (COACHES)** atment the program was developed.
- COACHES is a two-hour, weekly, eight-session parent training program.

- The COACHES program combines and synergizes two manualized treatments commonly used for children with ADHD:
 - *Summer Treatment Program (Pelham, Greiner, & Gnagy, 1998)*
 - *Community Parent Education Program (Cunningham, Secord, & Bremner, 1998)*
- Treatment components from these programs are adapted for use in the father-based parenting class, the child-based skill drills, and the father-child interactions.

COACHES format

- During the first hour, fathers review how to implement effective parenting strategies in a group class (e.g., using praise, using time out).
- Concurrently, children practice soccer skill drills with para-professional counselors, to increase competencies in the sports domain (Pelham et al., in press; Pelham, Greiner, & Gnagy, 1997; Pelham & Hoza, 1996).

Content of COACHES BPT Sessions

Session number	Session content
1	Introduction to social learning theory and constructing a home behavior management plan
2	Appropriate rewards and praise
3	Ignoring mild, inappropriate behaviors
4	Delivering effective commands and instructions
5	Using Premack contingencies and transitional warnings
6	Using time out
7	Problem-solving
8	Closing Session; Programming for maintenance

- During the second hour, the fathers and children join together for a soccer game.
- Fathers “coach” the soccer game by employing the strategies discussed during the first half of the program.
- During frequent breaks, fathers receive on-line feedback from trained staff, work together to trouble-shoot problems that occur, and reinforce each other for the successful implementation of parenting strategies.

COACHES Parenting Session

Coping, Modeling, Problem-Solving Approach

- Parenting programming uses style pioneered and developed by Cunningham (Cunningham, et al., 1998)
 - Group and subgroup based
 - Facilitated, not prescribed provision of information
 - Videos of exaggerated parenting errors
 - Parents identify errors and provide solutions

Target Behavior	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N

Rewards:

A handout on how to construct a home and school DRC is available at ccf.fiu.edu

COMMANDS EXAMPLE SHEET

Listed below are some examples of instructions and commands frequently used with children. Read each command and judge whether it is a good or bad command. If it is a bad command, note why it is a bad command, and rewrite it so that it is a good command.

1. Pay attention.
2. Robert, grab a jersey, put it on, go to the goalie position, and get in a ready stance.
3. John, go to the center position.
4. Will you pass me the ball?
5. Let's hustle up the field Mary.
6. Listen up.
7. Alan, stand up.
8. Don't touch the field markers. Don't touch your jersey. Don't pick the grass. Don't fiddle with your shoelaces.
9. Mark, that is your second time of not obeying adults, you now have a five-minute time out. Go to the time out area.
10. Kelly, stop teasing the other team for the rest of the game.
11. Go to bed.
12. Stop teasing your sister. (5 seconds later) I said stop teasing your sister. (5 seconds later) Stop teasing your sister!
13. John, stop interrupting me on the telephone for the next minute.
14. (From other room) Lakeisha, get started on your homework.
15. Frank, put your seatbelt on.

COACHES Child Session

Importance of Building Sports Skills

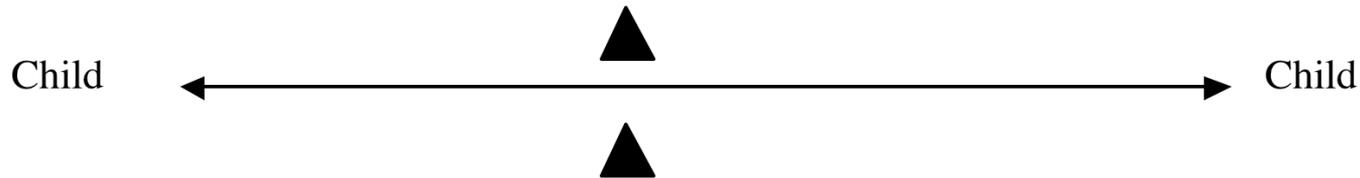
- 35 million youth play in organized sports (StatisticsBrain, 2013)
- 33% of youth K-8th participate in after-school sports at least once per week
- Children with ADHD are impaired in the area of sports skills (Johnson & Rosen, 2000; O'Connor et al., 2014; Pelham et al., 1990; 2005)

Skill Drills

- Staff review rules with the children in the context of drills.
 - Kick-offs
 - Throw-ins
 - Goal/Corner Kicks
 - Penalty Kicks
 - Minor/Major Penalties (e.g., handballs, rough play)

Passing skill drill

Passing accuracy and the control of a passed ball are two essential soccer skills. The set up for a drill to improve these skills is diagrammed below.



A pair of children pass the ball back and forth through the markers, with an emphasis on accuracy (passing it through the markers) and control (appropriately trapping the ball).

The rules for the drill are as follows:

1. All passes must be made with the inside of the foot.
2. The ball must be trapped/controlled before a subsequent pass is made.
3. The pass must be made between the two markers.

As the child masters this drill, modifications may be made to increase the difficulty.

Some suggestions are listed below:

1. The distance between the two markers may be decreased, challenging the child to “thread the needle.”
2. The angle of the passes may be modified to teach the child to modify the direction of passes.
1. Children may pass the ball with more force or through the air, to teach the other child how to control the ball with other parts of their body (e.g., chest, upper legs).

COACHES Parent-Child Game

Game Procedures

- COACHES staff referee, keep score, and monitor gameplay.
- Fathers coach their own children.
 - Fathers are encouraged to enter the field of play if necessary.
 - Each quarter fathers have an assignment to complete.

COACHES Daily Report Card

	Skills		Game	
Has 2 or fewer benchings.	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has no time outs.	Yes	No	Yes	No

Children with three out of four yes's earn a cold drink and can participate in a fun activity after the game!!!

<u>Activity Rules (2 rule violations in the same category result in a 2-minute benching.</u>	<u>5-minute Time outs for:</u>			
Be respectful of others.	Intentional Aggression.			
Obey adults.	Intentional Property Destruction.			
Stay in the assigned area.	Repeated Noncompliance.			
Use materials and Possessions appropriately.				
Be a good sport.				

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
LABELED Praise				

Black Eagles Soar to a 7-4 Win

The Black Eagles and Snakemen engaged in a spirited contest Saturday afternoon, with the Black Eagles eventually pulling away for a 7-4 win. The Black Eagles were led by goals by Billy and Eli. Eli streaked down the field so fast, he looked like a blur, and Billy kicked the ball with such accuracy, nearly all his shots on the net went in.

This was not an easy win for the Black Eagles, however. The Snakemen certainly turned up the offensive pressure in this game, peppering the Black Eagles goalies with shots from all over the field. The Snakemen scored when Tyler tracked down and loose ball, raced down the field, and put one through the pipes. Ty-leal supported his team with his tenacious defense. Every time he tried to steal the ball from an Eagles player, he seemed to come out on top.



After the first half, Billy extended the Black Eagle lead with two quick goals. Tyler had the answer, however, as he notched his second goal of the game on a cannon-like shot. Billy again pressured the net and scored again. However, again the Snakemen answered the bell and Tyler scored on a beautiful pass from Ty-leal. In the fourth quarter, Eli iced the game with another pretty goal. Ty-leal showed his never-say-die attitude by scoring an excellent goal toward the end of regulation.

The Black Eagles and Snakemen played another great game. Once again, the players cooperated well with the adults and their friends, and all earned the privilege of playing in the dodgeball game at the end of the competition. The two teams meet again on Saturday November 9 at 1:30 (teams will practice from 12:30-1:30 that day while the COACHES are in a meeting), as the Snakemen look to even up the score.

- How is the COACHES program different from other parenting programs?
 - Does not approach fathers as “deficient” in parenting strategies. Frames treatment as a way to build competencies in an area where many may already have skills (e.g., coaching).
 - Framing treatment in this way may reduce stigma associated with initiating and participating in mental health services.
 - Includes a sports competency-building component for the children, known to be effective and well-liked by parents *and* children (Pelham, et al., in press; Pelham, Greiner, & Gnagy, 1997).
 - Soccer game provides a naturally reinforcing activity as part of treatment (as opposed to a two-hour class).
 - Research suggests fathers benefit from practicing parenting strategies (Adesso & Lipson, 1981).

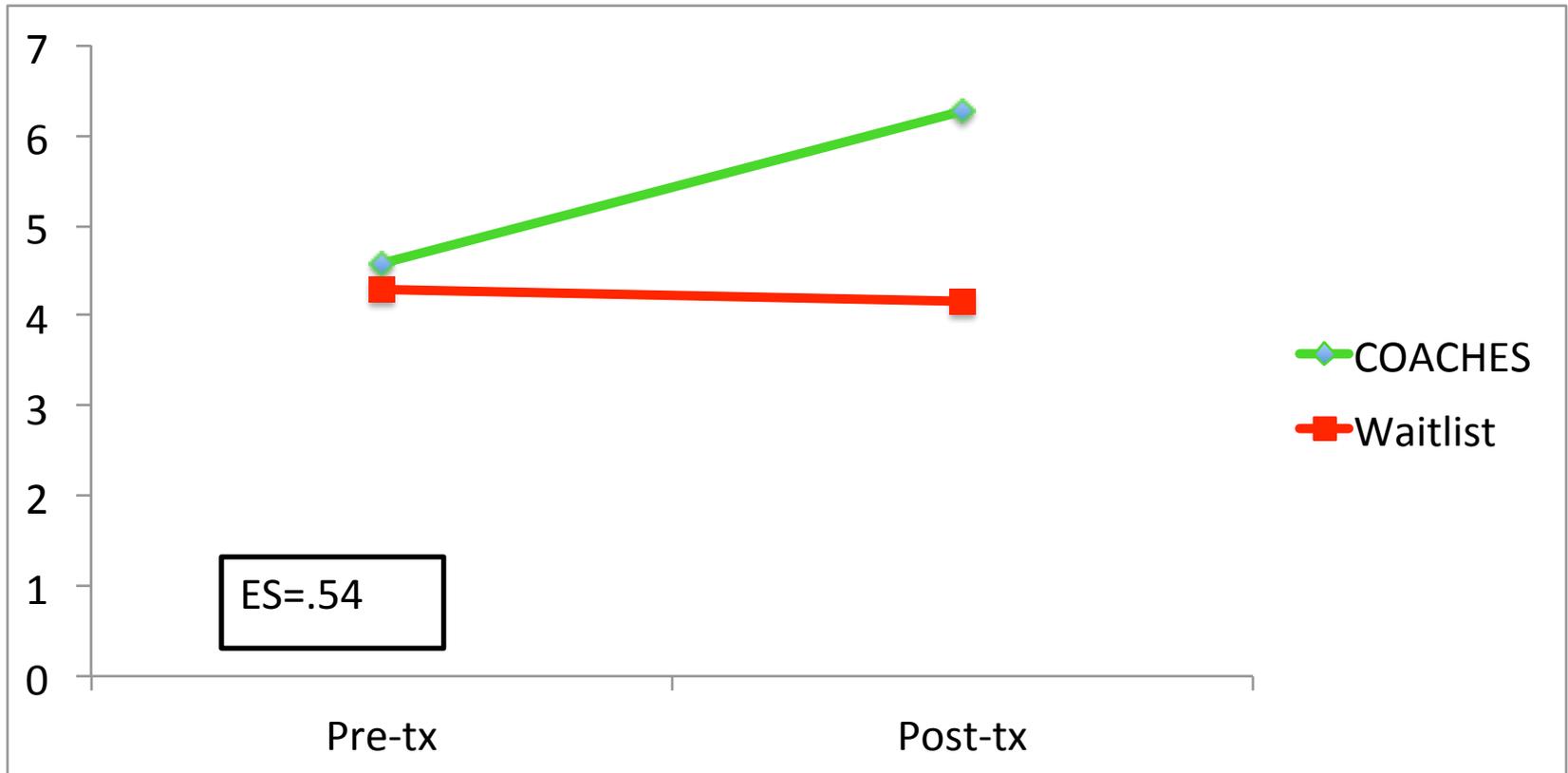
Clinical Trial of COACHES Efficacy

Fabiano et al., 2012

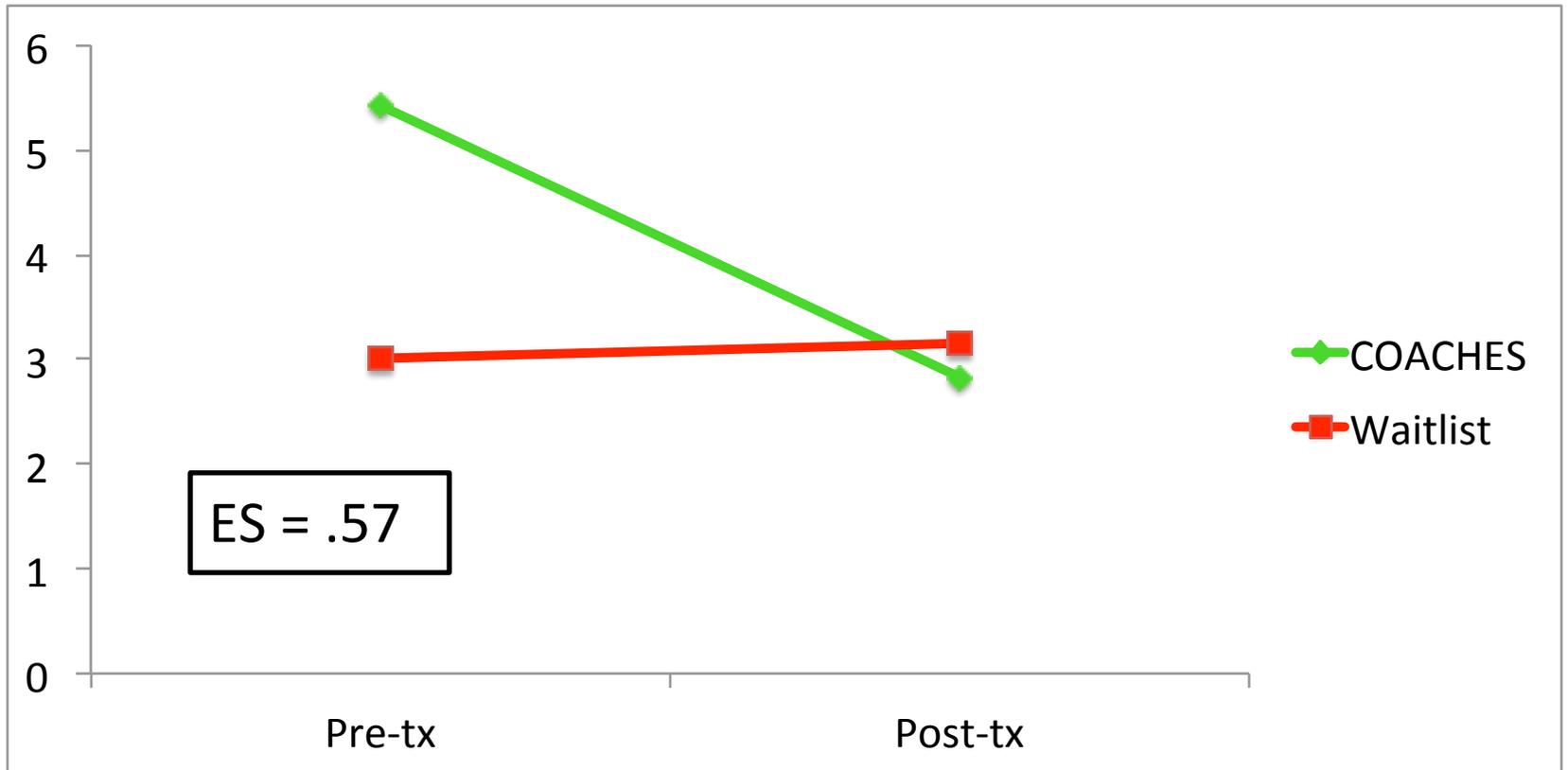
Measures

- Measures of parenting
 - DPICS
 - Praise
 - Criticism
 - Commands
- Measures of problem behaviors
 - Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI)
 - Frequency Rating
 - Intensity Rating
- Measures of Satisfaction with treatment
 - Therapy Attitude Inventory
 - Process factor
 - Outcome factor

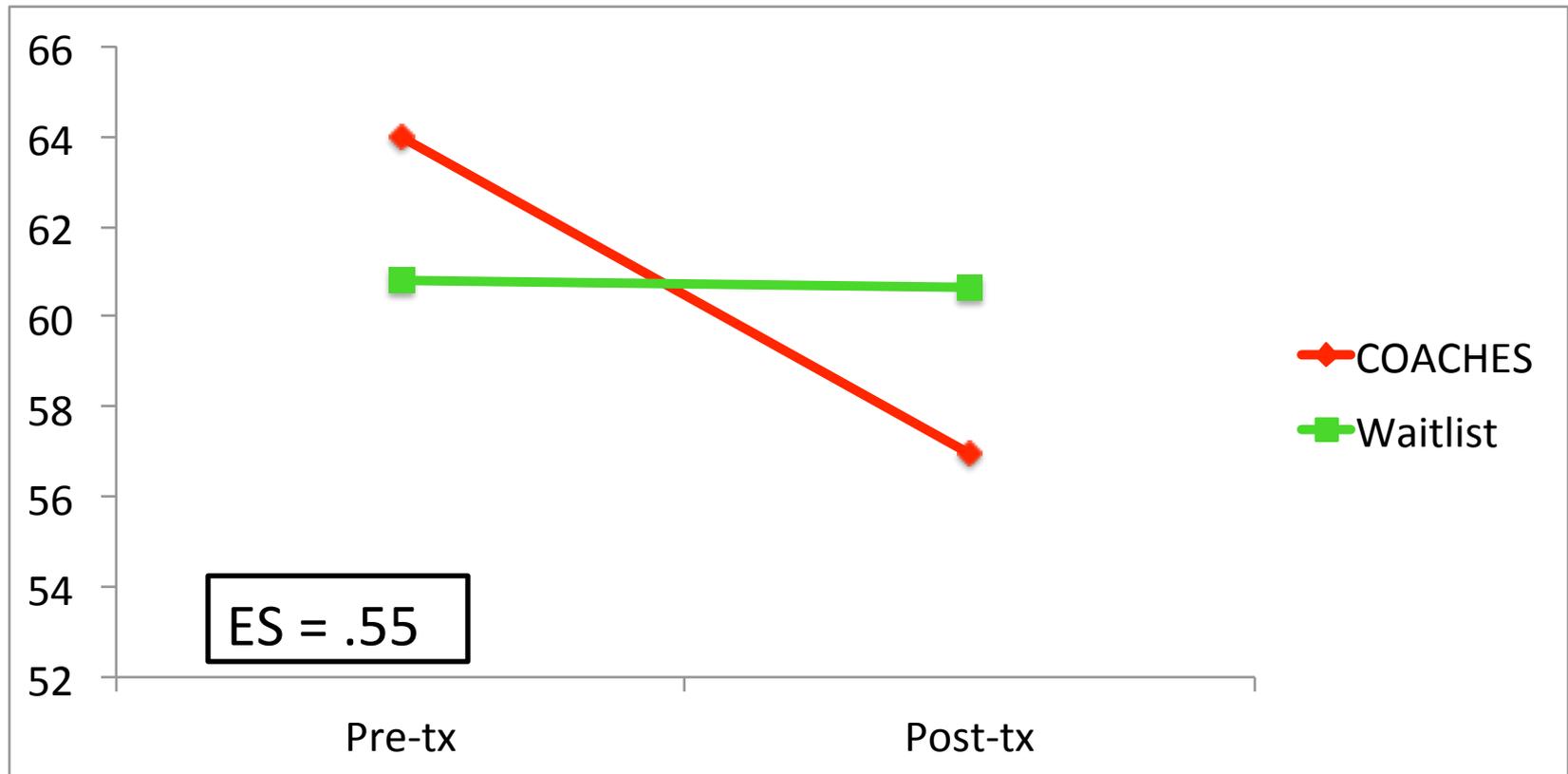
DPICS - Praise



DPICS-Negative Talk



ECBI – Intensity Rating



Treatment Satisfaction

- 100% of fathers reported they were Satisfied with Outcomes.
- 89% of fathers reported they were Satisfied with Treatment Process.

Clinical Trial of COACHES Effectiveness

Fabiano, Chacko, et al., 2009

Method

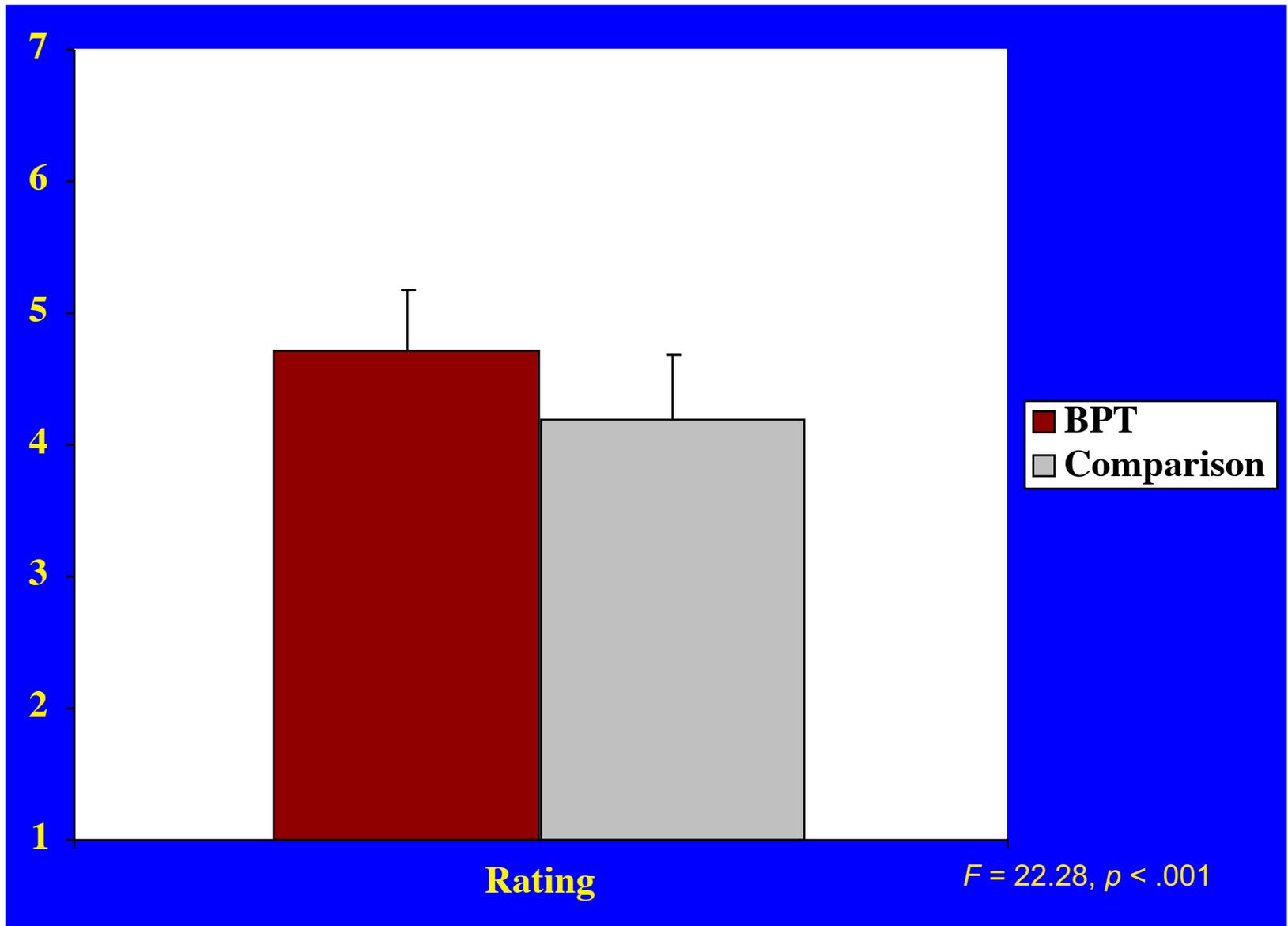
- Fathers who gave informed consent and completed intake procedures were randomly assigned to one of two parent training groups:
 - COACHES
 - Fathers watch videotapes of exaggerated parenting errors, identify errors, generate solutions, and then role-play suggested solutions.
 - Children practice soccer skills.
 - Parents and children join for soccer game; fathers practice skills
 - Traditional Behavioral Parent Training
 - Fathers watch videotapes of exaggerated parenting errors, identify errors, generate solutions, and then role-play suggested solutions (Cunningham et al., 1997).
 - Children participate in group board game activities during the parenting group (Pelham et al., 2001)

Measures

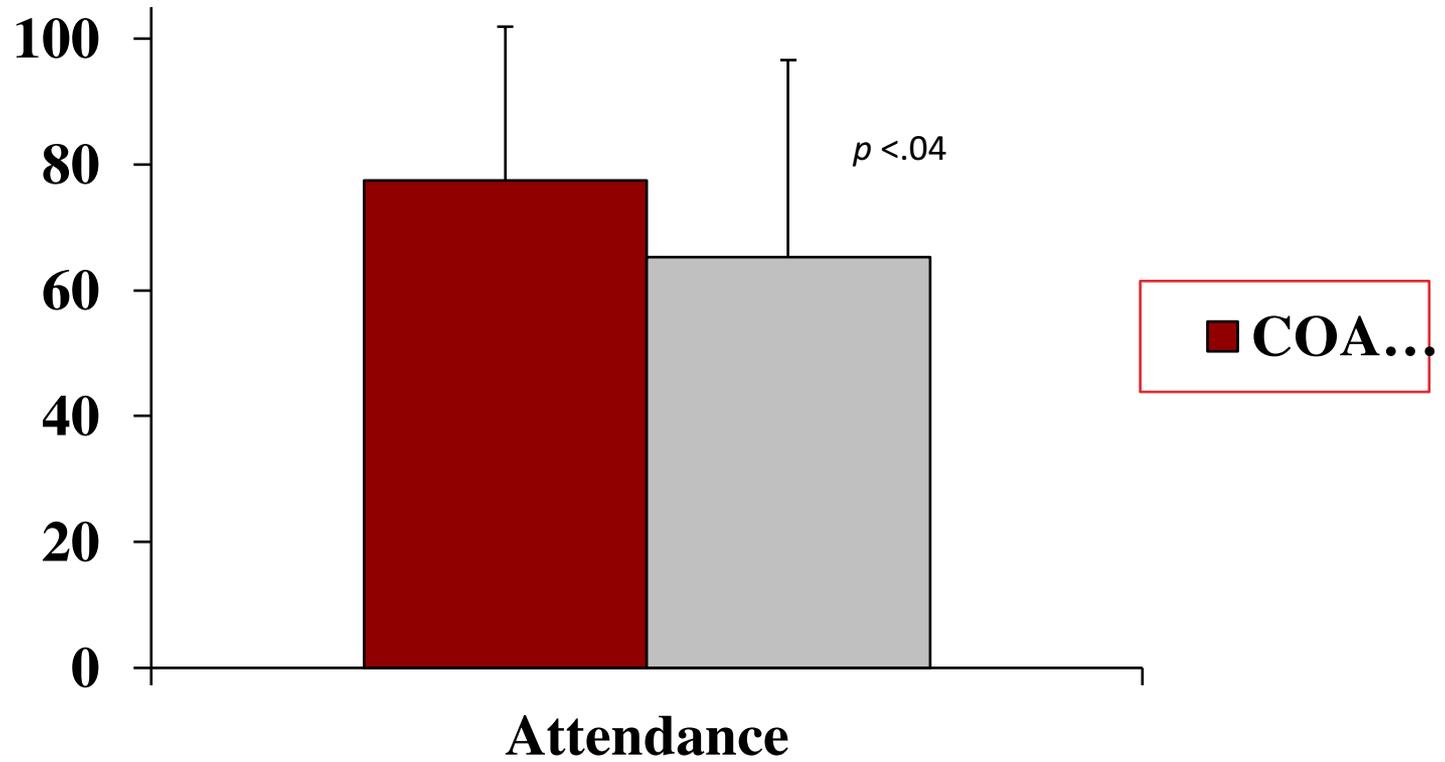
- Fathers rated child improvement at post-treatment across domain-specific targeted behaviors (Pelham et al., 2001)
- Measures of engagement included
 - Father Attendance/Drop-out
 - Father on-time arrival for meetings
 - Child Attendance/Drop-out
 - Father homework completion
- Father satisfaction with treatment (TAI; Brestan et al.)

Results

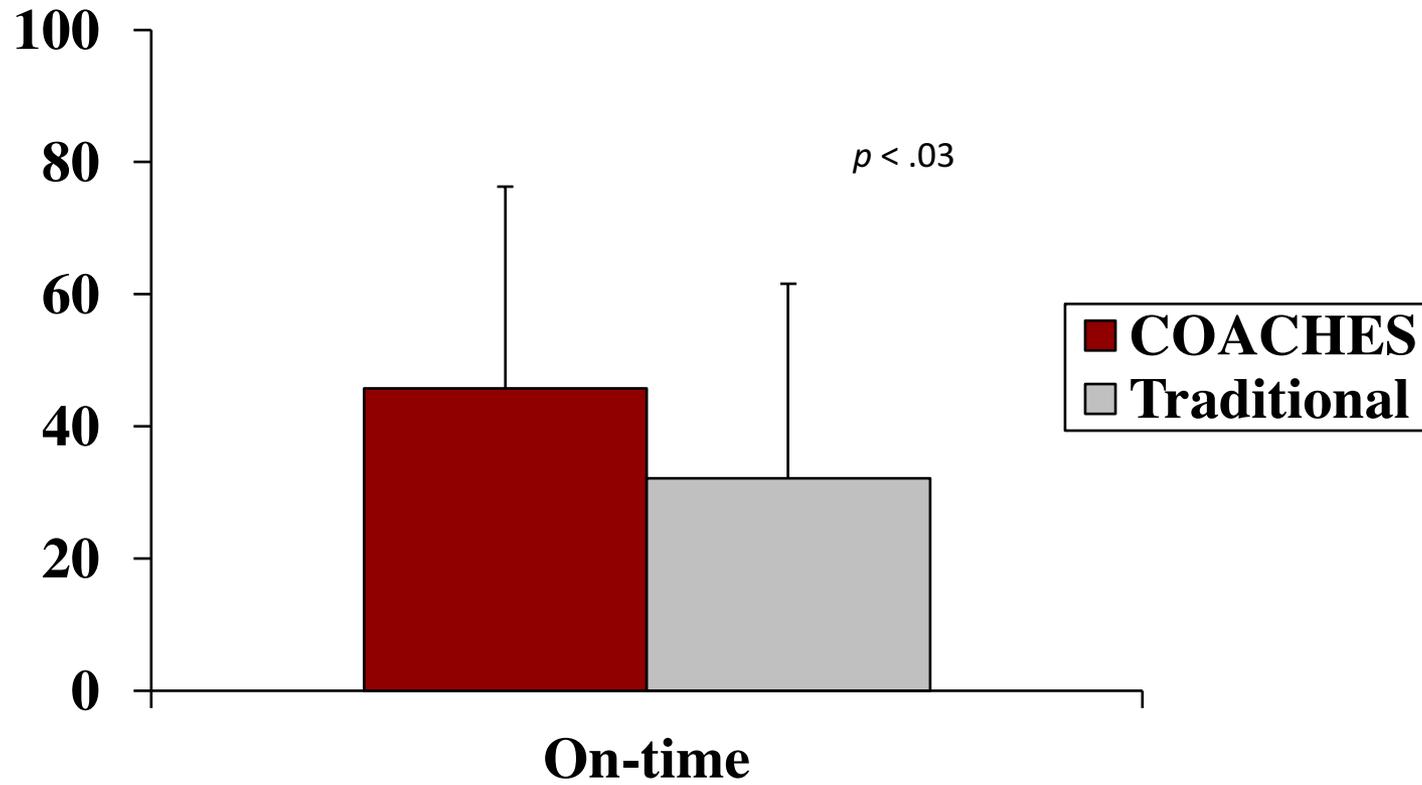
Average Improvement Rating



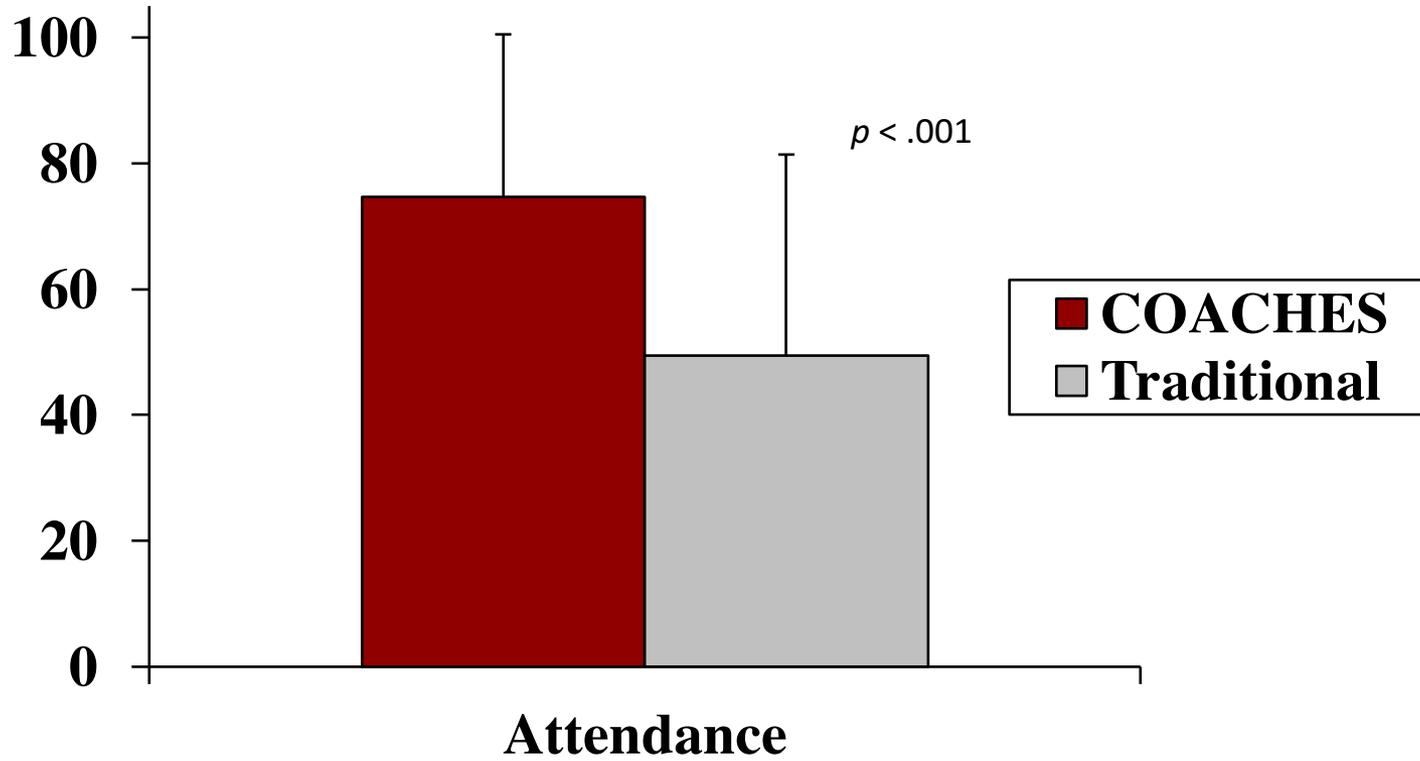
COACHES vs. Traditional: Father Attendance



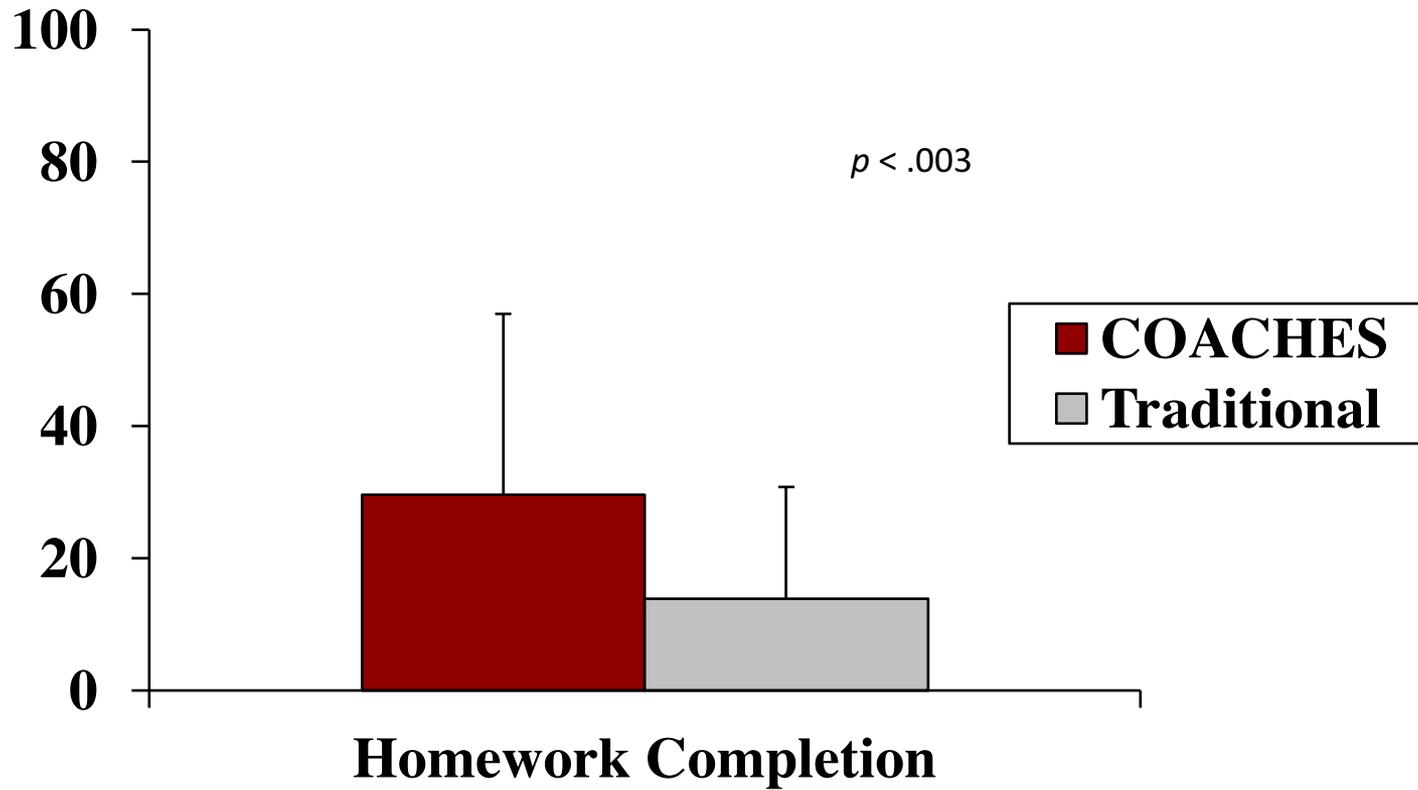
COACHES vs. Traditional: On-time for Session Attended



COACHES vs. Traditional: Child Attendance

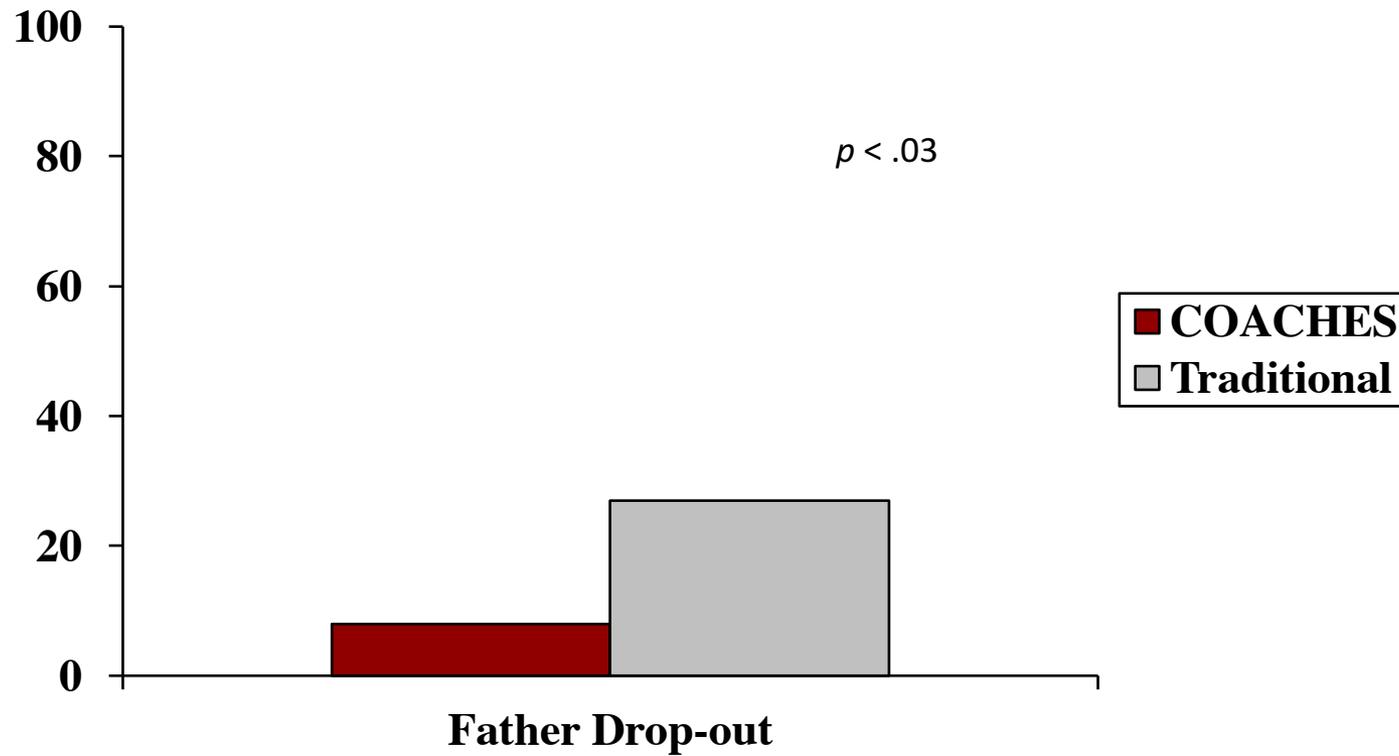


COACHES vs. Traditional: Homework Compliance

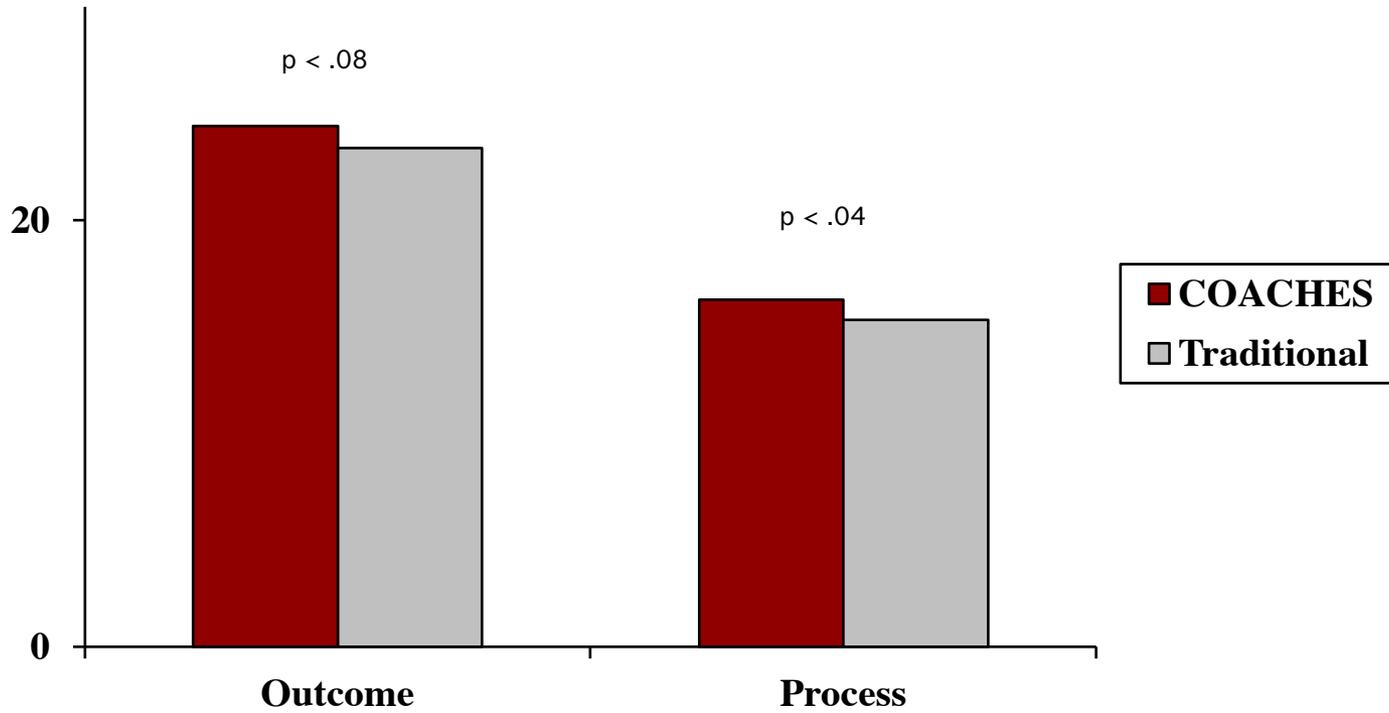


COACHES vs. Traditional: Father Drop-Out

(Defined as Attendance at Fewer than Half of Sessions)



COACHES vs. Traditional: Consumer Satisfaction

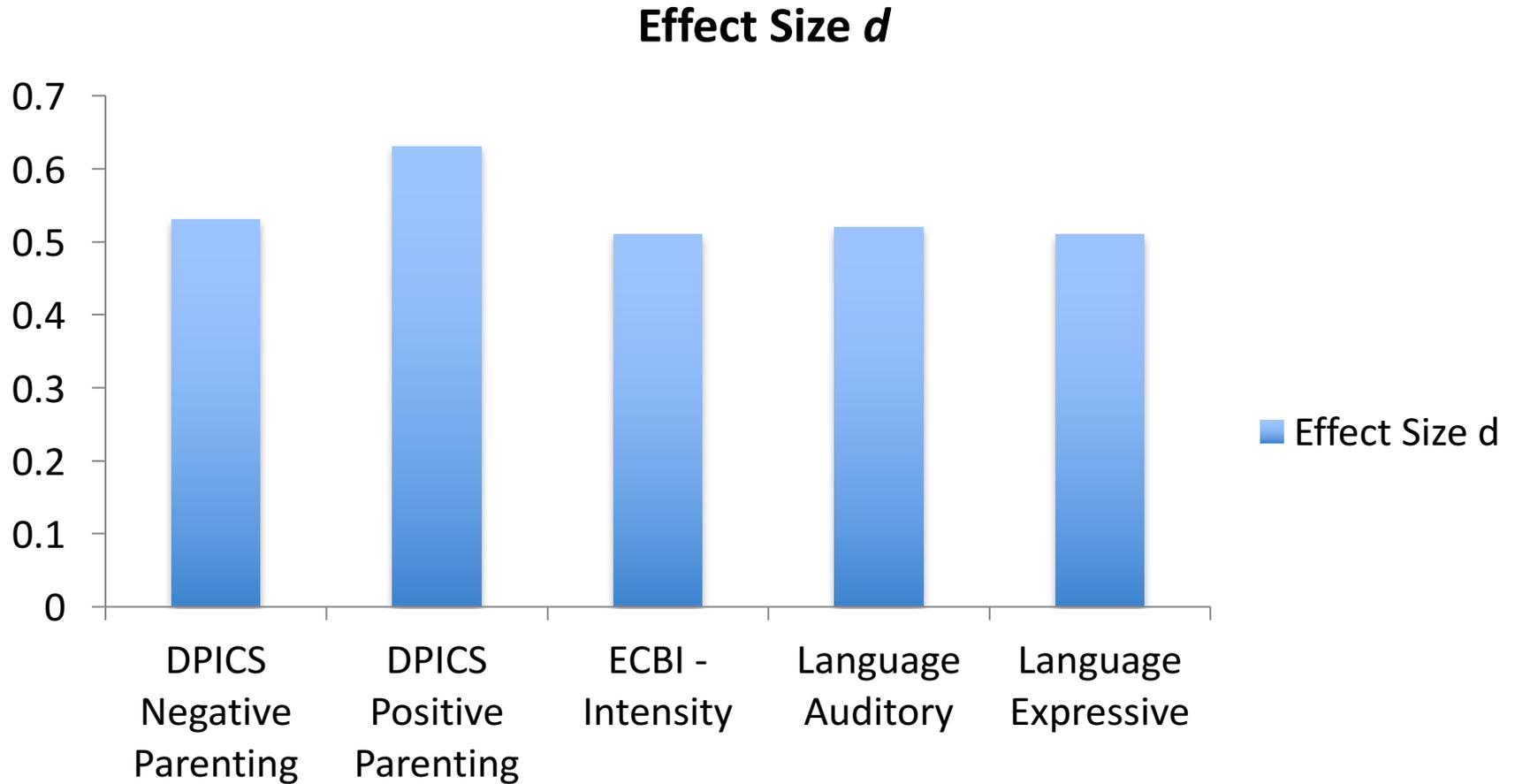


Recent Extensions of the COACHES program

Shared Book-Reading in Preschoolers

- A Spanish-language adaptation of COACHES was developed for Head Start preschools
 - Fathers watched video-taped vignettes of parenting strategies and dialogic reading
 - Practiced using shared book-reading
- Evaluated in a randomized, waitlist controlled trial (N=100)

Post-treatment effect sizes



COACHES in Schools

- IES Funded project (#R305A150230) is a joint partnership between the University at Buffalo and Florida International University.
- Adapting COACHES to promote greater father engagement in schools, better homework management, and reinforcement of positive behaviors.

Improving the Parenting Skills of Fathers of Preschool Children in Head Start: A wait-list controlled study

Results Consumer Preference Study

- Participants were 426 parents of preschool-aged children.
 - annual income \$30,000 or lower
 - have a child between the ages of 3 and 6 years old
 - child currently attending a preschool, childcare, or universal pre-kindergarten program

Which of the following is MOST important to you?

Which is LEAST important to you?

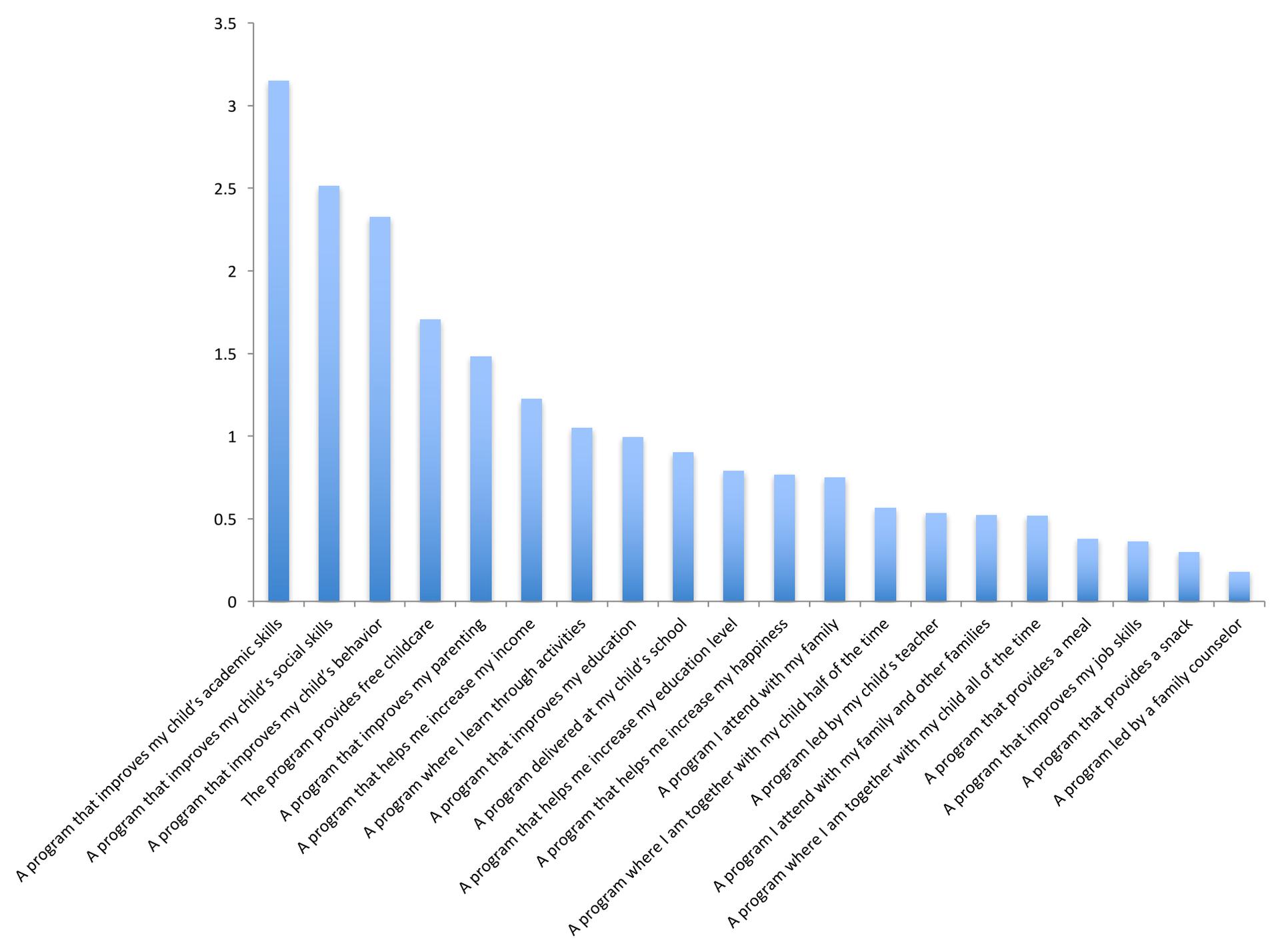
Most important

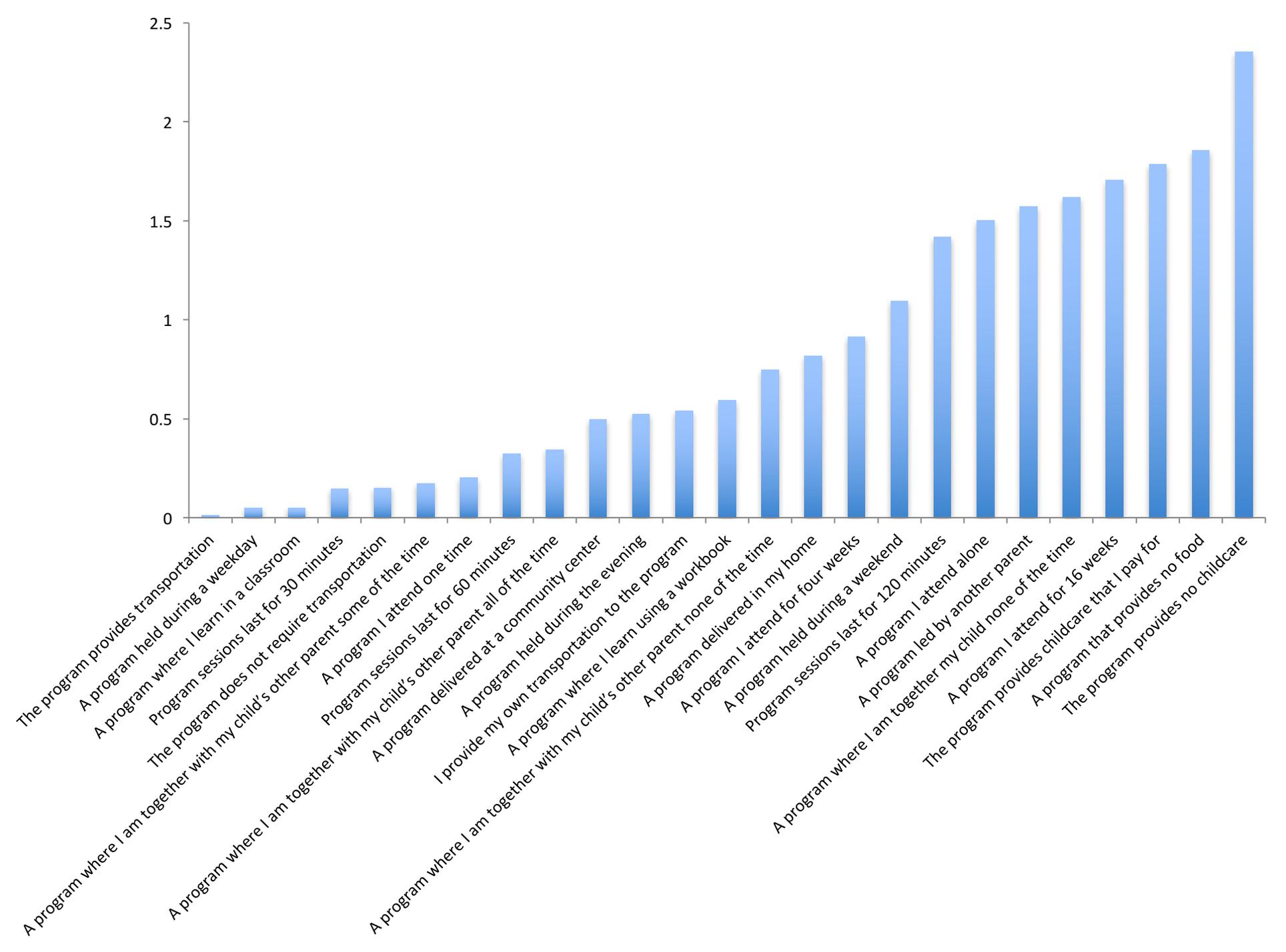
Least

Important

	The program provides transportation.	
	A program delivered in my home.	
	A program held during a weekend.	
	A program that helps me increase my happiness.	
	Program sessions last for 60 minutes.	

See the formative work by Charles Cunningham on this method in services research





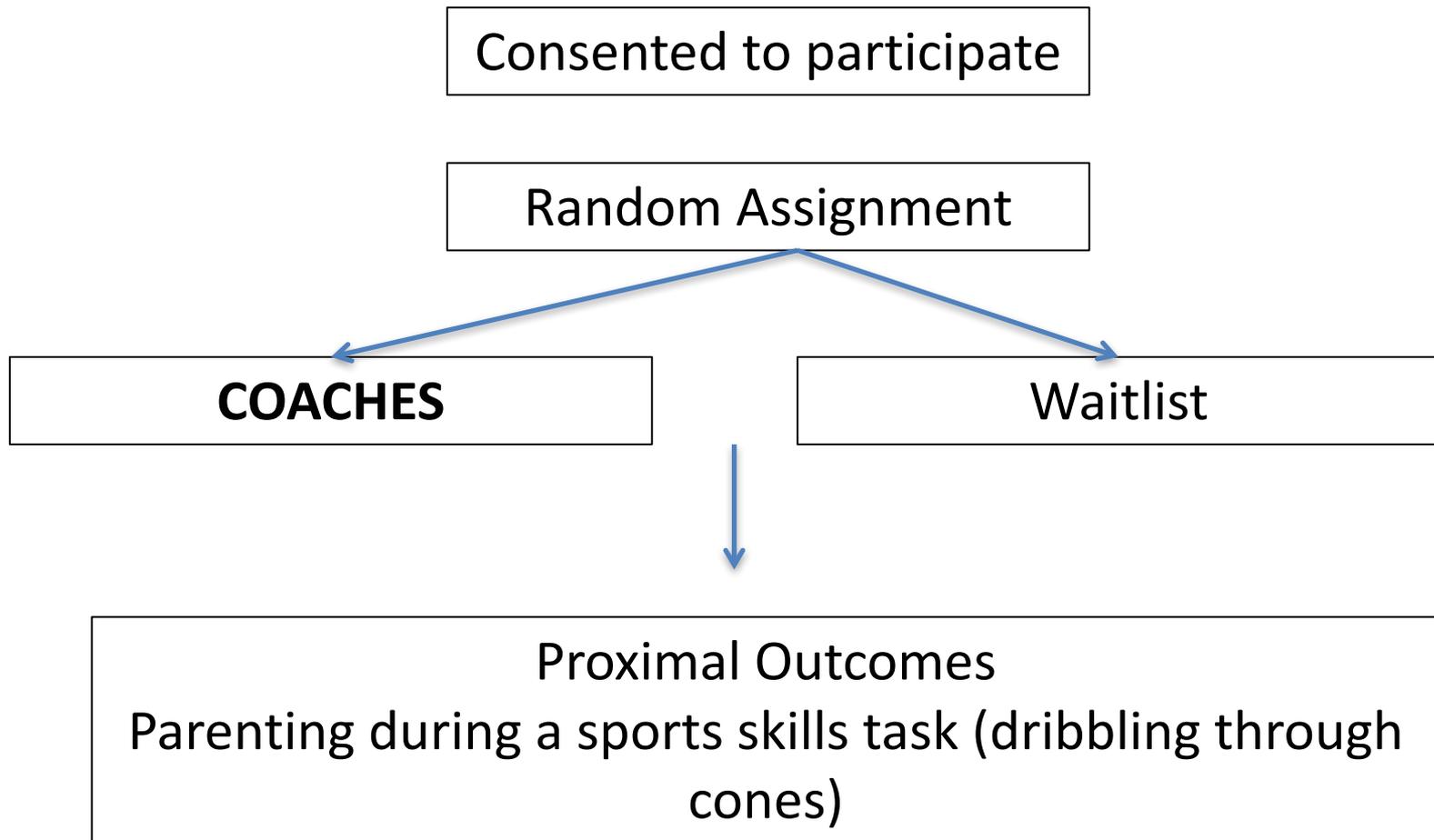
Program Adaptations

- To fit within the context of an early childhood setting as a preventive program:
 - Time of the program was reduced from 2 hours to 1 hour
 - Program length adjusted from 8 to 6 sessions
 - Parents received 5 minute introduction to skill of the day (e.g., labeled praise), and spent remainder of the soccer game practicing it.
 - Recruited *all* male caretakers regardless of child behaviors.

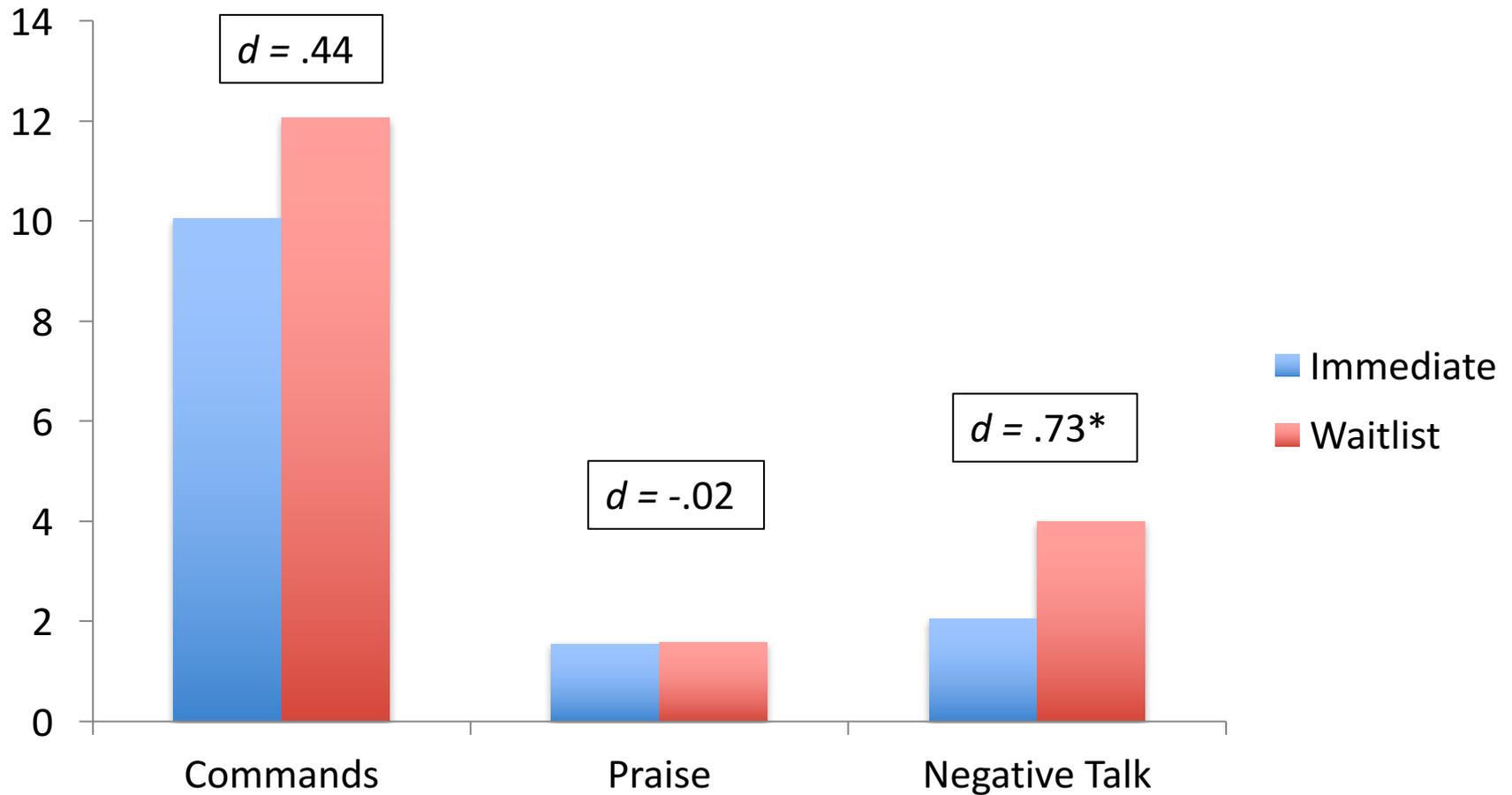
Coaches as an After-School program to increase father engagement and parenting skills

- Sixty-seven male caregivers (hereafter referred to as “fathers”) and their 3- to 5-year old preschooler enrolled in the program.
- Head Start academies were matched by the number of classrooms within them and then randomly assigned within matched pairs to receive the COACHES program immediately or a waitlist group

Clinical Trial of COACHES in Head Start



Results on parenting observations



* $p < .05$

Conclusions

- Across settings, targeted groups, and using different activities, fathers were effectively engaged and retained in BPT interventions.
- Fathers improved in some parenting behaviors, but not others.
- Attendance was less consistent in a prevention approach.

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