

1-1-2021

Haitian Immigrant Parents' Perceptions on Acculturation and High-Risk Behaviors Among Their Children

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College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Weiselande Cesar

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Walden University

2021

Abstract

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Among Their Children

by

Weiselande Cesar

EdS, Barry University, 2009

MS, Barry University, 2003

BA, Barry University, 1996

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
School of Social and Behavioral Sciences

Walden University

December 2021

Abstract

Immigrant Haitian parents experience acculturative stress when adjusting to the norms and expectations of a new country. Acculturative stress may be exacerbated if their adolescent children display unfamiliar behaviors, which may result in a greater need for psychological assessments and education programs to mitigate the instances of family breakdown. Following Haiti's 2010 earthquake, there has been an increase in high-risk behaviors among Haitian adolescents. To date, there is limited research on acculturative stress in immigrant Haitian parents and how this stress may relate to their actions and perceptions of high-risk behaviors in their adolescent children. In this case study data were collected from survey data and semi structured interviews with six Haitian immigrant parents of adolescent children, ages 13 to 19. Participants described their perceptions shaped by acculturation with respect to at-risk behaviors in their children. From an analysis of the data, five themes emerged: (a) the role of respect for parents and elderly authority figures; (b) Haitian austerity versus American luxury/freedom; (c) Haitian community disapproval versus American jailtime; (d) parents' perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior; and (e) tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation. These results may shed light on the cultural factors forming Haitian parental perceptions of high-risk behaviors and may help to reach an understanding of the cultural aspects contributing to maladaptive behaviors among adolescents of Haitian immigrants in the United States. Potential positive implications for social change that could result from this study is a potential platform for community leaders to design effective intervention programs to prevent family breakdowns in this immigrant population.

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Dedication

This study contributing to the body of work related to immigrant parents' perceptions of Haitian youth high-risk behavior is humbly dedicated to my children, my mother, and students who inspire me continuously. It is dedicated to the highest most spirit within, lighting my path and propelling me to push forward and discover the unlimited strength and talent for me to create. This tireless and relentless process was a journey of self-discovery and human development. While embarking on this journey to become an agent of positive social change and a scholar, I have had experiences, both positive and challenging, nudging me to reach my highest self. Many individuals, whether knowingly or unknowingly, have impacted me and contributed to the process. I am grateful for my extended family in the educational arena and the arts and culture sectors.

Acknowledgments

I am sending an utmost heartfelt thank you to the great women in my circle, especially the ones I dance with, which is a form of praising for me. These women serve as pillars for the community where they live, work, and network. A million thanks to my mother who migrated to this country at the age of 60. She did not go to school but cared for us who did. Lastly, I am grateful for Dr. Tina Jaeckle who was my dissertation chair and Dr. Andrew Carpenter who guided me through the tenacious and tireless proposal process.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Acculturation is defined as a unidimensional process describing the degree to which an individual moving from one culture to another adopts the new culture. Acculturation is typically measured through language preferences, country ties, and family and friends left behind can increase psychological distress for immigrants after a disaster strikes their homeland (Farrelly et al., 2013; Tobler et al., 2013). Many Haitian immigrants living in southern Florida have reported experiencing strong emotional reactions after experiencing the death, injury, displacement and loss of family and friends as a result of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti (Montilus, 2016). Even 8 years after the earthquake, Haitian immigrants continued to struggle to cope while separated from their home country (Hollenbaugh, 2015; Montilus, 2016).

The combination of risk factors associated with poverty, racial marginalization, immigration, and acculturation stress might contribute to problematic patterns of personality adjustment and difficulties in family and peer relationships, educational achievement, and vocational preparation (McMahon et al., 2013). Adolescents may be especially vulnerable to engaging in risky sexual behavior, such as unprotected sex and having multiple partners, which can result in adverse health outcomes like unintentional pregnancy and contracting human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) or other sexually transmitted infections (STIs; Wang et al., 2015). The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) estimated that nearly one half of the world's HIV infections have occurred among young people ages 15–24 (Wang et al., 2015). Scholars studying high-

risk behaviors among Caribbean youth have found that the rates of these young people having sex at an early age, having multiple sexual partners, and using condoms inconsistently have increased over time (Wang et al., 2015). According to a comprehensive health survey conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO), among 16,000 youth ages 10–18 in nine Caribbean nations, found that 50% of sexually active male youth and 25% of sexually active female youth reported having had their first sexual experience by age 10, and only 53% had used a condom during their last sexual encounter (Wang et al., 2015).

Additional stressors experienced by adolescents include physical violence and altercations (Calhoun et al., 2015). Physical altercations are common among high school girls in the United States. In 2011, 36% of all high school girls reported having been involved in a physical altercation, and 18% reported having carried a weapon within the last 30 days (Calhoun et al., 2015; Glaser et al., 2015; Stoddard, et al., 2012). In total, 17% of high school students reported having carried a gun or other weapon within the past 30 days (Calhoun et al., 2015). Weapon carrying by adolescents is associated with intimidation and risk of serious injury. In 2009, the nation's crime rate accelerated to an all-time high, revealing that of 70% students entering high school, 1.2 million were dropping out yearly (Thompson, 2011). Others researching youth engaged in high-risk behaviors, such as the sex trade, have indicated that these youth often have a history of child abuse (Kaestle 2012). In urban areas of southern Florida, some Haitian youth identify themselves with the organized group *Zo* or *Zo Pound* (Douyon et al., 2005). The Center for Haitian Studies shared reports from intervention participants that groups of

young Haitian people had engaged in street activities like drug trafficking, organized fights, and wearing gang colors. Moreover, these groups had all the characteristics of gangs (Douyon et al., 2005; *Miami Herald* Staff, 1997). In the following sections, I will discuss the issues that led to the formation of the proposed study. I will also present the problem statement, the gap in the body of knowledge, the study methodology, the theoretical concepts underlying the study, and the study's scope, limitations, and delimitations. I will conclude the chapter with a discussion of the study's significance and a summary.

Background

On January 12, 2010, a 7.3-magnitude earthquake occurred in Haiti (Silvestre et al., 2014; U.S. Geological Survey, 2010). The devastation was extensive, and the Haitian government reported that an estimated 222,000 people were killed. Seven-hundred thousand civilians became homeless or were displaced and 300,000 individuals sustained nonfatal injuries (Messiah et al., 2014). More recent data have revealed the death toll to be more than 300,000 people (U.S. Embassy, 2012). The earthquake destroyed Port-au-Prince, which resulted in approximately 19 million cubic meters of rubble and debris (Silvestre et al., 2014). Among the 1.9 million people who were displaced by the disaster, 1.3 million were accommodated with improvised camps close to the zone. Six-hundred thousand people sought refuge in rural areas (Messiah et al., 2014). The increase of immigration after a natural disaster can lead to acculturation stress. There are about 546,000 Haitian immigrants in the United States and many more have immigrated illegally (Lenz & Hollenbaugh, 2015). The selected population for the current study, was

Northeast Miami Dade, Florida—is home to more than 250,000 Haitian descendants (Kobetz et al., 2013).

Many of the residents of Little Haiti are recent post-earthquake immigrants (Kobetz et al., 2013). Higher levels of reported acculturative stress—or the psychological effects of adapting to a new culture—are related to decreased quality of life, including physical and psychological health issues among Haitian immigrants (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011). There are several types of traumatic events that can lead to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which are categorized as (a) abuse (i.e., mental, sexual, verbal or physical); (b) catastrophes (i.e., accidents, natural disasters, and terrorism); (c) violent attacks (i.e., assault, abuse, domestic violence, and rape); and (d) war, battle, and combat (i.e., death, explosion, and shootings).

Various scholars have conducted research in the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake regarding mental health and PTSD (Kobetz et al., 2013; Messiah et al., 2014). In a study of PTSD with 421 respondents, 31 were found to have PTSD from direct exposure (i.e., being in Haiti at the time of the earthquake), 257 had PTSD from indirect exposure (i.e., not being in Haiti at the time of the earthquake but having relatives and/or friends who were killed or injured in the earthquake), and 122 met the criterion of lower exposure (i.e., being neither direct nor indirectly exposed). Sixty-one percent of the participants were women, with a mean age of 47 years (Messiah et al., 2014). These findings were consistent with an increase of psychopathological consequences and an increased severity of exposure to natural disaster (Messiah et al., 2014). Factor et al. (2013) developed a cultural resistance framework addressing the widespread pattern of

members of some nondominant group minorities engaging in high-risk behaviors.

Hamilton et al. (2014) examined whether the association between subjective socioeconomic status (SES) and substance use and parental education and substance use varied by immigrant generation. Most adolescents (73%) experienced instances of racial/ethnic discrimination where 42% of which were *somewhat disturbing* or *very disturbing*. Adolescents reporting frequent and disturbing racial/ethnic discrimination were at increased risk of all measured behaviors, except alcohol and marijuana use. Adolescents who experienced any racial/ethnic discrimination were at increased risk for victimization and depression.

Mowen and Schroeder (2015) researched different parenting styles between racial groups and found that regardless of race, authoritative parenting was the least productive style in preventing juvenile delinquency among all ethnic groups. Tobler et al. (2013) examined the perceived frequency and intensity of racial/ethnic discrimination and associations with high-risk behaviors among adolescents. The researchers' focus was on behavioral health outcomes relating to marijuana, other drug use, alcohol, physical aggression, delinquency, victimization, depression, anxiety, and sexual behaviors like unsafe sex (Tobler et al., 2013). The authors found that transnational ties and social connections can increase psychological distress for immigrants indirectly exposed to the aftermath of a disaster striking their homeland (Tobler et al., 2013). High proportions of Haitian immigrants living in southern Florida reported experiencing strong emotional reactions due to having family members and close friends killed, injured, displaced, or missing in the aftermath of the earthquake (Tobler et al., 2013).

Although prior researchers have made enormous contributions to the understanding of the roles of acculturation, cultural values, and family functioning on the mental health of Hispanic youth (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012), similar insights are lacking in the context of Haitian youth. Specifically, Haitian parents' perceptions are unknown regarding Haitian adolescents' high-risk behaviors; these perceptions may be shaped by parental acculturation and their cultural lens. Dass-Brailsford et al. (2015) conducted research to assess the psychological consequences of the earthquake on children ages 9–12. All the participants had high levels of anxiety, depression, and trauma in comparison to normative groups (Dass-Brailsford et al., 2015). In the present study, I aimed to add to the body of knowledge on cultural lens and acculturation factors with respect to parental perceptions and high-risk behaviors.

Problem Statement

Acculturating into a new cultural environment involves social and emotional challenges (Sirin et al., 2013). Acculturation is a demanding process after a natural disaster and is frequently accompanied by stress and adjustment difficulties (Consedine et al., 2014). For Haitian immigrants, the most daunting barriers occur once they are ashore in southern Florida (Douyon et al., 2005). *Acculturative stress* refers to stress resulting from the acculturation process into a new country (Smart & Smart, 1995). In addition, Haitian immigrant parents experience acculturative stress when adjusting to new norms and expectations, while simultaneously facing their adolescents' displays of unfamiliar behaviors (Carson et al., 2011; Derivois et al., 2014).

Immigrants are repeatedly exposed to acculturation patterns of experiences and expressions that reflect their own cultural values of experiences and expressions (Consedine et al., 2014). Acculturation affects immigrants psychosocially and psychologically because the process involves norms, customs, and expectations, as well as emotion, cognition, and behavior (Consedine et al., 2014). In the current study, I sought to understand acculturation stress specific to Haitian immigrant parents since 2010, as this may aid the understanding of Haitian parental perceptions with respect to their adolescents' high-risk behaviors. The results could lead to the development of effective education intervention programs for these parents who recognize signs of high-risk behaviors and seek necessary help.

The aspect of culture is broad, and scholars would benefit from considering other cultural factors, such as spirituality, in relation to high-risk behaviors (Yeh et al., 2011). Previous researchers studying juvenile delinquency have failed to differentiate it into constructs like maladaptive conduct or high-risk behaviors, substance abuse, and unsafe sex (Jackson et al., 2012). Buehler and Gerard (2013) used accumulative risk as a theoretical perspective to explain variability in youths' adjustment difficulties. Parents' SES (Jackson et al., 2012), marital status, psychological stress, and parenting style were attributing factors included in Buehler and Gerard's study. Cumulative risk is associated with adolescence mental health (Buehler & Gerard, 2013). The results indicate a heightened family risk associated concurrently with children's increased externalizing problems over time.

Cumulative family risk was associated simultaneously with lower grades and declining grades over time for children (Buehler & Gerard, 2013). The array of risk factors associated with poverty, racial marginalization, immigration and acculturation stress might contribute to problematic patterns of personality adjustment and related difficulties in the areas of family and peer relationships, educational achievement, and vocational preparation, among others (McMahon et al., 2013). Few qualitative studies have been conducted to explore and document acculturative stress as a cultural factor forming Haitians' parental perceptions of adolescents' high-risk behaviors after the 2010 earthquake.

Purpose of the Study

The focus of this multiple case study was to explore Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions, which are shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, of their children's high-risk behaviors. Acculturation risk factors contribute to problematic patterns of personality adjustment among family and peer relationships and influence educational achievement, and vocational preparation (McMahon et al., 2013). A broader understanding of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents and the factors that shape those perceptions could lead to better interventions and education to address high-risk behaviors among adolescent children.

In this study, an interpretivist epistemology was applied as a research paradigm to explore Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's high-risk behaviors. A research paradigm can be described as a "set of interrelated assumptions about the social world which provides a philosophical and conceptual framework for the organized study

of that world” (Ponterotto, 2005; p.127). In this study, segmented assimilation (Koo et al., 2012) and social cognitive theory (SCT; Bandura, 1986) were used to form the theoretical framework. However, the research paradigm was based on an interpretivist epistemology to interpret, analyze, and understand the meaning of social reality as ascribed by the participants to their reality (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). Interpretivism can be traced back to multiple fields of research, including anthropology, sociology, and phenomenology (Levers, 2013). Through the assertion that it is not possible to separate reality from its knowledge (e.g., the lack of separation between object and subject), the interpretivist paradigm suggests that truth can be obtained through dialogue. This paradigm also acknowledges that the values of a researcher are present across all steps of the research (Levers, 2013). Thus, claims about the findings were developed as part of the proceeds of the investigation. The results were derived based on dialogue among multiple group members (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). In this approach, it is important that a dialogue is developed among participants and researchers (Levers, 2013). Through such interactions, an informed knowledge about the social universe can be obtained (Levers, 2013). Additionally, the interpretations are specific to their context in time and location and thus can be negotiated and reinterpreted through dialogue (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). Naturalistic tools, such as interviews, are preferred in interpretivism to facilitate dialogue, and as a result, meaning can emerge from a study (Levers, 2013). Haitian immigrant parents’ shared experiences help to broaden the understanding of their perceptions of their children’s high-risk behaviors.

In this study, I explored the cultural lens and acculturation factors influencing Haitian immigrant parental perceptions with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. I sought to provide rich descriptions of the cultural assimilation aspects forming Haitian parents' perceptions with respect to adolescents' high-risk behaviors. The results from this representative multiple case study could enable professional transformative leaders to understand Haitian immigrant parental perceptions with respect to high-risk behaviors. This may enable the design of effective education and intervention programs to prevent family breakdown. The phenomenon explored was the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens with respect to their contribution to their children's high-risk behaviors.

Research Questions

The research questions that guided the study were:

RQ1: How do Haitian immigrant parents perceive the relationship between their adolescent children's high-risk behavior and their children's attempts to assimilate in the new culture?

RQ2: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the general influence of their home culture in relation to the high-risk behavior of their adolescent children?

RQ3: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the process of assimilating to a new culture in relation to their adolescent children's high-risk behavior?

Theoretical Framework

The two theories that guided this study included segmented assimilation and SCT. Segmented assimilation theory argues that the assimilation process results in various

social, economic, and educational outcomes (Koo et al., 2012). Classical assimilation theorists agreed that immigrants engage in the process of assimilation into the dominant culture because it facilitates upward mobility (Peguro, 2011). In this study, the first two research questions were based on segmented assimilation theory. Segmented assimilation theory argues that the process of assimilation results in various social, economic, and educational outcomes (Koo et al., 2012). In the first research question, assimilation-related outcome involving high-risk behavior in children was addressed. Additionally, segmented assimilation scholars have posited that some immigrants face a dichotomy of worlds caught between the customs of the old world and the American mainstream (Bersani et al., 2014). In the second research question, this dichotomy is considered by focusing on the participants' perceptions regarding the norms of their adopted culture.

Bandura developed SCT in 1986. SCT asserts that learning occurs in a social context through a reciprocal interaction of the person, environment, and behavior. The main feature of SCT is an emphasis on social influence and the role of external and internal social reinforcement (Bandura, 1986). This theory considers the unique ways in which individuals acquire and maintain behavior. SCT also considers the social environment of the individuals (Bandura, 1986). In this study, the third research question was based on SCT and addressed the participants' perceptions of their role in adapting to the new culture and how that relates to high-risk behavior in their adolescent children. More details on the theoretical framework of the study is discussed in Chapter 2.

Nature of the Study

This study was conducted using a qualitative case study research design. A qualitative research method involves exploring a phenomenon through an inductive approach in which data collected from the participants are used to reach conclusions (Yilmaz, 2013). As it involves an inductive approach, the qualitative method allows researchers to ask why and how questions with no prior hypothesis (Mankelwicz & Kitahara, 2010). Instead, meanings derived from the data lead to themes or theories that answer the research questions (Yilmaz, 2013). In contrast, the quantitative method involves a deductive approach in which hypotheses are developed prior to the data collection and then tested through the data (Yilmaz, 2013). A mixed-methods approach involves the use of elements from both quantitative and qualitative methods (Mankelwicz & Kitahara, 2010). In this study, the focus of the research required an exploration of only the qualitative elements to conduct an inductive, open-ended inquiry on the experiences of immigrant parents; thus, the qualitative method was more suitable than quantitative and mixed methods.

The qualitative method accompanied the case study research design in this study. A case study is an intensive and detailed analysis of the members of a group or organization with shared experiences toward the same phenomena (Kjøllestad et al., 2014). Moreover, a case study has a definite time frame and space. Using the case study approach allowed for an in-depth look at the unique expressions of each parent (Hussein et al., 2014). Within the case study approach, the unit of observation was Haitian families with adolescent children associated with a nonprofit art-based facility that provides

cultural and arts education programs. The unit of analysis was formed through a single bound system, consisting of parents in Haitian families with adolescent children enrolled in camp programs at the nonprofit.

The outcomes provided a comprehensive understanding of parental perceptions. As a result, the phenomenon to be studied was addressed. The phenomenon explored consisted of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their contribution to their children's high-risk behaviors. The findings of the multiple case study shed light on the particularity of a phenomenon or process, while opening avenues of knowledge about the entity or entities involved in those processes (Kjøllestad et al., 2014).

This study included a representative sample of purposefully selected Haitian families with adolescent children ages 13–19 years. Investigating these families was beneficial to exploring the acculturation factors forming their perceptions of high-risk behaviors among their children. Families were identified through their participation in an art-based facility that provides cultural and arts education programs and events. The organization allowed me to recruit participants whose children were enrolled in the nonprofit's camp programs. Semistructured interviews were conducted with the participants to encourage them to volunteer more information and provide opportunities to describe the cultural factors forming their perceptions (Brinkman, 2014). The data collected were analyzed using thematic analysis and case study summary.

Definitions

Several key terms and concepts were derived from the research phenomenon. Such terms and concepts must be defined to clarify their usage in the context of this study. The explored phenomenon consists of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their contribution to their adolescent children's high-risk behaviors. Inherent within the identified phenomenon were several terms and concepts like *adolescent children*, *high-risk behavior*, *assimilation*, and *perception*. In this section, I define these key terms and concepts regarding their usage in the study:

Acculturation stress: Stress resulting from the acculturation process in a new country (Smart & Smart, 1995).

Adolescence: Development that starts with puberty around the age of 13, and continues until the late teens, around the age of 19 (Sullivan, 1970).

Assimilation: The process in which people and groups attain memories, sentiments, and attitudes from others and are incorporated into a common cultural life (Park & Burgess, 1924).

High-risk behaviors: Actions that increase an individual's likelihood of developing a disease or sustaining injury or disability at some point in the future (LaVeist, 2005).

Parental-self efficacy: Parents' feelings of competence in their parenting role, including beliefs about being able to handle developmentally specific issues and foster children's positive development and adjustment (Bandura, 1977).

Perception: The construction of mental symbols or presentations of reality through the senses (Gibson, 1966; Reed, 1988).

Restavek: Derived from the French term *reste avec*, translated to *one who stays with*, this term has come to be known as *indentured servitude*, including physical, sexual, and psychological abuse (Cadet, 1998).

Assumptions

An assumption is an aspect of a study that can be described as a self-evident truth (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Assumptions are statements that convey what will be taken for granted as true but cannot be proven (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). In this section, I provide the assumptions that accompanied this study.

An assumption was made with respect to the research methodology. The assumption was that participants would be honest with their answers and not deceptive. I assumed that participants would provide honest and accurate answers to the best of their ability, with respect to acculturation and the high-risk behaviors of their children. This assumption was necessary to facilitate the research process. Additionally, this assumption was justified based on the fact that the identity of the participants would remain hidden and steps would be taken to maintain participants' confidentiality and security of data. As a result of confidentiality, there were no known reasons for participants to be misleading. This assumption also extends to the demographic facts provided by participants.

Another assumption regarded the qualifications of individual participants. The assumption was made that participants selected would possess adequate qualifications to answer the research questions. This assumption was justified by the screening process

during participant recruitment and the purposeful sampling technique used. Because purposeful sampling involves selecting participants based on specific characteristics that a researcher considers important for the study, the assumption was justified.

The final assumption was that Haitian parents have strict discipline practices and have a high value for education. Ferguson et al. (2014) conducted a study to compare how *old youth* and *new youth* among Haitian immigrants retain their traditional values as they assimilate into the culture of the United States. The findings demonstrated that, despite the trauma experienced from the 2010 earthquake, the new rural Haitian immigrant adolescents have high allegiance to their home country, culture, and traditional family values (Ferguson et al., 2014). This, in turn, may cause a counteractive response or retaliation to the assimilation process.

Regarding religiosity and spirituality, Haitians have high resilience even after facing the trauma of a 7.0-magnitude earthquake (Sanderson et al., 2016). Thus, this population may not exhibit great signs or symptoms of PTSD, so another assumption was that there would be no psychological health threats (Sanderson et al., 2016).

Scope and Delimitations

The scope of the study included Haitian parents in the Little Haiti area and its surrounding neighborhoods. The findings do not represent the experiences of all Haitian parents in the United States. In alignment with the scope of the research, there are several delimitations in the study. Delimitations can be defined as the elements of a research regarding its purpose and scope that are within the control of the researcher and

regarding which, the researcher makes specific choices that limit the scope of the research (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016).

In this study, one delimitation was regarding the sample. In this study, the sample consisted of parents in Haitian families with adolescent children enrolled in camp programs at a nonprofit art-based facility that provides cultural and arts education programs. This sample selection was because the selected area contains a large concentration of Haitian migrants. While the selection of a single location for participant selection limits the generalizability of the study, the choice was made to facilitate the research and ensure its feasibility. In qualitative study, findings can be applied broadly. I did not seek to provide highly generalizable data regarding an entire population. Instead, the focus was on the experiences of a small sample. Another delimitation was the recruitment of the parents from the camp programs where their children attended arts and cultural programs. The selection will ensure feasibility.

Another delimitation was with respect to the research methodology. As this study involved a qualitative case study research design, the data were about the experiences of the parents rather than measurable, quantitative empirical data. Moreover, delimitations regarding the participant characteristics included the following: (a) age of the children was between 13 and 19 years based on general definitions of adolescence, (b) at least one parent was an immigrant because the focus was on immigrant experiences, and (c) participants must have been impacted by the 2010 earthquake, either directly or indirectly, to ensure the inclusion of acculturation stress.

Limitations

Limitations refer to a research study's characteristics that are not within the researcher's control and that have an influence on the study's generalizability (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Limitations lead to limited use, application, or transferability of the results and emerge from the form in which a research study is developed (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016).

With respect to the research methodology, the application of a qualitative research method could introduce the possibility of bias, affecting trustworthiness, particularly transferability and credibility (Noble & Smith, 2015). This methodological limitation associated with qualitative research is unavoidable because subjectivity is the essence of qualitative research (Leung, 2015). Data in this study were collected through the experiences of a group of humans. Although it is possible for a researcher to be careful during the data collection process to ensure minimal possibility of bias, it is not possible to eliminate such threats (Noble & Smith, 2015). I followed a research protocol, used a mechanical audio recording device, and conducted member checking to ensure the limitations were minimized (Shenton, 2004).

Because the research was a qualitative case study in which participants' experiences were explored in a natural setting, research replication will be difficult (Myers, 2000). To minimize this difficulty, I provided a detailed description of the research process (Myers, 2000).

Significance

There is an opportunity to address a gap in the research regarding Haitian youth. While prior researchers have made significant contributions to understanding the roles of acculturation, cultural values, and family functioning on the mental health of Hispanic youth (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012), similar insights are lacking in the context of Haitian youth. Specifically, parental perceptions, shaped by parental acculturation and cultural lens, in respect to the Haitian adolescents' existing high-risk behaviors are unknown. This study adds to the body of knowledge on cultural lens and acculturation factors forming parental perceptions leading to high-risk behaviors in the context of Haitian families.

In addition to the possible contribution in the field, the findings of the study may also be useful for practical developments. Specifically, the findings of the study could be helpful to understanding Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. A better understanding of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents and the factors that shape them may lead to better preventive interventions and education to address high-risk behavior in adolescent children. The insights can be used to develop interventions and programs that are culturally sensitive and targeted toward Haitian children to decrease high-risk behaviors. Due to the importance of cultural context in the development of adolescent children of immigrants, programs not in alignment with their cultural needs cannot succeed in their targeted goals. As a result, the findings of the study could be useful for developing culturally sensitive programs for Haitian adolescents with high-risk behavior potential.

Summary

In Chapter 1, I introduced the research topic and the purpose of the study. The aspect of culture is broad in itself; scholars would benefit from considering other cultural factors such as norms (familial risks) forming parental perceptions of high-risk behaviors such as juvenile delinquency (Yeh et al., 2011). The definition of culture is a symbolic and inherited behaviors among groups and individuals sharing the same conceptions of divinity, nature, society and persons, and habitual societal practices (Shewder et al., 1998). According to Ogbu (1994), child socialization is a culturally organized principle that promotes youth well-being, and parents employ formulas that help their children grow into competent adults.

In this chapter, I also shed light on the Haitian sample population's experiences of high acculturation stress after experiencing a natural disaster. After the 2010 earthquake, researchers have pointed to an increase in Haitians experiencing PTSD (Messiah et al., 2014). Furthermore, researchers have indicated that, by the end of adolescence, girls are two to three times more likely than boys to experience depressive symptoms (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012). Thus, adapting to a new culture requires rigorous psychological, social, and cognitive reformation (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011; Consedine et al., 2014). The purpose of this study was to explore Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. Based on the purpose identified, three research questions are developed that address three specific factors associated with the research purpose: parental beliefs about the high-risk behaviors of their adolescent children as they assimilate in the new culture, beliefs about

the norms of their adopted home's culture, and beliefs about the role of the challenges in adopting to the new culture. I aimed to fill a gap of how acculturation stress forms Haitian parental perceptions of adolescents' high-risk behaviors, which might contribute to children's misconduct. In this case study, I also aimed to understand to what point parents take disciplinary actions based on their discernment.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Adapting to a new culture demands a massive reconfiguration and recalibration of the basic social system used to navigate socially. In other words, adaptation occurs through acculturation (Consedine et al., 2014). Acculturation is a demanding process that is frequently accompanied by stress (Bowman, 2011) and adjustment difficulties (Consedine et al., 2014). Higher levels of reported acculturative stress or the psychological effects of adapting to a new culture have been found to be related to decreased quality of life, including physical and psychological health, in Haitian immigrants (Belizaire & Fuertes, 2011).

Immigrant parents experience acculturative stress adjusting to new norms and expectations, while simultaneously facing unfamiliar behaviors in their adolescent children (Consedine et al., 2014). These acculturative stresses can also be seen among many immigrants in Florida. Florida is the third-fastest growing immigrant state, second to California and New York (Archibald, 2011). Most immigrants from the Caribbean migrate to South Florida, and many of them settle in poor areas in pursuit of education and economic mobility (Archibald, 2011). New immigrants, including those from Haiti, experience challenges in trying to acclimate to a new environment and trying to maintain some of the cultural attributes that protect them from delinquent conduct (Bowman, 2011; Tsai et al., 2012).

In this study, I sought to provide rich descriptions of Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors; the results of this study

might contribute to the literature on adolescent high-risk behaviors. The results of this representative multiple case study may enable professional transformative leaders to understand assimilation as a factor forming Haitian parental perceptions, which might contribute to high-risk behaviors. The significance of this case study lies in its contribution by adding to the body of knowledge on cultural lens and acculturation factors forming parental perceptions leading to high-risk behaviors in the context of Haitian families. For parents to take steps to address behaviors in their children, they must understand the characteristics and origins of these behaviors (Hamilton et al., 2014). Concerning cultural assimilation and its effects on how Haitian parents perceive their children's conduct, it is necessary to increase parental involvement in schools and other social activities (Low & Espelage, 2014).

Literature Search Strategy

I obtained the literature reviewed in this study via searches of the ERIC, ProQuest, and PsycINFO databases. I conducted searches using the following keywords and phrases: *high-risk behaviors, juvenile delinquency, assimilation, acculturation stress, earthquake trauma, post-earthquake trauma, at-risk-youth behaviors, Haitian immigrants' pattern, parental self-efficacy, and parental perception*. Searches on these terms yielded over 55 articles, which I used as the basis for this literature review. Most of these articles were located using Google Scholar; others were accessed via PsychINFO and through Walden University's library using the human and social services database. Most of the peer-reviewed materials were in behavioral science and mental health. A

specific set of criteria were applied to this group of literature to evaluate and determine the articles selected for data collection.

The iterative search process commenced with the SAGE Publications database, which I accessed through Walden University's library. During the iterative search process, the terms *assimilation*, *acculturation stress*, and *high-risk behaviors* were used. Often, regarding acculturation stress and assimilation, various results were about Hispanics, mainly Mexicans. When the searches were narrowed to high-risk behavior and/or assimilation, then the results were of Hispanics, specifically Mexicans, and African American youth. Again, the searches were refined to assimilation and traumatic youth, which resulted in many studies on Asians. Eventually, I realized I would have to search outside of Walden University's databases; hence, I used Google Scholar to look up Haitian immigrants. A few articles on Haitian migration after the 2010 earthquake resulted from the search. This process led me to conduct a search on Haitians' post-earthquake trauma and the welfare system in Haiti for children left homeless and without anyone to care for them as a result of the hundreds of thousands of who died. I searched for a pattern of how Haitian immigrants were part of the assimilation process and how available health care or medical care resources were given to the Haitian immigrants in the United States.

There is little research on current trends in Haitian immigrant adolescent behavior. For this reason, I included studies with similar populations where it was appropriate. I used the terms *youth behavior*, *at-risk behaviors*, *posttraumatic*, and *post-earthquake trauma* as an expansion of my search into Haitian adolescent behavior. The

results were minimal, so I included studies on similar populations. For example, Dass-Brailsford et al. (2015) conducted research to assess the psychological consequences of the earthquake on children ages 9–12. All participants had a high level of anxiety, depression, and trauma compared to normative groups (Dass-Brailsford et al., 2015). This was one of the few studies that have been conducted on this specific population. I discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.

Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical foundation for this study reflected two theories: segmented assimilation and SCT. Both theories are essential for this study, as assimilation may impact parental perceptions of and responses to high-risk behaviors in their children (Piaget, 1969). Self-efficacy, which impacts motivation and behavior (Bandura, 1977), may have a direct relationship with how parents react to their children exhibiting high-risk behavior. Both theories are discussed in more detail in the next section.

Segmented Assimilation Theory

To put segmented assimilation into perspective, it is first necessary to briefly discuss assimilation. Assimilation is the first step in acculturation (Hernandez, 2009). Wirth (1983) defined assimilation as a two-way process that includes a willingness of the dominant group to absorb and of the minority to be absorbed (Zhou, 1997). Park and Burgess (1924) defined assimilation as the process in which persons and groups attain memories, sentiments, and attitudes from others, and by sharing their experiences and history, they are incorporated in a common cultural life.

There are two distinct trajectories that the children of new immigrants can follow: upward mobility or downward mobility. As a critique to classical assimilation theory, Portes and Zhou (1993) proposed segmented assimilation theory. This theory asserts that the United States is a stratified and unequal society. As such, there are different segments of society where immigrants may assimilate. Furthermore, Portes and Zhou listed three possible courses of assimilation that immigrants may take. The first course is predicted by classical assimilation theory in which immigrants experience increasing acculturation and integration into the American middle-class. The second course is immigrants who experience acculturation and assimilation into the urban underclass, which might lead to downward mobility for the immigrants. The third course is selective acculturation, in which immigrants deliberately preserve their culture and values together with economic integration (Portes & Zhou, 1993). In segmented assimilation theory is an assertion that there is more than one way of becoming an American. Moreover, in this theory, there is an assumption that Americanization is not necessarily advantageous at all times.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) expanded segmented assimilation theory by listing the factors that influence these outcomes, including human capital, ways of incorporation into the host society, and family structure. These background factors are important because they help shape the experience of the first generation born into the host country. Moreover, these factors also affect the type of acculturation experienced by the immigrant parents and the type of acculturation experienced by the children. Portes and Rumbaut stated that the relationship between the different types of acculturation experienced by the parents and the children has a major influence on the outcomes of the

second generation, including consonant acculturation. In this type of acculturation, both the parents and the children acculturate, using a similar method, into the American culture or both choose to remain unacculturated (both in time and manner). Another type of acculturation is selective acculturation, wherein both agree on limited acculturation in the host country. Dissonant acculturation occurs when children acculturate faster or more completely than their parents do. Portes and Rumbaut stated that dissonant acculturation often leads to parent–child conflict and a breakdown in the communication between generations. This type of acculturation diminishes the ability of the parents to guide and support their children (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

When dissonant acculturation creates problems between parents and children, there is risk of downward assimilation for the second generation. The relationship between parents' and children's acculturation is important because it influences the support the children receive, and children can face several obstacles in adapting to life in the host society. Some of the challenges immigrants experience are due to their placement communities. The U.S. government often places immigrant families in poor, inner-city neighborhoods, and children of immigrants often attend schools that are underfunded and have poor performance records (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). In this kind of environment, adolescents are put at a higher risk of acculturating in the oppositional youth culture found among their native minority peers (Portes & Zhou, 1993). When second-generation immigrants are exposed to this culture, they might be discouraged from being engaged in school, which may be harmful in the upward mobility of the adolescents. In this situation, the segmented assimilation

framework asserts that the maintenance of the culture of origin might protect immigrant children from the effects of being exposed to this culture (Portes & Zhou, 1993). The culture of the immigrant community might be able to reinforce the norms of their immigrant society such as the value of a good education (Portes & Zhou, 1993). This might help adolescents to avoid the negative consequences of being exposed to adverse types of cultures (John, 2014). If the adolescents proceed to the predicted second course where they assimilate too fully in their environment, then they might experience dissonant acculturation that might make them lose access to social and cultural resources of their ethnic community (John, 2014). As such, the segmented assimilation theory would assert that the third course of assimilation, limited assimilation for both parents and children, would be the most beneficial for most immigrant families (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Segmented assimilation theory is a broad perspective and integrates several factors that relate to the experiences of new immigrants and their children. Several studies have been conducted regarding segmented assimilation theory. While classical assimilation theory explains the assimilation process for the immigrants, segmented assimilation theory is used to explain both processes and outcomes of assimilation.

There are three major interrelated dimensions that differentiate assimilation experiences in the literature on segmented assimilation. The first dimension is the differences in the characteristics of the immigrants, such as their ethnicity, social capital, SES, family cohesion, and gender. These characteristics might affect the assimilation outcomes of the immigrants. John (2014) conducted a longitudinal study about the

influence of race, class, and gender on the educational attainment and upward mobility of second-generation Caribbean immigrants (i.e., Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica) in the United States. John found no difference in educational attainment across gender among the second-generation Caribbean immigrant population. However, John found that racial and ethnic self-identity as well as parents' SES are related to educational attainment among second-generation Caribbean immigrants. Immigrant groups with resources like good physical or social capital might be able to follow the usual assimilation path without experiencing difficulty. On the other hand, immigrant families who lack these resources might experience downward assimilation.

The second dimension is that outcomes of assimilation might be different due to the characteristics of the natives to whom the immigrants assimilate. If immigrants assimilate to middle-class, White natives, the assimilation follows the usual assimilation path. Most of the time, these assimilation outcomes are successful. If the immigrant families assimilate to racial minorities of lower SES, who are exposed to poverty, crime, and joblessness, the assimilation outcome would be downward.

The third dimension is dependent on whether the assimilation is wholesale or selective. The concept of selective, or limited, acculturation is the most common interpretation of segmented assimilation theory. Some researchers even attribute segmented assimilation theory as a more radical version of multiculturalism, in which individuals are bounded by self-contained cultural groups rather than being integrated to a larger society (Rumbaut & Portes 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

An influx of immigrants from Asian and Latin American countries after 1965, whose incorporation trajectories were not adequately explained by straight-line assimilation theory, impelled this reexamination of assimilation theory (Vasquez, 2011). Henceforth, segmented assimilation accounts for a variety of assimilation outcomes and addresses what segment of society a group is incorporated into (Rumbaut & Portes 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Approximately 87% of the 38 million U.S. immigrants are non-European and about three million are of African descent (Ferguson et al., 2012). Portes and Zhou (1993) used segmented assimilation in their study in Florida of Haitian and Jamaican immigrants and demonstrated that Black immigrants became oriented with African Americans. The reasons are due to Haitians living in the same inner cities or in surrounding towns of African Americans. Hence, newcomers often experience the same racial discriminations African Americans do (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Segmented assimilation theory argues that the process of assimilation results in various social, economic, and educational outcomes (Koo et al., 2012). A particularly noticeable view has been posed by segmented assimilation scholars who posited that, while first-generation immigrants carry cultural traditions and norms as they migrate to the United States (Tsai et al., 2012). Second-generation immigrants face a dichotomy of worlds caught between the customs of the old world invested in by their parents and that of the American mainstream inhabited by their peers (Tsai et al., 2012). Consequently, the first generation is shielded from criminogenic influences, whereas the second generation is confronted with negotiating their fidelity and belonging (Bersani et al., 2014).

Several researchers have used segmented assimilation theory as a lens to explore the experiences of immigrant families. Clerge (2014) used segmented assimilation theory to examine identity formation of Haitian middle-class youth. Clerge (2014) author noted that segmented assimilation theory predicted that the Haitian second-generation would integrate into the Black American underclass or maintain strong ethnic group identities. Clerge explored the integration experiences of middle-class Haitians, the second largest Black foreign-born immigrant group in the United States. Historically, the Haitian immigrant experience has been characterized by low social status, a poor sociopolitical context of reception, and a segregated living situation in inner-city Black neighborhoods upon arrival (Clerge, 2014).

In Clerge's (2014) study in Cascades, Queens, a snowball model was used for sampling Haitian population from public school and the Catholic Church. The respondents were born of Haitian parents and were at least 14 years old. All youth in the sample attended mix-race schools or predominantly white private schools. Parents reported experiencing high level of isolation from Jamaicans upon arrival (Clerge, 2014). One of the respondents reported experiencing psychological strain due to her fair skin complexion resulting from the stereotypes of Haitians being dark, uneducated, and low in economic status. Thus, many respondents reported having to *flaunt* their middle-class status like their ethnic counterparts to diminish some of the racial stereotypes experienced by both Haitians and other non-Haitian immigrants (Clerge, 2014). Assimilation theory does not adequately address the issue of divisions within generations, nor does assimilation theory identify that incorporation processes can fork in different directions in

one generation and then branch again or reverse course in the next generation (Vasquez, 2011).

Social Cognitive Theory

The SCT theory emerged from social learning theory in the 1960s. Bandura developed SCT in 1986. SCT asserts that learning occurs in a social context through a reciprocal interaction of the person, environment, and behavior. The main feature of SCT is that it emphasizes social influence as well as the role of external and internal social reinforcement (Bandura, 1986). The SCT theory considers the unique ways in which individuals acquire and maintain behavior and the impact of social environment of the individuals (Bandura, 1986). Moreover, the past experiences of an individual also have a factor into the behavior of that individual. The past experiences of the individual influences the expectations and reinforcements of the individual (Bandura, 1986). These features shape whether the individual will engage in a specific behavior and the reasons that an individual engages in that behavior (Bandura, 1986).

Many behavioral theories do not consider the maintenance of behavior but instead explore factors that initiate behavior. The objective of SCT is to explain how individuals regulate behavior through control and reinforcement to achieve behavior that has a goal (Bandura, 1986). There were five original constructs originating from social learning theory. Self-efficacy was added in the development of SCT (Bandura, 1986).

The central concept of SCT is called reciprocal determinism. This concept refers to the dynamic and reciprocal interaction of person with a set of learned experiences. This concept refers to the experiences of the individual that might have influenced their

behaviors. The second construct is behavioral capability (Bandura, 1986). This refers to the actual ability of an individual to perform a behavior through essential knowledge and skill. For a person to successfully perform a behavior, that person must know what exactly they need to do and how to do it (Bandura, 1986). Further, it is also important in this concept to emphasize that individuals learn from their behavior based from the consequences of their behavior. The consequences of their behavior also affect their environment (Bandura, 1986).

The third construct is observational learning. This construct asserts that people witness and observe behavior of other people and reproduce the same behavior. In some instances, this has been described as modeling behaviors (Bandura, 1986). If individuals perceive positive effects of the behavior, the individuals will reproduce the behavior. The fourth construct is reinforcements (Bandura, 1986). Reinforcements refers to the internal or external responses to a person's behavior. These reinforcements influence whether the person will continue or drop the behavior. Reinforcements can be started by the person or can be initiated by the environment (Bandura, 1986). Moreover, reinforcements can be positive or negative, which is closely related to reciprocal determinism.

The fifth construct is expectations which refers to the expected consequences of an individual's behavior (Bandura, 1986). Individuals expect the consequences of their actions before engaging in the behavior. The anticipated consequences can influence the successful completion of the behavior by the individual. Expectations of an individual usually derive from the previous experiences of the individual (Bandura, 1986). The value that individuals place on expectations is subjective to the individual.

The last construct is self-efficacy which refers to the level of an individual's confidence in their ability to be able to successfully perform a behavior. There are a lot of factors that influence self-efficacy of an individual, such as specific capabilities and other individual factors such as environmental factors.

Self-Efficacy

Perceived self-efficacy is defined as an individual's beliefs about their abilities to be able to perform at a certain level (Bandura, 1986). Self-efficacy indicates the ability of an individual to motivate themselves through specific beliefs. These beliefs include cognitive, motivational, affective, and selection processes (Bandura, 1986). An individual with a strong sense of efficacy improves the accomplishment and well-being of the individual in many ways. Individuals who are confident in their abilities approach difficult tasks not as things that should be avoided but as challenges that needs to be conquered (Bandura, 1986). Individuals with high self-efficacy set challenging goals and maintain a commitment to achieve these goals. In the face of difficulties and possible failure, individuals with a strong sense of self-efficacy heighten and sustain their efforts. After experiencing hindrances or failures, these individuals quickly recover and can be able to perform well again (Bandura, 1986). Individuals with high self-efficacy also accept failure but attribute the incident to insufficient effort or knowledge, which they can quickly acquire eventually (Bandura, 1986). An efficacious individual produces personal accomplishments and has a lower risk for depression and other mental health disorders.

An individual with a low sense of self-efficacy doubts their abilities and does not attempt to face difficult tasks. These difficult tasks are perceived as personal threats because of the challenging nature of the task (Bandura, 1986). When they face difficult tasks, they focus on their weaknesses and personal deficiencies. Even without the outcomes, an individual with low self-efficacy believes that there can only be negative consequences (Bandura, 1986). These individuals quickly quit or retreat when faced with difficulties. After experiencing failure, these individuals also take a longer time to perform. These individuals also fall easy victims to mental health disorders such as depression and anxiety disorders.

Mastery Experiences

There are four main sources of influence that could help shape the self-efficacy of individuals. The most effective method to ensure a strong sense of self-efficacy is through mastery experiences. When an individual experiences success, it positively influences the belief of that person in their efficacy. Failures are important. However, failures should occur after a sense of efficacy is established by the individual. Successes are important in individuals with a high sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986). However, these successes should not be easy successes. Easy successes early on might influence an individual to always want quick results. Easy successes and quick results, however, will lead an individual to be easily discouraged when they experience failure. An individual with a strong sense of self-efficacy will become resilient to be able to overcome challenges and setbacks. They are persevering and always ensure that they will achieve their goal. Individuals with high levels of self-efficacy will become aware that there has

what it takes. They will persevere in times of difficulties and successfully rebound from any obstacles they experience. These individuals believe that they emerge stronger when faced with adversity (Bandura, 1986).

Vicarious Experiences

Social models are important to create and strengthen self-belief of efficacy. When individuals perceive other individuals as being like them, they observe the behavior of that individual. If these individuals are successful, it will strengthen their belief of efficacy because of the belief that they also share the same abilities and skills. Perceived similarity to the model is important in developing and maintaining a positive perceived self-efficacy. The successes and failures of the role model greatly influence the perceived self-efficacy of the individual. When individuals see models that are very different to them, their perceived self-efficacy is not influenced.

Modeling provides not only a social standard to judge one's own abilities and skills, but it is also a way to motivate individuals to possess these abilities and skills that they admire (Bandura, 1986). Competent models transmit knowledge to other individuals through their behaviors. Individuals who perceive a competent model as being like them, observe and receive the transmitted knowledge (Bandura, 1986).

Social Persuasion

One of the ways to strengthen self-efficacy beliefs of individuals is through social persuasion (Bandura, 1986). Individuals who were persuaded that they have the abilities and skills to master an activity are more likely to develop and sustain the activity

compared to self-doubt. Social support from families and friends provides a boost in the perceived self-efficacy of individuals (Bandura, 1986).

The instillation of beliefs of personal efficacy by social persuasion alone is difficult (Bandura, 1986). The support provided by social support groups of the individuals must be sufficiently realistic so that it might not be quickly disconfirmed by the results of the activity. To boost individuals' self-efficacy, they must be placed in situations that might bring them success (Bandura, 1986). They should not be placed in situations where they are most likely going to fail. Conversely, individuals who have been persuaded that they lack the abilities and skills tend to avoid difficult activities that cultivate the potential of individuals and might quit as soon as they face an obstacle (Bandura, 1986).

Reduction of Stress Reactions.

Individuals also rely on their somatic and emotional states when assessing their capabilities. When they experience stress and tension, individuals sometimes attribute this to signs of vulnerability or possible poor performance (Bandura, 1986). In terms of activities that involve physical aspect of a person, individuals assess their fatigue and pains as sign of weaknesses (Bandura, 1986). Mood also influences judgments of individuals as well as their personal efficacy. Positive mood improves perceived self-efficacy of individuals while dejected mood diminishes self-efficacy of individuals (Bandura, 1986).

The fourth way to influence self-efficacy of individuals is through the reduction of stress reactions (Bandura, 1986). Stress reduction leads to the modification of negative

emotional inclinations and misinterpretations of physical stress. Further, it is not only sheer intensity of the physical and emotional reaction, but the focus upon perceived reaction of the individuals and their interpretation to the situation (Bandura, 1986).

Individuals with high levels of self-efficacy are more likely to perceive their reaction to the stress as a motivating factor to perform very well. Conversely, individuals with low levels of self-efficacy are more likely to doubt their reaction and would incapacitate them to perform.

Development of Self-Efficacy Over the Lifespan of an Individual

Self-efficacy develops over an individual's life times based upon their lived experiences. In this section, one will explore the development of self-efficacy.

Specifically, there will be a discussion on the development of self-efficacy across a lifespan.

Origin of Self-Efficacy

A newborn baby does not come with any sense of self. The infant requires exposure to different experiences that hold meaning. Actions are the basis of the development of efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1986). For instance, shaking their toy rattle would produce sounds. Through observation, the infant will realize that actions have effects. However, the infant will soon realize that development of self-efficacy requires more than the production of effects through their actions. The actions must be perceived by the infant as part of himself. The infant will develop a sense of self through differentiating his experiences from the experiences of others.

Family as a Source Of Self-Efficacy

Parents and siblings also influence the self-efficacy of individuals. Young children need to gain self-knowledge of their abilities and skills through experiences. Children must develop, assess, and analyze their abilities physically, socially, emotionally, linguistically, and cognitively to be able to understand and handle the various situations they face in their daily lives (Bandura, 1986). The exploratory activities of the infant during their waking hours serve as the foundation to improve their range of basic skills and their perceived sense of efficacy.

During the early development of the efficacy of the infant, successful experiences lead to positive development of social and cognitive skills. Parents who are responsive to the behavior of their infant can create an atmosphere of opportunities for efficacious actions. This is done through the freedom of exploration that they provide to the infant. Parents greatly influence the development of language of infants. Infants who can develop language and communication skills positively influence their perceived self-efficacy because they can better express themselves. Moreover, these infants can expand their self-knowledge of the activities that can perform, and they cannot perform. The initial experiences that influence efficacy of individuals are centered in the family. The parents have a significant role in the development of efficacy beliefs of the children. Moreover, siblings and peer relations also greatly influence the efficacy of an individual.

Peer Relations

The efficacy-testing experiences of an individual will change as they move into the larger community. Peer relations broaden their knowledge about themselves,

specifically as it relates to what they can do and cannot do (Bandura, 1986). There are several important functions of peers in the development of efficacy of an individual. First, they can serve as a role model. Peers who are competent models would significantly influence the efficacy of other individuals. A great amount of social learning occurs through peer relations. An individual also compares himself or herself to other individuals that can serve to evaluate and verify the efficacy of the individual.

Children and adolescents are sensitive to their efficacy and social standing (Bandura, 1986). However, individuals tend to choose peers with common interests and values. Selective peer association promotes self-efficacy through mutual interests. Peers serve a significant role in influencing the development and validation of self-efficacy. Disruption or lack of peer relationships negatively affect the development and growth of personal efficacy (Bandura, 1986).

Self-Efficacy of Adolescents

As adolescents approach the demands of adulthood, they must accept responsibility for every aspect of their lives. This requires mastering several new skills and knowing how to be a responsible adult in a society. The adolescent needs to be able to address these issues while going through pubertal changes (Bandura, 1986). Through independence, adolescents may find new ways to validate their self-efficacy. At the same time, experimentation is at its peak during adolescence. Adolescents learn to develop and strengthen their sense of efficacy by dealing successfully with challenges. In fact, insulation from difficult situations negatively affect the self-efficacy of individuals due to lack of preparedness for future difficult situations.

Underprivileged, risky environments also present a hindrance to the growth and expansion of self-efficacy of adolescents. Children that grow surrounded by minimal resources and lack of social support are likely to experience reduced self-efficacy. Moreover, adolescents potentially model behaviors that are transgressive, which adversely affect their self-efficacy.

The adolescent period is often described as a period of turmoil because the individual faces several changes in their life during this time. The experiences of adolescents during this stage strongly influences their self-efficacy. The smoothness of the transition from adolescence to adulthood depends on the self-efficacy of the adolescent developed through mastery of prior experiences.

Self-Efficacy

According to Bandura (1995), self-efficacy is “a person’s belief in his capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to manage prospective situations” (p. 12). The construct of perceived self-efficacy (PSE) consists of the level of parental knowledge of parenting tasks, as well as the confidence to effectively carry out these tasks (Carless et al., 2015). The term PSE is defined as parents’ beliefs about their abilities to influence their children in a way that fosters their children positive adjustment and development (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001; Bandura, 1977). Carless et al. explored whether the level of PSE differed between parents with adolescents experiencing school refusal and school-attending adolescents. The results showed a strong inverse relationship between PSE and parent depression and anxiety, family dysfunction, school-refusal, and adolescent anxiety and depression. Other researchers suggested that PSE plays a

significant role in the processes by which parents maintain an effective parenting practices when faced with challenges in children's behaviors (Bandura, 1997; Carless et al., 2015). Moreover, people with high levels of PSE tend to persevere in the face of adversities until success is attained, whereas individuals with low level of perceived PSE tend to give up prematurely when challenges arise, thereby confirming their beliefs of low self-efficacy (Carless et al., 2015).

In the general parenting literature, self-efficacy is recognized as an important determinant of parenting behaviors (Gerards et al, 2013). Parental self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) affects children's behavior directly through role modeling, whereby children adopt their parents' beliefs independent of parent practices (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001). According to Bandura (1995), self-efficacy is "a person's belief in their capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to manage prospective situations" (p. 27). In regard to ethnic minorities, parents of ethnic minorities' adolescents, parents are less likely to perceive children problem behavior (Mieloo et al., 2013). More importantly for young children, parental problem recognition is usually considered the first filter for a help-seeking process in regards to PSE (Mieloo et al., 2013). In Ardelt and Eccles's (2001) study, the results demonstrated that Black mothers perceived their neighborhoods as inferior to those of White parents. The Black neighborhoods tended to be high in economic disadvantages, socially isolated, and highly rated as dangerous (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001). Ardelt and Eccles analyses of the effect of parental self-efficacy revealed that the promotive strategies for Black mothers is significantly stronger than White mothers. The authors also pointed out, however, that the strategies were not related to

adolescents' self-efficacy beliefs, nor their academic success dangerous (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001).

Shortcomings of PSE application in previous longitudinal studies did not include using all three constructs of PSE to include parenting practices and children's behavior (Glatz & Buchanan, 2015). Furthermore, previous scholars focused on parents of pre-adolescent children, but did not reference the PSE processes amongst parents of adolescents (Glatz & Buchanan, 2015). Another pointed shortcoming is that PSE researchers focused on mother-child relationships and seldom focused on father-child relationships (Pagorek-Eshel & Dekel, 2015).

Literature Review

Juvenile Delinquency

Various theorists attempted to analyze and understand the factors and etiology of juvenile delinquency (Einat & Herzog, 2011). Sellin and Wolfgang's (1964) culture conflict theory offered a possible cultural explanation of the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless, the mechanisms of assimilation and their consequent application to crime and delinquency (Alvarez-Rivera et al., 2014), as well as parental perceptions of high-risk behavior, merit further discussion. Parents' acculturated experience in the host country could impact their willingness to assist their children in the educational process (Smith et al., 2016). Cross (2003) supported the need for more parental involvement (Gao et al., 2013), having pointed out during the 1970s that there was a rise in Black delinquency resulting from family instability. Two theoretical concepts emerged in research in association with assimilation. Following Sellin and

Wolfgang's (1964) rationale, Einat and Herzog (2011) argued that youth constitute a social subculture with norms, values, and stances that are not concordant with the moral values and norms of the general culture of the adults who govern the content of the criminal laws. Other factors, such as parental awareness of adolescents' activities, tend to decrease the level of delinquent behaviors (Gao et al., 2013; Titzmann et al., 2011).

Strunin and Demissie (2001) conducted a study to examine the relationship between identification and the use of alcohol amongst Black youth. The sample group consisted of 77 Haitian and 183 African American students in high school. The collected data focused on understanding at risk behaviors of alcohol use and sexual patterns. The multiple logistic regression models included gender, background, friendships with non-U.S.-born students, and reports of friends' alcohol use. The Haitian student model also included the length of time in the United States (Stunning & Demissie, 2001). The results indicated that 77% of participants reported drinking at least once in their life, with 55% reporting drinking within the past 6 months. Thirty-nine percent of the Haitian students have been in the U.S. for less than a year. Results for the African American students revealed that 87% reported ever drinking and 55% reported having drunk during the past 6 months (Strunin & Demissie, 2001).

Parenting power control varies in relations to employment status of the parents, mainly the mothers, which may aid in closing the gap of juvenile delinquency (Brauer & De Coster, 2015). Sociologists focused on the importance of understanding delinquency relative to the familial structure, SES and women-headed household (Brauer & De Coster, 2015). As stated in the culture and history section below of the present study,

Haitian families consist of women playing the vital role of the stakeholder (Ivers et al., 2015). Upon migration to this country, Haitian mothers continue to be, in many cases, the breadwinner as well. They know the importance of their parent role, as well as the oppositional force of not wanting a *hand out* from the government due to their pride (Desrosiers & St. Fleurose, 2001). In many cases, some of the Haitian parents hold two or more part-time jobs due to being unable to attain full-time employment (Nicholas et al., 2009).

Assimilation and Acculturation

Classic assimilation theorists asserted that assimilation—the process of adaptation to a host country—is the inevitable destiny for both immigrant groups and the host society (Peguero, 2011). Peguero (2011) agreed that the assimilation process involves immigrants integrating into the dominant culture group due to the facilitation of upward mobility (Peguero, 2011). Piaget's (1969) argued that assimilation occurs whenever an organism utilizes or integrates something in its environment. The process of assimilation would afford an immigrant group access to some of the same resources as the dominant group and thus live with similar social comforts. Previous psychology concepts related to acculturation include acculturative stress, which can contribute to a decline in mental health (Booth & Anthony, 2015). Problems such as anxiety and depression, and sociocultural adaptation can occur as a result (Booth & Anthony, 2015).

Alvarez-Rivera et al. (2014) examined the arrest records of Latinos in two southwestern American cities to regulate the extent to which Latino acculturation is related to arrests and convictions for both misdemeanors and felonies after controlling for

individual legal and extra-legal factors. The authors pointed out that Latinos differ from Whites and African Americans due to processes (i.e., acculturation) that affect them but do not affect U.S. White and African American offenders. Additionally, Whites and African Americans do not experience the *culture shock* associated with leaving one country and culture for another, forcing them to adapt to a different way of life (Alvarez-Rivera et al., 2014).

Using assimilation theory as a lens, Bersani et al. (2014) advanced their study regarding immigration-crime nexus in three ways: using a large sample of high-risk adjudicated youth comprising of first- and second-generation immigrants; examining longitudinal trajectories of official and self-reported offending and merging segmented assimilation and life course theories to distinguish between offending patterns. Using self-reported offending, the authors assessed offending rates and found a divergent downward trajectory of first-generation immigrants to that of the second-generation immigrant group and their native-born peers. The results were generalized across the board for aggressive/violent behavior and property crime (Bersani et al., 2014). Moreover, first-generation immigrants were significantly lower rate of high-risk crime across data sources, both official and self-reported (Bersani et al., 2014). In comparison to second-generation immigrants, offending patterns mirrored their native-born peers. Bersani et al. (2014) argued that it was evident that the first-generation was desisting offending acts faster than the second-generation, which was also observed by the end of the 84-month observation period (Bersani et al., 2014).

In staying informed with the first generation's struggle to keep native traditions while assimilating, Tsai et al. (2012) examined whether parents' cultural orientation facilitates children's heritage language through the maintenance of cultural value. In addition, Booth and Anthony (2015) examined the moderating effects of parents' linguistic preference, as a proxy for acculturation, on the relationship between parental worry and problem behaviors among 130 Mexican American early adolescents. These authors hypothesized that relationships differ by linguistic preference, with the Spanish language being equated to less acculturation and higher-risks. In their study, 13.1% of the sample reported using any substances in the previous 30 days, but rates varied by the parents' language preference; 23.53% of youth whose parents preferred English and 10.28% of youth whose parents preferred Spanish reported ever having used substances. Cox et al. (2013) examined the parent-child acculturation gap placing Latino youth at risk for substance use. The results suggested that the acculturation gap— with youth being more linguistically acculturated than their parents—modestly increased the odds that youth have used alcohol at least once in the seventh grade (Cox et al., 2013).

Furthermore, the first step of acculturation, assimilation, or cultural assimilation results to exposure of a new culture, which occurs in several dimensions to include incorporation of language (Smith et al., 2016), beliefs, values, and behaviors (Bui, 2013). Children acculturate more rapidly than adults and adopt new cultural values and beliefs that may conflict with their parents. For some children, trauma exposure can undermine some basic cognitive assumptions, such as being in control. While perceived controllability references the child's need for control in the world around them, self-

efficacy is defined as the belief that one can affect positive change via successful regulations of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (Masten et al., 2009).

Four main patterns of acculturation were identified: (a) assimilation, whereby the old culture is abandoned, and the new culture is fully adopted; (b) integration, whereby aspects of both the old and new culture are retained; (c) separation, whereby the old culture is maintained without adopting the new culture; and (d) marginalization, whereby both old and new cultures are abandoned (Hernandez, 2009). The first step of acculturation and assimilation is the result of exposure to a new culture, which occurs in several dimensions. Assimilation includes such factors as incorporating the new culture's language as well as its beliefs, values, and behaviors. Acculturation is the process which people experience when adapting to an environment with different cultural groups (Archuleta, 2015). The interactions are varied with individuals, families, communities, and broader society (Archuleta, 2015). Moreover, through acculturation, people can often experience a myriad of cultural changes which include language, food preference, cultural values, ethnic identities, and preference of intercultural contacts and relationships (Archuleta, 2015).

To delve deeper, the multidimensional model interjects that cultural maintenance and acquisition stands in between two continua independently. These fluctuate based on the applied acculturation strategies such as integration, marginalization, assimilation, and separation (Archuleta, 2015). Acculturation has a relationship with marital satisfaction, marital roles, marital conflicts, role orientation, and different expectations for child rearing amongst Hispanics and interethnic immigrant couples (Archuleta, 2015).

Researchers observing first-generation immigrants' age migration found that migrating at an earlier age yields more positive benefits, including educational achievement, language proficiency, and social incorporation (Smith et al., 2016). In assessing age migration, other scholars have found that children migrating before the age of 10 have better education outcomes and perform similarly to the native-born second-generation (Smith et al., 2016). Smith et al. explored the effect of immigrant parents' time spent on their children's educational performance differ by background experiences. The results indicated that there is a relationship between children academic performances, not including math, and immigrant parents' linguistic acculturation (Smith et al., 2016). These authors mentioned that, although the results are true across all immigrant groups, it is more notable among immigrants from Africa, the Middle East, and South America (Smith et al., 2016).

One of the factors of beliefs in relations to recent revision of assimilation perceptives, acculturation can foster risk behaviors in immigrant youth. One of the reasons is because they spend a greater amount of socializing in American institutions and neighborhoods and adopting to the host society's risk behaviors (Bui, 2013). A recent international survey of 17 countries, including Europe, South and Central America, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, revealed that the United States had the highest prevalence of tobacco, cannabis, and cocaine use (Bui, 2013). The American culture can decrease family cohesion, which may affect parental-child relationships and parental control, consequently affecting children's behaviors (Bui, 2013). Children of immigrants may experience aspects of their native country's values through socialization and

enculturation from their parents and members of their society, although they may not experience their culture heritage directly (Sam, 2000). Thus, the expectation to retain family's values and beliefs are key to the cohesiveness of a harmonious environment for any adapting member to a society (Sam, 2000).

Values can serve as a protective function that provides standards to the evaluation of behaviors (Sam, 2000). Bui (2013) suggested that there exists a direct role of acculturation on behavior due to its negative effect on the control role of families. Conclusively, assimilation is an acculturation strategy in which the individuals devalue the maintenance their culture values and exclusively seek the values of their host country (Sam, 2000). In contrast, separation strategy is when the immigrant individual places a higher value on their native culture than on their host country (Sam, 2000). Integration strategy emphasizes the maintenance of one's native culture and heritage while interacting with members of the host country. Contrastingly, marginalization is the rejection of the maintenance of one's heritage by the host country, as well as avoiding interactions with members of the host country (Sam, 2000). In the present study, I will explore the effect of assimilation on Haitian parental perceptions of high-risk behaviors in their children.

Immigration and Adolescent Response

One in four children in the United States are the children of immigrants. By 2050, this number will increase to one in three children (Kim et al., 2018). The majority of immigrants in the United States are of Asian and Latin descent. The children of these immigrants may be immigrants themselves. Some of these children might have been born

in the United States to individuals who immigrated to the country. The status of these immigrant children may be documented or undocumented. Kim et al. reviewed the factors that influence the lives of these immigrant children pertaining to culture—that is, their own culture and the new culture that they need to adapt to. Kim et al. emphasized the role of parental socialization in the development processes that influence the lives of the immigrant children. Specifically, Kim et al. found that immigration influenced immigrant children and their mental health. Immigrant children with a higher risk for mental health concerns included undocumented immigrants or unaccompanied minors.

Kouider et al. (2014) reviewed the mental health status of immigrant children and adolescents. Kouider et al. identified 35 studies that evaluated this population published from 2009 to 2013. The studies were conducted mostly in the United States and Canada. Compared to Kim et al. (2018), Kouider et al. (2014) did not find migration as risk factor for the mental health status of immigrant children. According to the migration perspective theory, used by these researchers, the migration process poses a greater risk for the immigrant children to develop problematic behavior and mental health concerns. There were balanced results in terms of the problematic behavior between native and immigrant adolescents. However, Asian migrant adolescents have a higher risk of developing mental health issues. The major factor that influenced the problematic behavior of the immigrant children stemmed from their family. The family-based factors included high acculturation stress, communication breakdown, a gap between the cultural orientation between the parents and the children, the non-Western cultural orientation,

and differences in parenting style. Kouider et al. emphasized the need to support migrant families during the acculturation process.

Haitian History and Culture

Haiti, an island in the Caribbean of the West Indies, has been endorsed with the label of the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere (Desrosiers & St. Fleurose, 2001). Haiti is a country people with pride, dignity, a high level of resilience, and extreme spirituality and faith. Haiti was the first Black nation to overthrow its colonization and claim independence in the New World on January 1, 1804 (Desrosiers & St. Fleurose, 2001). Perhaps there are consequences, however, for gaining independence at an early age and being in the eyes of the world as a black nation. Prior to its independence, Haiti was occupied briefly by the Spaniards, but not before the influence of the Indians. The French then overtook the country, dividing it from its sister country, the Dominican Republic. (Khoury, Kaiser, Keys, Brewster, & Kohrt 2012).

Haiti's Bois Caimans (Bwa Kayiman) revolutionary battle in 1791 with Boukman and a Houngan (Vodou or Vodun priest) consisted of a secret rally and a Vodou ceremony to overthrow French colonization (Khoury et al., 2012). Thus, Vodou plays an integrated and vital role in Haitian history. Moreover, this history is a source of pride and motivation for the Haitian people (Desrosiers & St. Fleurose, 2001). It is commonly said that Haiti's religion is 85% Catholics, 15% Protestants, and 100% Vodou. It is important to dispel the notion that Vodou is negative and involved in witch crafting; rather, it is a vital link to Haiti's African ancestors (Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert, 2011). Vodou does not involve the evil doing of a borkor, one who engages in black magic. The spiritual

head priest, the houngan, is a healer and community leader who advocates for and ensures that the communities', or the worshippers. spiritual well beings are being met (Desrosiers & St. Fleurose 2001; Khoury et al., 2012).

Haiti's linguistics breakdown consists of Haitian-Creole and French; 85% of the population speaks Haitian-Creole, which is a mixture of French and African languages (Lundahl, 2015). Although both languages are Haiti's official languages, French serves as the measure for educational status (Cone et al., 2013). Even prior to the 2010 earthquake, Haiti's educational system has been afflicted with systemic problems (Cone et al., 2013). According to the World Bank (2006), 92% of Haiti's schools are privatized. This means that parents must possess the financial means to send their children to school.

The family structure in Haiti is tightly knitted; it is referred to as *lakou* in Haitian Creole, meaning a communal community consisting of an extended cooperative structure in the Haitian society (Horst & Taylor, 2014). The *lakou*, although it consists of fathers, sons, uncles, and grandfathers, is mainly supported and formed by women who have close bonds to one another (Horst & Taylor, 2014; Ivers et al., 2015). The women are the backbone or the stakeholder, *poto mitan*, in the family structure and *lakou* (Ivers et al., 2015). Moreover, since 1804, women-run, clustered houses with extended family members have been the main family form (Ivers et al., 2015). With evolution of time and agriculture pressure, the *lakou* structure has also changed.

The main important export crop is coffee, which is the primary source of cash for peasants (Lundahl 2015). The farming skill, specifically the cultivation of sugarcane, also aids the Haiti's sister country, the Dominican Republic. In 1980, more than 200,000

Haitians were believed to have been habitants of the Dominican Republic (Lundahl, 2015). The first flow of Haitian migrations to Cuba was from 1890 to 1913, thus giving the expansion of the sugar industry to the neighboring island (Lundahl, 2015).

National and historical pride are evident in the anecdotes of Haitians, which rarely contains struggles of slavery, but instead features battles that have been fought and won. Haitians have battled with malaria, gastro-intestinal disorders from malnutrition, tetanus, and tuberculosis (Lundahl, 2015). In 1973, it was reported that there were only five doctors and seven nurses per 100,000 habitants in Haiti (Lundahl, 2015). The health issues greatly affected peasants, which, in turn, impacted the level of agriculture production (Lundahl, 2015). The affected peasants and other health issues also resulted in Haitians migrating to other parts of Haiti, mainly Port-au-Prince, its capital, and eventually to the United States.

In general, African descendant's immigrant family members often leave behind other members to secure employment in the United States (Nicholas et al., 2009). Similarly, Haitian immigrants entered the United States to secure employment and shelter, leaving close and extended family members in Haiti (Nicholas et al., 2009). The migrated family members have a great sense of loyalty to provide support to those left back home (Nicholas et al., 2009). Most Haitians living in the United States provide financial support to their family in Haiti and sponsor family members to enter the United States (Nicholas et al., 2009). The aforementioned situation adds great stress to the immigrant members in the United States.

Current Trends in Haitian Children/Adolescent Behavior and Parental Responses

Family separation during a chain of family immigration occurs in over 85% of Black Caribbean families. This presents challenges for family cohesion, child development, and interaction with health services (Carson et al., 2011). Mental health issues are also a concern. Standardized interviews with Haitian immigrant youths have estimated the prevalence of depression at 14.0% and PTSD at 11.6%, with just 1.8% seeking mental health care (Wang et al., 2016). To exemplify, Haitian youths have learned to quickly readjust and drop previously formed identities in Haitian schools, neighborhoods, and homes once in their host country (Cone et al., 2013).

Another factor affecting the mental health of Haitian youth in the United States is childhood maltreatment (abuse or neglect). Among Haitians living in Haiti, this is seen in 60% of women and 85% of men (Cone et al., 2013). Maltreatment in Haiti consists of neglect from other family members such as an aunt, grandmother, cousins, or a stepparent. Parents who migrated abroad and leave their children to the care of others may inadvertently expose their child to possible neglect (Cone et al., 2013).

Often, immigrant parents send their money back home so that their children will be taken care of, including receiving an education. However, in many cases, these trusted family members will use the money for their own needs and those children become live-in maids or *restavek*. This is a Haitian-Creole term for “one who stays with,” otherwise translated to “invisible children” or “forgotten children” (Wang et al., 2016). About 220,000 cases of *restavek* have been reported in Port-au-Prince alone (Wang et al., 2016).

Restavek children typically range from 5-17 years old (Restavek Freedom, 2011). Due to the horrific conditions, most *restavek* children run away from their guardians, with no way to return to their biological parents, thus resulting in a greater chance of being abused (Wang et al., 2016). Additionally, a school-based study reported that only 27% of Haitian adolescents used a condom during their last sexual intercourse. Among the sexually active, 40% had more than two sexual partners (Carver et al., 2014). In this qualitative study of *restavek* children's behavior, symptoms of behaviors consisting with PTSD are commonly observed, in addition to aggressive behavior, social isolation/avoidance, attention deficits, low-self-esteem, and difficulties with trust (Wang et al., 2016).

Maltreatment in the United States and other countries such as Canada includes sexual, physical, and verbal abuse, physical neglect, removal of moral-legal/education, forced use of drugs and alcohol use by caregivers, and emotional abuse (Cicchetti et al., 2015). Cicchetti et al. presented a meta-analytical data of adolescence maltreatment to the association with reduced hippocampal volume. In Haiti, post-earthquake adolescence maltreatment includes sexual and physical abuse, child labor, child/human trafficking, and intra-family abuse—all which may occur amongst family members—and physical neglect (Cicchetti et al., 2015). This may include malnutrition and removal of formal education (Aysa-Lastra et al., 2012). Additionally, when primary caregivers are killed, missing, injured, or psychologically unable to attend to children's needs, the children are at a greater risk for injury, exploitation, and abuse (Sanderson et al., 2016).

Haitian Adolescent Responses to Immigration

Factor et al. (2013) conducted a study using the social resistance framework to understand high-risk behaviors among nondominant minorities. These authors reported that non-dominant groups were more likely to engage in high-risk behaviors, such as smoking, alcohol use, high-risk sexual behaviors, overeating, and careless driving. Similar issues are evident among Haitian immigrant children (Factor et al., 2013). Haitian children demonstrate their needs for self-efficacy through active engagement, including game activities, empowerment through daily work, joy and safety, and community connection (Sanderson et al., 2016)

To exemplify this point, modern first-generation Haitians continue to encounter unique challenges in the United States. According to the 2009 American Community Survey, 12.5% of the U.S. population is foreign born (Leonardo, 2014). Moreover, children of immigrants represent one fifth of the total childhood population, the fastest-growing group (Leonardo, 2014). One quarter of children under the age of 5 years in the United States have at least one foreign-born parent, a number which is expected to multiply over the 21st century (Bornstein, 2017).

As members of the foreign-born population and Black racial minority group, U.S. Haitian immigrants are frequently confronted with racism and discrimination (Belizaire & Fuertes 2011). In addition, as members of the U.S. foreign-born population, Haitian immigrants are at risk for poverty). Tobler et al. (2013) examined the perceived frequency and intensity of racial/ethnic discrimination and associations with high-risk behaviors among adolescents. The focus was on behavioral health outcomes relating to

marijuana and other drug use, alcohol, physical aggression, delinquency, victimization, depression, anxiety, and sexual behaviors such as unsafe sex (Tobler et al., 2013). The findings of Ferguson et al. (2012) supported the predictions of segmented assimilation in Black Caribbean immigrant youth to experience poorer outcomes. Ferguson et al. included a sample population of New York and Illinois Jamaican immigrant high school students, ages 14–18 (Ferguson et al., 2012). Additionally, 70% of the respondents favored integration and oriented better with African American than European American culture. Though Haitians were not part of the sample population, the authors made reference to the Zhou and Portes (2005) study in Miami Dade county using segmented assimilation theory with Haitians as a sample population.

High-Risk Behaviors Among Children of Immigrants

Various theorists attempted to analyze and understand the factors and etiology of juvenile delinquency (Einat & Herzog, 2011). Sellin and Wolfgang's (1964) culture conflict theory offered a possible cultural explanation of the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless, the mechanisms of assimilation, were centered upon the consequent application to crime and delinquency (Alvarez-Rivera et al., 2014), and parental perceptions of high-risk behavior merit further discussion. Parents' acculturated experiences in the host country could impact their willingness to assist their children in the educational process (Smith et al., 2016). Cross (2003) supported the need for more parental involvement (Gao et al., 2013), having pointed out in the 1970s that there was a rise in Black delinquency resulting from family instability. Two theoretical concepts have emerged in research in association with assimilation. Following Sellin and Wolfgang's

(1964) rationale, Einat and Herzog (2011) argued that youth constitute of a social subculture with norms, values, and stances that are not concordant with the moral values and norms of the general culture of the adults who govern the content of the criminal laws. Other factors, such as parental awareness of adolescents' activities, tend to decrease the level of delinquent behaviors (Gau et al., 2013; Titzmann et al., 2011).

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2015). As stated in the culture and history section below, Haitian families consist of women playing a vital role of the stakeholder (Ivers et al., 2015). Upon migration to this country, Haitian mothers continue to be, in many cases, the breadwinners as well. They know the importance of their parent role, as well as the oppositional force of not wanting a *hand out* from the government due to their pride (Desrosiers & St. Fleurose, 2001). In many cases, some of the Haitian parents hold two or more part-time jobs due to being unable to attain full-time employment (Nicholas et al., 2009).

Haitian Parental Roles and Expectations for Children

Immigrant parents struggle not only with assimilating into the dominant culture, but also adapting to the changes in parental expectations. Parents play an important role in acculturation. Parenting is influenced by many factors, including parents' own individual characteristics, their children, and their cultural experiences (Bornstein, 2017). Parents' involvement and nurturing, as well as supportive, warm, sensitive sentiments can mold stress-responsive tendencies in children's exposure to high level of environmental risk (Flouri & Midouhas, 2016). Beckerman, et al. (2017) elaborated on various types of daily stressors, such as SES, history of parent's own history maltreatment, and abusive and harsh parenting can negatively affect the child adjustment process. The authors also pointed out that parents who engage more in authoritative parenting style are lacking available support resources for challenging child behaviors (Beckerman et al., 2017). Moreover, parental attributions are defined as parental evaluation and interpretations of their child's behavior (Beckerman et al., 2017). Hence, parents' rigid and automatic

processing, resulting from stress, contributes to the lack of understanding of children's behaviors (Beckerman et al., 2017).

Parenthood enhances one's psychological development, self-confidence, and a sense of well-being when confronted with new challenges (Bornstein, 2015). The scope of parenthood encompasses parental perceptions of parenting. Parenting includes the cultural and historical context, employment status of parents and parents own psychological makeup and cognition (Bornstein, 2015).

Parental self-efficacy refers to parents' feelings of competence in their parenting role, including beliefs about being able to handle developmentally specific issues and foster the child's positive development and adjustment (Bandura, 1997). This plays a role in Haitian parental roles and expectations for their children. Social learning theory suggest that low parental efficacy may play a role in the development of delinquency (Calhoun et al., 2015). Furthermore, the common changes in the parent-child relationship, such as communication, might also affect PSE (Glatz & Buchanan, 2015). This process involves metacognitive feelings, which also trigger attributions regarding the outcome of cognitive processing. Confidence, for example, contributes to the attribution of ability, whereas a sense of complexity leads to the attribution of task difficulty (Efklides, 2011). Hamilton et al. (2014) examined whether the association between subjective socio- economic status (SES; Gao et al., 2013) and substance use and between parental education and substance use varied by immigrant generation. As Calhoun et al. (2015) indicated, parental perceptions of adolescents can be used to predict adolescents' delinquency status. In addition to parental perceptions, practices such as

parental monitoring have also been shown to be related to delinquent behavior (Calhoun et al., 2015).

Moreover, concerning PSE, its influence of child temperament reaches beyond the direct relationship of youth and parents' characteristics. This can include SES and maternal depression (Carless et al., 2015). Although SES does not directly impact parents' functioning, it does affect the ability to undermine the parents' perception of their own efficacy (Carless et al., 2015; Gerards et al., 2013). Theoretically, there is a bidirectionality of influence between PSE with and parent outcomes, in which low PSE contribute to poorer parenting practices and more uncertain child outcomes (Carless et al., 2015; Gerards et al., 2013). During the onset of adolescence, it is valuable to assess parental challenges in managing children's lifestyle behaviors and evaluating parental self-efficacy (Gerards et al., 2013).

The results sustained a PSE-driven process for mothers within the early adolescence. Conceptually, PSE has been linked to both promotive parenting practices and positive child behavior (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001; Bandura, 1977). Promotive parenting practices are parents' positive methods aiming to cultivate children's skill, talents, and interest to prevent negative adjustment (Cook & Eccles, 1999). In particular, they seem to provide the right balance between support and autonomy that youth require to experiment with environmental challenges, by backing children's self-esteem, restraining negative feelings and depressive symptoms, promoting optimal experiences, and containing deviant and violent behaviors (Steca et al., 2011).

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this multiple case study was to provide rich descriptions of cultural aspects and familial risks forming Haitian parental actions and perceptions that might contribute to adolescents' high-risk behaviors. There is a need to understand assimilation stress as a factor that forms Haitian parental perceptions and disciplinary actions, which might contribute to high-risk behaviors of their children. Parents should be aware of how to address behaviors of their children (Hamilton et al., 2014).

Culture forms and shapes youth's social ecologies (Theron et al., 2015). In Chapter 2, I presented the literature review and the research approach. It is known that there has been an increase of Haitian immigrants in the United States which includes children, adolescents, and adults, after the 2010 earthquake disaster (GeoSentinel Global Surveillance Network & the US Census, 2012). Many of these immigrants are entering the United States with physical and mental health conditions resulting from environmental conditions in the aftermath of the natural disaster. Other health factors include PTSD and depression, occurring between 68% to 40% in children (Blanc et al., 2015). In an urban school-based study, Weems and Graham (2014) tested the post-traumatic stress of youth exposed to both hurricane Katrina and Gustav. The results showed that there was a significant effect of Katrina exposure to PTS in those with moderate symptoms, but those with relatively high Katrina disaster exposure had a unique coping style (Weems & Graham, 2014). In consideration of the contributing factors related to the development and maintenance of violent adolescent behavior, it is

essential to gain a better understanding of family members' contributions and perceptions of violence and high-risk behaviors (Calhoun et al., 2015).

In Chapter 3, I will explain in detail the research design and rationale, as well as restate the research questions and the tradition. In addition, I will describe the methodology and the role of the researcher, along with the recruitment procedures, sampling strategy, data collection and instruments, data analysis plan, and ethical procedures and trustworthiness issues.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

Nationwide, 36% of all high school girls reported having been involved in a physical fight, and 18% reported having carried a weapon in the last 30 days (Stoddard et al., 2011). Other qualitative scholars have determined that youth engaged in high-risk behaviors, such as the sex trade, frequently have a history of child abuse (Kaestle 2012). As a result, I aimed to address this problem through a multiple case study, exploring Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. In this chapter, I provide an in-depth analysis of the current study's methodology, role of the researcher, research design and rationale, population, sample size, and sample recruitment process. I close the chapter with a discussion of the ethical issues regarding participants.

Research Design and Rationale

In this study, the first two research questions were based on segmented assimilation theory. In the first research question, assimilation-related outcomes involving high-risk behavior in children were addressed. In the second research question, the dichotomy of immigrants being caught between the customs of the old world and that of the American mainstream (Bersani et al., 2014) was considered by focusing on the participants' perceptions regarding the norms of their adopted culture. The third research question was based on SCT and addressed the participants' perceptions of their own role in challenges in adopting to the new culture and in high-risk behavior in their adolescent children. The research questions that guided the study were:

RQ1: How do Haitian immigrant parents perceive the relation between their adolescent children's high-risk behavior and their children's attempts to assimilate in the new culture?

RQ2: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the general influence of their home culture in relation to the high-risk behavior in their adolescent children?

RQ3: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the process of assimilating to a new culture in relation to their adolescent children's high-risk behavior?

The phenomenon explored consisted of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their contribution to their children's high-risk behaviors. In alignment with the needs identified from the research phenomenon, the qualitative case study design was used, with a research tradition of interpretivist epistemology. A qualitative research method involves exploration of a phenomenon through an inductive approach in which data collected from participants are used to reach conclusions (Mankelwicz & Kitahara, 2010). As it involves an inductive approach, the qualitative method allows researchers to ask how and why questions with no prior hypothesis (Mankelwicz & Kitahara, 2010). Instead, meanings derived from the data lead to themes or theories that answer the research questions (Yilmaz, 2013). In contrast, the quantitative method involves a deductive approach in which hypotheses developed prior to data collection are tested through the data (Yilmaz, 2013). A mixed-methods approach involves the use of elements from both quantitative and qualitative methods (Yilmaz, 2013). In this study, the focus of the research required an exploration of only the qualitative elements to conduct an inductive, open-ended

inquiry on the experiences of immigrant parents; the qualitative method was more suitable and thus selected over quantitative or mixed methods.

A case study research design was used in this study. Multiple research designs were considered for the study. I considered phenomenology, a qualitative approach in which researchers aim to develop new knowledge of human lived experiences through participant interviews (Gentles et al., 2015). Various authors have developed several distinct sub approaches to this analysis that reflect the philosophical premises and ideas the research approach was founded (Hussein et al., 2014). Although grounded theory and phenomenology are sometimes considered the true methodological traditions, a case study is considered less so. As Stake (2005) emphasized, “Case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of what is to be studied” (p. 443). This design is distinct from other forms of qualitative research due to its analytic focus on one or a small number of confined cases, each of which is studied within its distinct context. Furthermore, the data that a researcher collects to learn about each case often take varying forms, including observations, interviews, or documents (Gentles et al., 2015).

A case study is an intensive and detailed analysis of the members of a group or organization with shared experiences toward the same phenomena (Kjøllestadal et al., 2014). Moreover, a case study has a definite time frame and space. Bounding this research within the case study approach allowed for an in-depth look at the unique expressions of each parent. Within the case study approach, the unit of observation was Haitian families with adolescent children associated with a nonprofit art-based facility that provides cultural and arts education programs. The unit of analysis was formed

through one bounded system, consisting of parents in Haitian families with adolescent children enrolled in camp programs at the nonprofit's facility.

The research tradition involved an interpretivist epistemology (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). In this study, segmented assimilation (Koo et al., 2012) and SCT (Bandura, 1986) formed the theoretical framework. Additionally, the research tradition was based on an interpretivist epistemology to interpret, analyze, and understand the meaning of social reality as ascribed by the participants to their reality (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). Interpretivism can be traced back to multiple fields of research, including anthropology, sociology, and phenomenology (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). Interpretivism asserts that it is not possible to separate reality from its knowledge, while the interpretivist paradigm suggests that truth can be obtained through dialogue and the values of a researcher are present across all steps of the research (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). As a result, claims about the findings are developed as part of the proceeds of the investigation and the results are derived based on dialogue among multiple members of a group (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011).

In the interpretivism approach, a dialogue must develop between participants and researchers. Through such interactions, an informed knowledge about the social universe is obtained (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). Additionally, the interpretations are specific to their context in time and location and thus can be negotiated and reinterpreted through dialogue (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2011). Naturalistic tools such as interviews are preferred in interpretivism to facilitate dialogue and uncover meaning in a study (Ogbu,

1994). The experiences of Haitian immigrant parents helped create an understanding of their perceptions with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors.

Role of the Researcher

The issues of a researcher's bias and power are of concern in qualitative studies. The backyard technique may be employed to show a relationship between participants and a researcher and the research site. A researcher's organization may be studied to obtain background information forming a credible relationship (Cruz, 2015). Researchers in the body of literature on qualitative research methodologies have discussed reflexivity as a technique that researchers use to address and guard against bias. Various authors suggested reflective journals (Peredaryenko & Krauss, 2015). In this study, I created generalizations to broaden conclusions in the field of anthropology and relating to criminology upon the completion of the data analysis.

Methodology

In this section, details regarding the methodology of the study are described. These include information about participant selection logic and instrumentation. Additionally, the section included specific procedures and plans for recruitment, participation, data collection, and data analysis.

Participant Selection Logic

In this research, the general population studied included all families in the United States who have been affected, directly or indirectly, by the 2010 Haiti earthquake. The target population included Haitian parents located in an urban area of southern Florida, with adolescent children enrolled in camp programs. The sample was selected from three

Haitian families, with a total of six participants representing two parents for each family. All families had adolescent children associated with a nonprofit art-based facility that provides cultural and arts education programs. The unit of observation was Haitian families with adolescent children associated with the nonprofit. The unit of analysis was formed through one bounded system, consisting of parents in Haitian families with adolescent children enrolled in camp programs at the specific nonprofit.

Site authorization was initially obtained verbally, followed by written permission obtained through a letter for site authorization. Once the site had been identified, I contacted the director of the institution and introduced the research study. I discussed the potential benefits of the research findings and asked for help locating participants who might meet the inclusion criteria. Following verbal initial site authorization, I obtained formal written permission, which included the permission to distribute fliers in the location and conduct interviews in a room in the complex. Additionally, all activities associated with the research process were based on the research protocol, which was authorized by the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB).

To identify the sample, the sampling strategy used was purposive sampling. Describing the purposive sampling technique, Patton (2015) noted, “The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry” (p. 265). Purposive sampling is a nonprobability technique for sampling whereby participants for a research study are selected based on their attributes suitable for the research purpose to address the research

question (Robinson, 2013). The benefit of purposive sampling is that it allows an investigator to select participants based on their requirements. Its disadvantages involve the potential for misrepresentation and bias (Patton, 2015).

Researchers use purposive sampling in qualitative research as it allows the selection of a sample based on available resources to collect large amounts of data (Patton, 2015). In purposefully selecting participants, I considered numerous criteria; there were inclusion and exclusion criteria a participant had to satisfy to be part of the study. Inclusion criteria included the following: (a) the participant must be of Haitian descent; (b) the participant must have been affected, directly or indirectly, by the 2010 Haiti earthquake; (c) the participant were located in Northeast of Miami Dade, Florida; and (d) the participant must have adolescent children between the ages 13 and 19.

Participants were excluded if they met any of the following criteria: (a) one of the parents had been incarcerated; (b) one of the children had been incarcerated; (c) parents migrated to the United States before the age of 20; and (d) parents enrolled in some type of state parental training. I assessed the participants' adherence to the inclusion and exclusion criteria through self-report interviews and a questionnaire. All the participants were informed about the voluntary nature of participation. Additionally, if the required number of participants was not found based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria, I allowed for the possibility of extending the time frame or expanding the location parameters.

Instrumentation

Two sources were used to collect data. The first was a questionnaire survey based on the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) that was used to obtain an understanding

regarding the acculturation and cultural lens of the participants. The responses from the survey provided a context for the semistructured interviews conducted with each of the participants.

Vancouver Index of Acculturation

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) was developed by Ryder et al. (2000). The multicultural questionnaire survey consists of 20 items regarding acculturation that differentiates acquiring host cultural behavior from losing heritage cultural behavior. During the development of the survey, I reported a Cronbach alpha internal consistency score of .79, with respect to the subscale of heritage, and .75 with respect to the subscale of mainstream, both consisting of six items. Reflecting on the test of the survey, I reported that the primary advantage of the survey over others was the possibility of wider cultural coverage, rather than better types of items. Because I was focused on Haitian families, the VIA survey instrument provided a better option; there are relatively limited surveys made specifically for Haitian immigrants in the United States. The majority of the instruments for measuring acculturation are directed toward African Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos.

Based on the recommendations of Ryder et al. (2000), each of the 20 items contained a question that participants were required to answer by indicating the disagreement or agreement in terms of degrees, with 1 indicating strongest disagreement and 9 indicating strongest agreement. The questions in the instrument focused on the participants' original culture and its meaning for their family. Heritage referred either to the culture they were born in, the culture in which they were raised, or the culture their

family had as a background. If a participant had a multiple-heritage culture, they were asked to answer with respect to the culture they most identified with. In this study, the heritage culture was Haitian culture, while the mainstream culture was American culture. The survey was distributed with a short demographic questionnaire that asked the participants to provide nonidentifiable personal demographic information, such as their age and race.

The permission to use the instrument was included within the survey distribution via email before the interview. The participants had the time and privacy to respond to their survey before the beginning of the interviews. The participants were asked to provide the completed survey during or before the personal interviews. All the participants were required to indicate in the survey a number provided to them, which was used to ensure alignment between survey responses and interview responses. The use of the number occurred throughout the research process and in the reported results to ensure participants were not identified through their personal information. Because the survey was validated by its original developers, it is considered sound for usage. Additionally, multiple researchers studying acculturation have used and evaluated the survey in their research (Huynh et al., 2009; Tieu & Konnert, 2015), providing further justification for its use in this study.

Semistructured Interviews

The primary source of data in the study was derived from semi structured interviews. The questions used in the semi structured interviews was developed based on the research purpose, the research questions, the themes discovered from a review of

literature, and the VIA survey instrument. The semi structured interviews helped to discover, through personal, one-on-one, or telephonic interviews, the perception of Haitian parents with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. The questions for the interviews were designed to ensure they help answer the developed research questions.

Before conducting the interviews with the study participants, I conducted a field test which did not include the study's participants. The field test was conducted to ensure the interviews questions developed for the study answer the research questions and help address the purpose of the study. The field test helped to increase the simplicity of the interview questions. Thus, the field test was conducted with one expert in the field of research who provided feedback regarding the quality of the interview questions. Based on the feedback, the questions in the interview guide were refined, removed, or expanded.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

To collect data for the study, the researcher used a questionnaire survey based on the VIA (Ryder et al., 2000). This was used to obtain an understanding regarding the acculturation and cultural lens of the participants. The responses from the survey provided a context for the semi structured interviews that were conducted with this study's participants. The process of data collection began with participant recruitment. Before beginning the process, the researcher obtained IRB approval from the university.

The first phase of data collection process consisted of site authorization. Site authorization was initially be obtained verbally, followed by written permission obtained through a letter for site authorization. Once the site was identified, I contacted the

director of the institution and introduce the research study. I discussed the potential benefits of the research findings and asked for help to locate the participants who might meet the inclusion criteria. Following initial verbal site authorization, I obtained formal written permission. This included the permission to distribute fliers in the location and conduct interviews in a room within the complex. The written permission was obtained after a follow-up email and phone call discussion.

After site authorization, I obtained IRB approval from the University. In a research study, informed consent ensured that the participation of individuals in the study was thoughtful and voluntary, rather than uninformed and forced. I also educated participants regarding their rights, benefits, risks, and measures for confidentiality and security of their data. After participants were identified, and the fliers distributed in relevant places, the researcher distributed a letter via email to each participant introducing the study. The participants were encouraged to ask questions or if they had confusion regarding any aspect of the study. Once the approval from IRB was obtained, I began the data collection process.

First, I distributed the questionnaire survey to each participant. For the survey instrument, I used the VIA developed by Ryder et al. (2000). The multicultural questionnaire survey consisted of 20 items regarding acculturation that differentiated the acquiring the host cultural behavior and the losing of heritage cultural behavior. Reflecting on their test of the surveys, the researcher reported that the primary advantage of this survey over others was the possibility of wider cultural coverage, rather than better types of items. The current study was focused on Haitian families and the VIA survey

instrument provided a better option as there were relatively limited surveys made specifically for Haitian immigrants in the United States. The majority of the instruments for measuring acculturation are directed towards African American, Native Americans, and Latinos. Based on the recommendations of the researchers, each of the 20 items contained a question that participants were required to answer by disagreement or agreement in terms of degrees, with 1 indicating strongest disagreement and 9 indicating strongest agreement.

I distributed the survey before the interview via email. The participants had the time and privacy to respond to their survey before the beginning of the interviews. The participants were asked to provide the filled-out survey during or before the personal interviews. All the participants were required to indicate in the survey a number provided to them, which were used to ensure an alignment between survey responses and interview responses. The use of the number occurred throughout the researcher process and in the reported results to ensure participants were not identified through their personal information. The responses from the survey questionnaire provided context for each of the participants' personal experiences with acculturation, was helpful during the analysis of the data from interviews.

A week after the distribution of the surveys, I contacted the participants in order to schedule the semi-structured interviews that were the primary source of data. The participants for the interviews were the same participants who were contacted for participation in the survey questionnaire. Thus, a total of six participants representing two parents from each of the three families took part in the interviews separately. The

permission to use an audio recording device during the interviews was already secured in the informed consent form (Appendix). Interviews were scheduled according to the convenience of the participants. The interviews were conducted on the complex premises within a private room of a public place. The participants were provided with a set of expectations during the scheduled call regarding the interview data. This included the procedure of member checking following the interviews. To ensure objectivity, the researcher followed the protocol for the interview that was approved by the IRB. Open-ended questions were presented. All participants received the same sample questions. Once questions were asked, the interview was carried out by the responses of the participants. I ensured minimal intervention. Each interview lasted from 60 to 90 minutes. Two recording devices were used to record the responses. Permission was verified before beginning the recording device. All participants had the right to withdraw from the study at any point without further explanation.

Once the responses for the survey and the interview questions were obtained, the researcher began preparing the data. The researcher used Microsoft Word to develop transcripts based on the recorded audio. Individual interview transcript were supplied to each participant via email after they were prepared as part of the member checking process. The accuracy with which participant responses were represented in the final data were verified. Based on participant feedback, changes were made. Following member checking, I developed a master log containing data from both the interviews and the survey responses. All information that could be used to personally identify the participants was reviewed and removed (Miles et al., 2014). Participants were only

identified with a number provided to them. To ensure security and confidentiality, all physical transcripts are kept in secure cabinet in the researcher's home locked by a password. Additionally, the digital files are kept in a password-protected computer. The data will be kept for seven-years following the completion of the research, after which they will be permanently destroyed.

Data Analysis Plan

In this study, the data were analyzed using thematic analysis, descriptive statistic, and case study summary. Data analysis occurred within the context of the topic, the research problem, and the research questions for the study. The research problem to be addressed was that the Haitian parents' perceptions, which are shaped by parental acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to the Haitian adolescents' existing high-risk behaviors were unknown. The specific focus was on Haitian parents. Based on the research problem and the research purpose, three research questions were developed, which guided the data analysis process. The first two research questions were based on segmented assimilation theory, which provided another context, along with the collected data, during data analysis. The third research question was based on SCT as it addressed the participants' perception of their own role in the challenges in adopting to the new culture in high-risk behavior in their adolescent children. The three aspects of the research phenomenon addressed in the study were the general perceptions of Haitian parents regarding the existence of high-risk behavior in their adolescent children in the context of assimilation in the new culture, the beliefs of Haitian parents regarding the

host culture's norms, and the challenges of assimilation. Each of these questions were explored in the context of the possibility of high-risk behavior among their children.

Once data collection was completed, I began data preparation. For the questionnaire survey, scoring was performed. To perform the scoring, I followed the recommendations for the analysis provided by the original authors of the survey instrument. Ryde et al. (2000) recommended the following scoring process: sub score from items related to Heritage provide mean regarding items that are odd-numbered in the instrument. On the contrary, sub score from the items related to mainstream culture provided a mean regarding items that are even numbered. Following the recommendation of the researchers, mainstream, American culture was treated as the culture to be studied in this context. Next, the data for the interviews were prepared. I used Microsoft Word to develop transcripts based on the recorded audio. Individual interview transcripts were supplied to each participant via email after they were prepared as part of the member checking process, during which the accuracy with which participant responses are represented in the final data is verified. Based on participant feedback, changes were made. Following member checking, the researcher developed a master log containing data from both the interviews and the survey responses. All information that could be used to personally identify the participants was reviewed and removed (Miles et al., 2014). Participants were only be identified with a number provided to them. To ensure security and confidentiality, all physical transcripts are kept in secure cabinet in the researcher's home locked by a password. Additionally, the digital files are kept in a password-protected computer.

The VIA instrument has a Cronbach alpha internal consistency score of .79 with respect to the subscale of Heritage and .75 with respect to the subscale of mainstream, both consisting of six items (Ryde et al., 2000). Survey analysis interpretation was derived from the standard deviations, variable correlations, coefficient alphas, and means. To analyze the data from both sources further, the researcher used thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis can be useful to develop themes regarding the research problem (Ackroyd, 2009). As noted by Ackroyd (2009), in a case study, summary combines different information, which has been analyzed and coded with respect to the research questions. The thematic analysis of the data was related to the research phenomenon to be studied. Once the dataset from the two sources had been prepared, the researcher began the analysis process. During the inductive approach, the first step began with coding (Ackroyd, 2009). The researcher developed a coding table consisting of the category of data from the interview questions. The transcripts were reviewed and labeled (Ackroyd, 2009). As part of this plan, the researcher developed further themes as multiple reviews were conducted and changes were made in the definition and content of each label based on comparison and assimilation. Additionally, I synthesized multiple labels under larger categories (Ackroyd, 2009). Following Bazeley (2009), the researcher assigned descriptive names for the developed codes that described the data. The theoretical framework and the research questions provided a framework for coding. Different sources were first broken down into different data sets. Later, they were grouped together to identify themes. The themes were based on the focus of the researcher. Information that not relevant to the research questions was discarded (Lincoln

& Guba, 1985). Using pattern searching and continuous reference, the researcher unified the codes and identified the themes. The combining of codes was centered around the research questions, and from the multiple codes developed, themes were identified (Saldana, 2013). Once the codes were grouped and themes identified, they were presented in the final writeup.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Reliability, internal validity, generalizability, and objectivity are some of the central criteria that scholars use to assess the truthfulness of any positivist research work (Sarma, 2015). To ensure validity, specifically content validity, I worded the interview questions to specifically address the concepts that I aimed to explore. For example, even if the participants possessed sufficient English skills to adequately answer questions, there were words which must be translated verbatim to Haitian-Creole. Such translations allowed for a better understanding of what is being asked due to context meaning in Haitian-Creole. For example, the word “education” in Haitian-Creole is understood to have two distinct meanings: “edikasyon lakay” (home-education or training) and “edikasyon sosyal” (formal or social education). The basis for the current researcher-developed instrument was the body of existing literature.

The limitations to validity in qualitative research included that the researcher could become overwhelmed with data and experience a sense of casualty (Rudestam & Newton, 2007). Additionally, most computer software designed to handle data storage and transcription were designed for quantitative research. There were several ethical issues of concern due to personal information of the participants. Furthermore, in

qualitative research, the researcher has entry to participants' past experiences and backgrounds, which may include personal and sensitive information.

Validity is defined as “the extent to which [a test] measures what it claims to measure” (Gregory, 1992, p.117). A measure is valid if it measures what it is supposed to measure and does so without inadvertently including other factors (Lakshmi & Mohideen, 2013). Validity involves reflection actions and alertness during the whole process of research (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2011; Breuer & Roth, 2003; Declan, 2014). While devising the research design, with the usefulness of keeping a reflective journal, I decided to make the process of conversation with the Echo technique visible to the reader and myself as a strategy to increase reflexivity (Peredaryenko & Krauss, 2013).

Although a case is unique, it still may be a fit within a broader group; hence, the prospect of transferability need not be neglected. Scholars have argued that, even if the researcher does not directly make the inferences on transferability, the practitioners may find that their situations are similar in the study and may relate the findings to their situations (Sarma, 2015). Thus, in qualitative research, the transferability is primarily decided by the reader of the study, and not by the researcher. For the current study, I analyzed thick descriptions to arrive at in-depth vignettes from the interviews.

Ethical Procedures

As this qualitative study included cooperation with individual humans, it is important to identify and address possible ethical threats. Following the recommendations for human subjects, the ethical considerations for the study were based on empathy and respect (Lewis, 2015). In this study, the ethical procedures were based

on considerations identified in the fundamental principles of the Belmont Report (1978). The Belmont Report (1978) described three principles, namely respect for person, justice, and beneficence, that underlies ethical research. Respect for persons refers to respect for the individual humans and to ensure it is maintained, and the participants' rights must be secured. In this study, the researcher ensured that the privacy, confidentiality, and autonomy of the participants was maintained. With respect to beneficence, which refers to ensuring measures are taken so that no harm is done to the participants, the researcher protected the identity of the participants and followed the research protocol during personal interviews. With respect to justice, which refers to ensuring the procedures for the study are reasonable, equal, and fair, the researcher ensured that participation in the study remained voluntary at each stage and participants were made aware of their rights. The threats to ethical soundness identified in the study were addressed through the aforementioned steps. These threats included those that may occur with respect to informed consent of participants, sensitive data collection process, confidentiality of the participants, and participants' psychological fitness to partake in the study.

The major source of ethical procedures was the informed consent form (Appendix). Informed consent ensures the participation of individuals in the study is thoughtful and voluntary, rather than uninformed and forced. The Informed Consent form (Appendix) allows the researcher to obtain permission from the participants for all the phases of the research process, beginning from recruitment to the conclusion of the study (Nijhawan et al., 2013). Based on the general informed consent form requirements, the Informed Consent form (Appendix) developed for the study educated participants

regarding their rights, benefits, risks, and measures for confidentiality and security of their data. After participants are identified with the help of the directors and the fliers distributed in relevant places, the researcher distributed a letter via email to each participant providing an introduction to the study, along with the Informed Consent form (Appendix). The participants were requested to sign and return the Informed Consent forms (Appendix) to indicate their willingness to participate in the study. The participants were encouraged to ask questions if they had confusion regarding any aspect of the study. Participants were made aware of their rights which included the right to withdraw from the study at any point without the need for a justification.

To ensure no personal information of the participants was made public, the researcher will take measures during the data collection and preparation steps. During the data collection through survey, all participants were required to indicate in the survey a number provided to them, which was used to ensure an alignment between survey responses and interview responses. The use of the number occurred throughout the researcher process and in the reported results to ensure participants could not be identified through their personal information. No personally identifiable information will be published from the demographics. All information that could be used to personally identify the participants was reviewed and removed during data preparation (Miles et al., 2014). Participants were identified with a number provided to them. To ensure security and confidentiality, all physical transcripts were kept in secure cabinet in the researcher's home locked by a password. Additionally, the digital files were stored in a password--

protected computer. The data will be kept for seven years following the completion of the research, after which they will be permanently destroyed.

To ensure that only participants who were fit to partake in the study are included, inclusion and exclusion criteria will be used. The researcher did not include participants where one of the parents has been incarcerated, or where one of the children had been incarcerated. Since all the participants were parents of adolescent children, no participants were younger than 18 years of age. To ensure the information provided by the participants is not misrepresented, the researcher conducted member checking. During this process, individual interview transcripts were supplied to each participant via email after they were prepared as part of the member checking process, during which the accuracy with which participant responses are represented in the final data is verified. Based on participant feedback, changes may be made. Following member checking, the researcher developed a master log containing data from both the interviews and the survey responses. Using member checking, misrepresentation was avoided as a threat. Finally, information regarding the role of the researcher ensured no possible conflict of interest was hidden.

Summary

Qualitative research interviews are differentiated from everyday conversations as social and emotional encounters by the relationship between the researcher and participant (Mealer & Jones, 2014). Essentially, qualitative research is interpretivist in nature and carried out to capture the meaning given by individuals to its surroundings (Fujiura, 2015; Sarma, 2015). Qualitative researchers approach the empirical reality as

consisting of multiple realities constructed by the perceivers. Thus, it is necessary to state the importance of the current study exploring how acculturation might form actions and parental perception of high-risk behaviors to construct meaning to this phenomenon.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The focus of this multiple case study was to explore Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. The risk factors associated with acculturative stress have been shown to contribute to problematic patterns of personality adjustment and related difficulties in family and peer relationships, educational achievement, and vocational preparation (McMahon et al., 2013). A fuller understanding of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents and the factors that shape those perceptions may lead to better interventions and education to address, and perhaps prevent, high-risk behaviors in adolescent children. The following research questions guided the study:

RQ1: How do Haitian immigrant parents perceive the relation between their adolescent children's high-risk behavior and their children's attempts to assimilate in the new culture?

RQ2: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the general influence of their home culture in relation to the high-risk behavior of their adolescent children?

RQ3: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the process of assimilating to a new culture in relation to their adolescent children's high-risk behavior?

In this chapter, I report on the results obtained from surveys and in-depth interviews with parents from Haitian families who have been directly or indirectly affected by the 2010 Haiti earthquake and who have adolescent children associated with a specific nonprofit art-based facility that provides cultural and arts education programs.

The chapter includes a description of the setting and sample, information regarding how data were collected, the data analysis process, and evidence of trustworthiness. Then I present the results and the themes resulting from the thematic analysis. To close this chapter, I provide a summary of the findings and introduction to Chapter 5.

Setting

The setting of the interviews was in Northeast of Miami. Interviews were conducted face-to-face or over the phone with the parents without children present.

Demographics

In this research, the general population studied included all families in the United States who have been affected, directly or indirectly, by the 2010 Haiti earthquake. The target population included Haitian parents in with adolescent children enrolled in camp programs at a specific nonprofit. The sample was selected from three Haitian families, with a total of six participants representing two parents for each family, who have adolescent children associated with an art-based facility where cultural and arts education programs are provided.

To participate in this study, participants had to meet inclusion criteria. These inclusion criteria were: (a) the participant must be of Haitian descent; (b) the participant must have been affected, directly or indirectly, by the 2010 Haiti earthquake; (c) the participant must be located in a specific area of the state of Florida; and (d) the participant must have adolescent children between ages 13 and 19. Some specific exclusion criteria were also defined, and participants were excluded if they met any of the following: (a) one of the parents had been incarcerated; (b) one of the children had been

incarcerated; (c) parents migrated to the United States before the age of 20; and (d) parents were enrolled in some type of state parental training. I assessed the participants' adherence to the inclusion and exclusion criteria through self-report interviews and a questionnaire. All the inclusion criteria were included in the informed consent form.

Participants were recruited through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is nonprobability technique whereby participants for a research study are selected based on their attributes suitable for the research purpose to address the research question (Robinson, 2013). The benefit of purposive sampling is that it allows an investigator to select participants based on their requirements. Once recruited, all information that could be used to personally identify the participants was reviewed and removed (Miles et al., 2014). Participants were allocated a pseudonym—from FP1 to FP6—and participants were referred to by these pseudonyms throughout the study. Table 1 provides some demographic information for the participants.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

	Age range	Gender	Marital status	Education	Income/employment	Northeast of Miami Dade	Years in the U.S.
Fp1	40–49	Female	Married	< high school	\$10,000–\$19,999	Little river	>20
Fp2	40–49	Female	Never married	High school	\$0–\$9,999	Northeast of Miami Dade	>20
Fp3	35–39	Female	n/a	High school	\$30,000–\$39,999	Northeast of Miami Dade	14–17
Fp4	40–49	Female	Married	High school	Unemployed	Northeast of Miami Dade	3–5
Fp5	50–59	Male	Divorced	Some college	\$0–\$9,999	Northeast of Miami Dade	>20
Fp6	40–49	Female	Separated	High school	\$0–\$9,999		8–11

Data Collection

Data were collected in two forms: surveys and six individual in-depth interviews with three pairs of Haitian parents who have been directly or indirectly affected by the 2010 Haiti earthquake and who have adolescent children associated with a specific nonprofit in southern Florida. Site authorization was initially obtained verbally, followed by written permission obtained through a letter. I was granted permission to distribute fliers in the location and conduct interviews in a room in the complex. The directors of the facility helped with identifying potential participants and an introductory email was sent to each possible participant. This email introduced the study and had the informed consent attached to it, which participants were asked to carefully read and sign in case they decided to participate. This form included information regarding their rights as participants, including their right to withdraw at any time during the study, as well as information regarding the study, how results would be used, and how their privacy and anonymity would be maintained. The form was developed based on the guidelines of Walden University. Only once participants had signed this form were data collected.

First, I distributed the questionnaire survey to each participant via email. Participants were given appropriate time and privacy to complete the survey, and they were asked to email me back their responses before the interview. The responses from the survey provided a context for the semistructured interviews. A week after the distribution of the surveys, I began contacting the participants to schedule the semistructured interviews, which formed the primary source of data. Interviews were scheduled according to the convenience of the participants. The interviews were conducted on the

complex premises in a private room. I followed a semistructured interview protocol with open-ended questions. The questions were developed based on the research purpose, the research questions, the themes discovered from a review of the literature, and the VIA survey instrument. The interview protocol was evaluated by an expert to make sure the interview questions would answer the research questions and were simple enough to understand. The expert provided feedback and based on this feedback the questions in the interview guide were refined, removed, or expanded.

Before interviews commenced, participants received sample questions so they would know what to expect. Once questions were asked, the interview was carried by the responses of the participants, and I ensured minimal intervention by not interrupting participants and letting them deviate from the question to some extent. Interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes and two recording devices were used to record the responses. Participants gave permission before I began recording.

Once data from both the surveys and interviews were collected, I started preparing the data for analysis. The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim in Microsoft Word and each interview was emailed to the participant to check for validity and accuracy. Based on participant feedback, any necessary changes were made.

Data Analysis

The questionnaire survey responses were analyzed by means of descriptive analysis and scoring; the qualitative data derived from individual in-depth interviews were analyzed thematically. To perform the scoring, I followed the recommendations for the analysis provided by the original authors of the survey instrument. Ryde et al. (2000)

recommended the following scoring process: sub score from items related to heritage provide mean regarding items that are odd-numbered in the instrument. Sub score from the items related to mainstream provide mean regarding items that are even-numbered. Following the recommendation of the researchers, *mainstream* was treated as the culture to be studied in this context (American culture).

The data for the interviews in the form of transcripts were analyzed using NVivo 12, a qualitative data software that helps in identifying patterns and themes. An inductive approach was employed, which started with coding (Ackroyd, 2009). The theoretical framework and the research questions provided framework for coding. Individual transcripts were reviewed and labeled with codes that represented thoughts and ideas (Ackroyd, 2009). These codes were given descriptive names that described the data (Bazeley, 2009). This was done for each transcript; once completed, codes of different transcripts were compared and similar codes or codes that discussed the same topic were unified under categories (Ackroyd, 2009). Categories were then unified under broader themes that would answer the research questions (Saldana, 2013). Codes and categories that were considered irrelevant and would not help answer the research questions were discarded (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The finalized themes and results are presented in this chapter.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Reliability, internal validity, generalizability, and objectivity are some of the central criteria scholars use to assess the truthfulness of any positivist research work (Sarma, 2015). To ensure validity, specifically content validity, I made sure the interview

questions addressed the research questions and were simple enough for participants to understand and answer. A field expert was included in this process to validate my interview protocol. I also considered the possibility of participants not understanding certain English words and made sure to include translations to Haitian-Creole in case this would be necessary. Such translations allowed for a better understanding of what is being asked due to context meaning in Haitian-Creole. For example, the word *education* in Haitian-Creole is understood to have two distinct meanings: (a) *edikasyon lakay* or *home-education or training* and (b) *edikasyon sosyal* or *formal or social education*.

Validity is defined as “the extent to which [a test] measures what it claims to measure” (Gregory, 1992, p.117). A measure is valid if it measures what it is supposed to measure and does so without inadvertently including other factors (Lakshmi & Mohideen, 2013). Validity involves reflection actions and alertness during the whole process of research (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2011; Breuer & Roth, 2003; Declan, 2014). While devising the research design, with a reflective journal, I decided to make the process of conversation with the echo technique visible to the reader and myself as a strategy to increase reflexivity (Peredaryenko & Krauss, 2013).

Although a case is unique, it still may be a fit within a broader group; hence, the prospect of transferability need not be neglected. Scholars have argued that even if a researcher does not directly make the inferences on transferability, the practitioners may find that their situations are similar in the study and may relate the findings to their situations (Sarma, 2015). Thus, in qualitative research, transferability is primarily decided

by the reader of the study and not by the researcher. For the current study, I analyzed thick descriptions to arrive at in-depth vignettes from the interviews.

The results of this study were based on the views and experiences of six participants. Generally, the literature suggests a qualitative sample size of between six and 35 participants (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2017). Although having a certain sample size in mind is useful to plan and prepare a study, the eventual number of participants depends on when data saturation is reached. According to Fusch and Ness (2015), “data saturation is reached when there is enough information to replicate the study when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained, and when further coding is no longer feasible” (p. 1408). Reaching this point is crucial as lack of data saturation can impact the quality and validity of research results (Fusch & Ness, 2015). For this study, data saturation was reached after six participants were interviewed. After six interviews, no new codes were generated.

Results

In this section, I report on the results obtained from the qualitative data analysis of six in-depth interviews with six parents from three Haitian families who have adolescent children associated with a specific nonprofit in southern Florida. The results were obtained in alignment with two theories that guided the study: segmented assimilation and SCT. Segmented assimilation theory argues that the process of assimilation results in various social, economic, and educational outcomes (Koo et al., 2012). SCT asserts that learning occurs in a social context through a reciprocal interaction of the person,

environment, and behavior. SCT emphasizes social influence as well as the role of external and internal social reinforcement (Bandura, 1986).

The analysis of in-depth interviews resulted in five themes: (a) the role of respect for parental/elderly authority; (b) Haitian austerity versus American luxury/freedom; (c) Haitian community disapproval versus American jailtime; (d) parents' perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior; and (e) tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation. The themes are discussed below by means of direct participant quotes.

The Role of Respect for Parental/Elderly Authority

A first theme related to the perceived importance of Haitian adolescents respecting their elderly and parents. Participants said that in Haitian culture youth needs to respect the authority of the elderly as the latter has more life experience and wisdom. FP3 testified in this regard that it is indeed important in Haiti culture "to be respectful and obedient towards elders." This participant, like others, explained that especially parents go through a lot of trouble for their children and should be respected for that. In his case, FP3 said that "my father filed for us to come to the U.S." and he therefore felt obligated "to listen to my dad because he spent money to have me come here." The participant continued and said that "whatever he asked me to do, I listened to him even though I was already older because I still was under his care in America and I didn't want to disappoint him." It was stated that such respect came naturally as parents have some sort of power over their children and it is culturally expected to respect one's parents and other elderly. FP5 explained: "psychologically speaking parents just have a power effect on their children." The participant recalled that "when I was growing up, just getting a look from

my parents, I knew to check myself.” The participant said that “the elderly are really the light source in your life.”

In alignment, FP4 added that it is important to make one’s parents proud so that they will speak positively about their children. Considering that communities are very social in Haiti, having parents who speak proudly of their children is very important. FP4 said: “if they have prestige, they keep their heads up in society. They will speak of you in a good way.”

PF4 added that parents should not be only listened to out of respect, but also because they know how to keep their children safe. The participant said:

In Haiti there are some gangs, thieves, people rob you, you know, they even kidnap you, so children have to listen to their parents... [In Haiti] we are very strict parents, we would keep close watch on our children because we don’t want them to become a menace to society.

Although respect for parents and the elderly was clearly perceived as a must, some parents said that the same cultural expectations are not resonated in Western culture. Some adolescents have, as a result, lost their sense of respect for their parents and elderly, which according to participants may contribute to high-risk behavior.

Adolescents who do not listen to their parents were indeed perceived as more prone to high-risk behavior. FP6 explained that “in Haiti, my children didn’t do too much talk back, they didn’t do that with me”, but “America’s different.” The participant said that “Haitian parent have tried to discipline them in the same way as in Haiti”, but this approach does not always work in the US context. FP1 agreed and said:

Here in the United States they don't respect parents. (...) Maybe after doing something they'll say sorry, but they will talk right back to you and just engage into the same misbehavior. It seems like sorry actually is just a password, I think they forget [easily] what they said sorry for.

FP2 similarly explained that "they talk back sometimes and don't listen" and that "not listening is a big problem." FP3 agreed and similarly said that "the not listening to you as an adult, to your parents; if you do not listen to an adult and you appear to have no fear for authority for elders, that is a big problem." FP2 even stated that her children would sometimes threaten her: "if you talk to them firmly they say they will tell a counselor and social worker or call the police." This statement again suggested that Haitian adolescents living in the US are less respectful towards their elderly.

FP5 reported to also experience authoritarian problems and said that "I have to repeat myself, for example for them to do their homework, keep their uniform clean, or just keep themselves clean, they don't want to." However, this participant said she did not encounter too much trouble as her children do tend to listen to her. She said:

My children they know to listen. For example, I take them with me on the occasional summer break and they're with me because they listen to me. (...) I'm very firm with them, I don't play with them. I may look mean but I don't play with them. So yeah basically just a warning if I give them a look they will be back on track.

Three participants stated that although their children do not always respect their parents' authority, they usually do listen to a certain older person and thus the cultural expectation of respecting elderly is not completely ignored. FP2 said:

If you have an elderly to speak to them, like a grandmother, grandparent, then they'll be fine. (...) They mostly don't listen but if you have somebody to speak to them firmly, like an elder, then they'll start listening to you.

FP4, to conclude, added:

If your child has the fear for at least one parent, they will stay on the right track. They have to be able to feel a shame if they've done something wrong or have fear for at least 1 parent.

Haitian Austerity Versus American Luxury/Freedom

A second theme related to how parents perceived the American freedom and luxury as negatively contributing to their children's upbringing and increasing their likelihood to engage in high-risk behavior. FP1 explained in this regard:

Here they have a fridge; they have the microwave you know. Back there, they had to clean the house themselves. Some things are not really a luxury in Haiti in my family. There's no fridge and when the food is cooked, you eat it the same day, there's no saving for later. (...) Children eat the food; once they get it, there's no choices. What's cooked is what you eat. There's no washing machine; you would wash your laundry yourself; you would wash the dishes (...). I think that seems to help with the discipline and the making of good choices.

The participant continued and further elucidated:

They have to wash their clothes, maybe you can send your child to go to the market wash their clothes, they have to do all the chores. Here, they do not help much. Now the parents do more, they got to fix most things here. The children only have to go to school and in the afternoon do homework. In Haiti, in the morning they make their bed, they have something to eat and go to school, walk to school. Yeah here in the United States there is too much freedom.

The participant said that “it’s bad because now they are dating, they feel this freedom.” More specifically, the participant stated: “they are on their cell phone all the time, they talk back, they stay out late, they have a lot of friends in school and out of school. They are always out with friends.” In alignment with this idea of American culture granted children too much freedom, FP3 said that “in Haiti you have more discipline, but here in America they have more liberty to get into mischief, misbehavior, misconduct.” FP6 said that “in Haiti they have less time to play with friends because they have so many things to do after school, so there’s less chance of them getting into those bad behaviors.

In alignment with these statements, FP2 said that because of the U.S freedom, “you have to keep them close in school. The main thing is to keep them close; to keep a watch over them, a close watch.” FP4 agreed and said that because of the technology and luxury items available in the U.S , “you must really keep close supervision.” The participant said that “it’s really because of the Internet, the movies they are exposed to and they also start to be defiant if you tell them to stop watching something or stop using their phones.” FP4 further said that “We worry about social media, what movies they watch, the Internet, and friends but I’m still fighting as a parent to discipline them.”

FP3 added, “They get exposed to a lot on the Internet and social media, and there are more chains to save a child’s life in Haiti because there is more discipline there.” FP4, interestingly, warned that as a parent it is important to find a right balance as keeping too close supervision can backfire badly. Some children may indeed feel as if they can’t talk to their parents and as a parent, you won’t know what is going on in their lives. FP3 made a similar statement and said that “you should talk to your children a lot; you just have to be here and look over the children.” In alignment with this, FP5 said that “in Haiti, they don’t have all that stuff, the kids here have access to material, stuff, games, but in Haiti the parents have more time with the children so they know their children psychologically and that’s big.” This implied that parents think that it is better to spend time with parents than to have access to technology and other “stuff.”

Haitian Community Disapproval Versus American Jailtime

A third theme related to the perceived consequence of high-risk behavior in Haiti versus America. Participants said that in Haiti the most severe consequence of misbehavior would be social exclusion, whereas in the United States they believed consequences were much more severe as jailtime is more of a threat in the U.S than in Haiti, where the legal system is not as reinforced. In relation to the Haitian context, FP1 said that when engaging in high-risk behavior, “the community may stop talking to you, your own friends may start talking behind your back, pointing fingers.” The participant added that “if you’re in a church, the pastor may hint at certain things even in the ceremony preaching. Your family in the church may either give you some hints or suggestions, or stop talking to you, to let you know something is going on.” FP2 similarly

said that the consequence of misbehavior would be that “people will stop talking to them” and “people look ashamed.” FP4 added that “in Haiti you could get fingers pointed at you; friends stop talking to you, neighbors start talking to their children to stay away and not to come to your house.” FP6 said: “the neighbors may not talk to you” and “even the parents won’t talk.” FP3 further added:

People will look down at you; you get stares, you put to shame the community for being a bad person and all fingers will be pointed at you. You messed up your family’s name. (...) will also want to keep families name with respect, your family’s name your last name is important. People start talking about you and words spread about and your parents walk with their heads down, you walk with your heads down. You no longer can walk with your head up.

FP5 further added:

Our society tends to look down at you, especially if you already aren’t educated. You don’t have a certain level of education and then you’re being bad too. You’re calling for death and would not fit in the society. You will lose your place.

This participant said that “we really fight to stay in society, to keep our social class, and to keep our heads up”, suggesting that social status and social acceptance are of great importance in Haiti and social exclusion can be viewed as the most detrimental consequence of high-risk behavior. The same was not true for the U.S and participant stated that in a US context, they would not emphasize social exclusion as a consequence, but rather jailtime and having a criminal record. Participants said that emphasizing this seemed to keep their children out of trouble. FP2 said: “Well here in the United States

they will go to jail (...) so I will tell them, I will remind them that here if they do things they will go to jail.” The participant believed that “this will scare them.” FP3 similarly noted:

I tell them also they will get arrested so I give them examples (...). Follow my way to be respectful and not do crazy things. In this country, you will more likely get arrested than in Haiti, and then you have a bad record. Then you have problems with finding a job and things will become more and more difficult for you. (...) I always wanted my children to fear the jail here. Here there is prison and you will get arrested if you do bad things. Then you get a bad record and then it's a problem and problem like that once you have a bad record get you stuck.

FP5, to conclude, stated:

They have to follow rules, what to do and what not to do, to have success. You have to have discipline (...). You don't follow the law you go to jail and you have the chance of losing everything; not being able to work in good places because they won't hire you because now you have a record.

Parents' Perceptions of Assimilation Predict Adolescents' Behavior

A fourth theme related to how parents' perceptions of assimilation seemed to predict their adolescent children's behavior. All six participants agreed that assimilation to the host culture is important and had taught their children exactly that. These parents highlighted that adjusting to American culture was not necessarily easy, however, they evaluated the U.S as a country that provides opportunities. Some participants highlighted specifically the English language as a barrier or difficulty, as well as finding a job;

however, they all spoke English to a certain degree and all had jobs, suggesting that they had made serious efforts to assimilate to and adapt to the American culture. FP1 said in this respect that “the difficult part is the language and staying interested, focused on trying to adapt while thinking of your relatives back home and then to find a job.” The participant continued and said that “the most difficult part was adapting, learning the language, and getting a job without speaking the language”, however, the participant stated that “as humans we have to adjust.” FP4 added:

I came here with my two children, (...) my husband stayed behind. It was difficult leaving my husband behind and come with my two children to a new country and speak English. I had to learn the English language. It was not a problem for my children because they learn quickly. (...) We must speak English and we should adjust.

This participant encouraged her son to only speak English with his sister as she found it important for her children to be able to speak English. Such encouragement may set an example for adolescents, and thus parental efforts to assimilate to U.S culture may stimulate adolescents to do the same. FP5 stated: “the country is not yours; you are a visitor in a country and so they have to adjust.” The participant continued and added that “my children adjusted quickly. It was difficult but it’s just a different mentally, the personality, the house, the environment (...) there’s two choices: to assimilate and make it or not make it.” In this regard, the participant further noted that “sometimes fear helps because if you have fear of not making it, it will help you to succeed. (...) To be scared to be afraid can help you adjust quickly.” The participant said that you have to make the

most out of it and that “you will take the hotel, restaurant, even garbage man job. In Haiti you will not want to be a maid, but here you have bills and you need a job.” This quote again implied a strong willingness from this parent to adapt to U.S culture.

Not all participants found it difficult to adjust to U.S culture; FP6, for instance, said: “I adjust quick and I don’t have close relatives, or too many close relative left behind in Haiti to worry about.” FP3 opinionated that “changes are good” and that “you just have follow in the way the country works (...) follow the country’s laws, regulations, and rules.” The participant added:

As human we can adapt in a place fast, you just have to know you’re an immigrant in someone’s country. You just have to follow up with their ways and regulations for the most part, but still keep the good upbringing and customs you had in Haiti.

Findings suggested that when individuals assimilate to a certain culture, they experience less stress and are less likely to engage in high-risk behavior. This was suggested by two participants. FP4, for instance, stated that his son had adopted completely to the English language and was very driven to get a good education in the US:

My son he goes to church (...). He really plays with friends very little. He only interacts with his little sister and limits himself on playing with other American children. If they invite him to play he will say no and just keep going but he does interact with his sister. They still invite him to play basketball sometimes but he mostly stays to himself and then he really likes the church, that’s about it.

FP6 similarly stated that her children “adjusted quickly.” More so, this participant stated that “my children love the culture and the school?” They “are busy with school work and go to church.” She said that “my children don’t really misbehave too much like going out for long without permission.” She further said that “they speak good English so they don’t have problem in school.” To conclude, she said:

Not to get an education is a problem. They understand the lessons and what the teacher says and get good grades because they understand. And then they have after school programs they get a lot of things a lot of activities from school from the church so they stay busy and out of trouble.

In conclusion, it was strongly suggested that when parents make an effort to assimilate to the host culture, children will automatically follow, and this assimilation will result in less high-risk behavior.

Tough Love as a Mechanism to Enforce Assimilation

A fifth and last theme related to tough love as a mechanism that parents use to enforce cultural assimilation onto their children. Parents said that they would often remind their children of the importance of choosing the right friends and assimilating to the U.S culture. FP5 said in this regard that “I will tell them, you just have to adjust and follow the country’s laws. You are just a visitor, it’s not your country, you come in, you have to adjust and adapt quickly.” The participant said that “if you come into the country you have to find good role models; it is the friends I choose to associate with.” FP3 similarly said to give her children the advice to “be smart about choosing your friends”

because “you choose the company you keep.” FP4 did not leave things with just giving advice, but actively tried to keep her son away from certain company – even his nephew:

Even in my own family, my own son, I try to limit him from interacting with my nephew because he tends to have more bad thinking. His friends, his interaction, things he watches... so I keep my son away from him. If we have to go as far as that, yes we must by all means.

FP3 added:

Well, my home country, the city where I grew up in is different. Everything is different. The city is different from my home country. In Miami education is different, work is different. Discipline children is different. Parents paths or the way they set the example is different. I tell them the real stories the real things about what happens when a wrong choice is made. Don't listen and you will pay for that.

To conclude, FP5 stated to teach her children “to love and respect everyone, love God, and get an education.” The participant said that she invested in educating her children about certain things, such as sexual education, so that they “would just be discipline and know there's a time for everything a time and a place.” This participant believed that because of this approach “my children don't think they are better than other people.”

Summary

In Chapter 4, I reported on the results obtained from surveys and in-depth interviews with parents from Haitian families who have been directly or indirectly

affected by the 2010 Haiti earthquake, and who have who have adolescent children associated with a non-profit art-based facility which provides cultural and arts education programs. Five themes were identified: (a) the role of respect for parental/elderly authority; (b) Haitian austerity versus. American luxury/freedom; (c) Haitian community disapproval versus. American jailtime; (d) parents' perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior; and (e) tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation.

The results did not provide a satisfactory answer to RQ1; however, we did find useful and in-depth insights with regards to RQ2 and RQ3. In addressing RQ2, we found that Haitian parents perceive having respect for elderly and parental authority, which is typical in Haitian culture, plays a positive role in limiting children's high-risk behavior. Contrariwise, participant identified the exposure to American luxury versus Haitian austerity as potentially contributing to high-risk behavior. In Haiti, participant noted that community disapproval would sometimes withhold children from engaging in high-risk behavior; however, outside Haiti, community disapproval would not have much of an influence on adolescents' behavior and to create the same effect, Haitian parents would emphasize jailtime in the U.S as an equivalent to community disapproval in Haiti. In relation to the third research question, it seemed that parental perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior, meaning that adolescents of parents who look positive towards cultural assimilation are more likely to invest themselves in cultural assimilation, and less likely to engage in high-risk behavior. Lastly, the results implied that parents who use tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation on their children deal with less high-risk behavior of their adolescent children.

In Chapter 5, a more detailed evaluation of the findings as well as a comparison of the findings of this study with existing literature will be provided. Furthermore, this fifth chapter will also discuss the limitations, recommendations, and implications that were linked to this study. Lastly, the dissertation will be closed with a few concluding paragraphs.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The focus of this multiple case study was exploring Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions, shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. The risk factors associated with acculturative stress have been shown to contribute to problematic patterns of personality adjustment and related difficulties in the areas of family and peer relationships, educational achievement, and vocational preparation (McMahon et al., 2013).

In Chapter 1, a thorough introduction of the research topic, study purpose, and theoretical framework were covered. The second chapter comprised of the literature review and what is already known about the topic. In Chapter 3, I elucidated the research methods applied in this study. A qualitative study with multiple case study design was selected for this study. In Chapter 4, I highlighted the data collection and analyses processes and outlined the results of six in-depth interviews with three pairs of Haitian parents who have been affected, directly or indirectly, by the 2010 Haiti earthquake and who have adolescent children associated with the a southern Florida nonprofit art-based facility where cultural and arts education programs are provided.

In this last chapter, I interpret the findings in the context of two theories that guided the study—segmented assimilation and SCT—and previous literature discussed in Chapter 2. In addition, I discuss the limitations of the study and make recommendations for future researchers who wish to carry out similar studies or further build on the results

of this research. Next, the implications of the results are discussed before closing the dissertation with a conclusion.

Interpretation of the Findings

The analysis of in-depth interviews resulted in five themes: (a) the role of respect for parental/elderly authority; (b) Haitian austerity versus American luxury/freedom; (c) Haitian community disapproval versus American jailtime; (d) parents' perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior; and (e) tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation. These themes sought to answer three research questions:

RQ1: How do Haitian immigrant parents perceive the relation between their adolescent children's high-risk behavior and their children's attempts to assimilate in the new culture?

RQ2: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the general influence of their home culture in relation to the high-risk behavior of their adolescent children?

RQ3: What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the process of assimilating to a new culture in relation to their adolescent children's high-risk behavior?

The results did not provide a satisfactory answer to RQ1, but the data did provide useful and in-depth insights with regards to RQ2 and RQ3. In addressing RQ2, I found that Haitian parents perceive having respect for elderly and parental authority, which is typical in Haitian culture, as a factor playing a positive role in limiting children's high-risk behavior. Participants said that in Haitian culture, youth need to respect the authority of people over the age of 70 because of their life experience and wisdom. Participants explained that children should respect the sacrifices and challenges endured by their

parents. According to participants, such respect comes naturally, and it is culturally expected to respect parents and elderly people. Participants said that it is important culturally to make one's parents proud, so they speak positively about their children. Communities are social in Haiti and parents being able to speak proudly of their children is important.

According to the participants, parents should be listened to not only out of respect, but also because they know how to keep their children safe. Participants said that Haiti is characterized by crime, and children are expected to listen to their parents to remain safe. This may suggest that the cultural importance of parental authority is the result of lack of public safety in Haiti.

Although respect for parents and elderly people was clearly perceived as important, some parents said that the same cultural expectations are not present in American culture. According to participants, this difference has resulted in a lack of respect for parents and elderly people among some adolescents, which may contribute to high-risk behavior. Adolescents who do not listen to their parents are perceived by participants as more prone to high-risk behavior. The results suggest that although the participants' children do not always respect their parents' authority, they usually do listen to a certain older person and thus the cultural expectation of respecting elderly people is not completely ignored.

In further alignment with RQ2, participants identified exposure to American luxury versus Haitian austerity as potentially contributing to high-risk behavior. Parents indicated that American freedom and luxury negatively contribute to their children's

upbringing and increase their likelihood of engaging in high-risk behavior. Participants said that in Haiti there are no dishwashing machines, and children are expected to help out in the household during their free time. These chores keep them busy and, as a result, keep them away from trouble. In addition, due to a lack of available technology in Haiti, children are less exposed to inappropriate movies, the internet, and social media—all of which participating parents evaluated as being bad influences.

In contrast, luxury in the United States provides children with more free time, which the participants believe can lead to poor decision making. Thus, the data suggest that being exposed to luxury in the United States contributes to high-risk behavior among adolescents. For that reason, many participants said it was important to keep close supervision on their children. This, however, was not necessarily appreciated by their children, and participants indicated that being a controlling parent could backfire and result in even worse behavior.

A third theme that related to RQ2 was community disapproval in Haiti versus jailtime in the United States, as being the most severe consequences of misbehavior. The participants indicated that in Haiti the most severe consequence of misbehavior among adolescents was social exclusion, whereas in the United States, consequences would include jailtime, which participants perceived as a problem. Participants explained that jailtime is not as likely in Haiti because of a relatively weak legal system.

Participants noted that, in Haiti, community disapproval and social exclusion the worst possible and least desirable consequences of high-risk behavior. The same was not true for the United States, and participants stated that in the U.S. context, they would not

emphasize social exclusion as a consequence, but rather jailtime and having a criminal record. Participants said that emphasizing jailtime as a possible consequence of misbehavior seemed to keep their children out of trouble.

In relation to RQ3, according to the data collected, parental perceptions of assimilation seemed to predict adolescents' behavior. In other words, adolescents of parents who viewed cultural assimilation positively were more likely to invest themselves in cultural assimilation and less likely to engage in high-risk behavior. All six participants agreed that assimilation to the host culture is important, and participants stated that they teach their children exactly that. These parents highlighted that adjusting to American culture is not necessarily easy; however, they viewed the United States as a country that provides opportunities. Some participants highlighted specifically the English language as a barrier or difficulty, as well as finding a job; however, all participants spoke English and all (except for one who was unemployed), suggesting their efforts to assimilate to and adapt to American culture. Such behavior may set an example for adolescents, and thus parental efforts to assimilate to U.S. culture may stimulate adolescents to do the same. Findings suggest that when individuals assimilate to a certain culture, they experience less stress and are less likely to engage in high-risk behavior. Two participants indicated this as well.

Lastly, the results implied that, in alignment with RQ3, parents who use tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation on their children deal with less high-risk behavior from their adolescent children. Parents said they would often remind their children of the importance of choosing the right friends and assimilating to U.S. culture,

especially because they are a visitor in the United States and should abide by this country's rules.

Limitations of the Study

Qualitative studies have various limitations, including their highly subjective and interpretative nature, lack of statistical reliability, and relatively small sample sizes. A first well-known limitation to qualitative studies relates to bias. This study was limited by three types of bias.

A first type of bias was participant bias or social desirability bias. Participant bias occurs when participants respond to the questions based on what they think is the right answer or what is socially acceptable rather than what they really feel (Jann et al., 2019). Participant bias is problematic because it may have negatively impact trustworthiness of data. Data and results indeed rely on the honesty and frankness of participants. This problem, however, occurs mostly when the topic is highly personal and sensitive. Because the topic of this study was not overly sensitive, I anticipate that participant bias was fairly limited (Jann et al., 2019).

A second type of bias is researcher bias. Research bias occurs when a researcher unknowingly interprets data to meet their hypothesis or only analyzes data that they think is relevant (Johnson et al., 2020). Although I recognized my personal bias toward the topic and attempted to adopt an objective mindset, qualitative research is subjective in nature and researcher bias has to be considered a limitation of this study. Moreover, unlike quantitative studies that entail the use of hard and unambiguous data, qualitative findings are prone to interpretation. Thus, if another researcher conducted the current

study, different themes may have emerged, resulting in a different presentation of the results.

A third type of bias was selection bias, which relates to both the process of recruiting participants and study inclusion criteria. In qualitative research it is usual to recruit participants with a range of experiences in relation to the topic being explored; therefore, accounting for biases in relation to the sampling strategies is essential (Smith & Noble, 2014). I sought to understand the ideas and experiences of three pairs of Haitian parents with regard to their adolescent children's high-risk behavior, and the factors contributing to such. For that reason, this study was automatically biased towards Haitian parents. Other populations like adolescents themselves were not included in the study and their views were not represented. As the views of these populations may have positively contributed to the topic, it is possible that the researcher missed out on certain information that could have resulted in a better and more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

Another limitation of this study is its relatively small sample size. This study investigated the views and experiences of 6 Haitian parents – three pairs – from the Little Haiti area and its surrounding neighborhoods. A sample size of six parents is considerably small. As a result, the findings of this study are not generalizable to the whole population of Haitian parents from the Little Haiti area. The participants of this study were also recruited by means of a purposive sampling technique and this meant that only parents with specific characteristics were included in this study (Schutt, 2014).

Therefore, selected participants' representativeness of the general population was partially outside the researcher's control (Smith, 2015).

Since all data collected in the study pertained only to subjective experiences (Silverman, 2016) shared by participating parents, using a sample of other participants may have produced other results. A disadvantage of qualitative studies is, indeed, that their findings do not directly extend to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analyses would have (Sutton & Austin, 2015). This is because the findings of qualitative research did not undergo testing to determine if they were statistically significant or due to chance (Atieno, 2009).

A last limitation worth mentioning pertained to theoretical issues. Collection and interpretation of the current study's results were in line with the segmented assimilation and SCT. It is important to keep in mind that different results may have been obtained if a different theory was used as the theoretical framework.

Recommendations

In relation to the current study, a number of recommendations for future research can be made. A first recommendation pertains to addressing sampling issues. The current study only incorporated Haitian parents living in Miami who have been affected, directly or indirectly, by the 2010 Haiti earthquake and who have adolescent children associated with a non-profit art-based facility which provides cultural and arts education programs. Perceptions and ideas of other populations were left unexplored. To gain more knowledge on the subject, one recommendation is for future researchers to replicate the study and invite other populations to speak about the topic. For example, it could be

interesting to interview or survey Haitian parents from other regions or include facilitators from other organizations. Another idea could be to include adolescents themselves and interview them together with their parents. Their perceptions may further contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon.

A second recommendation is to incorporate other triangulation methods such as the combination of qualitative methods with quantitative methods. Although this study used a survey method, the survey was mostly used to obtain descriptive information. Using more complicated quantitative methods may increase the strength and trustworthiness of results. In line with this, a third recommendation is to make this study quantifiable, referring to the use of quantitative methods such as surveys. Quantitative methods may make it possible to extend results to wider populations; in addition, quantitative researchers could test the results for statistical significance, which is not possible in qualitative studies. Qualitative findings are indeed subject to interpretation; therefore, it is possible that if a different researcher replicated the current study, different themes may emerge, resulting in a different presentation of the results. By quantifying this study, more objective results may be obtained.

A final recommendation is to adjust the interview protocol and focus more on particular areas, for example on the relationship between high-risk behavior and attempts to assimilate. The results of this study did not provide a satisfactory answer to this research question, and we recommend for future researchers to focus more on finding answers to this particular question.

Implications

There was an opportunity to address a gap in the research regarding Haitian youth. While prior researchers have made significant contributions to the body of understanding of the roles of acculturation, cultural values, and family functioning on the mental health of Hispanic youth (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012), similar insights were lacking in the context of Haitian youth. Specifically, there was a gap in the research in terms of knowledge regarding parental perceptions, which are shaped by parental acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to the Haitian adolescents' existing high-risk behaviors. The contribution of the proposed study was that it added to the body of knowledge on cultural lens and acculturation factors forming parental perceptions leading to high-risk behaviors in the context of Haitian families.

In addition to the possible contribution in the field of research, the findings of the study are also useful for practical developments. Specifically, the findings of the study can be helpful to understand Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. A better understanding of the perceptions of Haitian immigrant parents and the factors that shape them may lead to better preventive interventions and education to address high-risk behavior in their adolescent children. The insights can be used to develop interventions and programs that are culturally sensitive targeted towards Haitian children to decrease high-risk behaviors. Due to the importance of cultural context in the development of adolescent children of immigrants, programs that are not in alignment with their cultural needs cannot succeed in the goals they are targeted towards. As a result, the findings of the study could be useful for

developing culturally sensitive programs for Haitian adolescents with high-risk behavior potential.

Conclusion

The focus of this multiple case study was to explore Haitian immigrant parents' perceptions, which are shaped by their acculturation and cultural lens, with respect to their children's high-risk behaviors. The specific research questions were: How do Haitian immigrant parents perceive the relation between their adolescent children's high-risk behavior and their children's attempts to assimilate in the new culture? What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the general influence of their home culture in relation to the high-risk behavior in their adolescent children? What do Haitian immigrant parents believe about the process of assimilating to a new culture in relation to their adolescent children's high-risk behavior?

Data were collected in two forms: surveys and six individual in-depth interviews with three pairs of Haitian parents who have been directly or indirectly affected by the 2010 Haiti earthquake, and who have adolescent children associated with a non-profit organization. Five themes were identified: (a) the role of respect for parental/elderly authority; (b) Haitian austerity versus American luxury/freedom; (c) Haitian community disapproval versus American jailtime; (d) parents' perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior; and (e) tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation. In relation to the first research question the results did not provide satisfactory information and we recommend future researchers to focus on finding an answer to this question. In addressing research question two, I found that Haitian parents perceive having respect for

elderly and parental authority, which is typical in Haitian culture, plays a positive role in limiting children's high-risk behavior. Contrariwise, participant identified the exposure to American luxury versus Haitian austerity as potentially contributing to high-risk behavior. In Haiti, participant noted that community disapproval would sometimes withhold children from engaging in high-risk behavior; however, outside Haiti, community disapproval would not have much of an influence on adolescents' behavior and to create the same effect, Haitian parents would emphasize jailtime in the U.S as an equivalent to community disapproval in Haiti.

In relation to the third research question, it seemed that parental perceptions of assimilation predict adolescents' behavior, meaning that adolescents of parents who look positive towards cultural assimilation are more likely to invest themselves in cultural assimilation, and less likely to engage in high-risk behavior. Lastly, the results implied that parents who use tough love as a mechanism to enforce assimilation on their children deal with less high-risk behavior of their adolescent children.

The results shed light on the cultural factors forming Haitian parental perceptions of high-risk behaviors since the 2010 earthquake. The results of the study explained parental understanding of the cultural aspects contributing to maladaptive behaviors and provide a platform for community leaders to design effective intervention programs to prevent family breakdowns.

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Appendix A: Participants' Responses to Vancouver Index of Acculturation

Item	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	Average score of item responses
1	2	8	6	9	8	8	6.83
2	4	7	5	2	7	2	4.5
3	5	6	4	9	8	9	6.83
4	2	6	2	8	2	1	3.5
5	7	6	4	9	6	9	6.83
6	6	5	4	8	5	6	5.66
7	7	6	4	9	8	9	7.16
8	7	9	2	8	6	6	6.33
9	6	9	5	8	7	9	7.33
10	6	7	5	5	7	9	6.5
11	6	6	2	9	8	7	6.33
12	5	7	4	2	7	2	4.5
13	7	9	4	9	8	9	7.66
14	5	9	4	5	7	6	6.0
15	6	9	5	8	7	9	7.33
16	6	9	5	6	7	8	6.83
17	7	9	4	9	6	9	7.33
18	7	6	4	8	6	2	5.5
19	6	7	4	9	5	9	6.66
20	6	6	4	5	5	5	5.16

KEY: 1 = DISAGREE and 9 = AGREE

Responses in scale of 1 to 9 (degree of agreement or disagreement)

P = participant/parent

RESULTS:

Items 1, 3, 5 and 16 are significantly related with average scores of 6.83

1. I often participate in my heritage culture traditions.
3. I will be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture .
5. I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself.
16. I believe in mainstream American values.

Items 8 and 11 are significantly related with average scores of 6.33

8. I am comfortable interacting with typical American people.

11. I often behave in ways that are typically American.

Items 9, 15 and 17 are significantly related with average scores of 7.33

9. I enjoy American entertainment (e.g. movies, music)

15. I believe in the values of my heritage culture.

17. I enjoy the jokes and humor of my heritage culture.

Appendix B: Demographic Questionnaire

Please complete this questionnaire in order to provide some demographic information regarding the research. Place an X in the response that best applies to you,

1. What is the gender you identify with? _____

2. What is your age?

Under 25 years old

25 – 34 years old

35 – 39 years old

40 – 49 years old

50 – 59 years old

3. What is your marital status?

Never been married

Married

Living with a partner

Widowed

Separated

Divorced

Engaged

4. What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

Less than a high school diploma

High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED)

Some college, no degree

Associate degree (e.g. AA, AS)

Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS)

Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd)

Professional degree (e.g. MD, DDS, DVM)

Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD)

5. What is your current employment status?

Employed full time (40 or more hours per week)

Employed part time (up to 39 hours per week)

Unemployed and currently looking for work

Unemployed and not currently looking for work

Student

Retired

Homemaker

Self-employed

Unable to work
6. What is your annual income?

- \$0 – \$9,999
 \$10,000 – \$19,999
 \$20,000 – \$29,999
 \$30,000 – \$39,999
 \$40,000 – \$49,999
 \$50,000 – \$59,999
 \$60,000 and up

7. In which geographical part of Miami-Dade County do you live in?

- Buena Vista
 El portal
 Little Haiti
 Little River
 Miami Shores
 Morningside
 North Miami
 Overtown

8. How many children do you have? _____

9. Select the category that indicate their age.

- 4 – 7
 8 – 12
 13 – 17
 17 and older

10. How long have you resided in the United States?

- 3 – 5 years
 5 – 8 years
 8 – 11 years
 11 – 14 years
 14 – 17 years
 Longer than 20 years