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Adapting an Empirically Supported Intervention for a New Population and Setting: Findings and Lessons Learned from *Proyecto Puentes*

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With an increasing emphasis on evidence-based practice, the need for social work researchers and practitioners to adapt empirically supported interventions for new populations and cultures is essential. However, social work suffers from a lack of guidance and detailed examples of intervention adaptations that may not proceed "by the book" and actually falter but recover. Many of these situations result from lack of attention to setting and context even when researchers believe they have full stakeholder buy-in. This article presents process evaluation findings from an intervention adaptation called *Proyecto Puentes* that allowed for self-correction and successful intervention development.

Keywords: Adaptation, intervention research, process evaluation, intervention development

As empirically supported practice has taken hold in social work, the field has moved forward in creating a number of well-developed prevention and treatment strategies addressing issues ranging from parenting to violence. Yet, conundrums confront social work researchers and practitioners as they seek to move interventions that have proved efficacious in one setting or population into others. There has been a particular focus and, indeed, debate in the literature as to whether and how interventions should be adapted for particular cultural groups. On the one hand, a one-size-fits-all strategy has been problematic, leaving promising interventions to languish because they were not relevant outside of the conditions in which they were initially tested. Conversely, adapting an intervention with solid evidence for every variation in culture seems practically infeasible and some would argue represents a poor use of resources.

Further complicating the picture is the impact of organizations and social contexts in which interventions are delivered. Practice settings are not uniform and vary in terms of history, infrastructure, resources, regulatory structure, and sociocultural niche. As organizational readiness and intervention uptake become the next frontier for both the biomedical and behavioral sciences with increasing emphasis on implementation science and translational research, a deeper understanding of organization and social context is required. At present, scant literature exists that details specific instances in which researchers navigate issues related to the context or setting of an intervention and how contextual factors influence the implementation and effectiveness of an intervention. The literature on intervention adaptation supports the need to assess organizational readiness (Schurer,

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Kohl, & Bellamy, 2010) but detailed case studies and process evaluations are needed to guide researchers attempting to adapt and translate empirically supported interventions.

This article seeks to add to the social work literature by presenting a description and evaluation of an intervention adaptation, paying particular attention to the role of the social context in which the intervention is implemented. The project was funded by the North Carolina Translational and Clinical Sciences Institute (NC TraCs), one of the first National Institutes of Health-funded centers aimed at broadening translational science. The study piloted training for middle school teachers focused on culture and mental health, given the school's student population of predominantly new immigrant Latino/a youth. As part of a larger project that placed mental health services for this population in schools, *Proyecto Puentes* (i.e., in Spanish "Project Bridges") began as a straightforward adaptation of an empirically supported intervention for a different target population, early elementary aged, Ethiopian refugee children. However, as the adaptation progressed the effort evolved into an unexpected recursive and generative undertaking. In this article, we will describe our intervention development process including adaptation, creation, and revision; provide findings from our process evaluation that illustrate the multi-layered impact of organizational dynamics and social context; and discuss lessons learned in developing an intervention for a particular population in a particular setting.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

In the past two decades, the U.S. South has experienced a sudden and dramatic influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants, many of whom are undocumented. Between 1990 and 2010, North Carolina's Latino/a population increased by 943% (U.S. Census, 2011). North Carolina's rural areas in particular have witnessed this demographic change. Many Latino/a immigrant youth experience a variety of stressors related to difficult migration journeys, acculturation and assimilation pressures, homesickness for the country of origin, citizenship status, prejudice and discrimination, and a lack of culturally sensitive services. These stressors often manifest into mental and behavioral health problems as well as school problems (Gil & Vega, 1996; Gil, Vega, Diimas, 1994). Findings from nationally representative surveys show that Latino/a adolescents have elevated rates of depression, alcohol use, and suicidal ideation and behavior (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2010; Merikangas et al., 2010). In addition, approximately 40% of Latino/a adolescents do not graduate from high school (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2010). Despite this demonstrated level of need, immigrant populations, particularly in rural areas, have limited access to mental health services because fewer service providers exist and because of cultural and linguistic barriers (Copans & Racusin, 1983; Curtis, Waters, & Brindis, 2011; Markstrom, Stamm, Stamm, Berthold, & Wolf, 2003; Murray & Keller, 1991; Nordal, Copans, & Stamm, 2003; Petti & Leviton, 1986). Funding constrictions in public education limit schools ability to hire bicultural, Spanish-speaking professionals (Johnson & Strange, 2009).

Since 2007, our project team has been working in a rural North Carolina school district that has become a popular new home for Latino/a immigrants, implementing school-based mental health services for new immigrant youth and their families. Initially funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's Caring Across Communities initiative, our project, *Creating Confianza*, had three intervention prongs: direct service provision, parent involvement and education, and teacher sensitization and training. The current effort, *Proyecto Puentes*, focuses on the third prong by aiming to adapt an existing empirically supported teacher training curriculum called *Bridges* (Calzada & The Bridges Program Development Team, 2007) to the adolescent, new immigrant Latino/a population. The Bridges manual provided a series of psycho-educational experiential exercises that address culture, mental health, and specific behavioral management techniques appropriate to young children for teachers teaching kindergarten and first-grade Ethiopian refugees. From

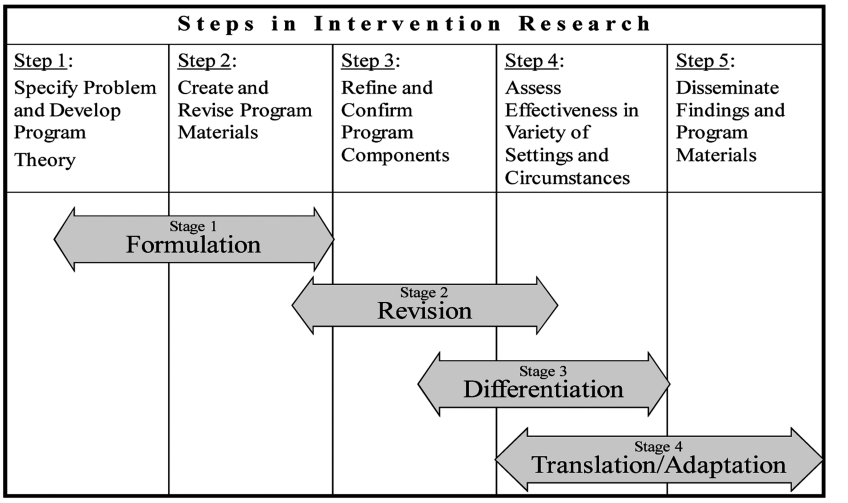

FIGURE 1 Stages in the development of program manuals integrated across the five steps in intervention research. *Source:* Fraser, Richman, Galinsky, & Day, 2009.
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the outset, we considered this an excellent framework while recognizing the need for substantial revision for our age group and largely undocumented Latino/a population. Both programs rested in the belief that, together with targeted mental health interventions for students, changing teacher attitudes would result in better emotional and academic outcomes for students. The literature on changing teachers' schemata suggests that this logic is sound. A number of researchers have found positive effects on student outcomes via teacher attitude intervention. The impact has been in seen in academic achievement as well as more empathic attitudes towards behaviorally difficult students (Bishop & Slevin, 2004; Roeser & Eccles, 2000; Timperley & Robinson, 2001). The middle school in which the adapted intervention was delivered had a student population that was almost 70% Latino/a, and almost half of the students were economically disadvantaged. In addition, approximately 50% of the students were below grade level in reading and 30% were below grade level in math. *Proyecto Puentes* received funding through the NC TraCs in July 2010 and the team immediately began work.

Intervention Adaptation Approach

We situated ourselves in steps 3 and 4, refining and confirming program materials for a new population and age group and pilot testing that adaptation. The curriculum we were adapting was well-specified, manualized, and had empirical support based in a randomized controlled trial (Calzada & The Bridges Program Development Team, 2007). Having been developed by a sister Caring Across Communities program, the curriculum was familiar to us, as we had watched its development and implementation during grantee meetings over 3 years. Further, we had been working in our target school since 2007, giving us significant knowledge of the system and sanction for our activities from school leadership. At the outset, we thought of what we were doing as a fairly straight-forward process of adapting the curriculum to account for differences in culture (Ethiopian vs. Latino) and age (adolescents vs. young children).

As we began our adaptation process, we took a series of actions, first creating a school advisory board that would be intimately involved in adapting the Bridges manual and in delivering the training itself. One way in which we sought to extend Bridges was by finding a method by which the training could be self-sustaining. Through the school advisory board we hoped that teachers would take ownership and responsibility for delivering the training to their peers. We thought this approach would make the information being presented more palatable, as it would be coming from teachers and other school staff who were members of the school community instead of university researchers who were not part of the school system. This approach had stated buy-in from the group at the beginning and our first training day was planned with various school personnel taking responsibility for delivering different training pieces. Together, we went through the manual page by page, evaluating and re-evaluating every exercise and activity, substituting activities that teachers and other school professionals had been exposed to in other settings, and finding places where new information was needed. No decisions were made without input of the advisory board. These steps mirrored those proposed by the CDC (McKleroy et al., 2006) and Wingood and DiClemente's Assessment, Decision, Administration, Production, Topical experts, Integration, Training, and Testing (ADAPT-ITT) model for adapting HIV interventions across populations, as well as multiple cross-cultural adaptations. The CDC model, named ADAPT, described an assessment phase wherein a goodness of fit is achieved between the intervention and various stakeholders, a preparation phase wherein the adapted intervention is prepared and pre-tested, and a final implementation phase. The ADAPT-ITT model describes eight phases: assessment, decision, administration, production, topical experts, integration, training, and testing (Wingood & DiClemente, 2008). Such models have been applied to intervention adaptations aimed at HIV (Latham et al., 2010; Miller, 2003; Solomon, Card, & Malow, 2006; Somerville, Diaz, Davis, Coleman, & Taveras, 2006; Wainberg et al., 2007), parenting (Dumas, Arriaga, Begle & Longoria, 2010), stress (Flaskerud, 2008), and interventions for depressed adolescents (Ruffolo & Fischer, 2009). Yet, as this effort progressed we began to see ourselves in a less linear framework and more in line with Palinkas and Soydan's (2011) description of a "rugby scrum" in which it was hard to distinguish between adaptation, refinement, and going back to the drawing board. Further, we gradually realized that although we were adapting this curriculum in terms of age and culture, the more important adaptation we had to make was for the organizational and community contexts in which the intervention would be delivered.

METHODS

Data for *Proyecto Puentes* were collected as part of the outcome and process evaluations. Teachers were surveyed longitudinally on the primary outcomes related to skills, knowledge, and attitudes at baseline (November 2010), after the final training day (August 2011), and were again at 9-month follow-up (April 2012). Process evaluation data were collected on an ongoing basis from the outset of the adaptation process. These data were collected in order to document the adaptation process and to evaluate the implementation of the training. Because this article focuses on the intervention adaptation and implementation, only process evaluation results will be reported. A report of the primary study outcomes will be forthcoming, following the collection and analysis of the longitudinal survey data. All data collection procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board.

Process Evaluation Measures and Procedures

Process evaluation data relating to the intervention adaptation and implementation were collected using multiple methods from multiple actors involved in the development and delivery

of the training. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected via process notes, observations, satisfaction surveys, reflection forms, interviews, and a focus group. These data were collected from three groups of respondents: (a) 41 teachers who participated in the trainings, (b) 5 school personnel who served on the school advisory board, and (c) 5 members of the project team.

Process Notes

Process notes of meetings of the school advisory board as well as the project team were recorded throughout the adaptation, development, and implementation process. These notes documented the content and focuses of meetings as well as individuals' opinions and reactions regarding development and delivery of the training.

Observations

Semi-structured observations were completed for each of the three training days by a research assistant who did not lead or deliver training activities. The observation for training day 1 assessed the fidelity of implementation of training activities, participants' level of engagement with activities, durations of activities, and barriers observed. For day 1, the observer rated the fidelity of each activity delivered using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *implemented not at all as intended* to 5 = *implemented exactly as intended*. Fidelity ratings were based on a comparison of the activities described in the adapted training manual with the activities that were actually delivered. The observer also rated participants' overall engagement using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *not engaged* to 5 = *very engaged*. Engagement related to teachers paying attention to presenters and participating in activities. In addition, the observer documented if a barrier was present or not during each activity, and if a barrier was present, the observer described and commented on the barrier. A barrier was defined as a problem in implementing a training component or in reaching participants. The observer also recorded comments for each activity delivered. The observations for training days 2 and 3 were less structured because the activities for these days were newly created and being initially piloted, whereas the day 1 activities were slightly modified from an existing, empirically supported, manualized training. Observations for days 2 and 3 assessed participants' engagement with activities, reactions to activities, durations of activities, and barriers observed.

Satisfaction Surveys

Participants completed two satisfaction surveys: one at the conclusion of training day 1 and another at the conclusion of training day 3. A single satisfaction survey was completed for both training days 2 and 3 because the activities for these days were interconnected and day 3 was a continuation of day 2. In addition, training day 1 reflected a straightforward adaption from the Bridges program, whereas days 2 and 3 were a significant departure from Bridges, involving the creation of new intervention activities and strategies. The satisfaction survey consisted of 4 Likert-type items where participants rated the helpfulness, enjoyment, and usefulness of the training (e.g., "I learned something at this training that will help me in working with my students") using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. A final open-ended question asked participants to comment about the training. The satisfaction surveys were completed in 5 minutes, and 27 teachers completed a survey for training day 1 and 35 teachers completed a survey for days 2 and 3. Participants received no incentive for completing a satisfaction survey.

Reflection Forms

Participants completed an anonymous and brief reflection form at the conclusion of training day 2. This form consisted of four open-ended questions regarding the effects of the photo-documentary (e.g., "These photographs make me want to know more about . . . "). Reflection forms were completed in 5 minutes by 32 teachers. Participants received no incentive for completing the reflection forms.

Interviews

Structured interviews were conducted with each of the five members of the school advisory board after all three trainings were implemented. The interviews assessed the perceived efficacy of training activities, receptivity to activities, effects of the training, and recommendations for program improvement. The majority of interview questions were open-ended, with 3 Likert-type items where interviewees rated teachers' general receptivity for each of the 3 training days using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *not receptive* to 5 = *very receptive*. The interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. Each interview lasted 45 minutes and interviewees received a $10 gift card for participating.

Focus Group

One focus group was conducted with nine teachers who participated in all three training days using a structured guide. The focus group questions assessed the perceived efficacy of training activities, teachers' receptivity to activities, effects of the training, and recommendations for program improvement. The focus group was audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. The focus group lasted 45 minutes and respondents were given a free meal during the discussion.

Data Analysis

A mixed methods analytic approach was employed in order to provide a comprehensive and in-depth description of the intervention adaptation and development process. Qualitative content analysis with a conventional approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) was used to analyze the text data from the process notes, observations, satisfaction surveys, reflection forms, interviews, and focus group. As part of the qualitative analysis, the second author read and reread the text data to identify themes and trends related to the intervention adaptation and development process as well as to summarize the process. Themes and trends were discerned across the various qualitative data sources. Quantitative data from the observations, satisfaction surveys, and interviews were analyzed using SPSS (version 19.0) to provide descriptive statistics as well as compare evaluations of day 1 with days 2 and 3. The results will be presented in order of the intervention adaptation and development phases: assessment, preparation, implementation, and revision.

RESULTS

Assessment

The process notes documented meetings between the project team and the school advisory board, which began in August 2010 as the first training day was to be delivered in November on a teacher work day. Initial meetings focused first on problems being faced by the Latino/a students and their families in order to assess the needs of the population for which the intervention was being adapted. Issues identified by the school advisory board included language and communication

barriers, student perceptions of limited future educational opportunities, student motivation for school success, student discipline, gendered parental expectations in terms of education (e.g., "girls don't need to focus on school because they're just going to get married"), gang involvement, lack of parental supervision, and lack of parental investment in the students' learning and education.

Process notes also showed that initial meetings also focused on teachers' issues with the Latino/a students and their parents. These issues included reasons for immigration to the United States, the nature of immigration journeys, continued attachment to the country and cultural of origin, access to health and social services, and speaking Spanish in school. A member from the school advisory board recalled a comment from a fellow teacher: "I don't understand. If you've made such an effort to come here, why you don't take advantage of the [educational] opportunities." Another advisor said that she wondered "what do you have to go through to obtain citizenship" because many of the students and their family members were undocumented. Finally, every teacher on the school advisory board expressed concern that people in their community "look down" on their school and said they feel they have to "defend" their school and their students. One teacher described interactions in her faith community in which fellow worshipers expressed disdain for the children she was teaching.

Preparation

After assessing the needs and concerns of the Latino/a students and their teachers, the project team began preparing the intervention. Process notes showed that meetings between the project team and school advisory board focused first on reviewing the entire Bridges training manual, which was organized into three sequential training days: cultural competence, ethnic socialization, and child mental health. The ordering of topics and activities was a recurrent theme from meetings in the preparation phase. Although it was decided that the first training day would focus on an introduction to culture and cultural humility, the order and focus of the last two training days remained tentative. In order to prepare for training day 1, the project team and school advisory board reviewed the Bridges cultural competence activities; discussed the strengths, limitations, and appropriateness of the activities; and came to a consensus on which activities should be kept as is, removed, or modified. Advisors and project members also suggested new activities to be incorporated. For activities that needed to be modified in order to reflect issues of the new target population, the group made recommendations and the head of the project team (i.e., the principal investigator) subsequently made the requisite changes. This process resulted in an adapted module of the *Proyecto Puentes* manual focused on culture which included scripted didactic and interactive activities. The group also decided to develop the content for training days 2 and 3 following the implementation and subsequent feedback concerning training day 1. Another theme evident in the process notes regarded who should present and facilitate the training activities. The leaders of the project team pushed for teachers and school staff to deliver the training for sustainability reasons; although some teachers on the school advisory board were nervous about presenting topics related to cultural diversity to their colleagues, they stated their agreement even though they saw being in a leadership role as interpersonally risky. The presenters for training day 1 would be one of the school social workers, the school counselor, and two teachers.

Implementation

Training Day 1

Observational data from training day 1 showed that the training was implemented with high fidelity ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.20$; rating scale of 1 = *implemented not at all as intended* to 5 = *implemented exactly as intended*). In terms of dose, the total duration of activities implemented was

2 hours and 17 minutes. This did not include time for breaks or transitioning between activities. In terms of exposure, 89.2% of the teachers attended the training. Participants' level of engagement in activities was moderate ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.36$; rating scale of 1 = *not engaged* to 5 = *very engaged*). Barriers were observed during 7 of the 16 activities delivered (43.8%). The barriers were related to problems in the presentation or facilitation of activities, a lack of participant interest or engagement, and skipping certain elements of activities because of a lack of time. The presenters were visibly uncomfortable and, as a result, appeared to rush through activities, make jokes at inappropriate times, and allowed for little discussion of the activities. Comments from training satisfaction surveys completed at the conclusion of day 1 were primarily negative. A number of comments were concerned with the pacing of activities and lack of breaks. For example, one teacher stated that "the pacing fluctuated too much." Another teacher commented that the lead presenter "seemed somewhat discombobulated." Finally, several comments related to a concern that the teachers had already been exposed to the topics covered in the training: "We've done this many times," and, "I have already dealt with these issues and come to a point of cultural understanding." Mean responses from the training day 1 satisfaction surveys indicate slight to moderate agreement with statements related to the objectives of the training (see Table 1).

In addition, process notes from a meeting between the project team and school advisory board supported that teachers were disappointed with training day 1. Based on feedback from fellow teachers, members of the school advisory board reported that "some people felt insulted by [the lead presenter]," "some people felt like they were being talked at," and that the training felt "rushed." The group agreed that rehearsing the activities would have been beneficial, more discussion drawn from the activities would have been helpful, and, in sum, the training was not as beneficial as anticipated. Teacher focus group and interviews with members of the school advisory board echo these findings. Advisors generally felt that day 1 was ineffective, the lead presenter was not received well, the pace of the training was rushed, discussions connected with the activities were absent, and many of the teachers have already participated in diversity trainings similar to some of the day 1 activities. Teachers in the focus group described the training day 1 activities as "isolated experiences" that were not connected to the realities they were facing. In addition, ratings of teachers' receptivity to training day 1 activities were low ($M = 1.5$, $SD = 0.50$; rating scale of 1 = *not receptive* to 5 = *very receptive*).

In light of the findings on training day 1 and discussions with the principal, a series of decisions were made. First, training leadership was turned over to the principal investigator. The school principal believed and the teacher advisory board echoed that discussions on sensitive topics like those *Puentes* addressed needed to be led by an outsider to the system. Next, the project team decided that a strict adaptation of the Bridges program was proving ineffective, and thus, decided

TABLE 1
Summary of Responses from Training Satisfaction Surveys

	Day 1		*Days 2 and 3*		
Item	*M (SD)*	*Range*	*M (SD)*	*Range*	*t(60)*
This training helped me think about cultural issues in new ways	3.47 (1.1)	1–5	4.00 (0.7)	2–5	−2.29*
I learned something about myself during this training	3.37 (0.9)	1–4	3.74 (0.7)	2–5	−1.85
The training activities were fun and engaging	3.63 (0.9)	1–5	3.80 (0.7)	2–5	−0.82
I learned something during this training that will help me in working with my students	3.59 (0.8)	2–5	4.11 (0.5)	3–5	−2.98*

Note. Responses are based on a rating scale of 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.
*$p < 0.05$.

to develop new activities and strategies in order to reach the immediate target population (i.e., the teachers) as well as meet the intended objectives of the training. Our approach included partnering with a photojournalist and our campus art museum to create a reflective experience that allowed teachers to talk about culture and migration. We used a series of photographs that documented the immigration journey of a young girl named Marisol and her family from Mexico and their life experiences in the United States (Jarman, 2007). We brought teachers out of their environment and to the Ackland Museum on the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill campus where a number of the photographs were on display. On day three, additional photographs in the series were used via computer.

Training Days 2 and 3

Observational data showed that the total duration of activities implemented during training day 2 was 2 hours and 6 minutes. In terms of exposure, 78.9% of teachers attended training day 2. Day 2 attendance was the lowest of the three days most likely because this training was held off of the school campus. Participants' level of engagement in training day 2 activities was quite high ($M = 4.5$, $SD = 0.58$; rating scale of 1 = *not engaged* to 5 = *very engaged*). No barriers were observed on training day 2. Interview data from members of the school advisory board showed that teachers were quite receptive to training day 2 activities ($M = 4.3$, $SD = 0.45$; rating scale of 1 = *not receptive* to 5 = *very receptive*). In general, interview and focus group data showed that the training day 2 activities were perceived to be highly effective because they focused on the photo-documentary. One theme that emerged from the interviews related to the effect of the photo-documentary in terms of teachers seeing their students' lives in a different way. For example, one teacher said,

> I just thought Marisol's story was so relatable to what we see every day. And then I feel like I looked at one picture and I thought, "That could be the street that I live on in town." I just feel like it was really relatable and it gave a personal view to feel like we were connecting with our students outside of school. Even though that wasn't them, I feel like we could kind of see them past the school walls. And I said, we don't stop to, well, some people don't stop to think about that enough.

Based on analysis of comments from the reflection forms, the photo-documentary evoked teachers' thoughts about their students, "the stories of [their] students," "all the obstacles the students have to face in their short lives," cultural differences, "poverty," and their local community. A number of emotional responses were prominent in the reflection form data including sadness, sympathy, compassion, curiosity, and hope. Another theme related to what the photographs made the teachers want to know more about, and included students' backgrounds and life stories, cultural transitions, biculturalism, and what teachers could do to help their students.

Observational data showed that the total duration of activities implemented during training day 3 was 2 hours and 47 minutes. In terms of exposure, 94.7% of teachers attended this training day. Observations also showed that participants' were engaged in training day 3 activities ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.71$; rating scale of 1 = *not engaged* to 5 = *very engaged*). Two barriers were observed during training day 3 during two of the activities. One barrier related to a problem with the projector and the other related to a perception that participants were not grasping the purpose of one of the activities. In addition, two of the activities slated for day 3 were not delivered due to time constraints. Comments from the satisfaction surveys on training days 2 and 3 were largely positive. Teachers particularly enjoyed the photo-documentary and associated group discussions. For example, one teacher said, "I enjoyed looking at and discussing the photos as a new way of introducing and having discussions surrounding some of the issues our school is facing." Interview data from members of the school advisory board show that training day 3 was perceived as effective because the activities continued to use the photographs introduced in

day 2 and related them to student mental health problems. Interview data also show that having presenters on days 2 and 3 who were likeable and perceived as "experts" on the topics covered was beneficial. Overall, advisors felt that teachers were receptive to training day 3 activities ($M = 3.9$, $SD = 0.22$; rating scale of 1 = *not receptive* to 5 = *very receptive*). Mean responses from the satisfaction surveys on training days 2 and 3 indicate solid agreement with statements related to the objectives of the training (see Table 1). A series of independent groups *t*-tests were conducted to compare satisfaction survey item responses between training day 1 and training days 2 and 3. Statistically significant differences were found in terms of helping teachers understand cultural issues and helping them work with their students (Table 1).

DISCUSSION

As our results suggest, at the outset we did not fully appreciate how our audience would view our intervention. We underestimated three areas which were clearly present in our initial discussions with our school advisory board: the perception of *Puentes* as one of many unneeded and insulting diversity trainings; what it felt like to teach students who were seen as "less than" by many members of the larger community; and the perceived risk and discomfort of presenting uncomfortable material to colleagues.

Our findings clearly indicate that this training fit into the rubric of "diversity training" from the teachers' perspective. Although our advisory board clearly stated this, we did not understand the negative connotation of diversity training for these teachers nor did we investigate the diversity training literature. Not until our first training day was ill-received did we consider the research on the outcomes of diversity training that are equivocal at best (Dobbin, Kalev, & Kelly, 2007). Perhaps more importantly, although our advisory board was telling us that teachers at this school felt unsupported by the larger community, we did not recognize these comments as representative of the "siege mentality" under which many schools operate and the impact such feelings would have on receptivity.

Public school teachers are regularly maligned; their salaries and the leadership of their schools are tied to outcomes over which they feel limited control (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2006). The focus on testing stifles creativity in the classroom and pushes teachers to teach to the test (Abedi, 2004). For teachers working with new immigrant youth, there are further complexities. Teachers are embedded in communities where community members have strong and opinions and biases about newcomers (Donnelly, 2005). The community of our intervention school is no exception. Anti-immigrant sentiment in this community over the past decade has ranged from open rallies led by the Ku Klux Klan, to road blocks setup by the local police when school parent nights are occurring, to the more subtle denigration of the immigrant population described by many teachers earlier in this article (Donnelly, 2005). Teachers are not divorced from these perspectives. Indeed, they live them in their homes, faith communities, and other social networks. Talking with majority culture teachers about diversity, cultural competency, or cultural humility may be confronting them with extremely uncomfortable choices such as changing who they associate with, how they respond to jokes at parties, or their expressions of faith. Implementing a training which raises these questions without willingness or mechanisms to engage these highly personal issues may create a situation in which teachers consider the information irrelevant, something they already know, or in other ways shut down. This type of process was what was happening in day 1 of our training. As we came to understand what we were missing, we were able to create an unthreatening method for bringing this context to the table for conversation and reflection. At this point, we left the adaptation framework almost completely and returned to basic intervention development. Our use of Janet Jarman's photo-documentary allowed teachers to engage with the material and the difficult questions raised by it in their own way and at their own pace. The photographs were

presented without information first, and then the teachers were asked to speculate about what they were seeing. This type of photo-elicitation, has been used to facilitate communication in many different populations for both intervention and research purposes (Carawan & Nalavany, 2010; Ungar, Theron, & Didkowsky, 2011). On day 3, we combined the use of photographs with psycho-educational information on mental health by having photographs grouped to mirror different ways in which the migration experience may interact with or produce behavioral or emotional difficulties. (For a full description of the training methods used on days 2 and 3, please contact the authors.) Our results demonstrate that giving teachers the chance to talk and reflect without the implicit judgment that comes with a purely psycho-educational approach readied them to receive new information.

Proyecto Puentes is still very much an adaptation in progress and we have questions about some aspects. Because of feedback from the first day of training, we chose to return to "outsiders" as presenters rather than teachers or other members of the school staff. While our focus group was not unanimous in saying that someone outside of the school community should present on these topics, there seems to be a theme about neutrality that is important. The photographs represent neutral prompts. They are not about a young person or family that these teachers know and so they do not carry the biases that one might bring to discussing a case that was based on a student that everyone could identify, however well-disguised. Likewise, the lead presenter for days 2 and 3 represented someone who had knowledge of their system and who had been a presence in the school but who had distance from the regular ups and downs of school life. Likewise, she was removed from past workplace controversies that may taint a presenter's image.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

In sum, our experience suggests that "organizational readiness" and "stakeholder buy-in" is a many-layered onion. Our research frameworks and guidelines provide scant guidance on how to access those layers and the consequences when we do not. We had complete buy-in for our work from the school leadership, a principal who is well-liked and respected by her school's faculty. We had done our homework on the intervention we were adapting. We worked collaboratively with our school advisory board. And, yet there were important considerations that we were unable to see until the process seemed to break down. One critical question is did the training day 1 difficulties represent a "failure" or part of the process? Could we view that experience as an assessment of the system? Through it we learned what was not working and because of the flexibility of our funders, we were able to create a very different training that our results suggest has high potential for engaging teachers in difficult conversations.

We are also revisiting how we viewed "the outcome" in *Proyecto Puentes* and what the implications are for intervention research. As described in the project background, the aim of the larger project is to improve the well-being and school success of new immigrant Latino/a youth. In hindsight, our team recognizes that at the outset, we saw teachers as a means to that end. Our thought was that if we could change teacher attitudes, deepen their empathy, or give them new tools to use in the classroom, the new immigrant youth would benefit. Yet, as we began to more fully understand the teachers' experience, our perspective changed and we began to view our work as strengthening teachers instead of attempting to modify them in some way. As we began to understand that teachers felt "under siege," we began to conceptualize our work less as about creating more nurturing teachers for students and more about creating a nurturing experience in which teachers could explore their students' experiences and grow in their levels of empathy and understanding. It is our hope that this detailed description of our experience will sensitize other intervention researchers as they go forth to work with agencies and communities to adapt and implement empirically supported interventions.

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