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Citation

Swanson, E., Watson, A., Ritter, G. W., & Nichols, M. (2016). Promises Fulfilled? A Systematic Review of the Impacts of Promise Programs. *Education Reform Faculty and Graduate Students Publications*. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/edrepub/24>

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WORKING PAPER SERIES

Promises Fulfilled?

A Systematic Review of the Impacts of Promise Programs

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4 October 2016

EDRE WP 2016-16

Updated 26 October 2017

The University of Arkansas, Department of Education Reform (EDRE) working paper series is intended to widely disseminate and make easily accessible the results of EDRE faculty and students' latest findings. The Working Papers in this series have not undergone peer review or been edited by the University of Arkansas. The working papers are widely available, to encourage discussion and input from the research community before publication in a formal, peer reviewed journal. Unless otherwise indicated, working papers can be cited without permission of the author so long as the source is clearly referred to as an EDRE working paper.

Abstract: This review examines the existing evidence on the impacts of Promise Programs on community development, K-12 academic achievement, and student postsecondary outcomes. Promise Programs are place-based, guaranteed college scholarships offered to all students who graduate from a certain school or district while meeting the minimum thresholds of the program. We delineate Promise Programs by their design—whether the scholarships are available to all students, are awarded based on merit, or are awarded based on need. We also note the applicability of Promise Programs—whether the funds be used at a wide range of postsecondary institutions, or if they are narrowly targeted towards certain institutions. We find suggestive evidence that Promise Programs are successful at improving housing prices, attracting residents to Promise zones, improving student K-12 academic outcomes, and increasing postsecondary enrollment. However, the number of studies examining Promise Programs remains limited, and skewed towards particular programs.

KEYWORDS: Promise Program, scholarships, community development, K-12 achievement, postsecondary attainment, systematic review

Promises Fulfilled? A Systematic Review of The Impacts of Promise Programs

Executive Summary

Background

A Promise Program is a place-based scholarship with three broad goals: increase student access to postsecondary institutions; build a college-going culture; and spur community and economic development. The aggregate impact of these programs is not yet known, nor are the specific characteristics of Promise Programs that make them more or less effective.

Objectives

In this systematic review, we examine the quantitative impacts of Promise Programs. Promise Programs are community-level interventions with hypothesized community and individual level impacts; thus, we examine the evidence on the three main theorized outcomes of Promise scholarships. We look at studies measuring the impact of a place-based scholarships on the following three outcome measures: 1) high school academic performance as an indicator of college-going culture within the school; 2) postsecondary outcomes as evidence of increased student access to college; and 3) community development, measured by housing prices and K-12 enrollment trends, as evidence that people are either choosing to stay in or moving to promise regions. We do not present meta-analytic effects, but instead focus on systematically organizing the emerging literature on Promise Programs.

Search Strategy

We searched these online databases: EBSCO-Host, Pro-Quest, JSTOR, Web of Science, Arkansas Index, and Google Scholar. We also conducted a search of the Promise Program websites. Finally, we searched for grey literature on Promise Programs from established research firms RAND, AEI, MDRC, Mathematica, AIR, and Abt.

Selection Criteria

Only studies with experimental or quasi-experimental designs (mainly matching and difference-in-differences) were included in the study. The research questions focused on the impact of Promise Programs on community development, academic achievement, behavior, college preparedness, and college enrollment. Analysis included overall results, as well as subgroup analysis by program design. Studies of Promise Programs were not excluded based on program design characteristics as long as they met our broad definition of a placed-based scholarship.

Data Collection and Analysis

Each study was coded for its study design, the characteristics of the Promise Program analyzed (i.e. first-dollar, last-dollar, grade level, and geographical location), the evaluation designs (methods and statistical techniques), and effect sizes, including standard deviation and the number of observations. We systematically analyzed our results of three separate outcomes: K-12 Outcomes, Postsecondary Outcomes, and Community Development Outcomes.

Main Results

We find positive effects of Promise Programs on community development, K-12 academic outcomes, and postsecondary outcomes. The evidence is suggestive that all program designs

produce positive community development impacts, that universal and merit-based first-dollar programs produce positive K-12 academic impacts, and that universal and merit-based as well as first-dollar and last-dollar designs produce positive postsecondary impacts. The literature does not examine the impact of narrow programs on high school or postsecondary outcomes, nor the impact of last-dollar programs on high school impacts.

Reviewers' Conclusions

Although we find positive effects of Promise Programs, studies of the Kalamazoo Promise are heavily represented in the literature, and limit the generalizability of this finding. More research on a variety of Promise programs is needed to fully understand the effects of Promise Programs on our outcomes of interest.

1. Objectives

With over 80 Promise Programs operating across the country with various program structures (Upjohn Institute, 2015), the aggregate impact of these programs is not yet known, nor are the specific characteristics of Promise Programs that make them more or less effective. As Promise Programs continue to expand across the country and new research continues to examine an ever growing list of outcomes, it is clear that an organized and systematic review of Promise Programs' effects is due. Moving forward, as policymakers continue to pursue this strategy for economic development and increased achievement, it is important they have the necessary information to design future Promise Programs effectively. In this systematic review, we examine the quantitative impacts of Promise Programs and qualitatively note the characteristics of studied Promise Programs when discussing the results of our included studies.

Promise Programs are community-level interventions: every student who meets the requirements of the Promise and lives in the Promise area is guaranteed a college scholarship. As the program is implemented at a community level, we would expect the Promise to have community-level impacts, by attracting families to move to the area to secure college tuition for their children. The value of the scholarship may also be amortized into housing values in the Promise area. We thus examine the literature for evidence of Promise Programs impacting community development. While Promise Programs are community-level interventions, they convey a benefit to individual students; namely, a full college scholarship. Thus, the programs are hypothesized to impact individual outcomes as well. Specifically, the Promise removes a financial barrier to college, which may increase access to postsecondary education. Further, since students and teachers know of the Promise from a young age, they may devote more energy to preparing for college because it is now an option for all students. It is thus plausible that a Promise Program could impact both student academic achievement in a K-12 setting, and

postsecondary enrollment and completion. This broad theory guides our review of the literature on Promise Programs.

In this review, we look at studies measuring the impact of a place-based scholarship on at least one of the following outcome measures: 1) K-12 academic performance as an indicator of college-going culture within the school; 2) postsecondary outcomes as evidence of increased student access to college; and 3) community development outcomes as evidence that people are either choosing to stay in or moving to promise regions. We are also interested in any differential effects of Promise Programs based on their specific characteristics, and we thus organize our findings by program characteristics.

The paper proceeds as follows: section 2 offers background on Promise Programs, section 3 presents our method of searching for relevant studies, section 4 discusses our search results, sections 5 through 7 discuss our analytic results, and section 8 concludes.

2. Background

A Promise Program is a place-based scholarship with three broad goals: increase student access to postsecondary education by providing partial or complete financial assistance, thus relaxing or removing a major barrier to degree attainment; build a college-going culture and improve academic rigor at all levels of the educational community and community at large, as parents and students learn more, and earlier, about what it takes to go to college; and spur community and economic development with the rationale that as word of the Promise Program spreads, families who desire to participate in the program will either move to or stay in the area (Miller-Adams, 2015). In 2016, at least 82 Promise Programs were in operation in the United States. While these programs share the same broad goals, the design of these programs varies

widely. We describe these design features generally here; see Appendix A for a complete description of the Promise Programs in the United States at the time of this review.

Place-based Promise Programs generally require participants to have lived in the promise zone for the better part of their educational lives. In order to be fully vested in a Promise Program, a student generally must attend a promise district since kindergarten. Students entering a Promise district past a certain grade are not eligible for the promise scholarship. In several programs this occurs around 9th grade; e.g. a student entering a promise school in 9th grade and completing high school would not be eligible for the scholarship (this happens in Denver, Hartford, and Kalamazoo, for example). If students have attended a promise district for less than the required time, they may be eligible for a prorated portion of the scholarship. Pro-rating policies vary dramatically by program and range from no pro-rated benefit allowance to partial benefit after only two to three years.

Another important component of Promise scholarships, in addition to ensuring students have the funds to pay for tuition, is the focus on preparing students to be accepted into college when they graduate. This is meant to guarantee access for students and to protect that access by ensuring that they are on track to meet the minimum requirements needed to be accepted into college. For this reason, a common minimum academic threshold for a merit-based Promise Program is a high school GPA of 2.5 and completion of a core of college readiness courses. Merit-based Promise Programs (or at least programs with a minimum GPA) stand in contrast to universal Promise Programs, where all students who attend the Promise district, regardless of GPA, community service or other merit requirements, are eligible to receive the scholarship.

Promise Programs can also be categorized a first-dollar or last-dollar scholarship. In a first-dollar program, students receive scholarship grant monies regardless of any other funding

for which they may qualify. In this case, students who qualify for other scholarships or funding may use those funds over and above the Promise scholarship amount to cover the cost of room, board, books, and other expenses. With last-dollar scholarships, a student is required to apply for all potential grants and scholarships and all remaining costs are covered by the Promise.

Finally, Promise Programs can be categorized as wide or narrow, depending on the set of schools at which students can use their Promise dollars (LeGower and Walsh 2014). The El Dorado Promise, for example, is a wide Promise Program, and students can use their Promise scholarship at any accredited postsecondary institution in the country. In contrast, the Ventura Promise is a narrow program that students can only use at Ventura Community College. Other programs, such as the Kalamazoo and Pittsburgh Promise Programs, limit the set of colleges to any in-state accredited postsecondary institution. Promise Programs may also place additional restrictions on whether students can use their Promise scholarship at private institutions, or whether there are additional limits on the amount of the scholarship at private institutions. For example, the New Haven Promise is a last-dollar scholarship that students can use at any public Connecticut university, but has an upper limit of \$2,500 if used at a private university. In this paper, we characterize a Promise Program as wide if students can use it at any postsecondary institution in at least their state of residence, and narrow if students are limited to a particular institution.

For this review, we define a Promise Program as any program with the following characteristics:

- 1) Place-based scholarship, where receipt of the scholarship is limited to students who have resided within a city or school district's borders for a specified length of time;

- 2) Provides annual postsecondary funding for at least one postsecondary institution, whether first-dollar or last-dollar;
- 3) Non-competitive application process, where students who meet the program's eligibility requirements are automatically given the scholarship; and
- 4) Is funded within the community, either by private donors or through local governmental efforts.

We exclude studies of any scholarship program that did not meet these four criteria, thus excluding statewide scholarships. Many states have scholarships available, but these programs are generally aimed at low-income students, have higher academic merit requirements such as a high school GPA of 3.0, and require applications. Students can therefore be denied the scholarships in statewide programs, violating the third component of our definition of a Promise Program. Georgia's HOPE scholarship, and Indiana's Twenty-First Century Scholars program are examples of large-scale state based merit-aid programs¹ where up to 30% of the state's high school seniors qualify for free tuition (Dynarski, 2008). These scholarships do not meet the "Promise" definition because they are not restricted to a specific community. Promise Programs are hypothesized to change perceptions of a community, both within the area and in surrounding areas, so that families are induced to move to the Promise area, and so school leaders, teachers, and students shift their beliefs of which students are "college material." As the Promise area becomes more dispersed, as with a statewide program, the intervention becomes more a matter of reducing financial barriers to college and less about changing the zeitgeist of a community. Thus,

¹ The Georgia HOPE Scholarship is a statewide scholarship program funded through the Georgia lottery in which students receive generous scholarships based on academic achievement (3.0 GPA). The Indiana Twenty-First Century Scholars program provides tuition for up to 4 years for any students in the state who meet all 12 academic requirements in high school.

in this review we focus on geographically limited Promise Programs, not on statewide scholarship programs.

We do not exclude Promise Programs based on their design. Instead, we identify and code Promise Programs based on design because there are important differences in the types of program designs that bear mentioning and set them apart from each other. We systematically document the effects of universal, merit-based, first-dollar, last-dollar, wide, and narrow Promise Programs throughout the review.

While there are many Promise Programs in the United States today, our review of the literature underscores just how few of these programs have been rigorously studied. Table 1 summarizes the Promise Programs studied individually in primary studies included in this review. Two studies examined multiple Promise Programs; the characteristics of those studies are not included here. A complete table of all current Promise Programs, studied and unstudied, is available in Appendix A.

Table 1: Characteristics of Selected Promise Programs Included in Study Sample

Promise Program	Location	Program Details	Number of Studies
Kalamazoo Promise Scholarship Program	Kalamazoo, MI	First-dollar scholarship; continuous enrollment in KPS; for MI public universities only; 2.0 GPA and 12 credits per semester in college to continue the scholarship; started in 2005	6
New Haven Promise	New Haven, CT	Merit-based (40 hours community service, 3.0 GPA or better); first-dollar tuition at all public CT colleges, \$2,500 at private CT colleges; includes school turnaround model and supports; started in 2008	2
Pittsburgh Promise	Pittsburgh, PA	Last-dollar scholarship; continuous enrollment from K-12 (nothing if enroll in 10th or later); graduate with 2.5 GPA minimum; 90% or higher attendance; used at any accredited postsecondary institution in PA; must enroll full-time and have 2.0 or higher GPA; started in 2006	2
El Dorado Promise	El Dorado, AR	First-dollar scholarship; continuous enrollment in EDSD; scholarship capped at tuition of most expensive university in AR; started in 2007	1
Say Yes to Education Buffalo	Buffalo, NY	Universal eligibility; K-12 enrollment, last-dollar scholarship at NY public institutions, \$5,000 for students from families with incomes > \$75,00 attending private institutions, \$100,000 income cap for tuition at Syracuse University; started in 2011	1
Say Yes to Education Syracuse	Syracuse, NY	Last-dollar scholarship; enroll for 3 consecutive years and graduate; full tuition at public NY universities and Syracuse University and Say Yes partners; \$5,000 cap for private institutions for students from families with >\$75,000 income; started in 2008	1
Knox Achieves	Knox County, TN	Last dollar scholarship; graduate from Knox County high school, enroll in an in-state community college; started in 2009	1
Total Studies (one program)			14

3. Methods

Above, we defined the characteristics of Promise Programs, the intervention whose impacts we are interested in understanding in this review. We review the impact of Promise Programs on the three objectives of Promise Programs: community development, K-12 academic achievement, and postsecondary outcomes (Miller-Adams 2015). In this section, we explain our process for finding and including studies in this review.

3.1 Types of Studies

We sought data from all studies of Promise Programs conducted in a way that supported causal inference regarding the measurable impacts of the programs. Thus, we examined primary studies that employed experimental or quasi-experimental methods of empirical analysis. The most common research design employed is difference-in-differences, but the studies vary in important ways based mainly on the particular question asked. For example, the traditional difference-in-differences design, employed by many Promise researchers to study enrollment and community effects, uses adjacent non-Promise districts or demographically similar districts in the state as the control group. However, since the Promise could have spillover effects on neighboring districts and because Promise Programs are started because of community-specific resources, ideas, and economic challenges, these comparison groups may not be appropriate and so other comparison groups are also used. To study postsecondary impacts, on the other hand, many Promise researchers use difference-in-differences in higher education outcomes between eligible and not eligible students in the pre and post implementation period. Studies focusing on K-12 impacts use a variety of methods, including matching or difference-in-differences designs, in an attempt to isolate the effects of the programs on test scores or other measures of school success.

We searched broadly for eligible studies, considering published articles, working papers, dissertations, and conference papers. Studies were considered if they met an adequate bar for methodological rigor; for example, we did not include simple pretest and posttest studies without reasonable comparison groups. Similarly, as our goal was to gather the evidence of measurable program effectiveness, we excluded studies without quantitative treatment effect sizes, such as journalistic accounts, case studies, program descriptions, and program announcements. Only studies published in or after 2005, the founding year of the first Promise Program in Kalamazoo, MI, are included in this systematic review. Studies written in English of programs within the United States are included and international programs are excluded due to the unique structure of American post-secondary education funding.

3.2 Types of Promise Programs

In this review, we are interested in the universe of currently operating Promise Programs, and do not exclude studies of Promise Programs based on the program's particular characteristics. We systematically note the characteristics of studied Promise Programs when discussing the results of each paper; however, we cannot draw strong conclusions about which design features of Promise Programs are more or less effective because of the relatively small sample of studies that exist at the current time.

3.3 Types of Outcome Measures

We consider studies that measure the impact of a place-based scholarship on at least one of the following outcome measures: 1) K-12 academic outcomes; 2) postsecondary outcomes; and 3) community development outcomes. Each outcome is explained below.

3.3.1 K-12 Academic Performance

K-12 academics outcomes include measures of graduation rates, standardized test scores, ACT scores, high school GPA, and credits earned. K-12 outcomes also include perceptions of school climate and discipline rates.

3.3.2 Postsecondary Outcomes

Postsecondary outcomes include all outcomes that indicate greater postsecondary access and attainment. These outcomes are measured by ACT score sending behavior, postsecondary enrollment, college credits earned, college persistence, and college attainment.

3.3.3 Community Development Outcomes

Promise Programs are often initiated in struggling communities hoping to stimulate local economic development as well as academic success. Community development outcomes look at the impact of Promise Programs on the local economy and population, measured by housing prices and K-12 enrollment, respectively.

3.4 Search Strategy for Identification of Studies

We searched the following databases: EBSCO-Host, Pro-Quest, JSTOR, Web of Science, Arkansas Index, and Google Scholar, using the search terms “Promise Program”, “Promise Program and education and study or effect”, “guarantee* scholarship and education and study or effect”, “Kalamazoo promise and education and study or effect”, and “place-based scholarship and education and study or effect.” Results were restricted by media type, excluding newspapers, specific magazine titles, wire feeds, blog and audio/video items. Further restrictions used, depending on search engine requirements, were English, US only, and excluding subjects such as nuclear and forestry. JSTOR searches were further restricted by subject to include only

journals in business, economics, education, labor, public policy, social science and urban science. Searches were also conducted on websites of individual Promise Programs and large education research firms, including Rand, AEI, MDRC, Mathematica, AIR, and Abt. Section V details the results of these searches.

4. Search Results and Inclusion Criteria

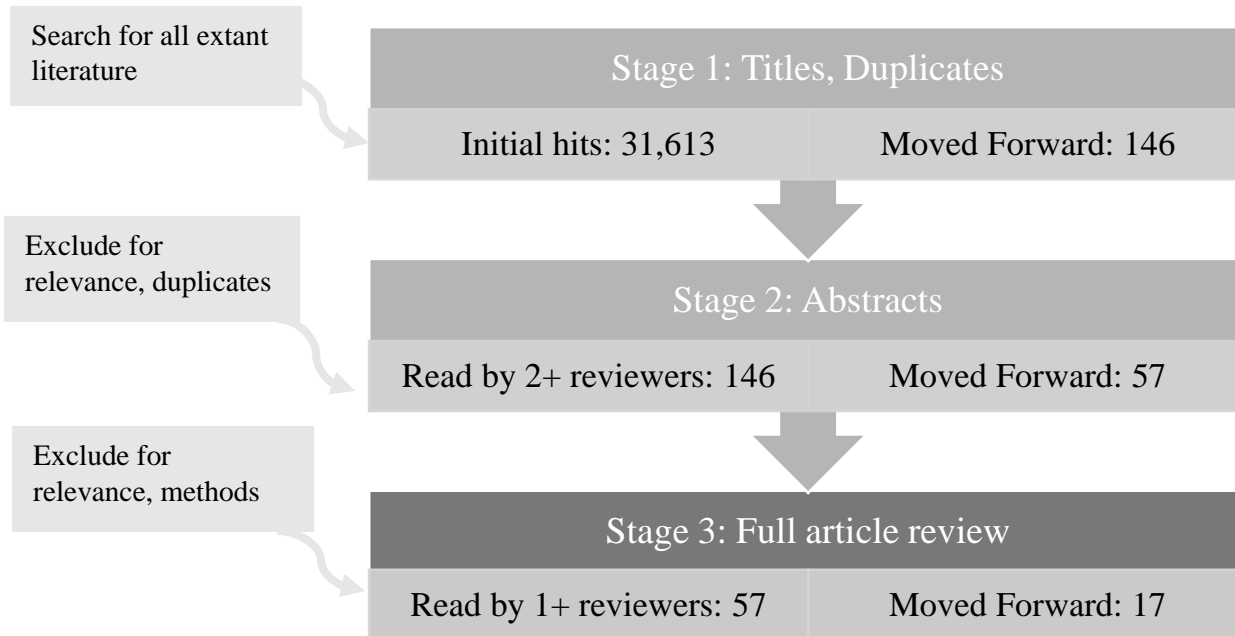
In the initial search, three coders read the titles and saved articles based on their relevance. Titles were included if two of the three coders were in agreement about their relevance. Titles were only excluded if they did not include one of our main search terms or had titles that had no relevance to a Promise Program. For example, one title that was excluded was “JetBlue Airways: JetBlue Expands Promise Program to Include Getaways Vacation Packages.” To guide the title review, we asked whether the title included the phrase “Promise Program”, “guaranteed scholarship”, or “place-based scholarship”, and whether it referenced education, college or postsecondary school, or schooling generally. If there was any uncertainty about whether the title met our inclusion requirements, we moved the article forward in our review.

After including and excluding titles based on relevance, two coders individually read each of the abstracts. If the two coders were in agreement that it was relevant, the study moved forward to the next phase of review; if the two agreed that the study was not relevant, it was excluded. If the two reviewers disagreed, the third reviewer acted as a tie-breaker either for inclusion or exclusion of the study. We excluded abstracts if it was clear the program evaluated in the paper did not match our definition of a Promise Program; the abstract stated the analysis was purely descriptive or did not contain analytic analysis of a Promise Program; or the article was a journalistic account or qualitative case study. If an abstract did not state what analytic methods were used or was not available, the article was moved forward to the next stage. Thus,

our strategy was conservative in that we did not exclude any studies without evidence that the studies should be excluded.

After studies were moved forward through the abstract review, the full articles were read by at least one reviewer to extract the following information: details of the program(s) evaluated, their location, the study's outcome measures, research question relevance, research design, validity of research design, data used, estimated effect, standard error, and significance. Articles were excluded in this stage if at least two coders thought that the research design did not support causal inference, the article was not focused on Promise Programs, the article was not a primary study of a Promise Program, or the article could not be found. Figure 1 summarizes this process.

Figure 1: Search Process for Relevant Literature



Our initial searches yielded 31,613 results. Of the 31,613 original hits, 338 articles were selected by relevance of title only. After removing exact duplicates, 146 studies remained to be evaluated by abstract. The abstract review produced 57 articles for further review. From this stage in which we reviewed the full articles, 17 studies met our inclusion criteria. Of the 40

studies that were excluded in this stage, seven studies were excluded because they contained theoretical arguments for Promise Programs or for particular design features, and were not empirical investigations into the effects of Promise Programs. Thirteen studies were excluded because they were not primary empirical investigations of the effects of Promise Programs, but were instead journalistic accounts of Promise Programs, their features, or reviews of previous research. One study was a projected cost-benefit analysis of a proposed Promise Program in La Crosse, Wisconsin. One study reviewed seven Promise Programs and offered guidelines on economic development and communication strategies for communities wanting to start a Promise Program. Four evaluations of statewide programs— programs which did not fit our definition of Promise Programs – were excluded, as was one review of research of statewide scholarship programs. Ten descriptive studies whose design did not support causal inference were excluded. One study evaluated early notification of Pell Grant eligibility, not a Promise Program. A study of Project GRAD was excluded because it had a competitive application. One dissertation whose full text could not be located through ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database was excluded. One working paper of a study that was ultimately included in our analytic sample as a published paper was excluded.² A complete table of the studies read in full and the reason for its exclusion is available upon request.

Of these 17 included studies, Scherer, Ryan, Daugherty, Schweig, Bozick, and Gonzalez (2014) was represented twice in our list of included studies, once for the report of their evaluation of the New Haven Promise, and once for the technical appendices.³ After accounting for this, we were left with 16 full primary studies of the impacts of one or more Promise

² The working paper was a version of Bartik and Lachowska (2012), evaluating the impacts of the Kalamazoo Promise on student K-12 academic outcomes.

³ The appendices and body of the report were published separately on the RAND site; we count the two pieces as one paper.

Programs. Two studies analyzed multiple Promise Programs for their impacts on community development, while the remaining 14 were primary studies of the effects of individual Promise Programs. Table 2 summarizes our search results and the winnowing process to our final analytic sample.

Table 2: Search Results by Database

Search Source	Search Terms	Number of Abstracts
EBSCO	(subject terms)(Promise Program*) restrict newspaper and middle school magazine AND (guarantee* scholarship) restrict newspaper and MAS (not athlet*) OR (place-based scholarship*) add (higher education, college, university, post-secondary) OR (Kalamazoo promise and effect AND Kalamazoo Promise)	111
ProQuest	(Promise Program*) exclude newspaper, wire feed, blog, audio/video. Exclude date <2000. Exclude language other than English, restrict to US only, exclude TV restrict by (not promise zones, not banking), restrict by subject-nuclear, forest, etc. OR (guarantee* scholarship, not athlete*) Restrict by newspaper, wire feeds, blogs, data <2000, English and US location OR (place-based scholarship*) OR (Kalamazoo promise and effect)	53
JSTOR	(Promise Program) and higher ed* or college or university or post-secondary. Restrict to articles, books, and review, 2005-16, English, narrowed to business, economics, education, labor, public policy, social science, and urban science. Removed university, finance, labor, political science; AND (“Promise Program”) OR (“guarantee* scholarship”) 2005-2016, English; AND (“placed-based scholarship”); AND “Kalamazoo promise and effect)	1
Web of Science	(“Promise Program”) OR (“guarantee* scholarship”) OR (place-based scholarship) OR (“Kalamazoo promise and effects)	0
Arkansas Index	(“Promise Program”) OR (“guarantee* scholarship”) OR (place-based scholarship) OR (“Kalamazoo promise and effects”)	0
Google Scholar	(“Promise Program”) restrict to 2005-2016; AND (“Promise Program*” and education or study or effect) OR (Kalamazoo primes and education and study or effect)	154
Hand Search—Promise Program websites	Any posted research	7
Hand Search—W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research		26
Hand Search—Research Firms	“Promise Program”	2
	Total Number of Abstracts Found	338
	Total Number After Removing Duplicates	146

With this understanding of our included studies, we now turn to each of our research questions: 1) What has been the impact of Promise Programs on Community Development?; 2)

What has been the impact of Promise Programs on K-12 Outcomes?; and 3) What has been the impact of Promise Programs on Postsecondary Outcomes?

5. Results –Community Development

Many Promise Programs have a central program goal of increasing economic productivity within the Promise region by keeping current residents in place and luring new residents to the area. There are several high quality empirical studies of the community development outcomes of Promise Programs. We found two rigorous studies analyzing the economic impacts of multiple Promise Programs and four studies of individual Promise Programs that looked at enrollment and housing price impacts. Table 3 summarizes the studies examining community development outcomes, the programs studied, and their main results. For the studies that present results of multiple years, we show the estimated effect of the last year included in the study. We present the estimated effect of the authors' preferred model in their paper, even if results from additional specifications were included. We also only report overall estimated effects, not the results of subgroup analyses. Results are reported as percentages, except where noted.

Table 3: Included Studies with Community Development Outcomes

Article	Programs Included	Sample	Housing Price Impact	Population Impact ⁴
LeGower, M., & Walsh, R. (2014).	21 Promise Programs for enrollment; 8 for housing prices	National Center for Education Statistics' Common Core of Data on enrollments 1999-00 through 2010-11; DataQuick Information Systems and Longitudinal Tract Database	+12.3%***	+3.7%***
Bartik, T. & Sotherland, N. (2015).	8 Promise Programs	American Community Survey, 2005-2013	+5.88%	+2.7%
Sohn et al. (2016).	Say Yes to Education Syracuse, NY	2000 through 2014 New York State School Report Cards; NY State Education Department;	+14.3%***	+2.0%
	Say Yes to Education Buffalo, NY	2000 through 2014 New York State Office of Real Property Services	-11.1**	+6.5%
Miller, A. (2011).	Kalamazoo, MI	Center for Educational Performance and Information Pupil Headcount Data files, 2002-2009; All property sales in Kalamazoo County between the second quarter of 2001 and the first quarter of 2010	-7.92%***	+19.7%***
Hershbein, B. J. (2013).	Kalamazoo, MI	KPS administrative data from 1009-2010; complemented with Center for Educational Performance and Information data	N/A	Increased enrollment from students in adjacent districts [‡]
Bartik, T. J., Eberts, R. W., Huang, W. (2010).	Kalamazoo, MI	Enrollment patterns 2003-2009	N/A	Increased enrollment [‡]

*Significant at the 90% level

**Significant at the 95% level

***Significant at the 99% level

‡ Significance not reported

This section includes two studies covering multiple Promise Programs, and four studies of individual Promise Programs. Although the studies differ in data, design, and scope, there is

⁴ Bartik and Sotherland (2015) measure population impact by looking at city population; all other studies measure population impact by school enrollment

significant overlap in the programs studied. Table 4 illustrates this overlap and the comprehensiveness of LeGower and Walsh (2014).

Table 4: Promise Programs Studied for Community Development Outcomes

Promise Program	Location	LeGower & Walsh	Bartik & Sotherland	Bifulco et al.	Hershbein	Bartik, Eberts, and Huang	Miller
Kalamazoo Promise Scholarship Program	Kalamazoo, MI	X	X		X	X	X
El Dorado Promise	El Dorado, AR	X					
New Haven Promise	New Haven, CT	X	X				
Pittsburgh Promise	Pittsburgh, PA	X	X				
Say Yes to Education Buffalo	Buffalo, NY	X	X	X			
Say Yes to Education Syracuse	Syracuse, NY	X	X	X			
Arkadelphia Promise	Arkadelphia, AR	X	X				
College Bound Scholarship Program	Hammond, IN	X	X				
Baldwin Promise	Baldwin, MI	X					
Bay Commitment	Bay, MI	X					
Denver Scholarship Program	Denver, CO	X					
Great River Promise	Phillips County, AR	X					
Hopkinsville Rotary Scholars	Hopkinsville, KY	X					
Jackson Legacy	Jackson County, MI	X					
Legacy Scholars	Battle Creek, MI	X					
Leopard Challenge	Norphlet, AR	X					
Northport Promise	Northport, MI	X					
Peoria Promise	Peoria, IL	X					
Promise for the Future	Pinal County, AZ	X					
Sparkman Promise	Sparkman, AR	X					
Ventura College Promise	Ventura County, CA	X					

The 2014 work of Michael LeGower and Randall Walsh represents the most comprehensive analysis of the impact of Promise Programs on community development outcomes, measured through school enrollment and home value capitalization. LeGower and Walsh used a difference-in-differences analysis to estimate the impact of 21 Promise Programs on school enrollment, and conducted a similar analysis using eight Promise Programs to estimate the impact of Promise Programs on housing prices with the counterfactual being geographically proximate neighborhoods not affected by Promise Programs. For their analysis of the effect of Promise Programs on school enrollment, they collected observations from 21 Promise Programs from the 1999-2000 through 2010-11 school years and schools in the surrounding counties that were not eligible for Promise scholarships for a total 47,600 school-year observations (6,337 school clusters). LeGower and Walsh found that the announcement of a Promise Program leads to a 4% increase in overall enrollment, across all racial groups.

LeGower and Walsh also looked at how the structure of the Promise Program impacted the program's effect on school enrollment, expecting to see a bigger impact from universal programs than from programs with a merit component. This was the case. Promise Programs with universal eligibility and an award that could be used at a wide range of postsecondary institutions increased enrollment by 8%, while merit-based programs with awards that could be used at a wide range of institutions and universal programs with awards that could only be used at a few institutions increased enrollment by only 4%. Merit-based programs with awards that could only be used at few institutions had no discernable effect on enrollment.

Turning to the effect of Promise Programs on housing prices, LeGower and Walsh found that the announcement of a Promise Program results in a 6-12% (\$14,000-\$20,500) increase in housing prices. They also found that most of this effect was driven by capitalization into the

prices of houses that were already near the median value of the area before the announcement of the Promise Program. LeGower and Walsh found that housing prices increased by 2.5-5.5% for houses in the lowest quintile of housing values, while houses in the top quintile saw price increases of 6.8-8.9%. They postulate that this was because middle to high income families expected to receive less financial aid through the FAFSA and other programs, and therefore benefited more from the Promise Program than lower-income families who could already expect to receive substantial federal and institution-specific aid.

Finally, LeGower and Walsh looked at whether quality of the public schools influenced the extent to which the Promise Program was capitalized into home values. They first restrict their analysis to Pittsburgh and Denver, where they have ample housing data as well as student achievement data. They found a 15-22% increase in housing prices in Pittsburgh after the announcement of the Promise, and a 5-11% increase in housing prices in Denver after the announcement of its Promise before accounting for school quality. They then created a measure of school quality as the percent of students earning a passing score on a standardized test before the announcement of the Promise Program, and found that a one standard deviation increase in the quality of the neighborhood high school in the Promise eligible zone was associated with an additional 1-5% increase (in addition to the 15-22% baseline increase) in housing prices. A one standard deviation increase in the quality of the neighborhood elementary school was associated with an additional 5-10% increase in housing prices. They also documented that in the neighborhoods with the lowest-quality high schools, prices increased but enrollment at the high schools did not, indicating families were moving into Pittsburgh and Denver because of the Promise Program, but were taking advantage of charter schools to avoid enrolling their children in poor-performing high schools.

Bartik and Sotherland (2015) used data from the American Community Survey to estimate the impact of the eight Promise Programs on housing prices and migration patterns to and from Promise cities. All eight of the Promise Programs included in Bartik and Sotherland (2015) were included in the LeGower and Walsh (2014) study of 21 Promise Programs; however, the studies differed in design and measurement of the impact of Promise Programs on population. Bartik and Sotherland used a matching design with area fixed effects to estimate the impact of Promise Programs on migration patterns and housing prices. Bartik and Sotherland found that three years after the announcement of a Promise Program, overall population growth in Promise zones relative to surrounding cities within their Census-defined Migration Public Use Microdata Area (Migration PUMA) was 2.7%, while population growth among families with children under 18 was 6.0%. Bartik and Sotherland also found that home values on average had increased 5.88% three years after the announcement of a Promise Program. However, none of the results reported by Bartik and Sotherland are statistically significant.

Bartik and Sotherland made an important contribution by showing the impact of Promise Programs for up to 8 years after the Program's announcement; however, because the programs they study were introduced at different times, we report their findings for three-years post-program implementation in order to preserve their full sample of 8 Promise Programs.

Sohn et al. (2016) examined the effects of the Say Yes to Education in both Syracuse and Buffalo, New York from 2000 to 2014 using a difference-in-differences estimation, using Buffalo and Rochester as the comparison group for Syracuse, and Rochester as the comparison for Buffalo. They found evidence of positive but insignificant impacts of the Promise Program on school district enrollment in Syracuse, while finding positive and significant impacts on enrollment in Buffalo. Similarly, they find positive and significant effects of the Promise

Program on housing prices in Syracuse, while finding negative and significant effects of the Promise Program on housing prices in Buffalo. However, Sohn et al. note that the decline in housing prices in Buffalo began before the introduction of Say Yes, and the causal impact of the Promise Program on housing prices in Buffalo is not adequately identified in their analysis.

Miller (2011) studied the impact of the Kalamazoo Promise on K-12 enrollment from years 2002-2009 using a difference-in-differences estimation, with comparison districts that had similar average student enrollment in the fall of 2002. She found that after the announcement of the Promise enrollment in Kalamazoo Public Schools increased by over 19%. This effect was statistically significant. Miller also found decreases in enrollment from local private schools and other local public schools but these decreases cannot be attributed to the Promise. Lastly, using a database of all property sales in Kalamazoo County between the 2nd quarters of 2001 and the 1st quarter of 2010, Miller used a difference-in-differences model comparing homes in the Promise area to homes in Kalamazoo County not eligible for the Promise. This analysis showed a significant negative impact on housing values, but the estimate was confounded by the subprime mortgage crisis, which Miller noted she could not separate from the effect of the Promise.

Bartik, Eberts, and Huang (2010) studied the effects of the Kalamazoo Promise on enrollment patterns in 2003-2009. This study found positive and significant effects on enrollment in schools after the introduction of the Promise Program based upon differences in actual growth rate trends as compared to projected growth rate trends. Hershbein (2013) updated the effects found by Bartik, Eberts, and Huang (2010) on enrollment trends and attempted to establish where students who moved into Kalamazoo were migrating from, and explored the demographic characteristics of incoming students and their families. Trends of movers over time are examined and compared against projected growth trends for both promise and non-promise school districts.

Hershbein found that students moving into Kalamazoo were most likely to come from surrounding districts in Kalamazoo County, not from private or charter schools within the Kalamazoo School District boundaries. Hershbein also found that incoming students were more socioeconomically advantaged than existing students in Kalamazoo Public Schools.

The Say Yes to Education and Kalamazoo Promise Programs studied by Sohn et al. (2016) and Bartik, Eberts, and Huang (2010), respectively, were included in both the LeGower and Walsh (2014) and Bartik and Sotheland (2015) studies. The positive results found in these single-program studies align with the positive results found in the larger, more comprehensive studies. The effect sizes found for the impact on housing prices are larger for the single-program studies than for the multiple-program studies, indicating there is a wide range of impacts of Promise Programs that may be masked when looking at overall average effects.

Although we are not able to present an overall effect of Promise Programs on community development goals because of the overlap in programs studied, the evidence is suggestive that Promise Programs are successful at fulfilling their goal of attracting individuals to shrinking cities and boosting economic development, although precise estimation of this effect has been complicated by the 2008 financial crisis. The LeGower and Walsh (2014) study is the most comprehensive and well-designed study included in this section. Their results are corroborated by the findings presented in Bartik and Sotheland (2015) and by studies examining one Promise Program. This suggests that the positive findings are robust across research design and across Promise Programs. Both the LeGower and Walsh and Bartik and Sotheland studies included universal, merit-based, first-dollar, last-dollar, wide, and narrow Promise Programs, while the Bartik, Eberts, and Huang and Hershbein studies only examine universal, wide, first-dollar Promise Programs. Further research on the impact of Promise Programs on community

development should continue to focus on the relationship between the adoption of a Promise Program, amortization of the Promise into housing prices and community population growth. Further, future work should endeavor to understand whether a Promise primarily slows population loss or attracts new families into the area, increases housing values in all neighborhoods or in relatively affluent neighborhoods, and whether the Promise leads to economic growth in the community or whether parents who move to the Promise zone increase their commutes to work. Detailed city, school district, and county level data will be necessary to conduct such analyses, but would deepen our understanding of the relationship between a Promise Program and community development.

6. Results—K-12 Outcomes

Four articles meeting our inclusion criteria include estimated effects of Promise Programs on high school outcomes. Although Bartik, Eberts, and Huang (2010) reported K-12 effects, they do not report point estimates of their effects, instead reporting effect sizes (coefficient over standard deviation) and do not report statistical significance. We therefore exclude their results from this review. Table 4 summarizes the included studies examining the effects of Promise Programs on various high school outcomes. Effects on math and literacy are reported as standard deviation units, except where noted. Effects on GPA are reported as GPA points; credits earned are number of credits, and graduation is reported as a rate, except where noted. School climate is measured by discipline incidences per student.

Table 5: Included Studies with K-12 Outcomes

Article	Programs Included	Sample	GPA	Credits Earned	Literacy	Math	School Climate	Graduation
Bartik, T., & Lachowska, M. (2013).	Kalamazoo, MI	9 th through 12 th graders 2003-04 to 2008-08	+0.205	+0.587	N/A	N/A	-0.058 suspensions; -0.069 detentions	N/A
Ash, J. (2015).	El Dorado, AR	5 cohorts of 3 rd through 8 th graders El Dorado students 2005-06 to 2010-11; for graduation, cohorts expected to graduate 2010-11 and 2011-12	N/A	N/A	+0.078***	+0.067***	N/A	0.892 odds ratio of graduating
Gonzalez et al. (2014).	New Haven, CT	2009-10 to 2012-13 SLE survey; 2013 focus groups; CT DOE assessment data, NHPS and CT DOE dropout data	N/A	N/A	Elem/Mid: +0.057 10 th grade: -0.037	Elem/Mid: +0.033 10 th grade: -0.065		-0.051 drop-out rate
Carruthers, C. & Fox, W. (2015)	Knox County, TN	TN state database, Knox Achieves records, National Student Clearinghouse, TN Higher Education	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4.6% increased graduation rate**

*Significant at the 90% level

**Significant at the 95% level

***Significant at the 99% level

‡ Significance not reported

These five studies show significant and positive effects of Promise Programs on K-12 academic outcomes, particularly on math and literacy state assessments. This section presents an overview of each study's findings, contributions, and limitations.

Bartik and Lachowska (2013) examined the effects of the Kalamazoo Promise on 9th through 12th grade students from 2003-2009. Using a pre-post difference-in-differences method comparing student groups by length of enrollment, they found an increased number of credits earned by eligible students as a result of the Promise Program. Similarly, they found a decrease in the number of student suspensions and detentions for Promise eligible students. None of the results were statistically significant, but the consistency of their results is suggestive.

Ash (2015) focused on the effects of the El Dorado Promise on K-12 academic outcomes for multiple cohorts of students, both pre and post program announcement, from 2005 through 2011, using a matching design at the district and student level. She found positive and significant effects of over 10% of a standard deviation for both math and literacy as measured by standardized test scores. However, when looking at high school graduation, Ash found that Promise students were 14% less likely to graduate than their matched peers; however, this result was insignificant and sensitive to the matching strategy and measurement of graduation (graduate at all, graduate from 9th grade district, graduate on time). Nevertheless, it is safe to say that Ash (2015) did not find positive effects of the Promise on high school graduation rates.

Gonzalez et al. (2014) used a variety of methods to analyze data from parent and student surveys to tease out the effect of the New Haven Promise Program on student high school outcomes. Gonzalez et al. analyzed how trends in reading and math scores diverged from pre-Promise achievement trends for elementary and middle school scores on the Connecticut Mastery Test. They also created a synthetic control group by weighting the remaining CT districts to form a comparison group equivalent to New Haven, and conduct a difference-in-differences analysis to determine the effect of the Promise on both 3rd-8th grade reading and math scores as well as 10th grade math and literacy scores. Whereas Ash (2015) was able to match individual students, Gonzalez et al. (2014) only have access to district-level data, and therefore create a district-level comparison group. In Table 4, we show the results of their difference-in-differences analysis to include both lower and upper grade impacts. Their spline analysis of how scores diverged from trend after the Promise was implemented showed positive and significant impacts of the Promise on 3rd through 8th grade math and reading scores. Gonzalez et al. (2014) grouped schools by status (e.g. in need of improvement) and school characteristics (e.g. teacher

turnover rates) and reported results for each subgroup. Gonzalez et al. (2014) used a similar spline analysis to examine the impact of the Promise Program on drop-out rates, finding a decrease in drop-outs relative to trend, although the result was not significant. Gonzalez et al. also showed results from their administration of a School Learning Environment Survey (SLE), designed to gauge students', parents', and teachers' perceptions of how the Promise has impacted their school. Their analysis of the SLE had no comparison group, either from the pre-Promise period or in non-Promise schools; therefore, we excluded these results from our review.

Carruthers and Fox (2015) used a difference-in-differences model to estimate the impact of the Knox Achieves program on high school graduation, comparing eligible and ineligible students in Knox County and elsewhere in the Knoxville Metropolitan Area. They found a large positive impact on high school graduation rates for eligible students. Carruthers and Fox also conducted a propensity score matching analysis to estimate the treatment on the treated effect, matching Knox Achieves students with similar students around the state. That analysis showed significant positive gains in on-time high school graduation rates as a result of the Promise.

All five studies examine the impact of first-dollar scholarships, although New Haven is a merit-based program, while Kalamazoo and El Dorado are universal. The evidence is therefore suggestive that first-dollar Promise Programs can improve student outcomes in high school; however, more research is needed into the effects of last-dollar Promise Programs on student high school outcomes. All four Promise Programs represented in these studies are widely applicable, with El Dorado students able to take their scholarship to any accredited postsecondary institution, Kalamazoo students able to take their scholarship to any university in Michigan, and New Haven students able to use their Promise dollars at any Connecticut institution. More work is needed on the impact of narrow Promise Programs, only applicable at

certain postsecondary institutions, on student high school outcomes. The Carruthers and Fox (2015) evaluation of the Knox Achieves evaluation is an exception to this pattern, and the Knox Achieves program is a universal in eligibility and narrow in focus. These results are suggestive that narrow Promise programs may also have positive K-12 effects. Future work should focus on the impact of last-dollar and narrow Promise Programs, and on student course-taking decisions while in high school to see if students are induced by the Promise to take college-prep classes, such as Advanced Placement courses. Future work should also examine subgroup impacts of the Promise on students to determine if the academic benefits of Promise Programs are felt by all students or are concentrated among a particular subgroup of students.

7. Results---Postsecondary Outcomes

Seven studies examined the impact of Promise Programs on student postsecondary outcomes, including college enrollment, persistence, and degree attainment. Table 5 summarizes the studies including postsecondary outcomes. Effects for applications, enrollments, and attainment are presented in percentage points, except where noted. Credits attempted are measured in number of credits, and persistence rates (measured by if students reenroll in their next year of college if they have not graduated) are presented as a marginal effect from a Probit model.

Table 6: Included Studies with Postsecondary Outcomes

Article	Programs Included	Sample	Apply	Enrollment	Credits	Persistence	Attainment-6 years
Bozick, Gonzalez, and Engberg (2015)	Pittsburgh, PA	Pittsburgh, PA district data and National Student Clearinghouse data on graduates 2006-2010	N/A	+0.15 (logit coefficient, no marginal effects presented)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gonzalez et al. (2014).	New Haven, CT	National Student Clearinghouse data 2006 to 2013	N/A	+0.065*	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gonzalez et al. (2011).	Pittsburgh, PA	National Student Clearinghouse data 2006 to 2010	N/A	+0.03 Marginal effect	N/A	+0.05 Marginal effect	N/A
Daugherty, L., and Gonzalez, G. (2016)	New Haven, CT	New Haven administrative data and National Student Clearing House data 2004 to 2013	N/A	+0.013 **	N/A	+0.053	N/A
Carruthers, C. & Fox, W. (2015)	Knox County, TN	TN state database, Knox Achieves records, National Student Clearinghouse, TN Higher Education Commission	N/A	4.0%***	0.36 earned	N/A	N/A
Bartik, T., Hershbein, B., & Lachowska, M. (2015).	Kalamazoo, MI	KPS and National Student Clearinghouse data 2003 to 2013	N/A	+0.129***	+9.27** attempted	N/A	+0.097**
Andrews, R., Desjardins, S., & Ranchold, V. (2010).	Kalamazoo, MI	ACT test-takers in Michigan 1996 to 2006	+0.063***	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Significant at the 90% level

**Significant at the 95% level

***Significant at the 99% level

† Significance not reported

Bozick, Gonzalez, and Engberg (2015) used a difference in differences analysis to estimate the effect of the Pittsburgh Promise on college enrollment. Bozick, Gonzalez, and Engberg first difference college enrollment rates pre- and post- the introduction of the Promise, then take a second difference between students eligible for the scholarship, using the 2010 merit-

based requirements of the Promise for all time periods. They also included demographic and macroeconomic controls, as well as school fixed effects. Bozick, Gonzalez, and Engberg found null effects of the Promise on college enrollment. However, the authors did find evidence that the Promise induced some students to attend a four-year college rather than a two-year college or no college. Similarly, Gonzalez et al. (2011) studied the effects of the Pittsburgh Promise on student outcomes from 2006 through 2010 using a difference-in-differences design, in which they compared changes in postsecondary enrollment and persistence between students eligible and not eligible for the Promise in the pre-Promise and post-Promise time periods. The authors found positive and significant effects on both postsecondary enrollment and persistence for promise receiving students.

Gonzalez et al. (2014) analyzed the effects of the New Haven Promise Program on postsecondary student outcomes from 2006 through 2013. Gonzalez et al. (2014) approached this question using two analytic approaches: first, they conducted a linear spline analysis to determine if the change in trend from pre-Promise to post-Promise was significant; second, they conducted a difference-in-differences analysis comparing eligible and ineligible students in the pre and post Promise periods. They used the Promise's attendance and GPA requirements to determine eligibility. They found positive and significant effects on postsecondary enrollment for students who were eligible for the Promise. Daugherty and Gonzalez (2016) also examined the impact of the New Haven Promise on graduating cohorts from 2011-2013, exploiting the program's 3.0 GPA requirement for a regression discontinuity design. Daugherty and Gonzalez found a positive, significant effect of 6.9% on postsecondary enrollment for students eligible for the Promise, but null effects on postsecondary persistence. Daugherty and Gonzalez noted that because they used only one criterion of the New Haven Promise—high school GPA—to

determine Promise eligibility, their estimates may have been biased downward because students meeting the GPA threshold may not have met the residency or community service requirements.

Carruthers and Fox (2015) examined the impact of Knox Achieves, a county-wide Promise program that later expanded into the Tennessee Achieves statewide program. While we excluded the Tennessee Achieves program from our review, as statewide programs do not meet our definition of a Promise program, we did include the Knox Achieves program, a universal, narrow Promise program. Carruthers and Fox used a difference-in-differences design to estimate the impact of the Promise on overall college enrollment, and four-year college enrollment. They compare Knox Achieves participants to three groups: all East Tennessee 12th grade students, Knox County non-participating students, and non-participating students in the Knoxville Metropolitan Statistical Area. They found positive, significant effects on overall and two-year college enrollment, and insignificant negative effects on four year college enrollment. Given that the Knox Achieves program is a last-dollar Promise for state Tennessee community college, this result seems in line with the program's design. Carruthers and Fox also used propensity score matching among Knox Achieves participants and students in the Knoxville Metropolitan Statistical Area to estimate a treatment on the treated effect of the program, finding large positive effects on overall and two year college enrollment, and significant negative effects on four year college enrollment. In both analyses Carruthers and Fox found significant positive effects of the Promise on credits earned within two years after high school graduation.

Bartik, Hershbein and Lachowska (2015) examined effects of the Kalamazoo Promise Program on student postsecondary enrollment, credits attempted, and credential attainment for

students 2003 through 2013. They also found evidence of positive effects of Promise Programs on postsecondary outcomes with positive and significant effects for all three measures.⁵

All seven studies found null to positive effects of Promise Programs on student postsecondary outcomes. Here, we see positive postsecondary effects from a universal Promise Program—Kalamazoo—as well as positive effects from merit-based Promise Programs—New Haven and Pittsburgh. Kalamazoo and New Haven are first-dollar scholarships, while Pittsburgh is a last-dollar scholarship. Three Promise Programs are widely applicable, and can be used at any in-state postsecondary institution in Michigan (Kalamazoo Promise), Connecticut (New Haven Promise), or Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh Promise). This evidence is highly suggestive of the potential for both universal and merit based Promise Programs to have positive effects on postsecondary outcomes, and for both first- and last-dollar scholarships to do the same. The Knox Achieves program, in contrast, is narrow, applying to Tennessee community colleges. While the results of the evaluation of the Knox Achieves program is positive, more research is still needed on narrow Promise Programs to determine their impacts on student postsecondary outcomes. Little work has yet been done looking at degree attainment for Promise students; future work should also explore long-term outcomes. Researchers should develop strong relationships with Promise administrators and obtain data from the National Student Clearinghouse to conduct analyses examining the impact of Promise Programs on student postsecondary persistence and attainment. Multi-program evaluations are needed to determine the relationship between specific Promise design features and student outcomes.

⁵ Bartik, Hershbein, and Lachowska (2015) also found that Kalamazoo Public Schools ACT scores decreased relative to national average ACT scores, but did not account for the changing composition of the students taking the exams in Kalamazoo. Using ACT data from 1996-2006, Andrews, Desjardins, and Ranchold (2010) demonstrated that more students took the ACT as a result of the Kalamazoo Promise; thus, it is likely that this increase led students who previously would not have considered college to take the exam, and could have earned relatively low ACT scores on average. This would make it seem that students performed worse on the ACT after the Promise, when the Promise was actually successful at encouraging more students to strive for a college degree.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

The evidence is highly suggestive that Promise Programs have positive effects on community development, high school, and postsecondary outcomes. While there have not been any cost-benefit analyses of Promise Programs, these programs are typically funded by private donors, and if the funds were not used in this way, they most likely would not be directed towards education or community development, so even small positive gains represent cost-effectiveness relative to the counterfactual of no intervention. Additionally, Promise Programs are not targeted towards disadvantaged students, even if they are typically created in economically challenged cities. Indeed, because of the availability of Pell Grants and other federal financial aid programs for low-income students, Promise Programs may give larger benefits to middle-income students and families than low-income students. However, due the seemingly positive effects Promise Programs have on the community as a whole, it is possible that Promise Programs are benefiting disadvantaged students despite their universal design. Moreover, by prompting structural community changes in housing prices and population growth, they may induce long-term benefits for multiple constituencies.

While we review evidence on multiple Promise Programs around the country, our sample is skewed towards studies of the Kalamazoo Promise. In order to truly do a rigorous review of the effects of Promise Programs, more work needs to be done evaluating other Promise Programs, including those in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Denver, Colorado; El Dorado, Arkansas; Peoria, Illinois; and other cities around the country. As these programs proliferate, it is important we understand their full effects on a range of outcomes, from development to achievement to attainment. It is also important for researchers to explore how the design of the programs affect their effectiveness. The literature reviewed here suggests that universal and merit-based, as well

first-dollar and last-dollar Promise Programs can have positive impacts on community development and student postsecondary outcomes. The literature also suggests that universal and merit-based first-dollar Promise Programs can have positive impacts on the academic culture in the elementary and secondary schools and thus improve student academic outcomes. However, few studies examined the impact of narrow Promise Programs, applicable only to a few colleges or a local community college, on student academic or postsecondary outcomes, and the studies examining community development focused mainly on widely applicable Promise Programs. In order to understand the impact these design features have on student and community outcomes, more work needs to be done researching the impacts of the over 80 Promise Programs currently operating in the United States.

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Appendix A: All Current Promise Programs*Table 1: Characteristics of Current Promise Programs⁶*

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
13th Year Promise Scholarship	Seattle, WA	1 year only ; full tuition and transitional/support services at South Seattle College; available for seniors from Chief Sealth, Cleveland, and Rainier Beach high school	First	Universal; some need	Narrow	0	289
50th Anniversary Scholars Program	Philadelphia, PA	Graduate from Philadelphia high school, be Pell-Grant eligible, be admitted to college, and enroll full-time. Only covers the cost of an associate's degree from Community College of Philadelphia; merit requirements after enrolling in college	Last	Needs-based	Narrow	0	?- begins Fall 2016
Adelante Promise	Santa Ana, CA	Graduate from Santa Ana Unified School District; guaranteed admission to Santa Ana College and transfer privileges to Fullerton or Irvine; financial support only at SAC; college transition services also provided	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?
Advantage Shelby County	Shelby County, IN	Graduate from Shelby County High School with 2.0 GPA and enroll at Ivy Tech Community College; maintain 2.0 GPA, satisfactory academic progress, and community service	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	0- begins in 2016 school year
Aims College Promise [†]	Greeley, CO	Financial support for first and possibly second year of school at Aims Community College; may be awarded financial support for UNC after transferring. Support for tuition, books, and fees. Graduate from a Greeley public high school; must apply	First?	Universal	Narrow	0	343 degrees (unclear how many individuals)

⁶ The W.E. Upjohn Institute tracks current Promise Programs on its website. We searched each Promise Program's website for program details and characteristics, as well as the number of scholarships distributed by the Program. For many Promise Programs, that information was not available on their website or on a linked news article; these instances are noted with a ? and any information we were able to find on the number of scholarships distributed.

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
American Dream Scholarship	Miami	Graduate from Miami-Dade high school with a 3.0 or higher GPA, minimum passing scores on standardized assessments, and complete FAFSA. Covers in-state tuition costs and fees for 2 years of courses (60 credits) at Miami Dade College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Arkadelphia Promise	Arkadelphia, AR	Last-dollar scholarship; live in district, attend and live in Arkadelphia public school district K-12th grade for full award; can receive if attend K-9 and then go elsewhere under the School Choice Act; valid at any US accredited postsecondary institution	Last	Universal	Wide	2	718 college semesters funded; unclear how many individuals
Baldwin Promise	Baldwin, MI	Last-dollar scholarship (\$5,000); graduate Baldwin High School; continuous enrollment since 9th grade for full award, live in district, complete FAFSA; valid at any MI institution; started in 2009	Last	Universal	Wide	1	\$460,000 disbursed to date; unclear how many individuals
Promise Zones	MI	Graduate within Promise Zone; meet academic requirements in college. Applies to local community colleges and potentially four-year state universities. May also be used for technical certificates.	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?
Bay Commitment [†]	Bay, MI	First-dollar scholarship (\$2,000 cap); be a first generation college student, live in Bay County for six years, attend and graduate from a Bay County high school for 4 years; scholarship essay and application; valid at Delta College and Saginaw Valley State University; started in 2008	First	Needs-based	Wide	1	100 per year since 2007
Beacon of Hope	Lynchburg, VA	Graduate from Lynchburg city school with a 2.5 GPA or higher, live in Lynchburg, and be enrolled since 9th grade; enroll in postsecondary school in Virginia; \$5,000-\$7,000 maximum	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	6 in 2014; 8 in 2015, unclear after that

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Boston Tuition-Free Community College Program	Boston, MA	Graduate from Boston Public Schools with a 2.0 GPA or higher, be accepted to Bunker Hill Community College or Roxbury Community College with no more than 3 remedial classes required. Must be eligible for a Pell Grant and meet HUD guidelines for low to moderate household income. Covers tuition and fees.	Last	Needs-based; slight merit	Narrow	0	0; announced in 2016
Challenge Scholars	Grand Rapids, MI	Graduate from Grand Rapids high school; covers tuition and fees at MI public universities and some private universities. Need 95% attendance and a 2.0 GPA. Separate tracks depending on high school record--only for Grand Rapids Community College (Path C), Grand Rapids with transfer to public university (Path B), or any public and some private universities in MI (Path A)	Last	Needs-based	Narrow/Wide, depending on track	0	292
Champion City Scholars Program [†]	Springfield, OH	Enroll in Springfield public schools from 8th-12th grade; qualify for FRL, maintain a 2.0 GPA or higher, first generation college student, application with personal statement, letters of rec, interviews, and academic achievement--40 scholarships awarded each year (when students are in 8th grade); provides 3 years at Clark State Community College and college transition services	First?	Needs-based and merit based	Narrow	0	162
Chicago Star Scholarship	Chicago, IL	Graduate from Chicago Public Schools with 3.0 or better GPA and 17 or higher on ACT; covers tuition and books at City Colleges of Chicago; each college has its own limits on how many scholarships are awarded and how much they are worth	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	? Started in 2015

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Cleveland County Promise	Cleveland, NC	Graduate from Cleveland County High School; covers tuition and fees at any 2 or 4 year institution in the US; prorated award amount based on length of enrollment in public schools--100% for K-12; 50% for 12th grade only; 85% attendance or better in high school, complete financial literacy course	Last	Merit	Wide	0	?
College Bound Scholarship Program	Hammond, IN	Last-dollar scholarship; live in Hammond since 6th grade; 3.0 GPA or higher or 2.5 and higher with 1000 SAT/ 21 ACT; valid at any accredited university; 40 hours of community service in college, 2.0 college GPA, continuous full time college enrollment; parents continue to live in Hammond; started in 2006	Last	Merit	Wide	2	2,945 from 2006-2013; updated info not available
Community Scholarship Program	McCracken County, KY	Graduate on time from Paducah or McCracken County high school (public, private, homeschool) with 2.5 GPA or higher; enrolled in Paducah or McCracken county since 9th grade; complete FAFSA and scholarship application; take Intro to College course while in high school. Pay tuition for up to 60 credit hours for associate's degree or technical certificate at West Kentucky Community and Technical College. Prorated if enter later in high school	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?
CORE Promise Scholarship	Philadelphia, PA	Graduate from any school (public or private) in Philadelphia, reside in Philadelphia; have a family income at or below 200% of federal poverty level; \$250 award; applies to 21 colleges/universities in PA	First?	Needs-based	Narrow	0	?- started with 2016 graduates
Denver Scholarship Program	Denver, CO	First-dollar scholarship (yearly limit); attend Denver high school for 4 years, 2.0 or higher GPA for certificate funding; 2.75 or higher for BA funding, 150% Pell eligibility, complete FAFSA, valid at 31 CO colleges; started in 2006	First	Needs-based	Wide	1	4,600

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Detroit College Promise	Detroit, MI	Graduate from Detroit Public Schools (attend 9th-12th grade), complete FAFSA, and be accepted to a college or university in MI; amount varies depending on available funds	First?	Universal	Wide	0	500
Detroit Promise	Detroit, MI	Live in Detroit, attend school in Detroit (public, private, or other) for 2 years and graduate, complete FAFSA, register for Promise, and be admitted to a participating community college. Includes tuition for an associate degree or technical certificate five participating community colleges and support services	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?- starting with graduating class of 2016
Dyer County Promise	Dyer County, TN	Reside in Dyer County for 1 year, complete FAFSA, graduate from TN high school, and be accepted at Dyersburg State Community College. \$675 max award per year for 4 years	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?
Educate and Grow [‡]	TN	Requires application with Office of Scholarship Programs and student Needs; of 4,841 applications received from 2001-2015, 1,400 students received scholarship; applies to Northeast State Community College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	1400; being phased out as Tennessee Promise Scholarship takes effect
El Dorado Promise	El Dorado, AR	First-dollar scholarship; continuous enrollment in EDSD; scholarship capped at tuition of most expensive university in AR; started in 2007	First	Universal	Wide	3	1,797
Galesburg Promise	Galesburg, IL	Graduate from Galesburg District 205 after attending for 3 years (50% of award; 100% for K-12 attendance), complete application and FAFSA; covers cost of 64 credits (3 years) at Carl Sandburg College; reapply each year and maintain 2.0 GPA or higher	Last	Universal?	Narrow	0	?

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Garret County Scholarship Program	Garret County, MD	Graduate from Garrett County high school, enroll at Garret College for degree or workforce training; or graduate within Garrett County from homeschool or approved non-public school; live in Garret County for 2 years before graduation; complete FAFSA; covers tuition for 64 credits and any remediation classes necessary	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	558
Gateway College Promise	Kenosha, Racine, and Walworth Counties, WI	Graduate from Gateway school district on time, score 16 or higher on ACT, maintain 2.0 GPA or higher through junior year, EFC of \$3,000 or less on FAFSA, enroll at Gateway Technical College; covers tuition and fees at Gateway- lasts as long as students are enrolled at Gateway	Last	Needs-based (some merit elements)	Narrow	0	0- begins with graduating class of 2017
Great River Promise	Phillips County, AR	Last-dollar scholarship; attend 4 years and graduate from an AR or Phillips County HS; high HS attendance record, no drug or DUI offenses; valid at Phillips Community College; started in 2010	Last	Merit	Narrow	1	?
Great River Promise	Mississippi County, AR	Attend 4 years at Mississippi County public high school, graduate with 95% attendance and no drug/DUI offenses, be accepted to Arkansas Northeastern College. Covers 4 semesters (up to 3 years) of tuition and fees at ANC.	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Harper College Promise	Palatine, IL	Graduate on time from District 211, 214, or 220 in Palatine, complete FAFSA, meet yearly attendance requirements, maintain minimum yearly GPA without failing any classes, complete yearly community service requirements; includes GPA, persistence, and community service requirements in college. Covers 2 years of tuition at Harper College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Hartford Promise	Hartford, CT	Attend 4 years at a Hartford Public High School; live in Hartford throughout high school; 93% or better attendance, 3.0 or higher GPA, complete FAFSA and be admitted to a college; \$20,000 scholarship (total); applies to any CT college/university	Last	Merit	Wide	0	?- begins with graduating class of 2016
Holland-Zeeland Promise [†]	Holland-Zeeland Area, MI	Graduate from the Holland/Zeeland area, need to apply and be recommended by either Hope College Trio's Upward Bound Program, Boys and Girls Club of Greater Holland, or Latin Americans United for Progress; demonstrate financial need; demonstrate motivation to obtain college or technical degree	Last	Needs-based with merit components	Wide	0	19
Hopkinsville Rotary Scholars	Hopkinsville, KY	First-dollar scholarship; graduate from HS in Christian County, KY, have a 2.5 GPA or higher, complete FAFSA, high school attendance 95% or better, no expulsions, valid at Hopkinsville Community College; started in 2005	First	Merit	Narrow	1	?
Jackson Legacy [†]	Jackson County, MI	First-dollar scholarship (\$1,000); graduate Jackson County High school and enroll since 8th grade; live in Jackson County; 20 hours community service, 2.5 GPA or higher; valid at Jackson College, Baker College of Jackson, Spring Arbor University; started 2006. Competitive process	First	Merit	Narrow	1	30 per year since 2006; approx. 300
Kalamazoo Promise Scholarship Program	Kalamazoo, MI	First-dollar scholarship; continuous enrollment in KPS, for MI public universities only; need a 2.0 and 12 credits per semester in college to continue the scholarship; started in 2005	First	Universal	Wide	8	2,000+
Knox Achieves	Knox County, TN	Last dollar scholarship Knox County high school graduates going immediately to a state community college; started in 2009	Last	Universal	Narrow	1	Turned into Tennessee Achieves program; 496

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed in first year (2009)
La Crosse Promise [†]	La Crosse, WI	Build or renovate a home in certain La Crosse neighborhoods to qualify for up to \$25,000 per student (up to two per family) in college scholarships; can be sued for adult learners or new high school graduates. Must invest \$150,000 in building/renovating a single family home in neighborhoods targeted for revitalization. Applies to any accredited postsecondary institution in WI	First?	Merit?	Wide	0	?
LeBron James 'I Promise' Program	Akron, OH	Graduate from Akron public schools, meet academic and community service requirements. Covers tuition at University of Akron for four years.	Unclear	Merit	Narrow	0	0- graduating class of 2021 first eligible class
Legacy Scholars	Battle Creek, MI	Last-dollar scholarship (two years); attend Battle Creek schools K-12 for full award; valid at Kellogg Community College; started 2005	Last	Universal	Narrow	1	?
Leopard Challenge	Norphlet, AR	First-dollar scholarship up to \$4,000; K-12 enrollment for full amount; 2.25 GPA, valid at any accredited postsecondary institution; started 2007	First	Merit	Wide	1	?
Long Beach College Promise [†]	Long Beach, CA	Graduate from local high school (18 eligible schools) and enroll at Long Beach College immediately; enrollment fee is waived (\$46); complete application for additional scholarships from college. Must write thank-you letter to donor	First?	Universal	Narrow	0	?

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Madison Promise	Madison, WI	Graduate from college in Madison Area Technical College district (13 counties); 80% attendance or higher senior year; 2.25 GPA or higher, take ACT, complete FAFSA with \$3,000 or lower EFC. Includes college transition supports, requires in-person interview and essay prior to enrollment, and community service while in college	Last	Needs-based and merit based	Narrow	0	0- first graduating class in December 2016
Milwaukee Area Technical College Promise	Milwaukee, WI	Graduate on time from district in MATC service district or live in MATC service district, apply and be admitted to MATC, complete FAFSA, score 16 or higher on ACT, 90% attendance in senior year, 2.0 or better GPA senior year, \$3,000 or less EFC	Last	Needs-based and merit based	Narrow	0	? 1,000-2,944
Montgomery County Ohio College Promise	Dayton, OH	Selected in 8th grade (up to 50 students per year); weekly mentoring sessions through 12th grade; graduate and be admitted to one of 11 participating colleges; covers cost of associate's degree at community college, then cost of finishing a bachelor's degree; also some 4 year scholarships; application includes academics, finances, recommendations, and interviews; need to remain drug free, maintain strong attendance, meet GPA requirements, participate in community activities, and meet with mentors	First?	Merit (maybe also needs-based)	Narrow	0	500 students over 10 years (goal)
Muskegon Promise	Muskegon, MI	Live in and graduate from Muskegon Area Intermediate School District with a GPA of 3.5 or higher	?	Merit	Narrow	0	Not yet started--still fundraising
New Haven Promise	New Haven, CT	Merit-based (40 hours community service, 3.0 GPA or better); first-dollar tuition at all public CT colleges, \$2,500 at private CT colleges; also includes school turnaround and supports; started in 2008	First	Merit	Wide	4	393

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Newark College Promise	Newark, NJ	Graduate from a Newark high school and be accepted to one of 11 participating public NJ state postsecondary institutions; live in Newark Housing Authority housing or with an NHA housing voucher; complete FAFSA; Renews for 4 years or until BA is obtained; must maintain 2.0 GPA, complete FAFSA, and meet with program mentor throughout college	Last	Needs-based	Narrow	0	?
Northport Promise	Northport, MI	First-dollar scholarship; graduate from Northport High School; attend K-12 for full award; be admitted to a university in MI and maintain a 2.0; help fundraise for the Promise during high school; started 2007	First	Merit	Wide	1	45
Oakland Promise	Oakland, CA	One semester of tuition regardless of need; up to four years of tuition if financial need requirements are met. Includes college counseling, mentoring, internships, and career-development services. Up to \$1,000 a year for students at 2 year and technical colleges; up to \$4,000 a year for students at 4 year colleges. Must graduate from Oakland Unified School District with 90% attendance, 2.0 or better GPA (community college) or 2.7 or better GPA (4-year college), complete FAFSA or Dream App, demonstrable community service or leadership, apply to multiple colleges	First?	Needs-based	Wide	0	?- 2016 pilot year
PACE Promise	San Marcos, CA	Guaranteed admission to California State University San Marcos to eligible students and \$1,000 scholarships. Continuous enrollment at San Marcos Unified School District from 9th-12th grade; 2.0 GPA or higher in core subjects; take ACT/SAT, no need for remedial classes in college, complete FAFSA	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	463

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Pensacola Pledge Scholars	Pensacola, FL	Attend and graduate high school in Escambia or Santa Rosa county, FL, apply for scholarship with recommendations and essay. Must be admitted to University of West Florida. Up to \$7,500 a year for four years. Must maintain a 3.0 or higher college GPA and volunteer 25+ hours with Escambia County School District Mentoring Program	First?	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Peoria Promise	Peoria, IL	First-dollar scholarship to Illinois Central College; enroll at and live in Peoria K-12 for full award; complete FAFSA and write thank-you letter; started 2008	First	Universal	Narrow	1	1,600+
Philadelphia Education Fund	Philadelphia, PA	Graduate from Philadelphia Education Fund partner high school with unmet financial need after completing FAFSA; 5 schools with guaranteed scholarships; 11 schools where students can apply for available funds. Awards range from \$200-\$5,000 per year. Must complete community service and meet with advisor during college; must remain in good standing with school	Last	Needs-based	Wide	0	1300
Pittsburgh Promise	Pittsburgh, PA	Last-dollar scholarship; continuous enrollment from K-12 (nothing if enroll in 10th or later); graduate with 2.5 GPA minimum; 90% or higher attendance; used at any accredited postsecondary institution in PA; must enroll full-time and have 2.0 or higher GPA; started in 2006	Last	Merit	Wide	3	6,462

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Power of YOU [†]	Twin Cities, MN	Graduate from Minneapolis or Saint Paul public, alternative, or charter school; complete FAFSA; family income of \$75,000 or less; complete application and be accepted into program, submit transcript and diploma. Covers tuition for 72 credits (2 years) at Minneapolis Community and Technical College or Saint Paul College, provides academic advisor and college success support workshops; merit scholarships available to transfer to Augsburg College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Promise for the Future	Pinal County, AZ	First-dollar scholarship (2 years); 8th-12th grade enrollment, 2.75 GPA, valid only at Central Arizona College; started 2001	First	Merit	Narrow	1	1,141 (?-may be double-counting)
Quincy Promise	Quincy, IL	Graduate from any high school in Quincy, IL, with prorated amounts based on length of enrollment in school district (100% 11 years or more; 0 if 4 years or less) and enroll in John Wood Community College to pursue an applied associate degree or certificate in a career, technical, or health academic program. Must complete FAFSA; covers tuition for 64 credits (3 years)	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?
Richmond Promise	Richmond, CA	Live in Richmond or North Richmond for 4 years (prorated--100% K-12, 67% for high school, 0 if enter in 10th grade), attend schools in Richmond 9th-12th grade, graduate from school within West Contra Costa Unified School district. Covers costs at any accredited non-profit, in-person postsecondary university. Must complete FAFSA or Dream Application, have 90% or higher attendance record, participate in at least one extracurricular activity	Last	Merit	Wide	0	384

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Richmond CC Guarantee	Richmond and Scotland Counties, NC	Live in Richmond or Scotland county, complete 3 dual enrollment courses, maintain a 3.0 or higher GPA, complete application, complete FAFSA. Covers 2 years of tuition and fees at Richmond Community College	First?	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Robert and Joyce Corrigan SF Promise Endowed Scholarship	San Francisco, CA	Graduate from San Francisco Unified School District with a 3.0 or better GPA; maintain 2.5 or better college GPA; complete FAFSA or Dream App; \$1,000 per year at San Francisco State University.	First?	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Rochester Promise	Rochester, NY	Attend a Rochester public school for 2 years and graduate, live in the City of Rochester, have a family income of less than two times the area average; covers tuition at University of Rochester for up to 4 years	Last	Needs-based and merit based	Narrow	0	? (70+ in 2013, but no updated information)
Rockford Promise	Rockford, IL	Graduate from Rockford School district and live in at-risk neighborhood in Rockford; covers tuition and fees at Rockford University or Rock Valley College; one-time \$1,00 award for 2016 graduates; four-year recurring award for 2017 graduates	First?	Merit	Narrow	0	4
Rosen Foundation Scholarship/Tangelo Park Program	Tangelo Park, Orlando, FL	Live in Tangelo Park (subdivision in Orange County, FL), attend Dr. Phillips High school or a magnet program in Orange County, submit application, transcript, and SAT/ACT scores, complete FAFSA; remain in good standing at university	Last	Universal	Wide	0	?
Rotary Promise	Louisville, KY	Graduate from one of the four lowest-performing high schools in Jefferson County with a 2.5 GPA or better, 90% attendance or better, and no disciplinary records. Covers tuition for 60 credits at Jefferson Community & Technical College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Rusk TJC Citizens Promise	Tyler, TX	Graduate from Rusk High school in top half of graduating class with at least a 2.5 GPA, live in Rusk school district and attend RHS for 11th and 12th grade. Provides up to \$8,000 over two years for tuition, fees, books, and housing at Tyler Junior College	First?	Merit	Narrow	0	?--35 in first year (2013); numbers unclear thereafter (about 50-60 eligible each year)
Santa Barbara Community College Promise	Santa Barbara, CA	Graduate within Santa Barbara Community College District, complete Board of Governor's Fee Waiver Application, enroll at Santa Barbara Community College full time and remain in good standing; meet with academic advisor once a semester. Covers tuition, fees, books, and required supplies	First	Universal	Narrow	0	?
Say Yes to Education	Guilford County, NC	Graduate from Guilford County High School (prorated--100% 6-12th, 25% 11-12th); covers all remaining costs for public universities/community colleges in NC; covers tuition for eight semesters (5 years) at all Say Yes National Higher Education Compact private colleges for students with family incomes below \$75,000; up to \$5,000 for students over family income threshold	Last	Universal	Wide	0	? - first scholarships distributed to 2016 graduates
Say Yes to Education Buffalo	Buffalo, NY	Universal eligibility, K-12 enrollment, last-dollar scholarship at NY public institutions, \$5,000 for students from families with incomes > \$75,00 attending private institutions, \$100,000 income cap for tuition at Syracuse University; started in 2011	Last	Universal	Wide	3	\$25 million in local commitments

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Say Yes to Education Syracuse	Syracuse, NY	Last-dollar scholarship; enroll for 3 consecutive years and graduated, full tuition at public NY universities and Syracuse University and Say Yes partners, \$5,000 cap for private institutions for students from families with >\$75,000 income; started in 2008	Last	Universal	Wide	3	\$30 million in local commitments
School Counts!	Madisonville, KY	Graduate on time from Hopkins County or Muhlenberg County with a 2.5 GPA or better, 95% attendance or better, take more than minimum credits required for graduation, complete FAFSA, and earn four School Counts! certificates. Covers up to \$1,000 per semester for four semesters at Madisonville Community College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	\$563,413 disbursed 2008-09 through 2013-14
Seattle Promise [†]	Seattle, WA	Enroll full time at Seattle Central College, maintain a 3.5 GPA, and demonstrate financial need on the FAFSA. Available to recent high school graduates and adult learners. Need to submit academic transcript, class schedule, two letters of recommendation, and a one-page personal statement	First	Needs-based and merit based	Narrow	0	222 in 2014-15 school year
Shoreline Scholars	Seattle, WA	Live in or attend school in Shoreline or Lake Forest Park, maintain a 3.0 GPA or higher; not require remediation in math or English, score 27 or higher on ACT or 1200 on SAT complete FAFSA. Covers tuition for two years at Shoreline Community College	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	106 offered
Siskiyou Promise	Siskiyou County, CA	Graduate from Siskiyou County and live in College of Siskiyou District, be admitted to College of the Siskiyous and enroll full time, complete FAFSA. Covers tuition and fees at College of the Siskiyous for two semester	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?-started with graduating class of 2016

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Skyline College Promise [‡]	San Bruno, CA	Enroll full time at Skyline College; maintain a 2.0 or better GPA and fail fewer than 50% of classes, develop a student educational plan, and declare a major by second semester. Covers all student fees during first year of enrollment	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	Disbursements begin Fall 2016
Sparkman Promise	Sparkman, AR	First-dollar scholarship; enroll at and graduate from Sparkman Public Schools K-12, 2.5 GPA or 19 ACT, receive AR Lottery scholarship, apply for 2 other scholarships; valid at any US accredited postsecondary institution	First	Merit	Wide	1	?
Spartan East Side Promise [‡]	San Jose, CA	Graduate from East Side Union High School District and fulfill admission requirements to San Jose State University. Guaranteed admission to San Jose State University.	Neither	Merit	Narrow	0	Admissions promise, not financial promise
The Cuesta Promise	San Louis Obispo County, CA	Graduate from San Louis Obispo County high school; be admitted to Cuesta College, complete FAFSA or Dream Act, Promise application, and all orientation requirements. Covers tuition and fees for the first year of enrollment	First?	Universal	Narrow	0	?
tnAchieves	TN	Graduate from high school in TN. Covers tuition and fees at community colleges, tech schools, and some 4 year universities in TN for five semesters (community colleges) or eight trimesters (tech schools); also covers remedial classes if ACT is below 19. Must enroll full time, maintain a 2.0 GPA, and complete 8 hrs of community service each semester	Last	Universal	Wide?	0	20,000 in 2016?

Program Name	Location	Program Details	Type	Eligibility	Applicability	Studies	Scholarships Distributed
Tulsa Achieves	Tulsa, OK	Graduate from Tulsa County high school with a 2.0 GPA or better, complete Tulsa Achieves agreement form, complete FAFSA, submit ACT and high school transcripts, enroll at Tulsa Community College, and complete 40 hrs of community service each year. Covers tuition and fees for 63 credits (3 years).	Last	Merit	Narrow	0	?
Uchicago Pledge Scholars	Chicago, IL	Live in Chicago at time of application and admission, attend high school in Chicago, and be admitted to the University of Chicago. Loans in financial aid package are replaced with grants	Last	Universal	Narrow	0	?
Ventura College Promise	Ventura County, CA	First-dollar one-year scholarship; graduate from Ventura County high school, be admitted to Ventura college; started in 2006	First	Universal	Narrow	1	?