

Youth & Society

Testing the Nurturing Environments Framework on Youth Violence across Ethnically and Geographically Diverse Urban and Rural Samples of Adolescents

Journal:	<i>Youth & Society</i>
Manuscript ID	Y&S-19-0012.R2
Manuscript Type:	Review
Keywords:	Aggressive Behavior/Bullying, Neighborhood Context, Violent Behavior
Abstract:	<p>Although research advocates for comprehensive cross sector youth violence prevention efforts, mobilizing across sectors to translate scientific recommendations into practice has proven challenging. A unifying framework may provide a foundational step towards building a shared understanding of the risk and protective factors that impact youth violence. We conducted two empirical tests of the nurturing environment framework on youth violence across ethnic and geographically diverse rural and urban adolescent samples. Results show that overall the characteristics of nurturing environments are associated with lower levels of aggression and violence. Additionally, minimizing exposure to socially toxic conditions had the strongest associations with lower aggression and violence. Findings were supported across both samples, suggesting this framework may apply in urban and rural, economically disadvantaged contexts.</p>

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Introduction

A primary call to youth violence prevention researchers and practitioners is the interdisciplinary and coordinated implementation of comprehensive public health approaches to reduce risk factors and promote protective factors across all levels of the social ecology (Fagan & Catalano, 2013; Jenson & Fraser, 2011; Mercy & Vivolo-Kantor, 2016; National Academies of Science, Engineering and Medicine, 2019; Ridgeway, 2014). Such approaches: (1) are developmental (i.e., birth to young adulthood), (2) address varying levels of risk (i.e., universal, selective, indicated), (3) align evidence-based preventive interventions across multiple social contexts, and (4) recognize social contexts (e.g., family, school, community) may have differential effects depending on age (National Academies of Science, Engineering and Medicine, 2019; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, 2009).

Mobilizing across disciplines to implement and sustain comprehensive evidence-based preventive interventions is an ongoing challenge. No single infrastructure handles mental health, substance abuse, juvenile justice, education, and child welfare services. Diverse and separate systems, agencies, and organizations across federal, state, local, and non-profit sectors provide these services making cross sector coordination difficult. A unifying prevention framework may be a foundational step towards building a shared understanding of prevention science that could ignite the collective action needed to build and sustain comprehensive cross sector violence prevention efforts. This paper provides two empirical tests of a unifying nurturing environment framework (Biglan, 2015; Biglan, Flay, & Sandler, 2012) on youth violence across ethnic and geographically diverse urban and rural adolescent samples. The nurturing environment framework could support strategic alignment across disciplines and sectors to implement and sustain programs, practices, and policies that result in population-level reductions in violence.

Nurturing Environments: An Integrated Framework for Organizing Risk and Protective Factors

Fundamental to the idea of forming an integrated framework is the finding across multiple literature reviews that the same risk and protective factors affect multiple forms of violence and problem behaviors (Biglan, 2015; Jenson & Fraser, 2011; Jessor & Turbin, 2014; Wilkins, Tsao, Hertz, Davis, & Klevins, 2014). Given that similar social processes contribute to the development of different types of problem behaviors (e.g., violence, substance use, truancy, school dropout, mental health issues), the lack of nurturing environments has been explored

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3 as a possible underlying social condition that contributes to patterns of problem behavior, including violence
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5 (Biglan, 2015; Biglan et al., 2012).
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7 The nurturing environment framework organizes research and practice efforts to focus on key malleable
8 behavioral influences across multiple social contexts (e.g., family, peer school, community). Recognizing that youth
9 struggle to develop protective factors in the face of high levels of risk behavior (Herrenkohl, Hill, Chung, Abbott, &
10 Hawkins, 2003; Pollard, Hawkins, & Arthur, 1999), the nurturing environment framework focuses on both reducing
11 risk conditions and increasing protection. Its main hypothesis states that youth develop patterns of problem
12 behaviors when their environments fail to nurture them. In contrast, youth become prosocial members of society
13 when they live in environments that nurture their prosocial skills. Biglan and colleagues identify four categories of
14 nurturing environments.
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22 *Category 1. Nurturing environments promote and reinforce prosocial behavior.* Nurturing environments
23 provide access to protective factors, such as role models, opportunities, supports and recognition for prosocial
24 behavior (Jessor & Turbin, 2014; Kim, Oesterle, Catalano, & Hawkins, 2015; Lerner & Benson, 2003). These
25 processes operate in similar ways across multiple social contexts, with higher levels of exposure to environments
26 that promote and reinforce prosocial behavior leading to lower levels of violence and other problem behaviors. For
27 example, supportive parents who promote education and foster strong family bonds create a nurturing family
28 environment that positively impacts adolescent behavior. Indeed, research suggests that parent nurturance, a
29 protective factor characterized by support, is associated with decreased aggression (Arim, Dahinten, Marshall, &
30 Shapka, 2011). Conversely, a comprehensive review found that low parental attachment was significantly associated
31 with increased violence (Savage, 2014). Further, high family functioning, marked by family cohesion, problem
32 solving, parent involvement, and positive parenting, was significantly associated with decreased aggression over
33 time (Kramer-Kuhn & Farrell, 2016).
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45 *Category 2. Nurturing environments minimize socially and biologically toxic conditions.* The Adverse
46 Childhood Experiences research links aversive events and conditions to risky health behaviors, chronic health
47 conditions, and early death (Anda et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2009). Furthermore, adverse childhood experiences
48 have been found to be negatively associated with measures of life potential, such as adult education, employment,
49 and income potential (Metzle, Merrick, Klevens, Ports, & Ford, 2017). Adverse experiences in childhood include
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3 abuse and neglect, substance abuse and mental illness in the household, parental separation, **childhood**
4 **homelessness**, and incarceration of a household member.

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7 Socially toxic conditions may also occur at school. Experiencing victimization at school erodes students'
8 sense of safety, well-being, potential, and achievement and limits the development of supportive, trusting
9 relationships between students and adults in the school community (Espelage, Low, & Jimerson, 2014; Loukas &
10 Pasch, 2013). School victimization is also associated with increased aggression (Smokowski et al., 2016a).

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14 Coercive social interactions contribute to socially toxic conditions (Biglan, 2016). Coercion involves using
15 aversive behavior to influence another's behavior and can be experienced within the family, peer, school, and
16 community levels of the social ecology. Youth in these situations may view their daily experiences as a continuous
17 pattern of coercion that can only be overcome by additional coercive force, and these behaviors tend to escalate over
18 time (Dishion & Patterson, 2006). To counter this coercive cycle, attention must be given to reducing toxic
19 conditions and strengthening protective factors that limit the damage done by coercive interactions.

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22 *Category 3. Nurturing environments monitor and set limits on influences and opportunities to engage in*
23 *problem behavior.* Adolescent exposure to problem behavior models (e.g., family, peer) influences the likelihood of
24 problem behavior (Jessor & Turbin, 2014). Minimizing adolescents' exposure to negative peer and family influences
25 can protect them from negative developmental outcomes. Nurturing environments at home, school, and in the
26 community include adults or other caregivers who monitor children and provide appropriate sanctions for problem
27 behavior (Sampson, 1997).

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30 Social environments vary in the level and type of opportunities they provide for problem behavior
31 (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Hawkins & Catalano, 2005; Lerner & Benson, 2003). For example, neighborhoods with
32 lower levels of parental monitoring are likely to have a higher number of delinquent peer groups and normative
33 structures that are favorable to violence (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). Research shows that having delinquent friends is
34 associated with increased aggressive behavior (Biglan, Brennan, Foster, & Holder, 2004; Elliott, Huizinga, &
35 Ageton, 1985) and shielding youth from delinquent peers relates to lower levels of delinquency and problem
36 behavior (Biglan et al., 2004; Elliott et al., 1985; Espelage, Low, & Jimerson, 2003; Ferguson, San Miguel, &
37 Hartley, 2009).

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40 Monitoring and setting limits on influences and opportunities to engage in problem behavior is important in
41 all social contexts, although research suggests the impact may be stronger in high risk settings. For example,
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3 parental monitoring (e.g., knowing where adolescents are and who they are with) provides protection in all contexts,
4 but is particularly salient for decreasing violence and aggression in high risk conditions (Cutrin, Gomez-Fraguela,
5 Maneiro, & Sobral, 2017). Conversely, youth who reported low levels of parental monitoring had aggression scores
6 almost three times higher than youth with high levels of parental monitoring (Orpinas, Murray, & Kelder, 1999).
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10 *Category 4. Nurturing environments promote mindful psychological flexibility in the pursuit of prosocial*
11 *values.* Psychological flexibility involves: (1) being clear about our deepest values and authentic passions, (2)
12 staying mindful of our thoughts and feelings, and (3) acting in alignment with our values and passions even when
13 our thoughts and feelings discourage us from taking valued action (Biglan, 2015; Biglan et al., 2012). Findings from
14 clinical psychology show that as individuals increase their psychological flexibility, their mental and behavioral
15 health problems diminish (Baer, 2003; Biglan, Hayes, & Pistorello, 2008; Brown & Ryan, 2003).
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19 Although research on protective factors linked to psychological flexibility in adolescents remains limited,
20 related protective factors in the areas of religiosity and future optimism suggest this aspect of nurturing
21 environments supports healthy adolescent development. For example, youth participation in religious activities
22 (George, Larson, Koenig, & McCullough, 2000; Herrenkohl et al., 2003; Mercado-Crespo, 2013) and a belief in the
23 importance of religion were associated with decreased aggression and violence (Leach, Berman, & Eubanks, 2008;
24 Mercado-Crespo, 2013; Smokowski et al., 2016a). Optimism about the future is also a protective factor for youth
25 associated with decreased teacher and self-reports of aggression (Polgar & Auslander, 2009; Smokowski, Evans,
26 Cotter, & Webber, 2014). Religious importance and involvement, and future optimism may foster psychological
27 processes that enable youth to maintain their prosocial values even in challenging internal and external
28 circumstances.
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31 **Current Study**

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33 In this study, we test the impact of the nurturing environment framework on youth violence across two
34 samples with diverse geographic contexts – Study 1: urban Colorado and Study 2: rural North Carolina. We
35 hypothesize the following:
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- 38 1. The four key categories of nurturing environments will be associated with lower levels of aggression and
39 violence.
 - 40 2. The relationships between the four key categories in the Biglan model and violence outcomes will be
41 similar across both the urban Colorado and rural North Carolina samples.
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Methods – Study 1: Urban Colorado

Procedure

The Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado Boulder collected survey data from randomly selected, repeated cross-sectional samples of youth ages 10-17 from two high-risk neighborhoods in Colorado in 2013 and 2016. Both communities were urban and socioeconomically disadvantaged with high rates of youth violence.

For each neighborhood, a complete list of households was created and an independent random systematic sample of households was drawn using fractional zone sizes, resulting in an equal probability of selection for each household in a neighborhood. All youth aged 10-17 within the household were the eligible respondents for the survey. Surveys were administered through face-to-face interviews and used to determine initial levels and change in rates of violence, other problem behaviors, and prosocial behaviors, as well as attitudes, values, and beliefs among youth residing in these neighborhoods. The current analyses used data from the 2016 post intervention community survey because **more measures aligned to Biglan's nurturing environment categories**. For the analyses, data from participants were collapsed within sites for both intervention and comparison neighborhoods.

Analyses testing for differences between the two urban neighborhoods showed no significant differences in the outcomes and only a few significant effects of predictors that were not in a consistent direction across the neighborhoods. Intervention effects are described in detail elsewhere (Kingston, Huizinga, Sigel, & Mattson, 2016) and are beyond the scope of the current analyses.

Participants

The Colorado sample contained 752 interviews from randomly selected youth (50% of identified eligible youth) in Grades 3 through 12, ranging in age from 10 to 17 ($M = 13$, $SD = 2.2$).

<INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE>

Measures

The Colorado project developed a 769-item youth community survey with 55 scales. **For the current study, nine risk and protective factor constructs operationalized the four nurturing environment categories and researchers chose nine scales from the youth community survey that most closely measured each construct.** A high scale score indicated a nurturing environment that is supportive of positive outcomes.

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3 *Demographics.* Demographic data included age, gender, and race/ethnicity. Race included dummy-coded
4 variables for non-Hispanic Black, mixed race, and other, with Hispanic/Latino as the reference group.

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7 Three constructs (*parental support*, *school support*, and *parental attachment*) measured Category 1
8 Promoting and Reinforcing Prosocial Behavior. The 3 item Family Recognition for Prosocial Behavior (Glaser et
9 al., 2009) measured parental support (e.g., When you have done something your parents like how often do your
10 parents say something nice about it?; $\alpha = .87$) and the 6 item Parents Encourage Prosocial Behavior at School Scale
11 (Elliott, 2000) measured school support (e.g., At least one of my parents comes to activities at my school; $\alpha = .76$).
12 The 7-item Parental Attachment Scale (Johnson, 2004) assessed parental attachment (e.g., You can talk with your
13 parents about anything; $\alpha = .80$)
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18 For Category 2, Minimizing Socially and Biologically Toxic Conditions, three constructs (*delinquent peers*,
19 *perceptions of school safety*, and *school conflict and hassles*) measured socially toxic conditions. The 18 item
20 Perceptions of Peer Antisocial Behavior Scale (Johnson, 2004) measured delinquent peers (e.g., friend purposely
21 damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them; $\alpha = .90$). The 3 item School Safety Scale (Mattson &
22 Kingston, 2018) measured perceptions of school safety (e.g., During the past 30 days, on how many days did you
23 not go to school because you felt you would be unsafe; $\alpha = .65$). The 4 item School Conflict Scale (Huizinga, 2003)
24 measured school conflict and hassles (e.g., kids are always getting beaten up at my school; $\alpha = .94$). Measures of
25 biologically toxic conditions were unavailable.
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36 *Parental monitoring* was the only construct identified in Category 3, Monitoring and Limit Setting. The 10
37 item Parental Monitoring Scale (Johnson, 2004) measured parental monitoring (e.g., Do your parents know who you
38 are with when you are away from home? ; $\alpha = .67$). Two constructs (*future optimism* and *religiosity*) measured
39 Category 4, Promoting Mindful Flexibility in the Pursuit of Prosocial Values. The 5 item Perceived Future
40 Opportunity Scale (Johnson, 2004) measured future optimism (e.g., There isn't much chance that a kid from your
41 neighborhood will ever get ahead; $\alpha = .73$). The four item Religiosity Scale (Johnson, 2004) assessed religiosity
42 (e.g., To what extent do you think of yourself as a religious person; $\alpha = .66$).
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49 The five-item Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997) measured *Aggressive and*
50 *problem behaviors*; these items inquire about the frequency of engaging in and being a victim of aggressive
51 behaviors over the last six months (e.g., I often bully or am mean to others; add a problem behavior example). The
52 six-item Denver Youth Survey Self-Report Delinquency Scale assessed *Violence related behaviors* (e.g., How many
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3 times have you attacked someone with a weapon, used a weapon, force, or strong arm methods to get money or
4 things from people?; Huizinga, Weiher, Espiritu, & Esbensen, 2003). Because linear regression models for the
5 skewed continuous measures would be affected by heteroscedasticity, these measures were dichotomized and
6 logistic regression models were estimated.
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10 **Data Analyses**

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12 Table 2 presents the key results for testing the hypotheses, listing the logistic regression odds ratios (OR)
13 and confidence intervals for each of the 9 risk and protective factor measures by each of the two outcomes. Each OR
14 comes from a separate model that includes controls for the demographic covariates of age, sex, and race/ethnicity.
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16 **Given extremely high scores for a small part of the sample, the outcomes are right skewed. Because use of linear**
17 **regression models for the skewed continuous measures would violate several underlying assumptions, these**
18 **measures were dichotomized and logistic regression models were estimated. The reliance on OR coefficients allows**
19 **for straightforward interpretations across multiple independent and dependent variables.** Along with examining the
20 significance of the associations, we examine the size of the associations. Given the different scale units across the
21 many measures, we computed OR's for a one standard deviation increase in each of the protective factors. When
22 transforming the predictors into the same standard deviation units, the coefficients for the diverse risk and protective
23 factors can be more meaningfully compared. **We present standard tests of significant, but the results change little**
24 **when adjusting for multiple testing using the Benjamini and Hochberg (1995) procedure.**
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36 **Results – Study 1: Urban Colorado**

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39 *Hypothesis 1* predicts that the four key categories of nurturing environments will be associated with lower
40 levels of violence and aggressive or other problem behaviors. The results in Table 2 generally support this
41 hypothesis, with 67% (12 out of 18) of the relationships between the nine independent variables and three dependent
42 variables demonstrating statistically significant effects. First, the two measures of promoting and reinforcing
43 prosocial behavior (Biglan Category 1) are consistently associated with lower aggressive and other problem
44 behavior and violence related behavior. Second, the measures of minimizing toxic conditions (Biglan Category 2)
45 are consistently negatively associated with more aggressive or other problem behavior. The measure of school safety
46 was not associated with the outcomes, but the other two measures show a clear pattern of benefit. Third, parental
47 monitoring (Biglan Category 3) is consistently and negatively associated with aggressive and other problem
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3 behaviors and violence related behavior. Fourth, future optimism (Biglan Category 4) is significantly associated
4 with all outcomes. However, religiosity was not significantly associated with any of the outcomes.
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7 Table 2 also lists the odds ratios (OR) for a standard unit change in the risk and protective factors (e.g., a
8 one standard deviation change rather than a one unit change in the original metric) to allow for more direct
9 comparisons across the scales. Table 2 shows that minimizing toxic conditions (Category 2) has the strongest
10 associations with aggressive or other problem and violence related behavior. For example, a one standard deviation
11 increase in having low perceptions of delinquent peers (OR = .50) reduces the odds of violence related behavior by
12 50%. Other Biglan Categories have more modest associations than for minimizing toxic conditions (Category 2). A
13 similarly strong association with violence related behavior is observed in having low school conflict and hassles
14 (OR = .61). A one standard deviation increase in having few school conflicts and hassles reduces the odds of
15 violence related behavior by 39%. The next strongest association is found in Biglan Category 1 promoting and
16 reinforcing prosocial behavior. Parental attachment has an OR of .63 and shows a 37% lower odds of aggressive or
17 other problem behavior. Other Biglan Categories have more modest associations. For example, a one standard
18 deviation increase in parental monitoring (Category 3) is associated with an OR of .69 and 31% lower odds of
19 violence related behavior and a one standard deviation increase in future optimism (Category 4) is associated with
20 an OR of .71 and 29% lower odds of aggressive and other problem behavior.
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34 Next, we provide a second test of the nurturing environment framework on youth violence in a sample from
35 rural North Carolina. We then compare results from Colorado and rural North Carolina to examine whether the
36 relationships between the four key categories in the nurturing environment framework are similar across the diverse
37 geographic contexts.
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41 **Methods – Study 2: Rural North Carolina**

42 **Procedure**

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44 The North Carolina Youth Violence Prevention Center project was a 6-year longitudinal panel study (2010-
45 2015) of more than 7,000 middle- and high-school students from two rural, economically disadvantaged counties in
46 North Carolina. In Year 1 of the North Carolina study, a complete census of all middle school students (Grades 6
47 through 8) was taken from County 1. Each year the new sixth grade class was added to the sample. Because County
48 2 was larger in both geography and student population, a random sample of 40% of the middle school students was
49 taken in Year 1 and each year a random sample of 500 sixth graders was added to the sample. Both counties were
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3 rural and socioeconomically disadvantaged with high rates of youth violence and low educational attainment.
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5 Students from both counties were tracked longitudinally through middle- and high-school so that by Year 5 the
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7 sample was comprised of youth from Grades 6 through 12.

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9 Youth in the North Carolina study filled out a comprehensive survey that assessed perceptions of family,
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11 friends, school, self, health, and wellbeing in addition to aggressive and violent behavior. The current analyses used
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13 cross-sectional data from Year 5 to best parallel the cross-sectional data collection conducted in the Colorado
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15 sample. For the current analyses, data from participants were collapsed within sites for both intervention and
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17 comparison counties. Intervention effects are described in detail elsewhere (Smokowski et al., 2016a; Smokowski et
18
19 al., 2017) and are beyond the scope of the current analyses.

20 21 **Participants**

22 The North Carolina sample contained 7,102 participants (a response rate of 79%) in Grades 6 through 12,
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24 ranging in age from 11 to 19 ($M = 15$, $SD = 2.00$).

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26 <INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE>

27 28 **Measures**

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30 The North Carolina study used a modified version of the School Success Profile (SSP; Bowen & Richman,
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32 2008), a 195-item youth self-report with 22 scales that measured risk and protective factors, and aggressive and
33
34 violent behavior. The modified version of the SSP, the SSP Plus (SSP+), contained 17 of the original SSP scales,
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36 plus 14 additional scales resulting in 267 items (see Evans & Smokowski, 2015; Smokowski et al., 2014;
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38 Smokowski et al., 2016a; see Smokowski et al., 2016b for additional information on the SSP+).

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40 In order to replicate the Colorado study, North Carolina researchers identified eight comparable scales and
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42 two-single items to measure the nine risk and protective factor constructs Colorado researchers used to
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44 operationalize the nurturing environment categories. High scale scores indicated a nurturing environment supportive
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46 of positive outcomes.

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48 *Demographics.* Demographic variables included: age, gender, and race/ethnicity. Race included dummy-
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50 coded variables for non-Hispanic Black, mixed race, and other, with Hispanic/Latino as the reference group.

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52 Three constructs (*parental support*, *school support*, and *parental attachment*), measured Category 1
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54 Promoting and Reinforcing Prosocial Behavior. The five-item Parent Support Scale (Bowen & Richman, 2008)
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56 measured parent support (e.g., Adults at home... make you feel appreciated; $\alpha = .95$) and the six-item Parent
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3 Education Support Scale (Bowen & Richman, 2008) measured school support (e.g., Adults at home encourage you
4 to do well in school; $\alpha = .90$). The six-item Strong Family Bonds Scale (Gil, Wagner, & Vega, 2000) assessed
5 parental attachment (e.g., You and your family members trust and confide in each other; $\alpha = .95$).
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9 For Category 2, Minimizing Socially and Biologically Toxic Conditions, three constructs (*delinquent peers*,
10 *perceptions of school safety*, and *school conflict and hassles*) measured socially toxic conditions. The nine- item
11 Delinquent Friends Scale (Bowen & Richman, 2008) measured delinquent peers (e.g., I have friends who get in
12 trouble with the police; $\alpha = .92$). The 11-item School Safety Scale (Bowen & Richman, 2008) measured perceptions
13 of school safety (e.g., Fights among students; $\alpha = .91$). The four-item School Hassles Scale (Bowen & Richman,
14 2008; Solberg & Olweus, 2003) measured school conflict and hassles (e.g., Someone at school told lies or spread
15 rumors about me; $\alpha = .94$). Biologically toxic condition measures were unavailable.
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19 *Parental monitoring* was the only construct identified in the Category 3, Monitoring and Limit Setting.
20 North Carolina used two single-item measures to assess parental monitoring (Is there an adult in your home who
21 knows where you are when you are not at home or in school? Do the adults in your home know most of your
22 friends). Two constructs (*future optimism* and *religiosity*) measured Category 4, Promoting Mindful Flexibility in
23 the Pursuit of Prosocial Values. The 12 item Future Optimism Scale (Bowen & Richman, 2008) measured future
24 optimism (e.g., When I think about my future, I feel very positive; $\alpha = .73$). The three-item Religious Orientation
25 Scale (Bowen & Richman, 2008) measured Religiosity (e.g., Religion plays an important role in my daily life; $\alpha =$
26 .93).
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30 The 12-item Aggression Scale (Achenbach & Rescoria, 2001) assessed *Aggressive and problem behaviors*;
31 these items inquire about the frequency of engaging in aggressive behaviors over the past six months (e.g., I get in
32 many fights). *Violence related behaviors* were measured with the 13-item North Carolina-Academic Center of
33 Excellence Violent Behavior Checklist (e.g., I beat somebody up; I damaged or destroyed things that belonged to
34 someone else; Cotter, Bacallao, Smokowski, & Robertson, 2013; Smokowski, 2011).
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37 **Data Analyses**

38
39 Table 4 presents the key results for testing the hypotheses, listing the logistic regression odds ratios (OR)
40 and confidence intervals for each of the eight scales and two items measuring the risk and protective factors by each
41 of the two outcomes. The outcomes are dichotomized to remove the excessive influence of extreme scores and to
42 allow for easy comparisons across models and samples. Each OR comes from a separate model that includes
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3 controls for the demographic covariates of age, sex, and race/ethnicity. We also examine the size of the associations
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5 by computing OR's for a one standard deviation increase in each of the protective factors to provide more
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7 meaningful comparisons across the coefficients.

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9 <INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE>

10 11 **Results – Study 2: Rural North Carolina**

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13 *Hypothesis 1* predicts that the four key categories of nurturing environments will be associated with lower
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15 levels of violence and aggressive or other problem behaviors. The results in Table 4 support this hypothesis, with
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17 100% (20 out of 20) of the relationships between the ten independent variables and two dependent variables
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19 demonstrating statistically significant effects.

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21 Table 4 also lists the odds ratios (OR) for a standard unit change in the risk and protective factors (e.g., a
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23 one standard deviation change rather than a one unit change in the original metric). Table 4 shows again that
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25 minimizing toxic conditions (Category 2) has the strongest associations with aggressive or other problem and
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27 violence related behavior. For example, a one standard deviation increase in having low school conflict or hassles
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29 (OR = .46) reduces the odds of aggressive or other problem behavior by 54%. A similarly strong association with
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31 violence related behavior is observed for low perceptions of delinquent peers (OR = .49). A one standard deviation
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33 increase in having few such peers reduces the odds of violence related behavior by 51%. The next strongest
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35 association is in Category 3 monitoring and limit setting. Parental monitoring of friends has an OR of .67 and shows
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37 a 33% lower odds of aggressive or other problem behavior. Other Biglan Categories have more modest associations.
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39 For example, a one standard deviation increase in parental attachment (Category 1) is associated with an OR of .69
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41 and 31% lower odds of aggressive and other problem behavior and a one standard deviation increase in religiosity
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43 (Category 4) is associated with an OR of .74 and 26% lower odds of aggressive and other problem behavior.

44 45 **Comparing Results – Urban Colorado and Rural North Carolina Samples**

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47 *Hypothesis 2* predicts that the relationships between the nurturing environment measures and the outcome
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49 measures are similar across both the urban Colorado and rural North Carolina samples. Because the measures in the
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51 two samples are not identical, direct comparison of the coefficients and tests for statistically significant differences
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53 are not appropriate. Instead, we identify the relationships in Tables 2 and 4 that are both significant and in the
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55 expected direction for the two samples.
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3 Overall, the results show more similarity than not. Of the 38 comparisons (nine protective factors by two
4 outcomes in Colorado and 10 protective factors by two outcomes in North Carolina), 32 (84%) are significant and in
5 the predicted direction. Note also that the standard unit ORs are generally similar in size across the two samples. For
6 the outcomes, the results for the two samples are most similar for aggressive or other problem behavior and other
7 violence related behavior. For the predictors, measures of minimizing toxic conditions show the most consistency
8 across samples. The results for the two samples diverge most for the measure of school safety and religiosity (none
9 of the Colorado relationships are significant).

16 Discussion

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18 Biglan (2015) and colleagues' (2012) nurturing environment framework provides a helpful scheme for
19 organizing a large volume of risk and protective factor research; however, this framework's predictive validity has
20 never been tested. In this study, we sought to test the key assumptions and categories within the nurturing
21 environment framework on aggression and violence. Furthermore, we tested the relationships with large, diverse
22 samples of data from youth in different geographic locations, thus increasing confidence in the generalizability of
23 the results.

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25 The nurturing environment framework held up well under empirical scrutiny. Significant effects on the
26 outcomes emerged for all four of the framework's major categories: promoting and reinforcing prosocial behavior,
27 minimizing toxic conditions, monitoring and setting limits, and promoting mindful flexibility. Overall, this study
28 validates our first hypothesis that the four key characteristics of nurturing environments (Biglan Categories 1-4) are
29 associated with lower levels of violence and aggressive or other problem behaviors.

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31 The strongest associations related to aggression and violence surfaced for measures of Biglan Category 2,
32 minimizing exposure to toxic conditions. These results are consistent with previous research showing association
33 with delinquent peers to be one of the strongest predictors of aggression and violence and a primary agent through
34 which socialization at school and in the community adversely affects adolescent development (Dishion & Patterson
35 2006; Sampson 1992; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Likewise, this study shows a
36 relationship between lower levels of coercive interactions at school and lower levels of aggression and violence
37 related behavior.

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39 We also observed strong associations in Biglan Category 1, promoting and reinforcing prosocial behavior.
40 In particular, parental attachment and strong family bonds (i.e., the close loving bond between a parent and child)

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3 were linked to lower aggression, violence, and relational aggression. These results are consistent with the emphasis
4 that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the World Health Organization (WHO) place on
5 safe, stable, nurturing relationships and environments (CDC, n.d.; WHO, 2009). In high-risk environments, such as
6 those assessed for the current study in Colorado and North Carolina, implementing interventions to strengthen
7 family cohesion and parent-adolescent attachment could be a viable means of violence prevention (see for example,
8 Kingston, et al., 2016; Smokowski et al., 2016b for intervention evaluations from Colorado and North Carolina).

14 Monitoring and setting limits (Category 3) and promoting mindful flexibility (Category 4) were also related
15 to lower levels of aggression and violence. Although our findings for Biglan Category 3 support our hypothesis, our
16 test of this category was limited. We were only able to measure parental monitoring and the North Carolina site only
17 had two single items to measure this construct. Future research on this category could also include measures for
18 collective efficacy or the willingness of adults to intervene on behalf of the common good (e.g., neighbors
19 intervening if kids are getting in trouble; Sampson 1997; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Additionally,
20 measures promoting mindful flexibility (Category 4) were associated with decreased aggression and violence.
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28 Overall, the relationships between the nurturing environment key characteristics and violence are similar
29 across both the urban Colorado and rural North Carolina samples. A majority of the associations are significant and
30 in the predicted direction for both samples suggesting that this framework may apply in both urban high-risk
31 neighborhoods and rural, economically disadvantaged counties.
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35 The results diverge in some areas across the two samples. The samples differed in the measure of school
36 safety (Category 2) and religious orientation (Category 4). The North Carolina sample shows a fairly strong
37 relationship between school safety and aggression and violence, but none of the relationships for these variables in
38 the Colorado sample were significant. This could be related to differences in the urban and rural context or a result
39 of differences in the way these two constructs were measured. The Colorado scale only included three items that
40 asked directly about students' perceptions of safety. In contrast, the North Carolina scale included 11 items that
41 assessed the degree of antisocial behaviors occurring in the school environment.
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49 Additionally, religious orientation in the North Carolina sample was significantly associated with decreased
50 aggression and violence; however, these relationships did not reach significance in the Colorado sample. Religion
51 often takes a central role in the lives of rural adolescents (King, Elder, & Whitbeck, 1997), especially in the North
52 Carolina rural area where churches are very common and attendance is expected. Salience of religion in the rural
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3 sample might have exerted extra influence on youths' behavior and choices. Religious participation can expose
4 youth to prosocial and health promoting behaviors and can provide them with a supportive and caring community
5 with prosocial norms and expectations (Baier & Wright, 2001; Pope, Price, & Lillard, 2014).
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8 9 **Limitations and Strengths**

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11 There were measurement challenges related to operationalizing the nurturing environment framework.
12 First, this research used data collected as part of larger research efforts and was limited to the measures included in
13 those projects to operationalize the nurturing environment framework. The validity and reliability for the majority of
14 scales used by both studies were well-documented, but may not fully capture the intended constructs of the Biglan
15 categories. For example, the existing data sets did not include measures for biologically toxic conditions. Future
16 research could benefit from refining and testing the measures for each of the four categories. Second, the measures
17 across the two studies were similar, but not identical. Many of the measures were significant and supported the
18 nurturing environment framework even if they were measured in slightly different ways. All measures were self-
19 report. An inherent limitation of self-report measures is social desirability bias; respondents often answer questions
20 in ways that present themselves in the best possible light (Fisher, 1993). The Colorado study utilized interviews
21 while the North Carolina study used online surveys. This difference in format of self-report measures might have
22 impacted responses; however, the larger pattern of effects is consistent and valuable.
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34 Even with these limitations, this study had several strengths. We operationalized the four categories of the
35 nurturing environment framework with common validated measures of risk and protective factors and provided the
36 first stringent empirical test of the framework on three different measures related to violence. Furthermore, we tested
37 these relationships with large, diverse samples of data from youth in very different geographic locations.
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41 **Conclusion and Policy Implications**

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43 Our results show that the four key characteristics of nurturing environments (i.e., (1) promoting prosocial
44 behavior, (2) minimizing toxic conditions, (3) monitoring and limit setting, and (4) promoting mindful psychological
45 flexibility) are associated with lower levels of violence and aggressive behaviors. Additionally, we found that
46 minimizing exposure to socially toxic conditions had the strongest associations with aggression and violence. These
47 findings are supported across two diverse samples suggesting that this framework may apply in both urban high-risk
48 neighborhoods and rural, economically disadvantaged counties. **Several policy implications follow.**
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3 First, our findings suggest that violence prevention efforts should implement effective programs, practices,
4 and policies that reduce exposure to socially toxic conditions throughout childhood and adolescence. For example,
5 the Nurse-Family Partnership Program provides comprehensive support to first-time high-risk mothers during their
6 pregnancy and the first two years of the child's life and is projected to impact population level outcomes on a wide
7 range of outcomes including violence and delinquency (Miller, 2015). Additionally, delivering social emotional
8 learning programs in school may reduce socially toxic conditions and support prosocial behavior (Malti, Ribeaud, &
9 Eisner, 2011; Webster-Stratton, Reid, & Hammond, 2004). Implementing strategies and programs that focus on
10 reducing bullying and creating a positive school climate could also be critical to minimizing toxic conditions in the
11 school environment (Elliott, 2009; Kingston et al., 2018; Nickerson, 2018).
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20 Second, in addition to serving youth directly, reducing toxic stress and supporting the social and emotional
21 capacity of the adults that care for children could be beneficial (Kingston & Wilensky, 2018). Adults must
22 themselves be socially and emotionally competent in order to help youth develop their own social and emotional
23 competencies and general well-being (Berman, Chaffee, & Sarmiento, 2018; Greenberg, Brown, & Abenavoli,
24 2016; Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). Policies that provide social and economic supports (e.g., Supplemental
25 Nutrition Assistance Program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, job training, low-cost high quality child
26 care) to families to reduce the burden and stress of low-income parental caregiving may be important to create
27 nurturing environments and prevent youth violence (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2019).
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36 Third, we can strategically invest in building local prevention infrastructures that support the development
37 and sustainability of nurturing environments in schools and communities (Bumbarger and Campbell, 2011). For
38 example, Communities That Care (CTC) is a tested prevention service delivery system that enables a local
39 coalition of community stakeholders to use a science-based approach to prevention and improve the behavioral
40 health of young people (Chilenski, Frank, Summers, & Lew, 2019; Fagan, Hawkins, Catalano, & Farrington,
41 2019). Using the CTC system can produce enduring reductions in community-wide levels of risk factors and
42 problem behaviors among adolescents beyond the years of supported implementation, potentially contributing to
43 long-term public health benefits.
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51 Finally, the nurturing environment framework can be used to support a widely shared vision of what is
52 needed to prevent violence and promote healthy development. Just as society has mobilized to address cigarette
53 smoking, we can marshal and expand the evidence about the value of nurturing environments so that individuals,
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3 policymakers and major relevant organizations collectively create a movement to increase the prevalence of
4 nurturing environments (Biglan et al., 2012). This framework could help unify and support strategic alignment
5 across disciplines and sectors to implement comprehensive programs, practices and policies that create nurturing
6 environments and result in population-level reductions in violence.
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For Peer Review

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics – Colorado

Study Location	Neighborhoods
Total Sample (N)	752
Demographic Characteristics	
% Female	52
Mean age (years)	13
% Non-Hispanic	
American Indian	1
Black	26
Mixed/Other	11
White	4
% Hispanic or Latino	58
% Free/Reduced Lunch Program Participants	78
% Two-Parent Families	73

Table 2. Colorado Results – Logistic Regression Odds Ratios and Confidence Intervals for Aggression and Violence Outcomes

	Aggressive and Other Problem Behavior			Violence Related Behavior		
	OR-OU	95% CI	OR-SU	OR-OU	95% CI	OR-SU
Category 1: Promoting & Reinforcing Prosocial Behavior						
Parental Support	0.538*	0.380, 0.760	0.75	0.598*	0.413, 0.866	0.79
School Support	0.800	0.564, 1.136	0.91	0.780	0.526, 1.155	0.9
Parental Attachment	0.431*	0.318, 0.584	0.63	0.493*	0.360, 0.674	0.68
Category 2: Minimizing Toxic Conditions						
Delinquent Peers	0.277*	0.178, 0.431	0.55	0.225*	0.150, 0.337	0.5
Perceptions of School Safety	0.784	0.549, 1.118	0.9	0.782	0.525, 1.165	0.9
School Conflict and Hassles	0.691*	0.565, 0.845	0.75	0.529*	0.422, 0.662	0.61
Category 3: Monitoring & Limit Setting						
Parental Monitoring	0.367*	0.224, 0.602	0.72	0.319*	0.192, 0.531	0.69
Category 4: Promote Mindful Psychological Flexibility						
Future Optimism	0.616*	0.492, 0.772	0.71	0.622*	0.485, 0.799	0.72
Religiosity	0.940	0.805, 1.099	0.94	0.948	0.795, 1.129	0.95

Note. OR-OU = odds ratio, original units; CI = confidence interval; OR-SU = odds ratio, standard units

*p is significant using the Benjamini-Hochberg procedure with a false discovery rate of 0.05

Table 3. Demographic Characteristics – North Carolina

Study Location	Middle- and High-Schools
Total Sample (N)	7,102
Demographic Characteristics	
% Female	50
Mean Age (years)	15
% Non-Hispanic	
American Indian	25
Black	25
Mixed/Other	13
White	28
% Hispanic or Latino	9
% Free/Reduced Lunch Program Participants	79
% Two-Parent Families	70

Table 4. North Carolina Results – Logistic Regression Odds Ratios and Confidence Intervals for Aggression and Violence Outcomes

	Aggressive and Other Problem Behavior			Violence Related Behavior		
	OR-OU	95% CI	OR-SU	OR-OU	95% CI	OR-SU
Category 1: Promoting & Reinforcing Prosocial Behavior						
Parental Support	0.584*	0.534, 0.640	0.72	0.731*	0.673, 0.794	0.83
School Support	0.580*	0.530, 0.635	0.72	0.733*	0.673, 0.799	0.83
Parental Attachment	0.609*	0.564, 0.656	0.69	0.695*	0.648, 0.745	0.76
Category 2: Minimizing Toxic Conditions						
Delinquent Peers	0.219*	0.189, 0.253	0.49	0.228*	0.201, 0.258	0.50
Perceptions of School Safety	0.462*	0.416, 0.514	0.67	0.430*	0.388, 0.476	0.64
School Conflict and Hassles	0.177*	0.149, 0.210	0.46	0.261*	0.229, 0.298	0.55
Category 3: Monitoring & Limit Setting						
Parental Monitoring - Whereabouts	0.582*	0.514, 0.659	0.79	0.542*	0.482, 0.609	0.77
Parental Monitoring - Friends	0.541*	0.462, 0.633	0.67	0.733*	0.634, 0.848	0.81
Category 4: Promote Mindful Psychological Flexibility						
Future Optimism	0.837*	0.776, 0.902	0.88	0.828*	0.771, 0.888	0.88
Religiosity	0.656*	0.608, 0.707	0.74	0.777*	0.723, 0.835	0.84

Note. OR-OU = odds ratio, original units; CI = confidence interval; OR-SU = odds ratio, standard units

*p is significant using the Benjamini-Hochberg procedure with a false discovery rate of 0.05