REGULAR ARTICLE

Qualitative study showed that a culturally tailored parenting programme improved the confidence and skills of Somali immigrants

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ABSTRACT

Aim: Parenting programmes tailored to immigrant parents have been reported to improve the mental health of the children and parents, as well as parents' sense of competence in parenting. However, research on parents' experiences of programmes tailored to their needs is scarce. This qualitative study aimed to describe Somali parents' experiences of how a culturally sensitive programme affected their parenting.

Methods: The study was conducted in a middle-sized city in Sweden in 2015. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 50 participants two months after they took part in a parenting support programme. Inductive and deductive qualitative content analyses were used.

Results: A light has been shed was a metaphor that emerged from the analysis and that captured the knowledge the parents gained from the parenting system in Sweden. Parents gained confidence in their parenting role and became emotionally aware of their child's social and emotional needs and how to respond to them. Holding the sessions in the participant's native language was important for the parents' participation and acceptance of the programme.

Conclusion: Parenting programmes should be tailored to the specific needs of the participants and cultural sensitivity should be factored into programmes to attract immigrant parents.

INTRODUCTION

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The quality of parent-child relationships has important implications for mental health and wellbeing in adulthood (1). Parenting support programmes seem to equip parents with skills that encourage positive parenting and promote children's mental health and social and emotional wellbeing (2). Despite the success of parenting support programmes in the past decade, many have failed to attract, recruit and retain immigrant parents (3,4).

The need for parenting support programmes for immigrant groups has been identified as an essential way of strengthening their parenting skills (4,5). Moving to a new country and adapting to a new way of life can present obstacles for immigrant parents and their children and create tension and stress within families (5,6). Studies have shown that it is often easier for children than parents to acculturate to a new country and that they sometimes serve as the parents' primary source of information (7–10). The changes in family functions, and the new roles that emerge because of immigration, may have a negative impact on parent–child relationships (7,10,11). Furthermore, parenting styles may differ, depending on the parents' cultural background, heritage and tradition. For instance, immigrant parents from Africa and Arabic-speaking countries often use an authoritarian parenting style characterised by a host of parental demands and minimal responses from the child. Such a parenting approach, which insists on unquestioning obedience, might lead to conflicts between parents and children in the new country. In these cases, parents may need extra support to bring up their children (6,8–10). Another notable strain on immigrant parents is inadequate information about the parenting systems and social expectations for parents in the new country. This can make them afraid that they may have issues with family and child welfare services (7,8,12,13).

Key notes

- We interviewed 50 Somali parents who took part in a culturally sensitive parenting programme in Sweden to see if it improved their parenting skills.
- This showed that the parenting programme increased their confidence and competence in parenting and helped them to become aware of their children's social and emotional needs.
- Delivering the programme with cultural sensitivity, and in their own language, ensured the parents' participation in the programme.

Cultural sensitivity and tailored parenting support programmes for immigrant parents have been reported to be helpful with regard to the engagement, attendance and retention of participants (14-16). The methods for customising parenting support programmes for specific groups vary widely. Some studies have focused on adapting existing programmes (17,18), while others have focused on how the content is delivered to the parents (19). Others have combined both approaches (20,21). In a Swedish study that was designed to explore Somali parents' need for parenting support (8), the parents said that they needed specific support strategies to help them with their parenting role in the new country. Parents wanted support to understand their children's rights and their rights as parents, the role of child welfare services and social tools to strengthen the parent-child relationship. The parents expressed the culturally sensitive parenting support programmes. For example, they wanted to work with facilitators from similar cultural backgrounds and for the programme to be delivered in their native language (8). The Ladnaan programme that was used in this study was named after the Somali word that means a sense of health and wellbeing. It was developed based on the Somali parents' expressed needs. It consisted of two components: two sessions that provided information about Swedish society and the Connect parenting programme that comprised 10 sessions (22) and was delivered in a culturally sensitive way (21).

The information on Swedish society was based on a previous study in which Somali-born parents said that they wanted to receive information on the parenting system in their new country. They felt that this would reduce the cultural challenges they faced.

The Connect parenting programme is based on attachment theory. It aims to reduce children's behavioural problems, promote positive parenting skills and increase efficacy and satisfaction in parenting. In addition, it seeks to strengthen the parent-child relationship (22,23). Connect was originally developed to target children in risk groups. However, it has been used as a universal parenting programme in Sweden (24). The Ladnaan programme was largely developed as a result of our findings from a previous study (8). The Ladnaan programme was delivered using a culturally sensitive approach and was adapted from the existing Connect programme so that it met the needs, culture and context of the Somali parents.

The findings from our study on the effectiveness of the Ladnaan programme showed significant effects in treatment outcomes related to children's behavioural problems (21), parents' mental health and parents' sense of competence in parenting (25). Although previous studies (21,25) have demonstrated the positive effects of culturally tailored parenting support programmes on the mental health of Somali parents and children, it is unclear what programme components have been most valuable for the parents. The Ladnaan programme differs from other universal and targeted interventions, because it is based on feedback that identified two components that Somali-born parents emphasised as highly supportive of their parenting role (8). These were improving the mental health of children and their parents and improving the parents improved sense of confidence in their parenting skills. However, we realised that further research was needed to explore what elements of the parenting programme could do this.

Therefore, the aim of this study was to describe Somali parents' experiences of participating in a culturally tailored parenting support programme and the various ways the programme affected their parenting. We also sought to determine which parts of the Ladnaan programme had the greatest impact on their parenting practices.

METHODS

We conducted an explorative qualitative study, which comprised individual interviews carried out with 50 Somali parents after they had taken part in the Ladnaan programme (26).

Intervention

The Ladnaan programme consisted of two components: information on Swedish society and the Connect parenting programme. The information on society comprised three topics that we thought were relevant to the Somali parents (8): child welfare services, parenting styles and the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (Table 1). These were delivered over two sessions.

The Connect programme component, based on attachment theory, provided a 10-week standardised programme according to nine principles (Table 1). Each week the parents were introduced to one new attachment principle that provided knowledge and skills related to children's transitional development and attachment needs (27). The sessions were delivered by two group leaders and each session included role plays, case examples, and reflection exercises to illustrate the in-depth attachment principle. In total, four parenting groups were delivered: each group received 12 sessions and comprised 12–17 participants. Before the start of the study, all group leaders received intensive training in the parenting programme.

The programme used a culturally sensitive approach and was delivered in the parents' native language by Somali group leaders with cultural competence in both the Swedish and Somali social systems. Role-plays, examples and exercises were modified so that they were culturally recognisable. However, the core components of the Connect programme were kept intact (21). The group leaders used metaphors, Somali proverbs and examples to ensure that the content was understandable and relevant to the participants.

Study participants

A total of 60 participants were initially invited to the parenting programme and 58 accepted. All 58 parents who had participated in the parenting support programme were contacted two months after they had successfully completed the programme. Of these, six did not participate in the interviews: two parents were on holiday abroad, two

Table 1 Ladnaan programme

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Session	Programme inputs	Input on users		
Societal	information			
1	Child welfare services	Gain greater knowledge and understanding of the work of Sweden's Family and Child Welfare Services with children and youth.		
1	Parenting styles: authoritarian and democratic parenting	Increase awareness of participants' own parenting styles and the role they play in their children's behaviour.		
2	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child	Gain greater knowledge of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and how it is reflected in their parenting.		
Connect	parenting program			
3	Introduction to the Connect parenting programme	Become familiarised with general information about Connect and attachment theory.		
4	All behaviour has a meaning	Recognise the meaning of children's behaviour and develop skills to step back.		
5	Attachment is for life	Develop skills to recognise the attachment needs of infants, small children, and teens and children in each age group express their attachment needs.		
6	Conflict is a part of attachment	Acknowledge that conflict is a natural part of parent-child relationships. Conflict helps relationships grow when it expressed and responded to in a constructive way.		
7	Autonomy includes connection	Develop skills to recognise that teens need autonomy while they want to be connected with their parents.		
8	Empathy—the heartbeat of attachment	Practise and acknowledge empathy, which is about being there for the child without condemning or providing solutions to the problem. Active listening to the child.		
9	Balance our needs with needs of others	Recognise their attachment needs and look for other sources of support than their children.		
10	Growth and change are part of a relationship	Understand and become aware of their past and acknowledge what can promote and hinder teens' change and growth.		
11	Celebrating attachment	Acknowledge that in every relationship both joy and pain exist and should be celebrated.		
12	Two steps forward, one step back: staying on course	Understand how to respond when the relationship is turbulent and volatile.		

cited lack of time and two could not be reached by phone despite several attempts. Participants were given both oral and written information about the purpose of the study and written informed consent was obtained at baseline. We conducted 48 interviews with 50 participants: 46 were conducted with individual participants and two interviews were carried out with two married couples.

The study was approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board in Uppsala, Sweden (Dnr 2014/048/1).

Data collection

Data were collected through semi-structured individual interviews. An interview guide (Appendix S1) was drafted and piloted with two participants, who were included in the analysis, and detailed questions on the intervention were added. The first author and a research assistant trained in interview techniques conducted the first two pilot interviews together. All interviews started with the same general questions: 'Can you tell me about your experience of participating in the parenting support programme?' and 'What was the most valuable part of the parenting programme?' Following these two initial questions, specific questions were asked about how they experienced each session. Of the 50 participants, 47 agreed to have their interviews tape-recorded and the research assistant took extensive notes during the interviews with the three parents who refused. The interviews were conducted in a location and at a time convenient for the participants. All the interviews, which ranged from 20 to 40 minutes, were conducted in the Somali language.

Data analysis

The data analysis was conducted in two steps: First, conventional inductive content analysis was performed and then we carried out directed deductive content analysis (26). The data analyses were performed using the computer-assisted qualitative analysis software programme NVivo11 (QSR International Pty Ltd, Burlington, USA) (28).

Inductive analysis was performed to organise the data, achieve a sense of the whole and look for both broader and deeper meanings in the interview material through multiple re-readings. Each interview was read carefully, notes were recorded and text that captured the participants' experiences was highlighted and coded into an initial coding scheme. As this process continued throughout the transcripts, new codes were added to the coding scheme. Next, all codes linked or related to each other were sorted into group codes. Then the group codes were sorted according to their similarities and differences, which resulted in two main categories describing the participants' experiences of participating in a culturally tailored parenting support programme.

The next step during the analysis was deductive and it focused on the parents' experiences of those parts of the parenting support programme that had the greatest impact on their parenting role. A matrix of intervention topics was developed from the two components of the Ladnaan intervention (Table 1). The deductive analysis involved going back to the transcript interviews and placing them into the matrix of intervention topics. This analysis started by re-reading each interview carefully and identifying and highlighting the text that described the parts and topics of the parenting support programme that parents reported as most important. Thereafter, all intervention topics were read and compared with the matrix.

Finally, the relationships between the categories that emerged from the inductive and deductive analyses were compared with each other to build an understanding of the way participants described the effects of participating in the programme. The two sets of results, from the inductive and deductive analyses, were condensed and merged into one overarching category called a light has been shed, which is explained in detail later.

RESULTS

Out of the 50 participants in the study, 62% had lived in Sweden from one to five years and 57% were living with their partner. The mean age of the participants was 44 ± 8.0 years. The participants had from one to 11 children living at home, with a mean of five and standard deviation of two (Table 2). We noted that 40 participants (69%) attended eight or more sessions and 18 (31%) attended less than eight sessions.

The overarching category, a light has been shed (Figure 1), captured the parents' experiences of

	Parents	
Variable	n	%
Participants		
Mothers	37	74
Fathers	13	26
Participants' age (years), mean \pm SD	44 ± 8.0	
Years in Sweden		
One to five years	31	62
Six to nine years	9	18
≥10 years	10	20
Highest educational level		
Less than upper secondary school	35	70
Upper secondary school	13	26
Higher education	2	4
Occupation		
Unemployed	13	26
Parental leave	6	12
Studying	26	52
Employed	5	10
Civil status		
Single	20	40
Married	30	60
Number of children living at home (mean \pm SD)	5 ± 2	
Children's age (years), mean \pm SD	14 ± 2	

participating in a culturally tailored parenting programme and the parts of the programme that were most influential to their parenting practices. A light has been shed was a metaphor used by the parents to describe the knowledge they acquired on their legal rights and those of their children in the new country, on the work of child welfare services and on the parent–child relationship. They felt that the culturally sensitive manner of the programme had helped them to understand this information.

Two subcategories, confidence in parenting and being emotionally aware and available, emerged from the inductive analysis. The subcategory of, cultural sensitivity in the parenting programme, emerged from both the inductive and deductive analysis.

Confidence in parenting

According to the participants, two topics about Swedish society had been particularly valuable when it came to their increased confidence in parenting in their new country and understanding the way in which the Swedish social welfare system works with families and children. These were how Swedish social services' work with children and the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Parents said that the information about the role of social services helped them to navigate the system in the new country. The fact that they had gained confidence was expressed by their feelings of being a good-enough parent. A mother of two children who participated in nine sessions said:

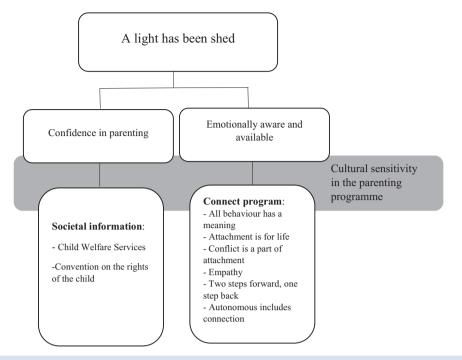
When you know something (being a parent), but didn't know if what you were doing was right or wrong in the new country and then come to realise you were just doing (things) right.

Parents expressed confidence in parenting because they had gained knowledge about how social services can support families and, if necessary, place children in foster families. This reduced concerns and eliminated previous rumours and preconceptions. As one father described it: 'A light has been shed'. A mother described it as: 'A feeling like finally coming into daylight'. Parents emphasised that their newfound confidence in parenting resulted in less stress and tension between them and their children. A mother of three who participated in eight sessions said:

I feel less stressed and can talk to my child and say what I want (not be a passive parent) because I know that no-one will take my child away from me just because I did not do as my child asked.

Parents were grateful to discover their rights and responsibilities in their new home country, which gave them confidence in parenting as well as the courage to seek support from social services. As a mother of five who participated in 10 sessions explained:

Children might lie or threaten their parents. Now I can say we can go together to social services.





Parents appreciated the theoretical knowledge of the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child and the reasons behind it. They also noted the importance of respecting the children's perspective and independence, as well as their right to play and spend unsupervised time with their peers. One parent stated that parents could sometimes become overprotective and not give their children enough freedom to become independent. Some parents discussed the importance of not harming their children psychologically or physically.

Emotionally aware and available

According to the parents, six sessions from the Connect programme had been of particular value and supportive in their parenting role (Figure 1). Parents stated that being emotionally aware helped them to be emotionally available for their child's articulated and unarticulated social and emotional needs. Parents claimed to be more aware after the programme that children are likely to express anger, stress and frustration in diverse ways. By stepping back, reflecting and intelligently relinquishing power, they understood what might be the cause of their children's disruptive and inappropriate behaviour. Thus, the change in the parents' behaviour served to regulate the children's behaviour. Most of the parents asserted that this was the start of their emotional awareness and the forming of a positive relationship with their children. A mother of five who participated in eight sessions commented:

I was happy that I got the key (ingredient) to my child's behaviour. I mean understanding his

behaviour, but also how to solve it. I know now that they want a secure base where they can show their frustration without being judged.

Parents confirmed that they gained an increased awareness of their child's attachment needs across different ages. Parents developed awareness in parenting as well as strategies that could be used as a source of comfort for their child instead of as a source of fear or trepidation. A father of four who participated in nine sessions explained:

When the child's behaviour changed, I used to say he's being disobedient and won't listen to me, and I pushed him even more. Now, I understand that there is a change in him and I take it easy with him, and that helped (all of) us a lot.

Parents underlined that the session on conflict is a part of attachment was the session of most value in the Connect parenting programme. All parents agreed that parent–child conflicts were unavoidable, describing them metaphorically: 'the tongue and the teeth are close to each other, and the teeth might bite the tongue'. The best way to handle the conflict, according to the parents, was to step back, remain calm, and not initiate retaliatory action. This experience was very new for some of the parents. They became aware of how to deal with their children's anger and emotional outbreaks. Some of the parents described how they abandoned the authoritarian approach in handling conflict because they realised it can have negative consequences when overused as an approach to parenting. A father of nine who participated in 12 sessions said: I stopped giving commands and now the situation (at home) is much better. It was a heavy burden that was lifted from my shoulders.

Being emotionally aware meant not only being a good listener but also understanding what someone else is thinking and feeling. Many parents described how they shifted from not listening to their child to listening attentively and being present mentally and emotionally. The parents believed that by looking at every situation from the child's perspective, they could increase their emotional awareness. A majority of the parents reported that showing empathy and compassion led to strengthened mutual understanding and respect:

Listen to the child's needs and what he wants. When you listen and understand him, our child and us can engage in mutual listening.

Another session that emerged as influential for parenting was the session two steps forward, one step back. This session offered the parents strategies that could be applied when parent-child conflicts occurred and helped the parents from being overwhelmed by the situation. Parents compared the previous authoritarian parenting approach to handling conflicts with the new approach to resolving conflicts. By stepping back, the parents felt they could pay closer attention to respond to the child's feelings as well as their own. Parents described taking two steps forward when both the parent and child learned to regulate their emotions and became calm, which included discovering ways to solve their conflict. A mother of two who participated in nine sessions was not quite sure what caused the change in her and her daughter, but surmised:

Our relationship got better. I don't know if it is because I have more patience now and can compromise or if she got older.

Parents described the adjustment they underwent from an authoritarian to an authoritative parenting style. All parents agreed that children need to be independent and have their autonomy respected while parents serve as a secure base during this process. For some parents, this awareness of the child's needs of autonomy became apparent only after participating in the parenting programme. As a mother of seven who participated in nine sessions expressed:

I learned that when children reach their teens, they have many issues they struggle with, that they are at a midpoint in their life, neither an adult nor a child, and need independence.

Most of the parents recounted the need to balance independence and autonomy with social and emotional support for the child. They pointed out that as parents they were responsible for their children, and therefore, needed to know their children's friends/acquaintances and where they went. Parents stressed that by inculcating self-confidence in their children, the child and parent could create a strong and trustful relationship.

Cultural sensitivity in the parenting programme

The parents reported that the cultural sensitivity aspect in the deliverance of the parenting support programme was pertinent for their participation.

All parents appreciated the value of having the sessions in their native language because it provided a better learning environment for understanding and discussing the issues with group leaders and other parents. Other benefits of having the sessions in their mother tongue were the use of jokes, metaphors and nonverbal expressions that came naturally to the participants.

One of the sessions in the societal information components, namely parenting styles, was delivered in the Swedish language and interpreted by one of the group leaders. Most of the parents did not recall the core content from that session or felt that what was said was difficult to understand. Even parents who spoke Swedish felt that having the presentations in their native language was important. They were also grateful to have the group leaders of a similar cultural background. As a father of two who participated in eight sessions described it:

Having the parenting course in Somali with Somali group leaders was very appealing for my participation. If the topics and discussions were interpreted from Swedish to my language, I might have lost my interest because you are not going to understand the way you want, that was what made me continue to come to the sessions.

Most of the parents were satisfied with the group leaders' pedagogical skills, seeing them as knowledgeable and willing to allow the parents the opportunity to ask questions. Sometimes the group leaders used metaphors, Somali proverbs, examples, and expressions to explain the content and enhance understanding. Many parents underscored the importance of having group leaders who share the same culture and language as them. Another important characteristic the parents admired was that the group leaders were respected in the community, well-educated, honourable, well-established in the society, and summoning the courage to travel to an unfamiliar country and then become an involved parent in the new home country.

DISCUSSION

This study explored the experiences of Somali-born parents who participated in the culturally tailored parenting support programme Ladnaan. The study also investigated the pivotal parts of the programme. The participants stressed the value of acquiring knowledge of parenting systems in the host country that facilitated their acculturation challenges and strengthened their parenting role and the parent-child relationship. After completion of the programme, the participants felt they increased their belief in their ability to parent successfully and became more aware of, and available for, their children's needs and behaviour. The results suggest that two topics from the societal information component and six from the Connect programme component were most important for parental support behaviour and child–parent dialogue. The deliverance of the Ladnaan programme, being culturally sensitive, was necessary for their engagement and the acceptability of the parenting support programme.

The Somali parents stated that the societal information component helped to increase their self-confidence and parental skills in the new country. This gained trust in oneself was mostly related to the feeling of being a competent parent and having confidence in Sweden's Family and Child Welfare Services as a supportive authority. Previous studies have shown that many immigrant parents have a general fear of Family and Child Welfare Services, largely because of concerns about out-of-home care of their child. This fear seems to be a significant source of stress in parenting and of conflicts of power between parents and children (7,8,10,12,13).

In this study, we found that six of the nine topics in the Connect programme were important to parents, helping them to become emotionally aware, committed, and available for their children. In our previous study, we observed that the parenting programme effectively reduced the children's behaviour problems (21) and improved parents' mental health, efficacy, and satisfaction in parenting (25).

Discrepancies and conflicts between immigrant parents and their children in the host country have been explained in terms of acculturation-based conflicts rather than everyday conflicts (11,29). In a recent Swedish study conducted with Somali parents' need for parenting support (8), parents described that the conflicts with their children were mostly due to acculturation dissonance. However, the present findings showed that when parents gained information about the parents and children's rights in the host country, as well as understanding the children's behaviour, needs and independence, the acculturation conflicts transformed into everyday conflicts. Everyday conflicts might not entail the same threat to the parent–child relationship and children's mental health as acculturation-based conflicts (11).

This study illustrates a paradox in the sense that interventions, which are tailored to immigrant parents, contribute to integration, which contradicts studies that suggest it might stigmatise parents or reinforce segregation. A prominent feature of Ladnaan is that it was delivered from a cultural sensitivity perspective. This approach is consistent with studies showing the importance of cultural sensitivity in the delivery of parenting programmes (4,5,15,16,30). Presenting the parenting support programme in the participants' native language played a vital role in their receptivity to and retentiveness of the programme's content. After the parenting styles session was delivered by a Swedish-speaking person and interpreted by one of the group leaders, most of the parents could not recollect the core messages of the session. This lack of recall might be explained by the fact that this was the only session not delivered in a culturally sensitive manner. Another key

aspect related to cultural sensitivity was the use of metaphors, proverbs, and other figurative languages to help convey specific kinds of information. This strategy helped the parents to better relate to the topics and ways that this new knowledge could be applied to their daily challenges as parents (14). It was not only the shared language and culture that the parents appreciated but also the group leaders' personality traits and migration experiences as parents. In addition, the group leaders were educated, established, and integrated into the new society. In a systematic review, the overriding feature that facilitated increased participation, engagement, and retention in parenting support programmes was having trusted and skilled group leaders (15).

Methodological considerations

The trustworthiness of this study was enhanced by the rich description of data collection, analysis, and reporting of the findings (26). Credibility was achieved by gathering data from a large number of participants, representing 86% of all participants in the parenting programme. Thus, data saturation was achieved as well as variation and similarities among the participants' experiences. The interviews were conducted in the participants' native language and were held at venues agreed upon by the participants. No systematic differences were observed between the interviews conducted by the first author (FO) and a research assistant. One limitation concerns response bias: the participants might have given a positive view of the parenting programme because of a desire to please the researchers. However, the first author was not involved in delivering the parenting programme. Because the interviews were conducted two months after the participants completed the parenting programme, this potential bias might have been partially alleviated. Another potential limitation but also a strength is that the first author, who conducted two-thirds of the interviews and the first phase of the analysis, has the same background as the participants. Thus, the investigator might be influenced by her preunderstandings and insider perspective. However, in a qualitative study the researcher is the main tool for collecting and analysing data. To achieve credibility and conformability of the study discussion and continuous dialogue between all authors were maintained while data were analysed and the findings reported. Dependability was achieved through triangulation of the analysis, that is, inductive and deductive analyses were performed and then the categories were linked. The participants' quotations contribute to the confirmability of the study and show the connection between the transcribed interviews and the findings.

As for the transferability of the study, further studies should be run to clarify whether the present findings can be extended to other settings and people. Indeed, no other studies we know of have focused on this topic. What may facilitate such transferability is a consideration of the unique needs of the participants when developing a parenting programme. Although this study provides some knowledge about the participants' experiences of a parenting programme, we still do not know whether their positive experiences are shared by their children. Further research is also needed on the experiences of group leaders and their perceptions of parents' attitudes towards the culturally tailored parenting programme. Finally, research needs to examine the factors that were important for the implementation of the Ladnaan programme so that it can be implemented on a large scale.

CONCLUSION

The present study contributes to a better understanding of not only the Somali parents' experiences of participating in a culturally tailored parenting support programme but also of the parts of the Ladnaan programme that were regarded as most supportive for their parenting. Such knowledge is helpful in understanding how a culturally tailored parenting programme might be implemented. Our results indicate that the programme prepared and facilitated modifications in parenting orientations among immigrants to a new country and reduced acculturative stress. These findings may contribute to a roadmap of how to culturally tailor and implement a parenting support programme.

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CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Appendix S1 Interview guide.