

PARENTING PRACTICES, COMMUNICATION ABOUT ADOPTION AND CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS IN ADOPTIVE FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

Aspects relating to adoption have not been much in focus of psychology research in Latvia. The aim of the study was to investigate associations between parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and child behavior problems in adoptive families raising school-age children, as well as to investigate to what extent parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption, as well as parent's perception of adopted child's adverse childhood experiences explains the internalized and externalized child behavior problems. Participants were 130 adoptive parents (94.6% women and 5.4% men) who are currently raising at least one adopted child between the ages of 7 and 18 (50.8% girls, 49.2% boys). Alabama Parenting Questionnaire, psychological control scale from Block's Child Rearing Practices Report, parent report form of the Child Behavior Checklist were used in the study, as well as Kirk's Adoption Questionnaire, which was adapted as part of the study. Results of the study revealed that adverse childhood experience, empathy for the child's understanding and feelings about adoption, maladaptive parenting practices – inconsistent discipline and low involvement predict internalized behavior problems. On the other hand, poor monitoring/ supervision, psychological control, as well as adverse childhood experience and acknowledgement of differences related to adoption by adoptive parents predict externalized behavior problems. Implications for practice include recommendation to empathize the importance of positive parenting practices during pre and post-adoption trainings for adoptive parents.

Keywords: *adoption, adverse childhood experiences, child behavior problems, communication about adoption, parenting practices*

Introduction

Out of more than 5,500 children who currently live in out-of-family care system in Latvia every year on average 86 children are adopted domestically. Every year there are also several cases where adoption is terminated (6 in 2021, 12 in 2020) (State Inspectorate for Protection of Children's Rights, 2021).

Adoption research has concluded that adopted children are at greater risk of experiencing psychological, behavioral and academic difficulties and they experience more mental health referrals than their nonadopted peers (Duncan et al., 2021). This is primarily explained by exposure to various risk factors prior adoption, such as heritable factors, prenatal adversity, adverse childhood experiences etc., but also by post-adoption influences (Paine et al., 2020). Various theoretical models have been constructed to explain the causes of behavioral problems of adopted children. Adopted children's difficulties are best explained by a model that considers both pre-adoption and post-adoption factors (Peters, 1999). It also suggests that family processes have a greater impact on child development than the child's pre-adoption experiences and emphasizes the role of adoptive family's sense of coherence (Ji et al., 2010) and the key role of relationship quality (Balenzano et al., 2018). It has been found that parenting quality mitigates the effects of negative pre-adoption experiences on behavioral difficulties (Kriebel & Wentzel, 2011).

Research also suggests that adoption as an intervention has a beneficial effect on children's physical, cognitive and psychosocial development after experienced adversity (Duncan et al., 2021, Juffer & Van Ijzendoorn, 2005, Palacios et al., 2011, Rutter, 1998), significantly improving developmental outcomes of adopted children (Paine et al., 2020). At the same time, research has concluded (Duncan et al., 2021) that adoptive parenting can be both a protective and a risk factor for adopted children's mental health and behavioral problems, depending on its nature. Research has found that this can be a significant protective factor when parenting practices moderate the impact of adverse childhood experiences. Negative parenting practices can have adverse effects on the health and behavior of adopted children, whereas positive parenting has an overall positive effect. Studies have also found a general positive relationship between communication openness about adoption and the child's behavior. However, the results of previous studies about communication openness and child's behavior are marked by inconsistency (Brodzinsky, 2006, Neil, 2009).

Since the parenting practices used by adoptive parents and the way of communication about adoption are associated with different developmental outcomes of adopted children, the aim of the study was to explore the associations between parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption with children's behavioral problems. Furthermore, the study aimed to find out, to what extent parenting, attitudes and communication about adoption, as well as parents' perception of children's adverse childhood experiences, explain children's internalizing and externalizing behavior problems. The study was conducted in the population of adoptive parents in Latvia, which has been little studied. So far, only personality characteristics of adoptive parents have been explored in psychology research in Latvia (Slišāne & Strika, 2016).

Communication about adoption and child's behavior

According to research (Pinderhughes & Brodzinsky, 2019), communication about adoption is one of the important tasks of adoptive parents, who must decide when and what information about the adoption to share with the child.

Providing information about adoption is an evolving process that begins in the early preschool years with a relatively simple story that increases in complexity according to development of child's cognitive and emotional skills (Palacios & Brodzinsky, 2010). Communication about adoption is a family interaction process and it is more than simple exchange of information.

Communication about adoption is closely related to the so-called strategies of "acknowledgement-of-differences / rejection-of-differences", which were defined within the framework of the shared fate theory developed by Daniel Kirk (Kirk, 1964). According to Kirk's theory, some adoptive parents deny any differences with biological parenthood, but there are also adoptive parents who acknowledge their differences with biological families. These parents are more empathetic and communicate more openly about adoption with their adopted children, which in turn promotes healthier parent-child relationships and more stable family life (Palacios & Brodzinsky, 2010).

Association between communication about adoption and the behavior of adopted children has been examined in several of studies, which have revealed a general positive relationship. Two cross-sectional studies found that communication openness was associated with fewer adolescent behavior problems (Aramburu Alegret et al., 2020), emotional instability, and negativity (Soares et al., 2017). It was also found that more open communication about adoption within the family is related to fewer behavior problems in preadolescent adopted children (Brodzinsky, 2006). However, Neil's study concluded that open communication has no relationship (neither positive nor negative) with children's internalized or externalized behavior problems (Neil, 2009).

Parenting practices and behavior of children

It has been well established in research (Paine et al., 2020, Pinquart, 2017) that parenting practices both in adoptive and biological families are associated with child's behavior problems and ability to adapt. Among many parenting variables, parenting styles have been among the most frequently investigated (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005). Parenting styles – authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful have been defined by Baumrind (1966), Maccoby and Martin (1983). At least two dimensions – emotional warmth and control characterize parenting styles. Authoritative parenting style includes emotional warmth in combination with appropriate parenting control, whereas authoritarian parenting is characterized by insufficient emotion warmth in combination with harsh and tight control. Barber (1996) has introduced further distinction in the dimension of parental control – psychological control and behavioral control. The former intrudes into the psychological and emotional experience of the child, the latter attempts to control or manage children's behavior. Research has found that psychological control contributes to both internalized (depression) and externalized behavior problems (aggression, delinquent behavior) (Barber et al., 2012).

Associations between the dimensions of parenting and behavior of children have been studied largely (Pinquart, 2017) in biological families, but also in adoptive families (Duncan et al., 2021, Paine et al., 2020) Parental warmth, behavioral control, autonomy

granting, and an authoritative parenting style have negative associations with externalizing behavior problems. In contrast, harsh control, psychological control, authoritarianism, permissive and neglectful parenting have a higher association with externalizing behavior problems. The strongest correlations are observed between behavioral problems and harsh and psychological control (Pinquart, 2017). It should be noted, that the interaction between the child and the parents is bidirectional, i.e., dysfunctional parenting practices and children's behavior problems mutually influence each other.

Levels of warm, supportive communication and parental control are similar in adoptive and biological families, as well as in families with both adopted and biological children. However, the level of parent-child conflict is higher in families with adopted adolescents, and the behavior of adopted adolescents is less warm and at times more conflictual than that of non-adopted adolescents (Rueter et al., 2009). Research in the field of adoption has concluded that emotional warmth in the new family is an important protective factor contributing to a favorable adoption outcome (Anthony et al., 2019; Paine et al., 2020).

Studies of adoptive families have also concluded that the use of a positive parenting practices are associated with a significant decrease in children's internalized and externalized behavior problems over time. On the other hand, harsh parenting is unfavorable for the child's development and ability to adapt (Paine et al., 2020).

However, summarizing research findings on the factors that influence adopted children's behavioral problems and ability to adapt, it can be concluded that they are not predicted by any single risk factor, but by a set of different risk factors and protective factors (Roskam & Stievenart, 2014).

One of the relevant risk factors that influences adopted children's ability to adapt is adverse childhood experience – different forms of abuse, violence and neglect. It is found, that adverse childhood experiences are associated with a variety of physical, social, emotional, and behavioral problems (Hughes et al., 2017). However, there is little research (Juffer & van Ijzendoorn, 2005) that examines adverse childhood experiences specifically in high-risk samples, where such episodes have been experienced very likely and to a great extent. Adverse childhood experiences have been little studied in adopted child populations, although a number of studies conclude that adopted children have more pronounced emotional and behavioral problems than children from the general population. It was also concluded that negative experiences before adoption (adverse childhood experiences, time spent in institutions, older age entering the family) are associated with more explicit internalized and externalized behavior problems (Paine et al., 2020).

As previous research has indicated that parenting practices used by adoptive parents and attitude and communication about adoption are associated with different developmental outcomes of adopted children and no research about adoptive parents parenting practices and communication about adoption and its relationship with children's behavioral problems has been conducted specifically in Latvia, following research questions were proposed:

- 1) Are there associations between parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and child behavior problems in adoptive families?

- 2) To what extent do parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and parent's assessment of a child's negative early childhood experiences predict child behavior problems in adoptive families?

Methodology

Participants

130 adoptive parents participated in the study, including 123 adoptive mothers ranged in age from 20 to 65 years ($M = 45.57$, $SD = 6.02$) and 7 adoptive fathers from 40 to 47 years old ($M = 44.29$, $SD = 3.15$), raising at least one adoptive child aged 7 to 18 for at least one year. Participants were recruited using convenience sampling method by distributing electronic survey among adoptive parents via email with an invitation to participate in the study. 83% of participants stated having higher education, 4.6% unfinished higher education and 12.3% primary, secondary or professional education. Participants have reported about 130 children – 66 girls with the mean age 10.83 years ($SD = 2.89$) and 64 boys with the mean age 11.05 years ($SD = 2.93$). 50.8% of the children came to adoptive families by the age of 3. The average age of children entering the family was 3.06 years ($SD = 2.68$). 80% of children have experienced institutional care, 32.3% of the children spent 1–2 years in institutional care, 17.7% 2–5 years, 26.9% less than a year, 3.1% more than five years. 72 participants reported to have one adopted child, 41 – two adopted children, 13 families – three adopted children, and 4 families – four adopted children. In addition, 23.1% of participants are also fostering children. 31.5% of participants reported having also biological children.

Procedure

Research was carried out in accordance with research ethics guidelines of the University of Latvia. A checklist on observation of ethical principles was completed and approved by the supervisor of the study project before the survey was conducted. Participation in the study was voluntary through an internet-based survey. Data were collected during the period from November 2022 to January 2023. Invitations to participate in the study were sent out by the Ministry of Welfare and seven out-of-family-care support centers to the databases of adoptive parents at their disposal.

Measures

Parenting practices were measured using the Latvian version of Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (APQ; Shelton et al., 1996, Kalniņa, 2006). APQ measures dimensions of parenting in five subscales: (1) positive involvement with children, (2) use of positive discipline techniques, (3) supervision and monitoring, (4) consistency in the use of discipline and (5) use of corporal punishment. 35 out of original 42 items were used in the study. The study did not include seven items about individual disciplining methods, which are included in original questionnaire as separate questions without combining them to a scale. In addition to APQ 18 item psychological control scale from Block's

Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPS; Roberts et al., 1984, Sebre & Skreitule-Pikše, 2009) was used to measure parenting practices of adoptive parents. Participants were asked to rate each item on a 5-point scale (1 = not like me at all, 5 = very much like me). The internal reliability of scales were as follows: Involvement .87, Positive Parenting .77, Poor Monitoring/Supervision .84, Inconsistent Discipline .50, Corporal Punishment .71, and Psychological Control .81.

The children's internalizing and externalizing behaviors were measured by parental form of Latvian version of the Child behavior Checklist for ages 6 to 18 years old (CBCL 6–18, Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001, Sebre & Laizāne, 2006, Skreitule-Pikše et al., 2013). This questionnaire includes 112 items that assess the child's emotional and behavioral problems. Parents were asked to rate each item on a scale from 0 – 2, where 0 is “not true”, 1 – “somewhat or sometimes true”, 2 – “very true or often true”. In this study, two aggregated scales were used – internalizing behaviors, including anxious/ depressed, withdrawn/ depressed and somatic complaints, and externalizing behaviors, including aggressive and rule-breaking behaviors. The internal reliability of the internalizing behaviors scale was .89 and .93 for externalizing behaviors.

Communication and attitudes towards adoption were measured using a parental parent self-report measure – Kirk's Adoption Questionnaire (KAQ), which has been developed in 1981 to validate the shared fate theory (Kirk, 1981). KAQ was adapted as part of this study. Adaption was based on the Latvian version of a self-assessment questionnaire included in Latvian edition of the book “Telling the Truth to your Adopted or Foster Child. Making Sense of the Past” by Smalley and Schooler (2012), which in turn is based on Kirk's original survey (Smally & Schooler, 2012, Smolija & Skūlere, 2022). Two of the articles have been clarified and adapted to modern days and cultural context. For example, the question included in the original survey “How often have you told your child whether his parents were married?”, which was relevant in US cultural environment in the last century, has been replaced by a question more relevant to the modern context “How often have you answered the child's questions about his parents honestly and as completely as possible?”.

KAQ measures following dimensions of adoption in three subscales: (1) acknowledgement of differences (AOD), (2) parents empathy for the child's understanding and feelings about adoption and (3) communication about adoption. Measure of AOD was recently validated by Lo and colleagues in a study about relevance of the shared fate theory in the current era of open adoptions (Lo et al., 2021). Parents were asked to rate each of 14 items using 4-point scale, where 1 is “never”, 2 – “infrequently”, 3 – “sometimes” and 4 – “often”. The internal reliability of AOD scale was .85, Empathy .85 and Communication .93.

In order to measure adoptive parent's perception of their child's adverse childhood experiences parents have been asked to rate the statement “My child has faced adverse childhood experiences (physical, emotional or sexual abuse, neglect, loss of relatives, etc.) using 5-point scale, where 1 is “strongly disagree” and 5 – “strongly agree”.

Data processing

Spearman's correlational analysis was used in order to examine associations between parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and child behavior in adoptive families. Linear regression analysis with stepwise procedure was used to establish to what extent the parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and parents' perception of the adopted child's adverse childhood experience predict child's behavior in adoptive families. Internalizing behavior problems and externalizing behavior problems as dependent variables were examined separately. The data were processed and the results were calculated using the statistical data processing program IBM SPSS Statistics 22.

Results

To answer the research question about associations between parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and child behavior in adoptive families, Spearman's correlations were computed (see Table 1). Significant associations were found between all parenting practices and child behavior problems, ranging from $r_s = .20, p < .05$ to $r_s = .44, p < .01$. Negative correlations were found between involvement and positive parenting and both – internalizing and externalizing child behavior problems. Strongest correlations were found between poor supervision and externalizing behavior problems ($r_s = .44, p < .01$), and psychological control and externalizing behavior problems ($r_s = .38, p < .01$).

Regarding adoption, significant positive associations were found between parent's empathy towards the child's understanding and feelings about adoption and child's internalized behavior problems ($r_s = .20, p < .05$), and communication about adoption and child's internalized behavior problems ($r_s = .28, p < .01$). Significant positive correlations were also found between acknowledgement of differences and externalizing behavior problems ($r_s = .29, p < .01$), and communication about adoption and externalizing behavior problems ($r_s = .26, p < .01$).

Table 1 Intercorrelations between parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and child behavior problems ($n = 130$)

	Behavioral problems	
	Internalised behavior	Exsternalised behavior
Involvement	-.29**	-.31**
Positive parenting	-.24**	-.26**
Poor monitoring/ supervision	.33**	.44**
Inconsistent discipline	.24**	.26**
Corporal punishment	.20*	.26**
Psychological control	.20*	.38**
Acknowledgement of differences	.15	.29**
Empathy	.20*	.16
Communication	.28**	.26**

* .05, ** .01

To answer the research question, to what extent the parenting practices, attitude and communication about adoption and parents' perception of the adopted child's adverse childhood experience predict child's behavior in adoptive families, linear regression analysis with stepwise procedure was performed. Internalizing behavior problems (see Table 2) and externalizing behavior problems (see Table 3) as dependent variables were examined separately.

From all the variables used as independent variables conducting the stepwise regression analysis with internalizing behavior problems as the dependent variable, four yielded statistically significant results (see Table 2) – adverse childhood experiences, empathy for the child's understanding and feelings about adoption, positive involvement and consistency of discipline in the model explained 21% of internalizing behavior problems variance ($F(4, 125) = 8.35^{**}$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .21$).

From all the variables used as independent variables conducting the stepwise regression analysis with externalizing behavior problems as the dependent variable, four yielded statistically significant results (see Table 3) – poor monitoring/supervision, psychological control, adverse childhood experience, and acknowledgement of differences in the model explained 42% of externalizing behavior problems variance ($F(4, 125) = 22.58^{***}$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .42$).

Table 2 Linear regression analysis results of internalized behavior problems with stepwise procedure ($n = 130$)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Adverse childhood experiences	1.44	.4	.29**
Empathy	.51	.21	.19*
Involvement	.26	.13	.17*
Incontistence	.44	.87	.27*

Note. $F(4, 125) = 8.35$, $.001$, $R^2 = .21$
 * .05, ** .001

Table 3 Linear regression analysis results of externalized behavior problems with stepwise procedure ($n = 130$)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Poor supervision/ monitoring	.62	.15	.31***
Psychological control	7.97	1.88	.3***
Adverse childhood experiences	1.64	.55	.21**
Acknowledgement of differences	.49	.2	.18*

Note. $F(4, 125) = 22.58$, $.001$, $R^2 = .42$
 * .05, ** .01, *** .001

Discussion

The study was conducted with the aim of finding out what associations exist between parenting practices, attitudes and communication about adoption and children's behavior problems in adoptive families raising school-age children, as well as to establish to what extent parenting approaches, attitudes and communication about adoption, as well as parents' perception of children's adverse childhood experiences predict behavior problems of children.

The results revealed correlations – negative and positive, between all parenting practices used by adoptive parents and children's internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, confirming once again that parenting practices are reflected in children's behavior, and vice versa – children's behavior induces parents' actions.

Adoptive parents' active involvement in children's lives and positive parenting is associated with fewer internalizing and externalizing behavior problems. By using positive parenting practices and being more involved in child's activities, adoptive parents can help child to reduce or prevent behavioral problems. At the same time, the results also indicate that parents respond more positively to children having less behavioral difficulties.

Correlations have also been found between unfavorable parenting approaches – poor supervision, inconsistent discipline, corporal punishment, psychological control, and more expressed internalized and externalized behavior problems. This demonstrates that use of negative parenting approaches is associated with both externalized and internalized behavioral problems in children.

The results of this study are in line with findings in previous adoption studies concluding that positive parenting approaches in adoptive families are associated with a significant decrease in children's behavior problems over time, but harsh parenting, characterized by negative and intrusive interaction, is unfavorable for child development (Paine et al., 2020).

The most pronounced correlations in the study were found between lack of parental supervision over the child's activities, and psychological control, which is characterized by limiting and manipulating the child's psychological and emotional experience, and children's externalized behavior problems. These findings are in accord with previous studies of biological families (Pinquart, 2017). It can be concluded that the relationships between adoptive parents' child-rearing behavior and adopted children's behavioral problems display similar trends as found in studies of biological families.

Parents' empathy for the child's understanding and feelings about the adoption correlates with child's internalizing behavior problems. This association could be explained by the fact that an adoptive parent who is empathetic to the child's feelings about the adoption notices also child's internalized behavior problems.

Acknowledgement of differences indicating the extent to which adoptive parents recognize the adoption as having implications for themselves and for adopted children, and communication about adoption, characterized by the presence and intensity of dialogue with the adopted child about adoption, are significantly related to externalizing behavior problems. The results of previous research on the relationship between open

communication about adoption and its correlation to children's behavior are mixed. Some studies have concluded that open communication is associated with fewer child behavior problems (Aramburu Alegret, et al., 2020, Audet & Le Maret, 2011 Brodzinsky, 2006, Tarroja, 2015), however, there are also studies where the relationship between open communication and child behavior problems has not been found (Neil, 2009). It could be assumed that the positive association found in this study between acknowledgement of differences, communication about adoption and more pronounced externalizing behavior problems could be explained by the fact that families facing children's behavioral problems communicate more about the adoption. As long as adoptive families do not face children's behavioral problems, parents may choose not to talk about adoption with the child and do not acknowledge differences from biological families. Such an assumption is in line with Brodzinski's thesis that rejection of differences in the adoptive family is not always a conscious choice or avoidance strategy, but may mean that the family has not yet faced any adoption related problems. When problems arise, the family may choose to not only acknowledge differences, but also even to emphasize them, which, in turn, may also become an indicator of family system dysfunction (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990). At the same time, it could be concluded from the results of this study that the existence of open communication with the child about adoption in itself is not related to fewer behavioral problems of the child. Content of the communication about adoption could be an important aspect in the dialogue between adoptive parents and child.

The results of the regression analysis revealed that adverse childhood experiences, adoptive parents' empathy towards the child's understanding and feelings about adoption, as well as unfavorable parenting approaches – inconsistent discipline and low parental involvement explain 21% of the child's internalized behavior problems. It can be concluded that in cases where a child with adverse childhood experience is placed in an adoptive family, where the parents show empathy towards the child's feelings about the adoption experience, but are little involved in his upbringing and are inconsistent in raising and disciplining the child, the child could feel depressed, anxious and suffer from somatic symptoms.

Poor supervision, psychological control, as well as adverse childhood experience and acknowledgement of differences explain 42% of children's externalized behavior problems. Therefore, it can be predicted that in cases where a child with adverse childhood experience is raised by adoptive parents who emphasize adoptive families differences from biological families, but do not supervise the child's activities and use psychological control, such as creating feelings of guilt and shame, emotions denial, manipulation of self-esteem and unjustified criticism, the child could behave more aggressively and break the rules more often.

The study also has several limitations – it is cross-sectional and relies on parents' report only. In further research it would be meaningful to include third persons reports (e.g., teacher), as well as study parenting practices and child behavior longitudinally. Attitudes and communication about adoption were measured using the Kirk's Adoption Questionnaire, which differs from the methods used in other studies of communication openness in

adoption research (child surveys and semi-structured parent interviews), thus the obtained results should be interpreted with some caution. For the analysis of the adverse childhood experience parents' assessment of the child's experience was used, which is by no means comprehensive, because adoptive parents in Latvia mostly have only limited information about the child's family history and experiences before entering the adoptive family.

Despite the limitations, results of the study could be used for further research about different factors contributing to child behavior problems in adoptive families and about the role of communication about adoption in adoptive families. Study results may also be used to justify the need for pre and post adoption parent training programs with emphasis on development of positive parenting skills.

Conclusions

The results of the study generally confirm that positive parenting practices – parental involvement, positive and warm parenting can be considered as protective factors in adoptive families that positively influence children's behavior, while less successful and negative parenting practices – poor supervision, inconsistent disciplining, physical punishment and psychological control are considered risk factors and are associated with child's behavior problems. However, at the same time, it should be noted, that the study found correlations, not causal relationships, and children's behavior affects also the parenting practices chosen by adoptive parents. It can also be concluded that open and empathetic communication with the child about adoption, as well as acknowledgement of the differences are not associated with fewer behavioral problems of the child, on the contrary, acknowledgement of the differences related to adoption, empathy towards the child's understanding of adoption and communication about adoption in this study showed associations with child behavior problems.

The results of the study provide a basis for the assumption that communication about adoption and empathy for the child's feelings have positive impact in cases when they are combined with positive and adaptive parenting practices. In cases where parenting practices chosen by parents are not consistent and implemented with insufficient involvement, communication and empathy about adoption can also contribute to the child's behavior problems. Certainly, this assumption should be tested in further research.

The results of the study confirm that an important risk factor for a child's successful development is adverse childhood experience, which, together with other variables, predicts both internalized and externalized behavior problems.

Despite of several limitations, this study provides valuable information on adoptive parents' parenting practices, attitudes, and communication about adoption and their correlations to the internalized and externalized behavior problems of the adopted child, as well as gives insight about the factors that predict child behavior problems in the adoptive families. The findings empathize the need for pre and post-adoption parent training programs with focus on positive parenting practices.

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