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## Understanding Initial and Sustained Engagement of Spanish-Speaking Latina Mothers in the Legacy for Children Program™: A Qualitative Examination of a Group-Based Parenting Program

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### Abstract

Culturally congruent parenting programs delivered during early childhood have the potential to support diverse families. Legacy for Children™ (*Legacy*) is a group-based prevention program designed to promote child development by reinforcing sensitive, responsive mother-child relationships, building maternal self-efficacy, and fostering peer networks of support among mothers living in poverty (Perou et al., 2012). The *Legacy* program was translated and culturally adapted for Spanish-speaking Latina mothers and their infants (hereafter referred to as Latina mothers) with a feasibility trial conducted to determine the cultural congruency of the adaptation. Feasibility results were positive with no previous studies validating the adapted *Legacy* Spanish language program (*Legacy Spanish*). The current manuscript focuses on understanding factors of engagement of the culturally adapted model. Specifically, we examined the factors that were perceived to have enhanced or hindered both initial and sustained engagement in the adapted *Legacy Spanish* program for Latina mothers. Individual interviews were conducted with Latina mothers (N=26) who attended the *Legacy Spanish* program. We used a template approach within NVivo 11<sup>©</sup> software to identify broad themes in Latina mothers' responses. Themes emerged regarding the importance of using home-based recruitment strategies and pairing verbal information with written brochures to foster initial engagement. Sustained engagement themes focused on the provision of support from other Latina mothers in the *Legacy* group and the relationships with the group leaders. Having group leaders who were perceived as genuine, kind, positive, "good" at teaching, and persistent emerged as themes that facilitated initial and ongoing engagement. Barriers to engagement centered primarily on logistics rather than characteristics of the program itself. Thus, Latina mothers attributed importance to aspects of the curriculum, logistics, and implementation with respect to program engagement. Application of similar engagement strategies could enhance the success of early childhood parenting programs and linkages with early educational programming.

### Keywords

Engagement; Home-Based Parenting Programs; Cultural Adaptation

## Introduction

Racial and ethnic disparities in education for Latino youth compared to non-Hispanic white youth remain despite recent positive efforts to close the gap. Latino youth are currently more likely to graduate from high school (Gramlich, 2017) and to enroll in college in the United States (US) than previous years, but disadvantages remain in being inadequately prepared to start Kindergarten (O'Donnell, 2008; Murphy, Guzman, & Torres, 2014). Specifically, research has indicated that challenges surrounding language and culture can negatively impact academic achievement for Latino students due to the lack of schools being adequately equipped to address diversity (Ramos, 2014). A 2017 report of California data, a state where over half of the population under 20 years is Latino, suggested that limited access to early childhood education and lack of student connections with the school environment were key contributors to the ongoing struggle of Latino youth to reach educational milestones (Education Trust – West, 2017). Parental involvement with their child's education has been associated with academic success; however, parent's self-efficacy around their ability to impact school outcomes can influence parental engagement within the educational system (NASEM, 2016).

Researchers have found that parenting programs positively impact parent-child interactions and parental involvement in elementary school assignments and activities (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Zarate, 2017). Targeting even earlier parent-child interactions and child development programs could potentially enhance family engagement in early childhood education (NASEM, 2016). One such program is the Legacy for Children™ (*Legacy*) program (Perou et al., 2012) for Spanish-speaking mothers (*Legacy Spanish*). *Legacy* is a group-based prevention program designed to promote child development by reinforcing sensitive, responsive mother-child relationships, building maternal self-efficacy, and fostering peer networks of support among mothers living in poverty (Perou et al., 2012). The *Legacy* program targets pregnant mothers and mothers with infants, focusing on finding similar aged children, so they can move through the developmentally appropriate curriculum together.

Exposure to parent-focused prevention programs, such as *Legacy*, has been associated with positive impacts on maternal and infant outcomes (Morris, et al., 2017). Unfortunately, high rates of client attrition often occur, resulting in families being unable to participate in the services that are designed to benefit them (Baker-Ericzén, Jenkins & Haine-Schlagel, 2013). Thus, the success of any parenting program targeting pregnant women and mothers of young children can be impacted by the presence or absence of effective strategies for recruiting and engaging families in voluntary programming. McCurdy and Daro (2001), as addressed in their Integrated Theory of Parent Involvement (ITPI) model, theorized that factors within the individual parent, provider, program, and neighborhood were associated with families' initial enrollment and engagement in family support programming. Similarly, Halgunseth and colleagues (2009) cited comparable factors in their model of family engagement in early childhood education programs. The following section summarizes these theories and evidence related to the factors impacting family involvement in early parenting and education programming, integrating research with Latino families when available.

## Family Engagement Models

The term family “engagement” and “involvement” in parenting programs has been used in research to define families being motivated to seek parenting support programs (Ingoldsby, 2010), beginning programs, attending programs, and completing programs (Beasley, Silovsky, Ridings, Smith & Owora, 2014; Mytton, Ingram, Manns, & Thomas, 2014). Although there is a broader view of engagement in the extant literature, for the purpose of the current study family engagement and involvement will be defined as families initially enrolling and attending a parenting program.

Family engagement in services lays the foundation for positive outcomes of parenting programs and early childhood education programs (Axford, Lehtonen, Kaoukji, Tobin, & Berry, 2012; Daro, McCurdy, Weiss, Caspe, & Lopez, 2006). Both the ITPI and the Halgunseth’s model of family engagement include factors related to the parent, provider, program, and ecological characteristics. Support for the ITPI model has been found when examined in application to a parenting program designed for vulnerable families with young children (Damashek, Doughty, Ware, & Silovsky, 2011; Beasley et al., 2014). Further, research has discovered that between the time in which a person agrees to participate in a program (enrollment) and when they decide whether or not to continue to attend (attrition/retention) there is an engagement period in which provider and program factors influence initial and ongoing engagement (Beasley et al., 2014; Beasley et al., 2017). Provider factors found to impact engagement were personality (e.g., trustworthy, caring, experience with children) and approach (e.g., showing they enjoy their job, available, flexible, punctual, considerate, resourceful, humorous). Program factors, in addition to those that are a part of the ITPI model demonstrating impact on engagement include the type of education and material being taught, the ability to tailor the program to meet the families’ needs, whether the services are provided in the client’s home or in a community setting, the cost to clients, and the provision of incentives (Beasley et al., 2014).

Other researchers have also focused on family engagement from a slightly different perspective. Halgunseth’s model (2009) integrated the importance of the approach of the early childhood education program, and cited that a welcoming environment with two-way communication, home-visits, and shared decision-making are critical components to successful engagement of families. The importance of infusing the participants’ culture in the activities and during recruitment was notable in Halgunseth’s model. Further, research has indicated that the importance of culture is much broader than language and incorporates the context that shapes human development (McWayne, Melzi, Schick, Kennedy, & Mundt, 2013). Even so, the existing base of empirical knowledge to inform programs and policies is limited (NRCIM, 2000) with studies focusing on Latino/a families even more limited.

## Factors Impacting Family Engagement

When examining factors that influence the likelihood of successful family engagement in services, results vary widely (Azzi-Lessing, 2011; Duggan et al., 2000; Gill, Greenberg, Moon, & Margraf, 2008; Korfmacher et al., 2008; McCurdy & Daro, 2001). Perhaps most essential for family engagement are factors related to parents’ perceptions of the program and provider and the match of the program and family goals. Mytton, Ingram,

Manns and Thomas (2014) conducted a review of qualitative studies in which caregivers were asked about factors that made it easy and difficult to participate in parenting programs. Researchers found that caregivers emphasized learning new skills, having trusted recruiters and providers, positive group experiences, tailored program content, accessibility, and incentives as being important facilitators to program engagement. Program inhibitors included mismatches in expectations, issues with program delivery, feeling discomfort in a group setting, complex interventions, and cultural barriers. Therefore, the importance of emphasizing program facilitators while reducing inhibitors was found to improve service engagement.

Specific to Latino families, recency of immigration, primary language of Spanish, lower levels of education, and higher density of people in the home have been shown to relate to a lower level of engagement in educational supports, particularly home-based supports (Mcwayne, Melzi, Schick, Kennedy, & Mundt, 2013). Other research by Pena (2000) found that factors that impact Mexican American parent involvement in a school setting includes language, parent cliques, parents' education, cultural influences, attitudes of the school staff, and family issues. Specific to cultural influences, communication was found to be important with culture being more than language and including concepts of acculturation and family traditions that can influence expectations for the school and ability to trust.

### Community-Based Parenting Programs

Taking part in a community-based parenting program has been shown to improve parents' confidence, reduce parental negativity, and improve family functioning (Gardner & Woolgar, 2018). Cunningham, Bremner & Boyle (1995) directly compared clinic-based, individually delivered parent training to community-based, group-delivered parent training. Results showed that community-based implementation with groups of parents resulted in higher participation among immigrant families, families where English was a second language (ESL), and families with more severe child management issues. The community-based program also showed greater improvements in child behavior problems in the home setting with better maintenance of improvements at 6-month follow-up. When compared to clinic-based individual parent training programs, the community-based program was significantly more cost effective, and families often initiated outside social support after the conclusion of the program. Providing services in a community setting may increase participation within high-risk populations, address social isolation, and may be more cost effective.

To further examine the impact of group based parenting programs the current study examined initial and sustained engagement, as well as barriers to engagement, in the Spanish language adaptation of the *Legacy* program (*Legacy Spanish*). *Legacy* is an evidence-based program that was developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to promote the cognitive, language, behavioral and socio-emotional development of children from low-income families (Kaminski et al., 2013; Perou et al., 2012). This group-based prevention program was designed to promote child development by supporting sensitive, responsive mother-child relationships, building maternal self-efficacy, and fostering peer networks of support among mothers living in poverty (Perou et al., 2012). The program includes both mother-only facilitated group time to discuss child development and parenting topics within

a peer group and mother-child time so mothers can practice concepts discussed in group with their own children in a supportive environment. There are two curriculum versions: one developed by the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) that begins prenatally and is offered until the child is three years of age and one developed by the University of Miami (UM) that begins shortly after the target child's birth and is offered until the child is aged five years.. The curricula cover developmentally sequenced themes such as attachment, discipline, social skills development, literacy, health and safety, maternal self-care and emotional management.

Randomized clinical trials (RCTs) compared the original, non-adapted *Legacy* program to a “usual care” comparison group and found that children of mothers randomized to *Legacy* had a lower risk of socio-emotional and behavior problems (UM), and hyperactive behavior symptoms (UCLA) (Kaminski et al., 2013). Parents also reported gains in parenting knowledge and skills (Hartwig et al., 2017). It is important to note that both of the original trials involved participants that predominantly identified as Black or Hispanic. Due to the success of these two trials, the *Legacy* UCLA version was translated and adapted to serve a population of Spanish-speaking Latina mothers and their infants. Similar to the Spanish language modification process followed by McCabe and colleagues (2005), the *Legacy* translation and modification process involved the following: 1) the English curriculum was initially reviewed by *Legacy* content experts—including a bilingual staff member—to identify any phrases, topics or examples that might require modification based on the parenting intervention literature for Spanish speakers, original *Legacy* English focus group data, and expert opinion; 2) English books, videos, and songs were replaced with culturally appropriate Spanish language versions determined to convey the same concepts (e.g., using song for mother-child physical interactions by replacing the song Pat-a-Cake with Tortillitas); 3) a representative pilot session was selected for translation; 4) the pilot session was translated through an iterative process until there was consensus among the independent translation team, a second team of bilingual translators, and content experts that the translation reflected the original content and the language level was appropriate; 5) the full curriculum was translated using the pilot session as a guide; the translation was reviewed by both the content expert team and the second team of bilingual translators; and 6) finally, the original curriculum developers reviewed the translated/modified curriculum and additional changes were incorporated to ensure original content meaning remained through the translation process. Notably, the *Legacy* approach involves non-didactic group discussion allowing for exploration and valuing of cultural differences; therefore, major adaptations to the curriculum were not expected to be necessary when translating the curricula for Spanish-monolingual Latino families.

A feasibility evaluation of *Legacy Spanish* was conducted to inform additional adaptations (Beasley et al., 2017). As part of the feasibility study, a qualitative evaluation was conducted and found that the *Legacy* UCLA program material was culturally appropriate for the Latina population (Beasley et al., 2017). Specifically, qualitative feasibility results found that the UCLA *Legacy* program material was appropriate, culturally congruent, and recommended for Latina Spanish-speaking mothers. Minor changes were suggested to adjust language, lower the reading level of material, add pictures of Latino children/families to material, and

add more culturally relevant songs. All of these requested changes were made to the material prior to the implementation of the *Legacy Spanish* program.

Although there has been research indicating key factors of engagement in family support programs (Beasley, et al, 2017; Mytton, Ingram, Manns, & Thomas, 2014; Axford, Lehtonen, Kaoukji, Tobin, & Berry, 2012) there is a lack of literature describing engagement factors that impact both initial engagement/recruitment and sustained engagement for Latina mothers. In fact, research has found that retention varies by ethnicity (McCurdy, Gannon, & Daro, 2003), making it even clearer that there is a need for ongoing research to determine best ways to engage families of different cultures in parenting support services. Therefore, the current study focused on understanding factors that influence enrollment and early program engagement, as well as how early recruitment/engagement strategies can be improved. In relation to sustained engagement, interviews focused on understanding what makes families continue to attend meetings, taking into account breaks in the program, and how group leaders might influence ongoing engagement. Lastly, the current study sought to understand potential barriers to engaging in community-based group parenting programs. To reach these goals, the current study used qualitative interviews with Latina mothers who participated in the Spanish version of the *Legacy* UCLA program (herein *Legacy Spanish*). The *Legacy Spanish* program was implemented by bilingual, bicultural program staff in a community in the South Central region of the US through a partnership with a private childcare organization as part of their community outreach initiative. Individual interviews were conducted in order to further the understanding of factors affecting initial and sustained engagement as well as barriers to engagement.

## Methods

### Participants

Recruitment strategies used for participants in an intent-to-treat evaluation of the *Legacy Spanish* group included: 1) contacting teachers and family service workers to approach potential participants; 2) mailing letters, flyers, and handouts; 3) placing posters in a variety of locations where Spanish-speaking mothers frequented; 4) holding informational meetings; and 5) making phone calls to potential participants. Participation in the *Legacy Spanish* study included individual interviews with contact being made with all Latina mothers in the *Legacy Spanish* program (N=29) through their normal *Legacy* group. Interviews were not scheduled with three Latina mothers due to scheduling difficulties. A total of 26 Latina mothers participated in the current qualitative evaluation with all mothers living in the South Central region of the US. Two of the individual interviews were from mothers no longer attending the *Legacy* program. Due to these mothers answering questions that resulted in the same themes as mothers still attending the program, interviews were combined. A potential reason for “unengaged” mothers answering questions as if they were still engaged in the program could be related to attrition associated with extenuating circumstances rather than lack of interest. In fact, the mothers spoke of returning to the program if their situation changed.

Latina mothers ranged in age from 20 to 44 years old (M=31.65, SD=5.82). In terms of marital status, the majority of mothers were married (45%) or living with a significant other



(52%) with a small percentage of mothers reporting never being married (3%). Average number of children were 3.5 (SD=1.7; range 1–10) and average age of the children in the home other than the new born was 109 months (SD=62.5). Latina mothers reported their educational background with 34% reporting attending less than 9<sup>th</sup> grade, 31% attending less than 12<sup>th</sup> grade, 14% completing high school, 7% obtaining a GED, 3% attending vocational school, 3% attending a professional school, and 7% attending some college. The majority of Latina mothers reported being born in Mexico (84%) followed by Honduras (8%) and the United States (8%). In terms of years living in the United States, Latina mothers reported a range of 2 to 18 years (M=9.85, SD=4.18). For ethnicity, all Latina mothers reported being Hispanic/Latino. The families' had a monthly income ranging from \$400 to \$2800 per month with an average of \$1561 per month (SD=\$685).

## Intervention

The *Legacy Spanish* program was conducted by bilingual group leaders and implemented at a Latino community center. The *Legacy UCLA* curriculum is implemented in 9 blocks of 10 consecutive weekly sessions with 4–6 week breaks after each session. For the current implementation of *Legacy Spanish*, Latina mothers began the program after the birth of their child (child less than 6 months of age) and will continue until the child is approximately three years of age. The current qualitative analysis includes data from participants that were first time enrollers in the *Legacy Spanish* program, at the end of the first 10 weeks of curriculum (child age= 4.2 –9.1 months), so that questions regarding initial and sustained engagement, as well as barriers to engagement could be examined.

## Procedures

Qualitative data collection was conducted in Spanish by trained qualitative research assistants from January 2016 through January 2017. Families had the choice to engage in the interview in English or Spanish. Although all participants had a choice of interview language, all participants chose to complete the interviews in Spanish, but one mother used English phrases throughout her interview. Prior to individual interviews, all participants completed a survey as part of a larger mixed-methods study. The survey was completed at the onset of enrollment and included a demographic questionnaire. To recruit for the qualitative portion of the study, *Legacy Spanish* group leaders told Latina mothers about the interviews during a group meeting. Interview times were scheduled after the completion of the first block (ten weeks of curriculum sessions) of the *Legacy Spanish* curriculum. Consent for individual interviews was conducted in Spanish in a group format and included a brief overview of the qualitative study and all safety measures taken to ensure anonymity. Interviews took place at the same time and location as regular meetings allowing families to fit the interviews into their schedule. If the proposed date and time did not work for the family, an additional time was offered. Childcare was offered as well as a small meal if the interview was scheduled during a mealtime. Families received a \$40 gift card to compensate them for their time and to reduce barriers to attendance. All interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes and were audio recorded. Transcription of interviews were conducted by trained qualitative team members, with additional team members crosschecking transcripts to verify accuracy. During the transcription process, all identifying information was removed to ensure privacy. All Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) approved the evaluation methods.

## Individual Interview Guide Development

The individual interview guide was developed by the first author (a qualitative researcher with previous experience studying engagement in family support programs), in conjunction with the evaluation team and collaborative partner agencies reviewing and revising the guide as needed. Current research involving the multitude of factors that influence family engagement (e.g., Attride-Stirling, Davis, Farrell, Groark, & Day, 2004; Halgunseth et al., 2009; Lefever, 2013) guided interview question development. The interview guide was semi-structured and focused on understanding aspects of the program that impacted enrollment/engagement initially (i.e., What did program staff do to make you want to come to meetings?) as well as aspects of the program that impacted ongoing or sustained engagement (i.e., What helped you stay in the program after the 6-week break?). Questions were also designed to elicit information on potential barriers participants face in engaging in the program (i.e., What makes it difficult to attend the *Legacy* program?).

## Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis of the transcriptions was conducted using NVivo<sup>®</sup> 10 and 11 software. Three qualitative researchers collaboratively developed the codebook to identify broad themes influenced by the semi-structured interview guide. Thematic analysis was used to define specific themes within the broader categories (Braun & Clarke, 2014). Developing the coding scheme and codebook took approximately three days with themes emerging from the data and not being predetermined. Upon completion of the codebook, two qualitative researchers coded all transcriptions using the created templates. When needed during coding, original interview recordings were reviewed to ensure that meaning was not lost when responses appeared to contain sarcasm or emotion. Coding was an iterative process with coding discussed in a larger meeting with broader codes developed to envelope groups of smaller codes when warranted. Once coded, transcriptions were compared for inter-coder reliability using simple percent agreement, which is a commonly used method for assessing reliability in qualitative studies (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002; Stemler 2004). Average inter-coder reliability was over 85%.

Percent agreement (participant and total comments) was also calculated for every specific and broad theme within the transcription to quantify the emphasis that each theme received during the interviews which has been shown to be a useful qualitative research method (Silverman, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1984). Themes are described in more detail in the results section below. The codebook (including themes and subthemes) and quotes were translated to English by several team members. This process included translation, reading translation back in English, making appropriate changes, and continuing this approach until team members agreed that meaning was not lost through the translation process. To further ensure that meaning was not lost in the translation process, multiple bilingual qualitative research assistants transcribed and crosschecked transcripts with the entire bilingual research team assisting with the final translation of results (as suggested by Emmel, 1998) This approach aims to address individual differences in the translation of concepts, ideas, and emotions within text (Emmel, 1998).



## Results

The current study results focus on describing themes related to initial and sustained engagement among Latina mothers who participated in the *Legacy Spanish* program. An overview of broad themes include: 1) initial engagement/recruitment, 2) improving initial engagement/recruitment, 3) sustained engagement, 4) group leader impact on engagement 5) improving sustained engagement, and 6) barriers to engagement.

### Initial Engagement/Recruitment

To allow for a better understanding of the initial engagement, Latina mothers who participated in *Legacy Spanish* were asked what program staff did at the first point of contact to engage families in the program. To capture information on the early stages of engagement, participants were asked about how they were recruited to join *Legacy Spanish* and initially engage in the program. Themes captured what was helpful for engagement as well as recommendations for improvements. Specific themes included information provided about *Legacy Spanish* and direct interactions with the mother by the recruiter, with recommendations regarding information shared about the program, methods of advertising the program, and ways to encourage Latina mothers.

**Providing Program Information.**—The provision of program information (89% of mothers reported this theme) was a theme that emerged in the recruitment and initial engagement process related to information about *Legacy Spanish* that was provided in their initial contact. These informational resources included brochures that helped families understand the focus and content of the program and specifically information that explained the program's focus on child development. Example quotes include:

Information was focused on how important my baby is. They gave information about the program and how to feed him, how he will be growing, and how he will be developing. In each group meeting I knew they are going to give me good information on how he is developing through each stage.

The first time I heard about the program I said good – I feel insecure but felt it would probably be okay. They gave me an introduction of what the program is about and I felt this program is really pretty and this would be good for me to learn about my kids. They told how they would teach the signals of the baby and when I hear about that it was very interesting. When they invite us to the *Legacy* and told us about the groups they gave me a good introduction and I thought this was really interesting.

**Early Interaction with Mother and Child.**—Another theme that emerged regarding the recruitment and initial engagement of Latina mothers focused on the early interaction with the family by the *Legacy Spanish* program staff (68% of mothers). The process of recruiting families involved telephone calls and face-to-face meetings, including home visits. Families explained that these interactions prior to the start of the group program facilitated their engagement in the program because the provider interacted with their child and observed the mother in her home. Receiving telephone calls from providers reminding Latina mothers

of the first meeting time was also noted to be helpful. Regarding the importance of early interaction, one mother shared:

They made the call and asked if I was interested in the program and I said yes.  
They came to the house and gave me information... I thought if this visit went this well in my house I imagine the group will be even better.

### Improving Initial Engagement/Recruitment

Families were also asked if there was anything that a program could do to improve the process of recruitment and initial engagement of families in the *Legacy Spanish* program with some mothers reporting that nothing could be improved (27% of mothers). Several themes emerged from mothers that did have areas for improvement with these outlined below.

**Provide More Information on the Program.**—Similar to previous themes regarding initial engagement, families indicated that providing additional program information could impact program engagement (27% of mothers). As one mother explained:

For me I think if you can talk a little bit about how everything will be. When they called me I don't know why I would come to the program. They didn't explain on the phone so when I came the first time I did not know what it was going to be about.

Thus, communicating about the program content, process, structure, and positive impact on the children were recommendations made by the Latina mothers for recruiting new families to participate in *Legacy Spanish*.

**Enhancing Program Advertisement.**—Latina mothers who participated in *Legacy Spanish* emphasized strategies to improve program advertisement to enhance recruitment and initial engagement (33% of mothers). Related to advertising, Latina mothers explained the program could advertise at hospitals, on the radio, via social media, and with brochures. One mother explained, "Make an announcement on the radio and social media. Social media is where all of the people are now."

Latina mothers further explained the importance of creating advertising campaigns with an approach that focuses on Spanish-speaking mothers and takes into account preferences of the Latino culture (e.g., design of pamphlets including Latino families, location of recruitment being focused where Latino families frequent). Some Latina mothers specifically suggested using images of Latino families. Latina mothers also mentioned the importance of emphasizing that the program is for their child(ren) and that childcare is offered. One mother provided a quote that captures several important themes:

Why don't you put the image of moms and babies in the brochure? Because when I hear about the program I think about the babies are not going to be with us. So it is better to put the mom and baby together. More publicity and promotion like in the clinics but the brochure and everything is in Spanish. If it is in English, we are going to see it but we are not going to ask because it is in English.

**Emphasize Program Focus on Children and Encourage Mothers.**—Some Latina mothers explained the importance of explaining to mothers that the program is focused on their children (20% of mothers). Latina mothers explained that mothers want to support their children and family, with them being more likely to engage if they are aware of the focus on the child. Latina mothers also reported the need for *Legacy Spanish* leaders to provide encouragement (13% of mothers) while recruiting for the *Legacy Spanish* program. Latina mothers specifically explained that parenting can be challenging and adding an additional responsibility can be difficult. One mother simply stated, “Encourage and give more information. Explain it will be for our kids.”

### Sustained Engagement

Sustaining family engagement in services is challenging with community-based programs (Attride-Stirling, Davis, Farrell, Groark & Day, 2004; Baker-Ericzén, Jenkins & Haine-Schlagel, 2013). As *Legacy Spanish* was adapted from the UCLA version of the *Legacy* program, which includes having four- to six-week breaks between 10-week program modules, there was the potential for additional challenges in maintaining ongoing engagement after breaks. Therefore, Latina mothers were asked what factors helped them return to *Legacy Spanish* after program breaks.

**Support from Mothers in the Program: Socialization.**—The most frequently mentioned theme for remaining in the program was support from other Latina mothers in the group (100% of mothers). Latina mothers explained that they enjoy sharing their experiences with other mothers and socializing with other mothers

It [*Legacy Spanish* program] has helped me. For example, if I stay in my house what am I going to do? It is better for me to take my kid and learn more. It is better for my stress and for him [child] to see new faces of the kids. I kept coming because I learned new things, to talk, and vent with the other moms. Because sometimes they ask for our opinion and then we start talking about what we know. I feel a commitment with the moms because in the beginning you told me it was going to be three years. This was good because I made that commitment to the program, they come to teach us.

Another mother from *Legacy Spanish* described that participation in the program allows her to “live among other moms in sisterhood.”

### Program Benefits: Parenting Information, Family Benefits, and Child Benefits.

—The other most frequently mentioned theme (based on frequency of participants commenting) regarding sustained engagement was related to program benefits (67% of mothers). Participants frequently referenced a variety of program benefits when discussing factors that influenced their engagement. These included parenting information covered and direct benefits to the family and child. Related to parenting information provided, Latina mothers shared that they enjoyed the take-home handouts, the topics covered, and learning from other mothers. Family benefits included respite from caring for children, reduction in maternal stress, and enjoyment of attending the program. Latina mothers also shared that the program is fun and “feels good.” An example quote related to the social aspect of the

group was “They like the program because they see how the kids are positively changing and the talk and opinions from the other mothers.” Lastly, Latina mothers mentioned benefits to the child, including socialization with other children and the program impacts on school readiness.

**Provision of Childcare and Incentives.**—Another theme that emerged related to ongoing engagement was the provision of childcare (50% of mothers) and incentives (50% of mothers). An example quote illustrating the importance of childcare and incentives was:

I think the hours and the days, the childcare. Because when the other kids are on vacation sometimes we do not have a place to leave them and here they have a place for them. And that is easy because they take care of them. They also provide breakfast and incentives. They help a lot.

**Program Location and Logistics.**—Latina mothers reported that living close in proximity to the program location and having the available time to attend made it easier to attend the program on a weekly basis (17% of mothers).

**Group Leader Actions and Qualities: Positive Impact on Family Engagement.**

—Due to previous research indicating the important role of providers in sustained engagement (Beasley et al., 2017), we asked Latina mothers about whether their group leader did something that helped them remain in the program, if anything. First, it is important to note that 100% of Latina mothers shared that their experience with group leaders was positive. Latina mothers explained that group leaders engaged with them during the break by calling them (100% of mothers) and showing a genuine interest in their families (40% of mothers). Example quotes include, “They called to motivate us, to remind us of the dates when the classes start.” and “They called to remind us and told us to come back to the class. It was really motivating because I thought, I am really important to the leader.”

Within the theme of group leader engagement of families, specific group leader qualities that relate to engagement were discussed. Being kind (39% of mothers) was the most frequently mentioned characteristic of group leaders, as stated by Latina mothers, as being valuable for engagement in the program. Latina mothers in the *Legacy Spanish* program discussed the need for group leaders to have solid teaching skills (35% of mothers), with specific comments regarding the importance of leaders having teaching experience, enjoying teaching, and being “good” at teaching. Other qualities include being respectful (17% of mothers), fair (13% of mothers), persistent (17% of mothers), and positive (13% of mothers). In addition, Latina mothers described the need for group leaders to be motivating (34% of mothers) and show interest in the families they are serving (27% of mothers). Example quotes were “Their motivation and dedication to help us. Because they call us to see if we are okay and told us we are great mothers and they told us to just keep going.” and “They put a lot of attention on each person and they are a kind person. Because being the leader they could be selfish but they aren’t.”

**Group Leader Actions and Qualities: Potential Hindrance to Family**

**Engagement.**—Families were asked to discuss what group leader qualities would deter

them from attending a program. None of the Latina mothers expressed negative qualities about their group leaders. To elicit more information about potentially negative group leader influences on engagement, the question was then posed as a hypothetical to understand what qualities of the group leader might hinder their engagement. The most frequently mentioned quality that would negatively impact engagement was group leaders having a bad attitude (57% of mothers). Specifically, Latina mothers explained this would include the group leader being negative, unkind, not encouraging families, and not greeting them when they meet each week. The value of group leaders genuinely caring about the families (33% of mothers) was reiterated as Latina mothers' reported that they would not want to attend the program if the group leader did not care about the mothers or the topics discussed. Other qualities, Latina mothers stated, that could negatively impact engagement included the group leader being racist (14% of mothers), selfish (14% of mothers), or mean to their children or non-attentive to their needs (19% of mothers). Example quotes of negative group leader actions and qualities that could impact engagement were "If they don't call us and if we came and they were not there or doing other things, such as being on their cell phone. If they don't make us feel important." and "If they have a bad attitude, if they don't have patience, if they don't take care of us and our babies."

### Improving Sustained Engagement

Due to the challenges surrounding sustaining family engagement, we asked Latina mothers to make recommendations to help engage families after the break, to elicit specific ideas for activities in which group leaders and program staff could engage.

**Maintain Connection with Families during Break Periods.**—Themes emerged regarding efforts for ongoing family engagement through making phone calls (100% of mothers) and home visits (50% of mothers). Latina mothers also explained that the group leader and program has to be persistent with engaging mothers during breaks (50% of mothers). An example quote capturing these recommendations was "Call them or visit them. Because probably they have some problems because we don't know, everyone has some different problems. But you can insist on the phone – just call them."

### Barriers to Engagement

Understanding supports that make it easier for families to attend services is helpful; however, it is also useful to understand attendance barriers. There were very low *Legacy Spanish* program attrition rates among the group of individuals interviewed (N=2). Interviewed Latina mothers who were no longer engaged in the program answered questions as if they were still engaged. Latina mothers disclosed that the low rates of attrition can be attributed to external factors rather than program issues. Therefore, barriers presented below provide a description of what participants believe based off personal observations.

**Transportation Issues.**—The most frequently mentioned barrier to attending the program was transportation issues (48% of mothers), which included a range of struggles such as lack of a valid driver's license or a working vehicle, or access to resources to pay for gasoline. An example quote regarding the lack of transportation was

For me nothing, but for people that live far away they may not have transportation. Some of the ladies, they came to the first session but they said they didn't have consistent transportation and they did not come back. I don't know if it was because of no transportation or they just didn't want to keep coming. But my guess is because they don't have transportation.

**Extenuating Circumstances.**—Latina mothers shared that extenuating circumstances at home, such as having sick children, can prevent mothers from attending (36% of mothers). Competing appointments or life demands such as doctor visits, interviews, having to work, and bad weather were all reported to impact attendance. An example quotation from a mother was

Sickness, the weather, appointments, if we have appointments in the school or if they call from the school or just sickness in the kids. Because with appointments, with the program we can change but when it is emergency, the doctor, or the school - we have to miss.

**Childcare.**—Lastly, Latina mothers reported that if childcare was not provided they would have increased difficulty attending program meetings (16% of mothers). Latina mothers shared that they need to trust the individuals providing childcare to know their children are safe during the group session. They also shared that culturally, having their child(ren) close to them is important as they do not typically leave their children with individuals other than family members.

A summary of initial and sustained engagement factors, strategies for improving initial and sustained engagement, and barriers to engagement can be found in Figure 1.

## Discussion

Early care and education (ECE) and parenting-focused prevention programs share goals around promoting child development and supporting consistent, nurturing relationships (NASEM, 2016). Data from the current study are suggestive of the potential engagement benefits of supporting Latino parents with culturally congruent, parenting-focused prevention programs integrated within ECE. For example, Latina mothers in the *Legacy Spanish* program described child program benefits (e.g., receipt of parenting information, child socialization and school readiness opportunities) as key to sustained parent engagement. Moreover, a lack of childcare and a lack of transportation were cited as factors that could challenge engagement. These findings support previous research done with Mexican American families indicating that family issues (including childcare and transportation) can negatively impact family involvement in programs (Pena, 2000). This further signifies that these logistical barriers must be addressed to fully engage Latino/a families in family support programs.

Data from a national survey of state administrators examining engagement of Latino children in ECE programs indicated that effective strategies for Latino parent engagement within ECE included joint parent-provider decision making and the provision of parent support programs (Buysse, Castro, West & Skinner, 2005). In contrast, a lack of cultural



congruency within ECE programs (e.g., culture not represented in the activities, lack of training in serving Latino families, and mismatch between parent's childrearing and program's philosophies) were cited as challenges to engaging Latino families in ECE (Buysse, Castro, West & Skinner, 2005). Information from the current study describe Latina mother's perspectives on culturally congruent strategies to support initial and sustained engagement and can inform efforts to address some of these challenges. Overall, research is lacking in the evaluation of culturally congruent approaches to engage, retain, and deliver parenting programs for Latino families (NASEM, 2016). The current study adds to the literature and has relevance to similar programs by examining Latina program participants' own voices to identify the implementation related (e.g., type and content of contact with the program), logistical (e.g., childcare and transportation), and relational (e.g., provider characteristics and socialization) facilitators and barriers to parent engagement with a culturally adapted parenting program for mothers of young children.

The current study examined the process of recruiting and engaging parents in the culturally adapted Legacy for Children™ program for Spanish-speaking Latina mothers and their infants. Results provide a better understanding of initial and sustained engagement of Spanish-speaking Latina mothers of infants as well as barriers to engagement. Additionally, identified themes help in understanding how to improve the process of initial and sustained engagement as well as reducing barriers to engagement (Figure 1).

The participants (Latina mothers enrolled in the adapted *Legacy Spanish* program) provided their perspectives on recruitment, initial engagement, and sustained engagement of Latina mothers. Not surprisingly, the participants' stories appear reflective of core cultural values for Latino families, particularly family. The importance of family was evident in themes related to recruitment, through recommendations to make it clear to mothers that the program was focused on their child and sharing the importance of on-site childcare so families could attend together and have young children close to them. Beginning with areas of emphasis for recruitment efforts, parents indicated that focusing the messaging on program information can enhance engagement. For example, participants in the current study mentioned the importance of attending to the characteristics of the program that support the parent-child relationship and enhance the development and well-being of their children, when recruiting Spanish-speaking mothers. Further emphasizing the importance of relationships, qualitative themes revealed that the inclusion of face-to-face meetings where the program staff could model kindness and care for all family members built initial trust and fit with their values around relationships.

Latina mothers indicated that social interconnectedness with both group leaders and other group members also influenced their engagement with *Legacy Spanish*. Genuine care and concern by all involved, with group leaders who were knowledgeable, persistent, and motivating were denoted as themes related to sustained engagement. These results mirrored mothers' feedback on the *Legacy Spanish* parent satisfaction questionnaire, on which mothers reflected that the group allowed them to focus on their baby as well as connect with and learn from other mothers and the group leader (So et al., under review). Further, these results were similar to research among home-based parenting programs with non-Latino/a parents. Specifically, research has found that provider characteristics

impact family engagement (Beasley, et al, 2018). Thus, when implementing parenting programs, organizations might want to consider the process of implementation and attend to relationship-building factors, rather than emphasize an atmosphere of knowledge gain exclusively.

Based on research indicating the impact of culture on engagement (Beasley, et al., 2014; Beasley, et al., 2017; Halgunseth, Petersen, STakr, & Moodie, 2009), cultural and family values may need to be infused throughout program implementation, even when managing logistics such as childcare and transportation. These data suggest that addressing external barriers through logistical supports might be a necessary component for successful initial and sustained engagement for programs that serve families who have limited resources. Participants in this study reflected on how the provision of on-site childcare allowed them to become familiar with and develop trusting relationships with those providing care for their children. When discussing childcare, Spanish-speaking mothers reported that it is common in their culture for mothers to not leave their children with individuals other than family members. Therefore, the availability of on-site childcare allowed for maternal proximity to their infants and children and enabled them to check on their child if needed. Further, the provision of high-quality childcare integrated in the parenting program might have additional benefits to the children involved and potentially support the transition to early childhood educational programming. Providing childcare to all children, which may include extended family's children (So et al., under review), would have financial, personnel, and regulatory implications for organizations that would be implementing the programs. Therefore, organizations and funders will want to consider how the benefits on engagement and child well-being may outweigh these costs when planning.

This analysis, paired with other engagement outcomes from the examination of the adapted *Legacy Spanish* program (So et al, under review), suggest success with high levels of engagement in *Legacy Spanish*. Replication might facilitate the examination of factors that are unique to *Legacy Spanish* or are generalizable to other parenting evidence-based practices. Further, aspects of the personnel and agency may impact implementation. Bilingual and bicultural staff implemented this adapted *Legacy* program, which was held within a community agency that is well known, respected, and utilized by the local Latino community, all of which are factors that can positively influence engagement (Barrueco, Smith, & Stephens, 2015).

### Limitations and Strengths

The *Legacy Spanish* program had very little attrition, hindering the ability to capture the stories of parents who failed to engage in the program. As a result, findings may be impacted by a sense of social desirability, with reluctance to report negative aspects. However, having a clear separation of the program and evaluation teams (research members were from a separate organization and community and were not involved in the program implementation) may have reduced the likelihood of potential social desirability affecting the results. Other limitations include the current study primarily involving Latina mothers born in Mexico (84%) with other regions not as well represented (Honduras, 8%; United States, 8%). There is the potential that geographical region of origin could influence Latina mothers perceptions

of factors that influence engagement in parenting programs. Therefore, future research on engagement should focus on understanding if similar themes emerge among Latino families from other regions. Another limitation is the current study took place prior to service completion with the potential for new themes to emerge at the end of services. Future directions should include research that understands engagement and attrition not only while families are engaged in services, but also upon service completion.

The validity of the current findings is enhanced by several design factors such as the calculation of salient factors using percentages and the team-based approach used for coding. Specifically, through calculating the percentage of mothers that discussed a theme, we were able to ensure that themes discussed in the current paper were salient and were discussed by a number of Spanish-speaking mothers. Further, the fact that both primary researchers as well as collaborative partner agencies were involved in developing the interview guide is a strength, increasing the likelihood that the items in the interview guide validly and comprehensively captured the intent of our aims.

## Conclusions

Programs designed to enhance parenting and child well-being of Latina Spanish-speaking mothers and their young children show promise in strengthening foundational relationships for healthy development (Dumas et al., 2011); however, successful engagement of parents is key to the success of these programs (Whittaker & Cowley, 2010). Notably, enhancing their children's development was revealed as a strong motivator for *Legacy Spanish* participation. To counter racial and ethnic educational disparities for Latino students, some family support programs have focused on integrating and engaging Latino parents within school programming (Moodie & Ramos, 2014). When parents actively engage in educational programming, benefits are found in Latino students' academic performance and participation (Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Jeynes, 2017; Niemeyer, Wong, & Westerhaus, 2009). Extending the results of Chrispeels and Rivero's (2001) study, the current findings suggest that directly working with parents who are immigrants may help early engagement in educational activities. Indeed, support for practice that facilitates parent engagement with ECE among culturally/linguistically diverse families (e.g., Barrueco et al., 2015) is growing. Engaging culturally/linguistically diverse families within ECE has been deemed critical to children's development, such that researchers have suggested that states could consider family engagement of culturally/linguistically diverse families as a valuable standard within state's ECE Quality Rating Improvement Systems (Barrueco et al., 2015). Thus, parenting programs designed for culturally/linguistically diverse families with infants can bridge a link to ECE programs enhancing their ability to support families.

The results of the current study provide support for strategies to successfully engage parents in a culturally relevant (citation withheld for author anonymity) parenting program for Latina Spanish-speaking mothers of young children. Culturally congruent parenting programs similar to *Legacy Spanish* can offer additional opportunities for Latino family connections within ECE. Furthermore, ECE can address barriers to parenting program participation such as childcare and transportation (by offering programs where families are already accessing services). Therefore, implementing parent-focused prevention programs

within the context of E programs has the potential to expand the reach of such programs and create additive positive effects (NASEM, 2016; Morris et al., 2017).

## Supplementary Material

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

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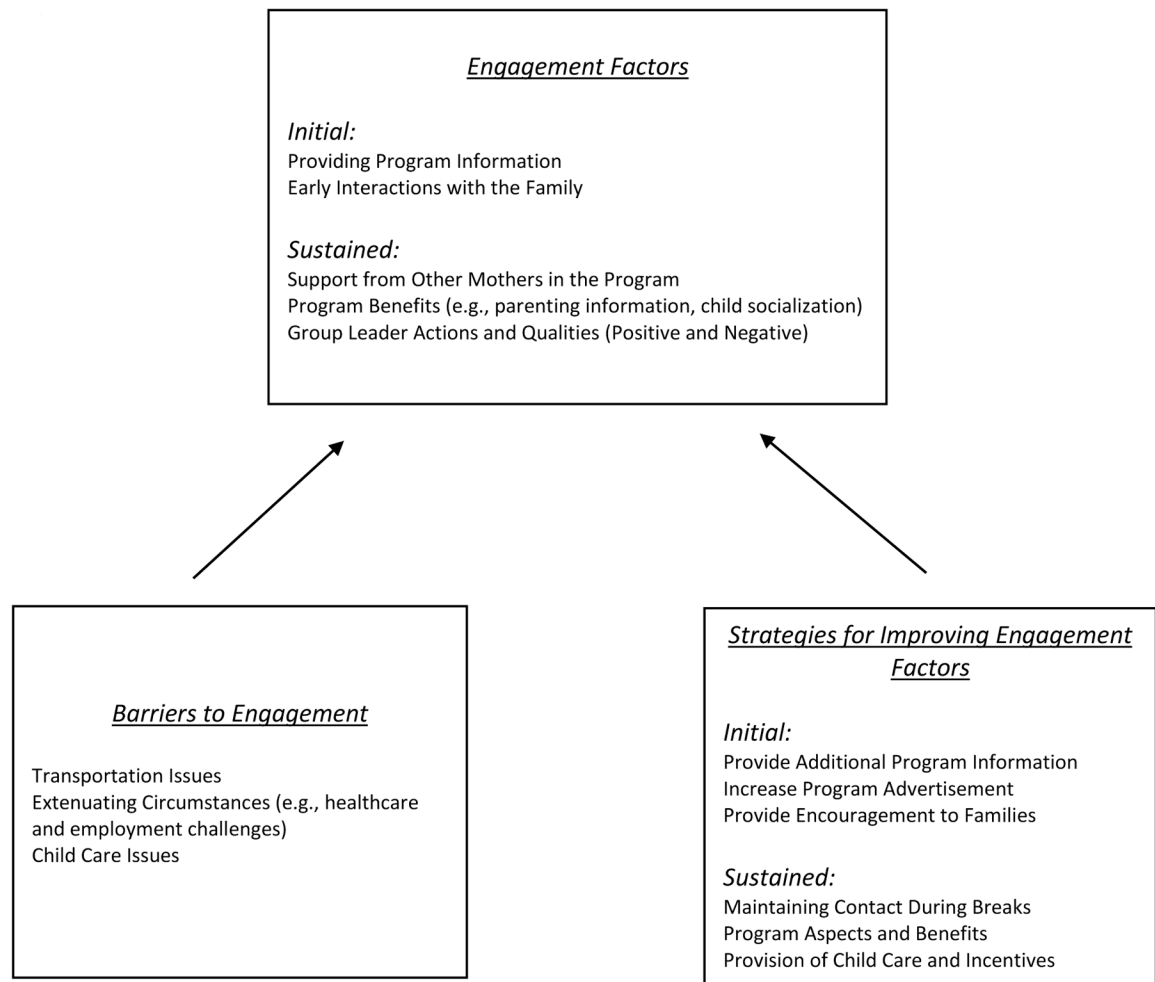
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**Figure 1:**  
Initial and Sustained Engagement Factors, Improving Initial and Sustained Engagement, and Barriers to Engagement within the Legacy for Children™ Spanish Language Adapted Curriculum (*Legacy Spanish*)