RESEARCH REPORT

Developing Two-Generation Approaches in Communities

Final Report from Family-Centered Community Change

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Contents

Acknowledgments

Executive Summary

Family-Centered Community Change (FCCC), launched by the Annie E. Casey Foundation (the Foundation), supported local partnerships in three neighborhoods with low economic resources over seven years (2012–19) as they developed more integrated sets of services to help adults and children succeed together in a two-generation approach. This innovative effort sought to bring two-generation strategies into existing place-based comprehensive community initiatives in Buffalo, New York; Columbus, Ohio; and San Antonio, Texas. The Foundation also provided training and technical assistance in the third year of the effort to help the community partnerships to incorporate principles of racial and ethnic equity and inclusion. The Urban Institute conducted a formative evaluation of this effort that included qualitative data collection, descriptive analysis of program data, and a cost study.

By the end of 2019, community grantees had enhanced their partnerships and developed new coaching and family supports. They also built out the existing single-generation services available to FCCC families. They achieved many of the tenets of integrated two-generation services, though we describe in this report opportunities for deepening and enhancing the work. Tangible legacies of this work include new mutual commitments among partners; new cultures of data sharing; new models of service delivery (e.g., embedding family services within schools); and improvements in the quality of and/or connections to early care and education (ECE) providers.

Adult and family services: A key service across the three FCCC efforts was family coaching, in which coaches helped adults set goals for themselves and often for their children. Coaches then helped connect families with resources and opportunities to meet those goals. Two of the three communities also offered financial coaching. Other services included housing assistance, employment services, adult education and training, and family events. Mental health was one common area of unmet need, and all three communities were challenged in finding appropriate providers. One community succeeded in developing an adult mental health partnership late in the grant period.

Child services: Each community partnership took a different approach to child services. In one community, the lead organization ran high-quality child care centers and neighborhood elementary schools, so it was able to directly integrate family services in those spaces. Another community struggled for many years with the availability and affordability of ECE slots and eventually doubled down on integrating an enhanced service partnership in the local elementary school, focusing on supplementing the services for young school-age children and their families. The third community took a structural approach, improving the quality of community ECE providers so families and their children

would have better options available, but it did not provide many direct child services to participating families. Finally, all three communities offered some form of parenting education or home visiting.

Common service challenges: All three communities had to contend with structural inequities, as detailed in Popkin et al. (2019). These inequities included challenges with job quality and availability, transportation, and housing quality and affordability. In addition, although all three community partnerships wanted to orient services to meet adult and family goals, they sometimes found it difficult to put together the right combination of services to meet the wide range of goals families established. They also struggled to secure funding to supplement the FCCC grants. The challenge of the limited supply of quality and affordable ECE options (and in some cases elementary education options)—an issue well documented in child policy research (e.g., Henly and Adams 2018)—sometimes proved to be insurmountable. Individual communities also faced challenges around shortage of adult training slots, difficulty engaging employers, and staff turnover.

Partnership development: Partners needed to overcome traditional organizational boundaries that naturally define independent organizations. Generally, partnerships were strongest when funding was secure, when partners felt invested in the work, when leaders communicated a clear vision and direction, and when staff felt they understood each other's contributions and roles. Informed by the FCCC experience, the Urban research team developed a framework to characterize partnership integration in two-generation efforts (McDaniel et al. 2021).

Costs: As detailed in a separate report, combining and coordinating adult and child services and developing an infrastructure to support families requires substantial personnel investments (Gold et al. 2021). The Foundation gave communities flexibility in their FCCC grants to be able to build service infrastructure—a cost considered to be "overhead" in traditional funding models but that is necessary to disrupt traditional models.

Lessons:

- Communities need to have a deep understanding of the community-level contextual factors that affect families' opportunities and constraints. Residents and long-established community-serving organizations are experts on many of these contextual challenges and can provide important insights to orient community-based work, alongside a traditional scan of community data indicators.

- Identifying key concepts and goals at the outset would help orient future work. Setting out a framework for two-generation efforts that includes not only the types of services, but also the

nature of the coordination and alignment that should bring them together, could improve coherency in family experiences.

- Despite the emphasis on racial and ethnic equity and inclusion and resources provided by the Foundation, it was difficult for community partnerships to internalize and operationalize key concepts, especially midcourse. Disrupting racist paradigms requires real power-sharing that not merely includes families and communities but centers them in the development of strategies to break their own cycle of intergenerational poverty and gives them the necessary resources and tools to take action.

- This type of work has potential stakeholders at multiple organizational levels. The FCCC experience suggests that engaging policymakers and government service providers, individual organizations, and resident families in planning and design may allow for new, creative opportunities to emerge.

- Effective partnerships are complex but critical, and they take time to develop, often through trial and error. Determining key elements of partnerships explicitly in a way that all partners are comfortable with—including funding relationships, organizational culture alignment, development infrastructure, communications channels, and other dynamics—will increase the chance of successful, sustained organizational relationships.

- It will be important for researchers documenting future efforts to try to understand how families fared as a result of their participation through an outcomes or impact study. Documenting the effectiveness of an intervention helps inform meaningful change efforts and makes the case for continued investment of energy, time, and financial resources. Such evaluation efforts should also be sensitive to the issues raised here, including the context, the framework and goals (including ideally a logic model or well-specified theory of change), and how community members and the various partners can be appropriately respected and involved in the research process so that the work is not extractive.

- The COVID-19 pandemic and associated recession, the renewed attention on racial justice, and the turbulent 2020 presidential election occurred after the end of the grant and research period. As pressures from these changes continue and even after they are nominally over, service providers and other stakeholders will want to consider a purposeful approach to deal with social recovery and processing continued trauma rather than returning to business as usual.

Developing Two-Generation Approaches in Communities

This report is the capstone product of a seven-year formative evaluation of the Annie E. Casey Foundation's (the Foundation) Family-Centered Community Change (FCCC)[1] effort. FCCC launched in 2012, and the Urban Institute became a formative evaluation partner in 2013 and followed this place-based, two-generation effort as it developed in Buffalo, New York; Columbus, Ohio; and San Antonio, Texas, through the end of grant-funded programming in 2019. The evaluation consisted of qualitative data collection from interviews and focus groups with partner staff and participants, descriptive analysis of program data, and a cost study.

In developing this work, the Foundation focused on communities with longstanding histories of underinvestment. It wanted to support existing community partnerships that were focused on implementing two-generation strategies to help children and caregivers succeed together. The Foundation was a leader in the philanthropic world in giving communities flexibility in their FCCC grants to be able to build service infrastructure—a cost considered to be "overhead" in traditional funding models but that is necessary to disrupt business as usual. The Foundation also introduced a racial and ethnic equity and inclusion (REEI) framework in 2015 and gave the communities training and targeted technical assistance to help them incorporate REEI principles (McDaniel et al. 2019). Foundation staff were vocal about acknowledging how inequity and exclusion contributed to the communities' economic and social conditions, and they believed REEI deserved to be made more explicit in FCCC's design.

This report describes the FCCC vision, the approach to the evaluation, and what FCCC looked like in practice, including an estimation of costs in the three communities. In final reflections on the effort, we ask if the community grantees succeeded in creating integrated two-generation services, as defined by current thinking in two-generation best practice, and if the community grantees got to meaningful community change, which grantee leadership defines as what will remain when this prolonged investment by the Foundation ends. The insights provided here may be valuable to funders, policymakers, and service providers interested in developing or refining family- and community-centered service delivery. More insight about how the Foundation operated in its role as a strategic co-investor alongside the communities can be found in.[2]

A finding from this research is that to make a difference to families within a community, service providers need resources and infrastructure both to coordinate with each other and meaningfully engage residents in decisionmaking and implementation processes. FCCC encouraged and supported service providers to think about families as a whole within the context of their communities—a context defined by unequal opportunity for Black and Latinx families (Popkin et al. 2019). But the FCCC communities largely did not succeed in bringing families into the core of discussions about supports they needed, which is an important lesson for the future. The Foundation's explicit emphasis on REEI came three years into the effort, and it was difficult for the community partnerships to shift course in collaboration structures, leadership, and service delivery strategies to internalize some of the critical elements of REEI that would allow service providers to reflect on and respond to their role in perpetuating racialized power dynamics in communities and adopt new trauma-informed approaches.

Researchers and policymakers are increasingly understanding how families and communities should be included and centered in strategizing, planning, making decisions, and taking action to improve their own well-being. Effective strategies will need to consider community, parent, and child assets and needs within the historical and ongoing context of racial and ethnic exclusion brought by institutional racism that limits educational, economic, and other social mobility options available to people of color. Structural racism is also deeply embedded in service delivery for individuals with low incomes, and program funders and administrators routinely overlook it when designing new interventions. In this evaluation, we observed that FCCC provided valued services, but the absence of representation by community members in its design and execution may have limited the effectiveness of these partnerships both in improving the lives of the families they sought to help and in making deeper changes in their communities.

The emphasis on REEI in our assessment of FCCC takes on additional meaning in light of the unique moment when we are releasing this report, in the midst of the COVID-19 outbreak and ensuing global health pandemic, a deep and unprecedented economic downturn, a renewed racial reckoning in the United States, and a turbulent change of presidential administrations. All of the negative effects of these changes disproportionately affected individuals, families, and communities of color—exactly the FCCC focus population. The FCCC research (and many programmatic activities) did not cover the 2020 time frame, but the lessons from this report may provide useful insight to those considering how to create new opportunities for an equitable pandemic recovery.

What Was the FCCC Vision?

Having great local programs and services isn't enough. FCCC is about building communities' capacity and infrastructure so that those pieces can be aligned in the ways most helpful to and supportive of whole families.
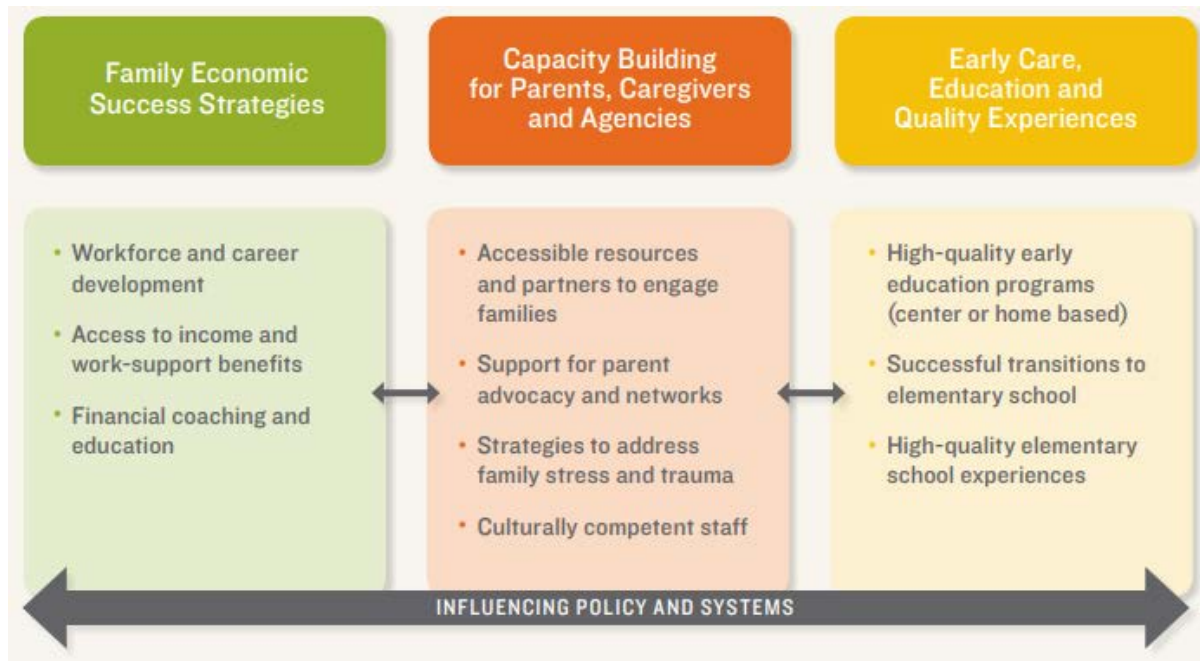*—Staff member at the Annie E. Casey Foundation*

The Annie E. Casey Foundation launched FCCC in 2012 to support local partnerships in three neighborhoods with low economic resources as they developed more integrated sets of services—including housing assistance, high-quality education, and job training—to help adults and children succeed together in a two-generation approach. Rather than creating an entirely new intervention, the Foundation collaborated with existing partnerships in Buffalo, New York; Columbus, Ohio; and San Antonio, Texas, and provided technical assistance, trainings, and peer-learning opportunities to build on existing community change efforts. The Foundation refers to this collaborative role as "strategic co-investor."[3] FCCC was a seven-year demonstration supporting existing comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs) as they established partnerships and programming, participated in an evaluation, and developed plans to sustain the work beyond the Foundation's seven-year investment (The Annie E. Casey Foundation 2019).

The Foundation's vision for FCCC had several elements that distinguished it from other community change and two-generation efforts. First, the strategic co-investor approach meant that the Foundation was investing in existing community efforts and supporting them in creating their own approaches rather than creating a standard model to be tested across multiple sites.[4] Second, the effort called for a place-based two-generation intervention embedded in a larger community change initiative, a novel idea distinct from other community-based efforts built within specific housing programs or early care and education settings.[5] Third, the Foundation hoped that FCCC would help support the participating communities in building their own capacity for using data for ongoing evaluation and assessment of impact. Finally, a goal established in 2015 was that the grantee partnerships would integrate an REEI frame in their work to explicitly address systems, policies, and conditions that perpetuated racial and ethnic exclusion. The ambitious goals of FCCC were that this process would lead to strong two-

generation interventions that would both help participating families to build their own social capital and economic well-being as well as improve the economic and social health of the target community.

The Foundation's two-generation strategy focused on investing in three key elements of two-generation programs: family and economic success strategies; capacity building for parents, caregivers, and agencies; and early care, education, and quality experiences for children (figure 1). The Foundation hypothesized that outcomes would be better for both parents and children if communities could simultaneously combine targeted family economic supports and interventions to parents, skill building for parents in their parental role, and high-quality early education and early school supports for their children.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation's FCCC Theory of Change

Source: The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2019).

Within family economic success strategies, the Foundation targeted workforce and career development, access to income and work-support benefits, and financial coaching and education. Adult services were focused on accessible resources and partners to engage families, support for parent advocacy and networks, strategies to address family stress and trauma, and culturally competent staff. Child services prioritized high-quality early education programs (center based or home based), successful transitions to elementary school, and high-quality elementary school experiences. The Foundation anticipated that the communities would have existing services within each of these areas

and that its investment would support the glue needed to align and enhance these services to support parents and children together. We use *glue* to mean investments in service alignment across generations and family supports that build on existing service infrastructure for adults and children. This approach could also include new supports and services like coaching focused on whole-family support.

FCCC offers an opportunity to learn what it takes to embed a high-quality, two-generation service approach in a broad community redevelopment effort and how this approach to community change affects economic and educational outcomes for families with low incomes. Although the three FCCC partnership efforts differed in many ways, all provided services for families with children from birth to age 10 that included early care and education, partnerships with local elementary schools, employment and training for adults, financial education, and coaching to help parents set goals and stay on target. All the partnerships faced the challenges of serving families with varying needs who have children of different ages. The Foundation also hoped that the FCCC place-based effort would offer communities an opportunity to build new partnerships among local organizations and agencies and galvanize community action to address community-specific needs like the local employment landscape or availability of child care. The Foundation did not necessarily expect to see changes in population-level indicators, except possibly in the relatively smaller Weinland Park neighborhood in Columbus, but it wanted to leverage the work of existing CCI efforts and join the partnership table as a strategic co-investor.

FCCC ran for seven years, providing each community time to develop and refine its approaches and plan for long-term sustainability. The Foundation's vision presented Urban with a unique set of evaluation complexities that included (1) the Foundation's role as strategic co-investor, which meant it took a less directive approach toward communities in specifying implementation and evaluation requirements; (2) the collaborative nature of the evaluation, which meant that communities had significant input into decisions on data collection on services and resident outcomes; (3) the fact that FCCC was a novel approach with no real peers to serve as benchmarks for comparison; and (4) the complex nature of FCCC, which meant core partners and services were continuously shifting as the communities adapted to changing circumstances.

In the next section, we ground FCCC in the literature on two-generation interventions and community change initiatives and provide an overview of the three communities.

Two-Generation Approaches

Two-generation interventions are not new. As early as 1965, federal programs like Head Start offered support for both adults and children. These early iterations of two-generation programming generally focused on early care and education for children and self-sufficiency interventions for adults. This model continued into the 1980s and 1990s, with programs falling into two primary categories: those focused on family supports (e.g., parenting classes, mental health services, literacy) and those focused on education and employment. Although these programs were often colocated within a childhood education center, program offerings typically were not integrated across generations. Further, the implementation and study of these programs was not widespread (Chase-Lansdale and Brooks-Gunn 2014). A new wave of interest in two-generation interventions emerged around 2010, including thought leadership by the Aspen Institute,[6] the Annie E. Casey Foundation,[7] and the US Department of Health and Human Services.[8]

Evidence on the impact of two-generation models is limited, because modern programs are relatively new (Sama-Miller et al. 2017). One of the largest studies evaluated the CareerAdvance intervention from the Community Action Project in Tulsa,[9] which demonstrated significant gains for adults' education and employment and improvements in Head Start attendance for children in early results (Chase-Lansdale et al. 2019). Likewise, a recent study of the LIFT initiative in Washington, DC, found positive impacts on children's behavior and school attendance and increased earnings for adults (Frank 2019). Urban's Housing Opportunities and Services Together (HOST) demonstration, based in public and assisted-housing developments, is one of the only other place-based, two-generation efforts besides FCCC. Early findings from the evaluation of HOST also showed gains in adult employment, and the implementation study highlighted the case manager's or coach's critical role in coordinating adult and child services (Scott, Popkin, and Saxena 2016; Scott, Popkin, and Simington 2016). HOST and other place-based efforts like the Jeremiah Program and AGAPE Memphis offer important lessons about the potential for using housing as a platform for two-generation efforts (Popkin, Falkenburger, and Haight 2018).[10] Around the same time as the FCCC effort, the Foundation launched a Head Start–based two-generation effort called Family Economic Success–Early Childhood Education. Researchers documented that families in this effort demonstrated more assets and strengths at the end of the effort while concluding that it is critical in two-generation interventions to focus on building staff capacity to deliver and track integrated adult and child services (The Annie E. Casey Foundation 2018).

Comprehensive Community Initiatives

Comprehensive community initiatives are place-based community collaborations that bring resources and new development to underinvested neighborhoods and provide opportunities for residents with low incomes to improve their economic circumstances and overall well-being (Kubisch et al. 2010; Turner 2017). In contrast to standard redevelopment efforts that do not consistently consider existing residents' needs and interests, CCIs intentionally focus on resident engagement and empowerment and promote policy and systems change. CCIs began as philanthropic efforts, one of the most ambitious of which was the Foundation's Making Connections effort, which supported community change efforts in 10 diverse communities across the United States from 1999 to 2010 (The Annie E. Casey Foundation 2013). In another major effort, the California Endowment launched its 14-site Building Healthy Communities effort in 2010 with the goal of supporting communities to address health inequities.[11] The federal government incorporated elements of this approach in a series of community redevelopment and reinvestment efforts over the past 20 years, including HOPE VI; the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative; the Promise Neighborhoods Initiative; the Byrne Criminal Justice Initiatives (known collectively as the Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative); Strong Cities/Strong Communities; and Promise Zones (White House Office of Urban Affairs 2011). Both the philanthropic-funded efforts and the large-scale federal initiatives have at their core partnerships between local government (e.g., housing agencies, public schools), nonprofits (e.g., community development corporations, social service agencies), and community residents. Both types of effort also seek to bring sustainable change to communities with low incomes. For a full review of the literature on CCIs, see our earlier report on the community context of the FCCC partnerships (Popkin et al. 2019).

FCCC Communities

The Foundation selected community partnerships that were part of CCIs in Buffalo, Columbus, and San Antonio as FCCC grantees because they all had existing services for adults and children and complementary investments (figure 2). The Foundation believed an extant service infrastructure for adults and children could be brought together into a two-generation framework with a glue investment focused on service alignment across generations and family supports. Buffalo and San Antonio had existing lead organizations coordinating local service efforts and investments; Columbus did not have any large external community investments, and its organizations were in an earlier stage of collaboration. This section provides an overview of the three communities in the initial years of FCCC.

FIGURE 2

FCCC Grantee Communities
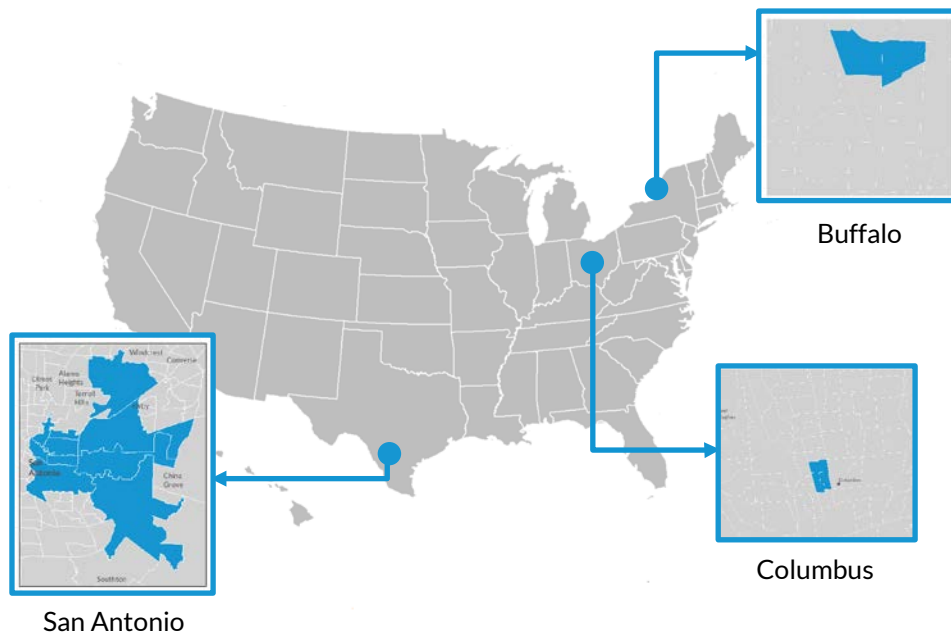
Source: The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2019).

BUFFALO

Buffalo focused its FCCC effort—called the Parent Achievement Zone (PAZ)—on a one-mile, 97-block area that coincided with the area targeted by a 2012–16 $6 million Promise Neighborhood Initiative grant (figure 3). The previous federal investment allowed the Buffalo PAZ leadership to leverage and build on the existing Buffalo Promise Neighborhood infrastructure and initiatives, which include school transformation (tutoring, mentorship, and service coordination); college and career solutions (e.g., internships); and community engagement through the Buffalo Promise Neighborhood Community Council. M&T Bank, along with the Westminster Foundation, led the Buffalo Promise Neighborhood and PAZ efforts.

The PAZ footprint had just under 12,000 residents when the FCCC grant was awarded, 68 percent of whom were Black or African American, and about 21 percent of whom were children under age 18. Residents in the footprint faced various socioeconomic challenges. The rate of poverty among families in Buffalo increased from 11 percent in 1970 to 24 percent in 2014.[12] This high level of concentrated poverty and associated community distress influenced much of PAZ's program design, planning, strategic partnerships with local organizations, and implementation process.

FIGURE 3

Characteristics of Buffalo and Parent Achievement Zone (2012–16)

BUFFALO

"It's hard because there are very few houses, and the ones that are in good condition are being scooped up by investors...The folks who even do want to buy a house...can't find one.
—FCCC parent "

Total Population, 2012–16

Buffalo — 258,989

Parent Achievement Zone — 11,868

4%
of people in the Parent Achievement Zone are under age 5

21%
of people in the Parent Achievement Zone are under age 18

Source: Author's calculations based on 2012–16 American Community Survey estimates from the US Census Bureau.
Notes: Parent Achievement Zone is geographically defined as Census tracts 43 and 47 in Erie County, NY. Other races include Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, Alaska Native, some other race, and two or more races.

White (%): 48 / 20
Black/African American (%): 37 / 68
Asian (%): 5 / 7
Other (%): 10 / 5
Hispanic, any race (%): 11 / 5

■ Buffalo ■ Parent Achievement Zone

Families Living in Poverty

26%
Buffalo, NY

23%
Parent Achievement Zone

Occupancy Rates of Housing Units, 2012–16

Occupancy Rate (%): 84 / 84

■ Buffalo ■ Parent Achievement Zone

Columbus focused its FCCC efforts on the Weinland Park neighborhood, a small geographic area adjacent to Ohio State University and near a popular shopping and restaurant area (figure 4). Weinland Park had a strong collaborative and council structure in the Weinland Park Collaborative, which engaged community-based organizations, investors, and residents. However, there were no formal agreements among the partner organizations and no existing cross-organizational, community-oriented grant programs, partially because there had been no federally sponsored CCIs in Weinland Park.

A little under 4,000 people resided in the Weinland Park neighborhood when the FCCC grant was awarded, approximately 65 percent of whom were White, 25 percent were Black or African American, 9 percent were Hispanic or Latinx, and 2 percent were Asian. About 55 percent of neighborhood residents lived in households with incomes below the federal poverty level, much higher than the 25 percent poverty rate in Columbus as a whole.[13] From the 1960s through the 2000s, Weinland Park saw substantial divestment and gang activity. Since at least 2002, philanthropic and private investments spurred neighborhood change,[14] with the support of an active civic association and a collaborative of community-based organizations. These investments established 300 permanent units of Section 8 housing under the management of Community Properties of Ohio (which became the FCCC lead organization), along with university-oriented new commercial development and updated housing stock. The construction and renovation of single-family homes since 2009 brought higher rents and higher housing occupancy rates (Greater Ohio Policy Center 2014). But many residents living in the Weinland Park neighborhood continued to face economic barriers, influencing how the Columbus FCCC team delivered services.

FIGURE 4
Characteristics of Columbus and Weinland Park (2012–16)

COLUMBUS

"
I like that their school is really close to our home. I like where I live...I'm glad it's close to Kroger's and the library, and so things are close around for us.
—FCCC parent
"

Total Population, 2012–16

Columbus ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇ 837,038

Weinland Park | 3,837

5%
of people in Weinland Park are under age 5

12%
of people in Weinland Park are under age 18

Source: Author's calculations based on 2012–16 American Community Survey estimates from the US Census Bureau.
Notes: Weinland Park is geographically defined as Census tracts 16 and 17 in Franklin County, OH. Other races include Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, Alaska Native, some other race, and two or more races..

	White (%)	Black/African American (%)	Asian (%)	Other (%)	Hispanic, any race (%)
Columbus	61	28	5	6	6
Weinland Park	65	25	2	7	9

■ Columbus ■ Weinland Park
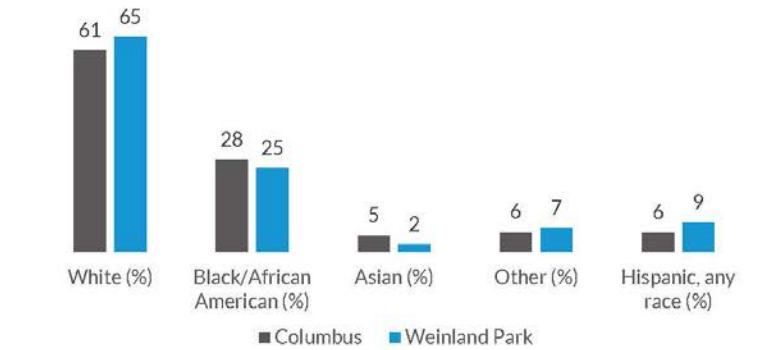
Families Living in Poverty

25%
Columbus, OH

55%
Weinland Park

Occupancy Rates of Housing Units, 2012–16
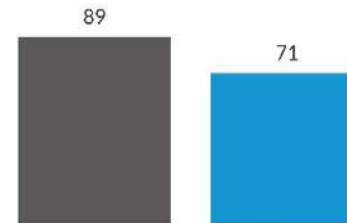
	Occupancy Rate (%)
Columbus	89
Weinland Park	71

■ Columbus ■ Weinland Park

The Dual Generation (FCCC) footprint in San Antonio originally covered three ZIP codes in the EastPoint area of the city, but expanded in 2016 to the broader Eastside area, encompassing 10 ZIP codes (figure 5). The expansion of the Dual Generation effort from EastPoint to 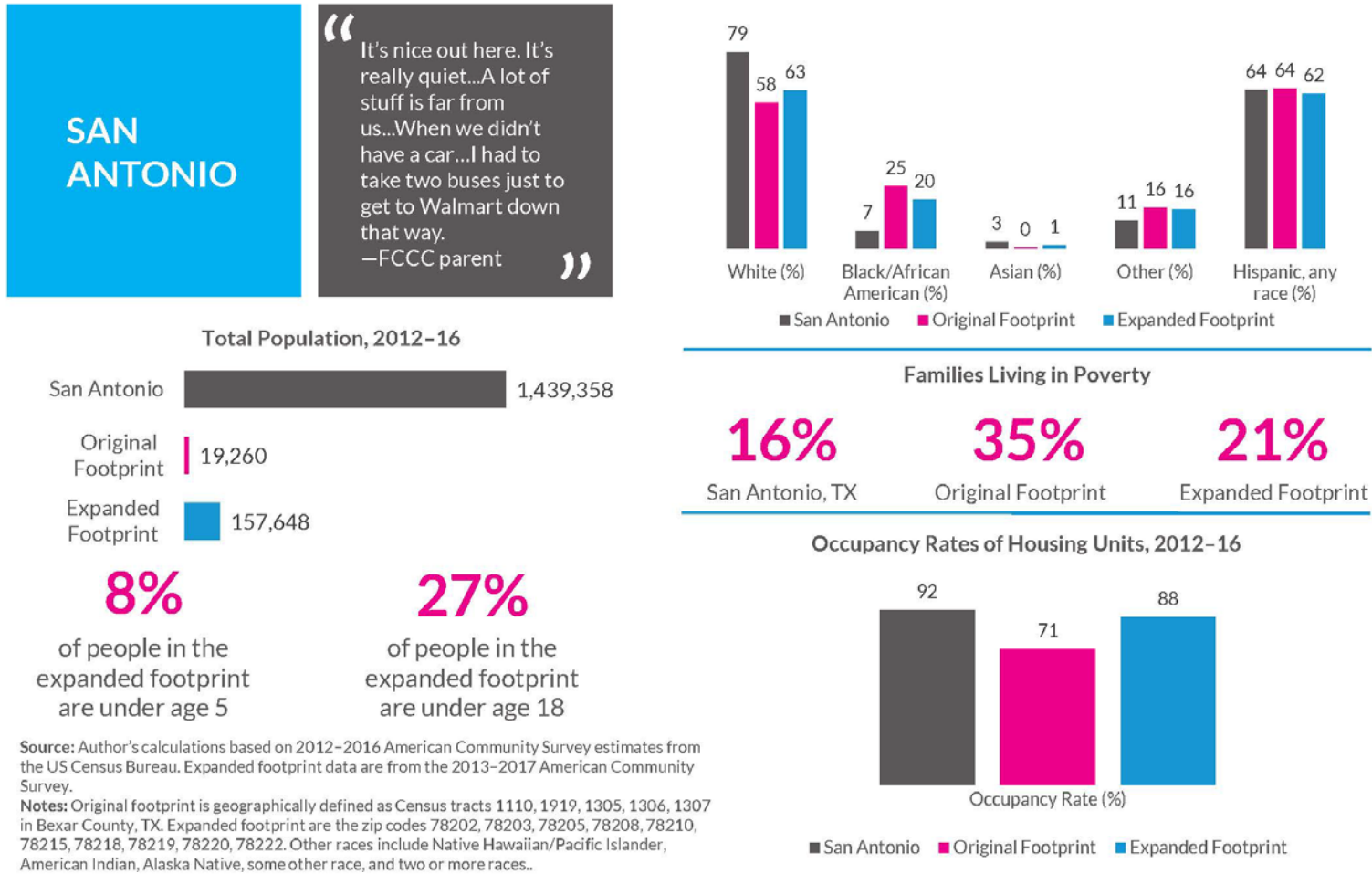the Eastside Promise Zone followed the Obama administration's designation of the Eastside area as a Promise Zone, giving the city access to federal resources and expertise.[15] The original EastPoint footprint and the larger Eastside Promise Zone have received substantial federal and private investment, including six years (2010–15) of Promise Neighborhood Initiative investments totaling over $23 million; a $30 million Choice Neighborhood Initiative grant; a grant from the Bloomberg Philanthropies to open financial empowerment centers; a US Department of Justice Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Program Grant; city community development block grants; and over $10 million in additional federal investments.[16] These grants have supported the San Antonio organizational partnership, which included child care centers, career education and training providers, home-visiting professionals, and family and financial coaches, in improving services and outcomes for children, redeveloping public housing, improving financial services, and reducing crime. This same set of partners came together for FCCC under the coordination and leadership of the United Way of Bexar County.

Nearly 160,000 people lived in the expanded Dual Generation footprint at the start of the FCCC effort, 62 percent of whom were Hispanic/Latinx of any race, 63 percent of whom were White, 20 percent of whom were Black, and 16 percent of whom identified as another race. Over one in five (21 percent) of residents lived below the federal poverty level, with a housing occupancy rate of 88 percent. Although the areas closest to the city center have experienced increased development and an influx of higher-income families that has coincided with rising housing costs, neighborhoods elsewhere in the footprint continued to suffer from the effects of decades of underinvestment.

FIGURE 5
Characteristics of San Antonio and the Dual Generation Footprint (2012–16)

SAN ANTONIO

"It's nice out here. It's really quiet...A lot of stuff is far from us...When we didn't have a car...I had to take two buses just to get to Walmart down that way.
—FCCC parent"

Total Population, 2012–16

San Antonio — 1,439,358
Original Footprint — 19,260
Expanded Footprint — 157,648

8% of people in the expanded footprint are under age 5

27% of people in the expanded footprint are under age 18

Source: Author's calculations based on 2012–2016 American Community Survey estimates from the US Census Bureau. Expanded footprint data are from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey.
Notes: Original footprint is geographically defined as Census tracts 1110, 1919, 1305, 1306, 1307 in Bexar County, TX. Expanded footprint are the zip codes 78202, 78203, 78205, 78208, 78210, 78215, 78218, 78219, 78220, 78222. Other races include Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, Alaska Native, some other race, and two or more races..

White (%): 79, 58, 63
Black/African American (%): 7, 25, 20
Asian (%): 3, 0, 1
Other (%): 11, 16, 16
Hispanic, any race (%): 64, 64, 62

■ San Antonio ■ Original Footprint ■ Expanded Footprint

Families Living in Poverty

16% San Antonio, TX
35% Original Footprint
21% Expanded Footprint

Occupancy Rates of Housing Units, 2012–16

Occupancy Rate (%): 92, 71, 88

■ San Antonio ■ Original Footprint ■ Expanded Footprint

What Was the FCCC Evaluation?

The Foundation's desire for communities to build their own data capacity for tracking, maintaining, and evaluating two-generation practices and services and to play an integral role in FCCC's evaluation design informed how Urban approached the evaluation. Urban advised on data elements that would allow for consistent tracking of services and family outcomes over time and relative to other two-generation studies, but the communities ultimately decided what data they were comfortable with and willing to include in the study based on their staff and data system capacity, the details of their program structure, and their organizations' standards around confidentiality and informed consent. Early in the effort, as plans for an outcomes study were underway, Foundation staff organized monthly conference calls for a team called the Data and Learning Affinity Group, which consisted of the FCCC community leadership, the Foundation, and the FCCC evaluation and resource team, which included the Urban Institute.[17] The Data and Learning Affinity Group discussed data and evaluation plans, explored what data were feasible and available (including administrative data from sources such as school records and unemployment insurance records), and considered whether to conduct a survey or other family assessment. Later, this group provided space for peer sharing and discussion of findings. Ultimately, the data for the study included program data on participant and family characteristics and program activities; costs of staff time spent on FCCC-related activities; and interviews and focus groups with program staff, administrators, and participants. See box 1 for a brief overview of data sources that informed the study and the appendix for more detail.

BOX 1

Data Sources

The Urban Institute research team visited each community twice a year between 2014 and 2019, interviewing staff involved in the three community partnerships at all levels from each organization, institution, or agency and observing crucial program elements. The team also held 41 interviews and 8 focus groups. At multiple points, we spoke with adults participating in FCCC and other community residents who were familiar with the efforts. In these discussions, we explored what drew people to or kept them from participating in FCCC and what their experiences with FCCC programming had been like. We also conducted two rounds of Data Walks in each community to check our understanding of the programming and local context and cointerpret research findings.[18]

The communities completed an annual data request, for which they provided program data in a consistent format to the evaluation team.[19] We used these data to understand participant characteristics and service receipt.

In the sixth and seventh years of FCCC, we worked with communities to track staff time and effort through a time-use survey that informed a cost study.

At the beginning of the study, Urban planned to conduct a traditional formative evaluation, which would have helped clarify and improve programming by collaborating with community partners to articulate and test a logic model and/or a theory of change. During the study's first three years, while the community partners were designing their approaches and recruiting participants as part of their early design and implementation efforts, Urban worked with each to draft a community-specific logic model and service flow diagram. Once the community partners reached the stage of full implementation—when their programming, partnerships, and recruitment and service procedures were in place—Urban expected to test whether each model's inputs (e.g., staffing, services, and other resources) produced the expected outputs and were associated with short-, intermediate-, and longer-term outcomes for families participating in the two-generation services.

Our observations over the grant period, however, revealed community partners continuously revising their approaches and partnerships, building data capacity, and determining how best to define and set outcomes that reflected the services they were providing. Ultimately, we shifted much of our evaluation effort away from a formative evaluation and toward a longitudinal, in-depth implementation study documenting these iterations in place-based two-generation programming. We met the community partners where they were and provided information that would help the local partnerships better support the FCCC effort. The evaluation focused on child and family services, leadership, staffing, organizational partnerships, and agency infrastructure for FCCC: that is, how the local partnerships glued adult- and child-focused services into a two-generation approach. The evaluation also explored and documented the FCCC partnerships' experiences receiving and responding to a brief set of trainings on REEI provided by the Foundation midway through the grant (McDaniel et al. 2019). In addition to the implementation study, we conducted a descriptive cost study and analyzed participant characteristic and service provision data. We did not conduct a formal outcomes study, as the interventions were not developed enough to describe steady-state programs, and the communities did not want to direct personnel resources toward supporting postprogram outcome tracking.

It is important to note that the evaluation period ended at the end of 2019, before the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic and associated recession in the United States, a renewed reckoning around racial justice, and the 2020 presidential election. We briefly mention considerations related to these new conditions in the final section, but the body of the report does not touch on issues associated with these important social, economic, and political changes.

The evaluation produced several analyses and reports: one on local contextual factors affecting FCCC, including limited affordable rental housing and child care options; one on the organizational collaborations and lessons for building two-generation partnerships; one that estimates costs associated with operating two-generation efforts; and one that explores lessons from the REEI trainings each FCCC team received.[20] We will also release a report on community-engaged methods as part of the portfolio of evaluation products.

What the Urban Institute evaluation captured, walking alongside the communities, was the dynamic nature of the programming and services, and the local partnerships' ever-changing relationships and engagements with families and the communities. The goals of the study included helping each community partnership understand the extent to which its program models could generate research evidence and what "hidden" influences (including organizational culture and community and social context) contributed to success or to goals not fully achieved. The study design was intended to inform the local partnerships' implementation (e.g., to help them understand how different partners viewed and carried out the work and how families perceived the services); we did not evaluate the effectiveness of specific programming. Still, the study findings shed light on two principal questions that undergirded the communities' efforts: *Did the communities get to a real two-generation intervention?* and *Did the communities get to meaningful community change?* The following discussion describes FCCC in practice (e.g., participants, services, and costs) before addressing those essential questions.

What Was FCCC in Practice?

One of the big learnings for me was that it really helped us to pilot and start small, and then sort of evolve and add to our knowledge about how this was going to work; to learn what seemed to be resonating with the community and the adults…and the children, and what didn't. It allowed us to figure out what the right staffing skill set was of the people we needed to bring onboard. It allowed us to, through piloting, figure out which of the external partners would deliver their areas of expertise and services in a way that was at a fairly high standard.
—Buffalo FCCC staff member, 2016

Who Was Served?

ELIGIBLE AND TARGET POPULATIONS

Though the FCCC effort was targeted toward low-income families living in the community with children age 10 or younger, each community identified and recruited families into their two-generation programs somewhat differently:

- **Buffalo:** Families of children enrolled in one of the neighborhood child-serving partners were eligible to participate, even if the family did not live in the footprint. Interested adults meeting those criteria could formally enroll by completing an enrollment form. The Buffalo Children's Academy (the primary child services partner targeted for recruitment) had income restrictions, though the partnership as a whole lacked them for most of the grant period.

  Buffalo changed its eligibility guidelines toward the end of FCCC to align with the Department of Social Services child care subsidy funding. It saw the change as an avenue for working toward more sustainable funding, which would be less reliant on philanthropic giving. The changes were also in line with ongoing programming conversations on increasing parental accountability. Beginning in the 2019–20 school year, parents were required to be active participants in two-generation programming beyond attending a monthly community event; families were required to live in the footprint; and family income limits were implemented (a limit that nearly all families met).[21] Further, parents with children participating in child care

were required to either be working, enrolled in an education program, or collaborating actively with staff to achieve their vocational or other goals.

- **Columbus:** Eligible families for FCCC lived in the Weinland Park footprint or had strong connections with partner organizations in Weinland Park, were below 200 percent of the federal poverty level, had a child age 10 or younger, and were stable in their housing at enrollment. The FCCC effort targeted families with children enrolled at the community child-serving partners and families living in subsidized housing. Those interested in the intensive coaching program, called Next Doors, also had to demonstrate that they were ready, willing, and able to participate in a focused effort to achieve goals for at least a year.

  The requirements about residency and the nature of partner service engagement shifted slightly over time. In 2017, Columbus established a Parent Pledge for families to engage with services at a lower intensity. Parent Pledge did not have an explicit low-income requirement and was largely connected to services offered at the public elementary school. This change increased enrollment and drew more attention to the FCCC effort, but the intervention was less well defined when goal setting and coaching through Next Doors became an optional component of FCCC participation.

- **San Antonio:** The Dual Generation partners in San Antonio substantially increased their FCCC footprint in 2016, from 3 zip codes to 10, making it by far the largest place-based effort of the three communities. Dual Generation partners sought to enroll families who had children between the ages of zero and 10; lived in the target footprint; had income below 200 percent of the federal poverty level; and were employed, underemployed, or ready and willing to take the steps necessary to be employed.

As displayed in figure 6, each community progressively increased the number of new enrollees until they reached a peak in 2016 or 2017, and then tapered as the grant period moved toward its end. (A discussion of sustainability in each community appears later in this report.) San Antonio had the most enrollees; Columbus, with the smallest target footprint, had the lowest number. The following sections describe participants from each community in more detail.

FIGURE 6

New Enrollments in FCCC by Year

New participants (both adults and children)
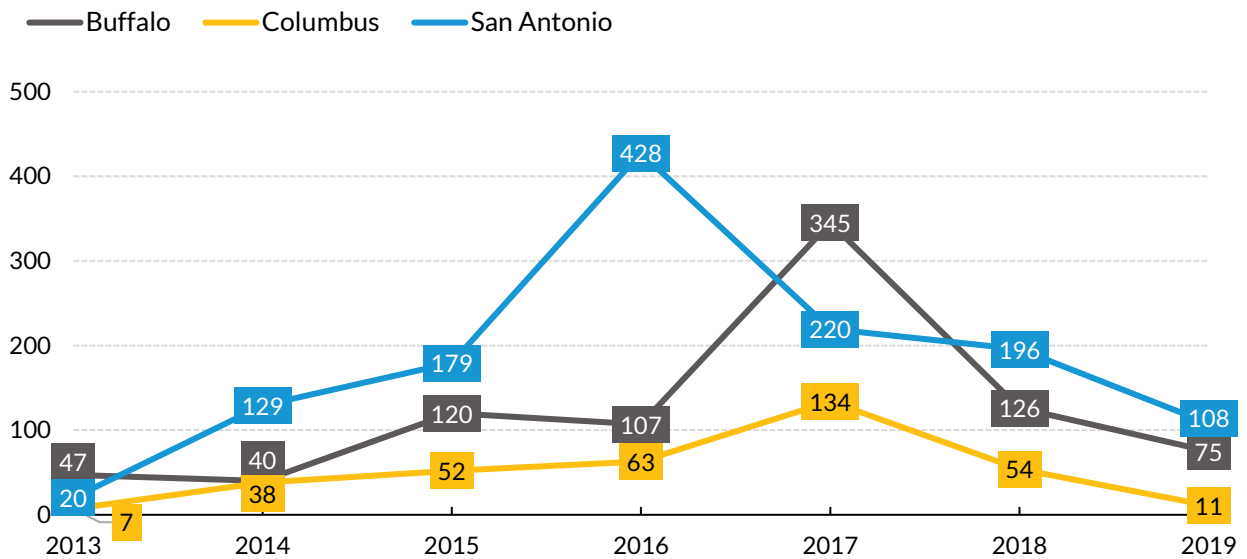
Source: Urban Institute analysis of program data provided by the FCCC grantee partnerships.

Notes: This is a count of new participants of any age. Participants were members of a participating family, which is defined as (1) having ever lived in the footprint or had a child enrolled in an FCCC school and (2) having members who received at least one child and adult service within 365 days of each other. In San Antonio, estimates of total participants and families adjust for the rate of participating families who consented to data sharing, because data were only shared for participants who gave consent to individual-level data sharing. We believe these figures closely approximate the actual participation numbers in San Antonio.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATING FAMILIES

We define families as having participated if (1) that family ever lived in the footprint or had a child enrolled in an FCCC school and (2) members of the family received at least one child and adult service from an FCCC partner within 365 days of each other. We also characterize members of "high-touch" families, which is a subset of all participating families in which an adult in the family received at least five 30-minute coaching sessions. This high-touch definition was developed in collaboration with community leadership. We describe the demographic and social characteristics of participants in each community, but we do not have a consistent measure of income across communities.

Buffalo

In all, 274 families participated in Buffalo's PAZ programming, 128 (47 percent) of which met the high-touch definition (see figure 7). Participating families had a total of 465 children who averaged just over 4 years old at intake, though those who were more engaged had slightly younger children on average. The 395 participating adults were 33 years old on average and predominantly (82 percent) female.

Among those with recorded educational attainment, 86 percent had completed high school, and 55 percent had some college experience or a degree. The vast majority (88 percent) were identified in the data as non-Hispanic Black, while a smaller portion (8 percent) were Hispanic or Latino of any race. Most participants were missing data on marital status, but 19 percent of those for whom marital status was known were married. High-touch participants were even more likely to be female and Black and slightly less likely to be married, though they had a similar educational profile.
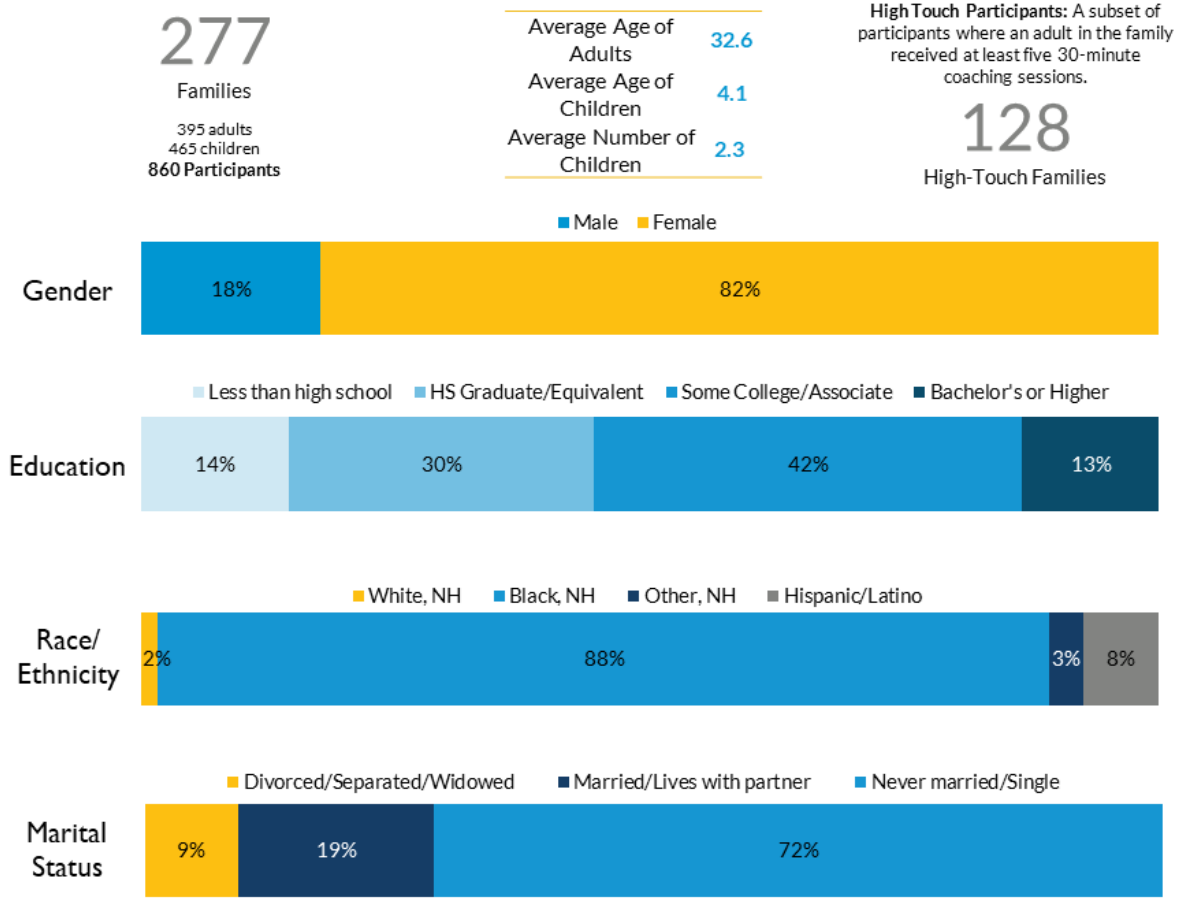
Columbus

In Columbus, 112 families participated in FCCC, and 87 (78 percent) families met the high-touch definition (see figure 8). Participating families had a total of 231 children who averaged just under 5 years old at intake, and that age was similar among more engaged families. The 128 participating adults were about 30 years old on average, and almost all (94 percent) were female. Many were missing data on educational attainment, but of those who provided this information, 42 percent had not completed high school and 48 percent had some college experience or a degree. Most (78 percent) participants were identified in the data as non-Hispanic Black. Smaller numbers of participants identified as "other" race (9 percent) and Hispanic or Latino of any race (5 percent). All participants were missing data on marital status. High-touch participants were even more likely to be female, but they had a similar educational and racial/ethnic background as all participants.

San Antonio

Overall, 461 families participated in San Antonio's Dual Generation programming, 201 (44 percent) of which met the definition of high touch (see figure 9). Participating families had a total of 788 children who averaged just under 4 years old at intake, while highly engaged families had somewhat younger children. The 492 participating adults averaged around 27 years old, and the vast majority (92 percent) were female. Of those with data on educational attainment, 30 percent had not completed high school and 27 percent had some college experience or a degree. Nearly two-thirds (62 percent) of participants were identified in the data as Hispanic or Latino, and one-third (33 percent) identified as non-Hispanic Black. Of those with data on marital status, 19 percent were married. High-touch participants were more likely to be female, were slightly more likely to have college experience or a degree, were slightly more likely to be Black, and a little more likely to be married.
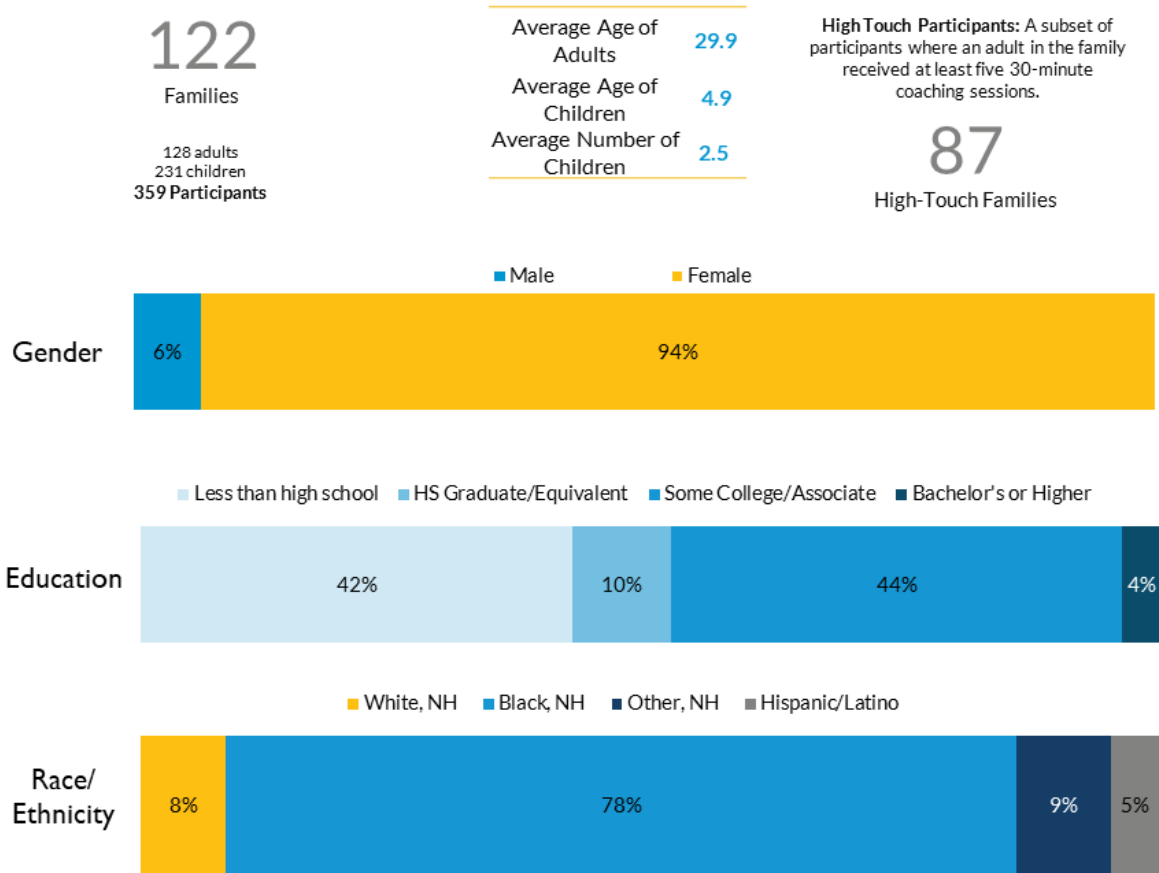
FIGURE 7
Characteristics of Participating Families in Buffalo

277
Families

395 adults
465 children
860 Participants

Average Age of Adults	32.6
Average Age of Children	4.1
Average Number of Children	2.3

High Touch Participants: A subset of participants where an adult in the family received at least five 30-minute coaching sessions.

128
High-Touch Families

■ Male ■ Female

Gender

18%	82%

■ Less than high school ■ HS Graduate/Equivalent ■ Some College/Associate ■ Bachelor's or Higher

Education

14%	30%	42%	13%

■ White, NH ■ Black, NH ■ Other, NH ■ Hispanic/Latino

Race/ Ethnicity

2%	88%	3%	8%

■ Divorced/Separated/Widowed ■ Married/Lives with partner ■ Never married/Single

Marital Status

9%	19%	72%

Source: Urban Institute analysis of program data provided by the FCCC grantee partnerships.

Notes: We define families as having participated if that family (1) ever lived in the footprint or had a child enrolled in an FCCC school and (2) members of the family received at least one child and adult service within 365 days of each other. Percentages are of those for whom a value is known.
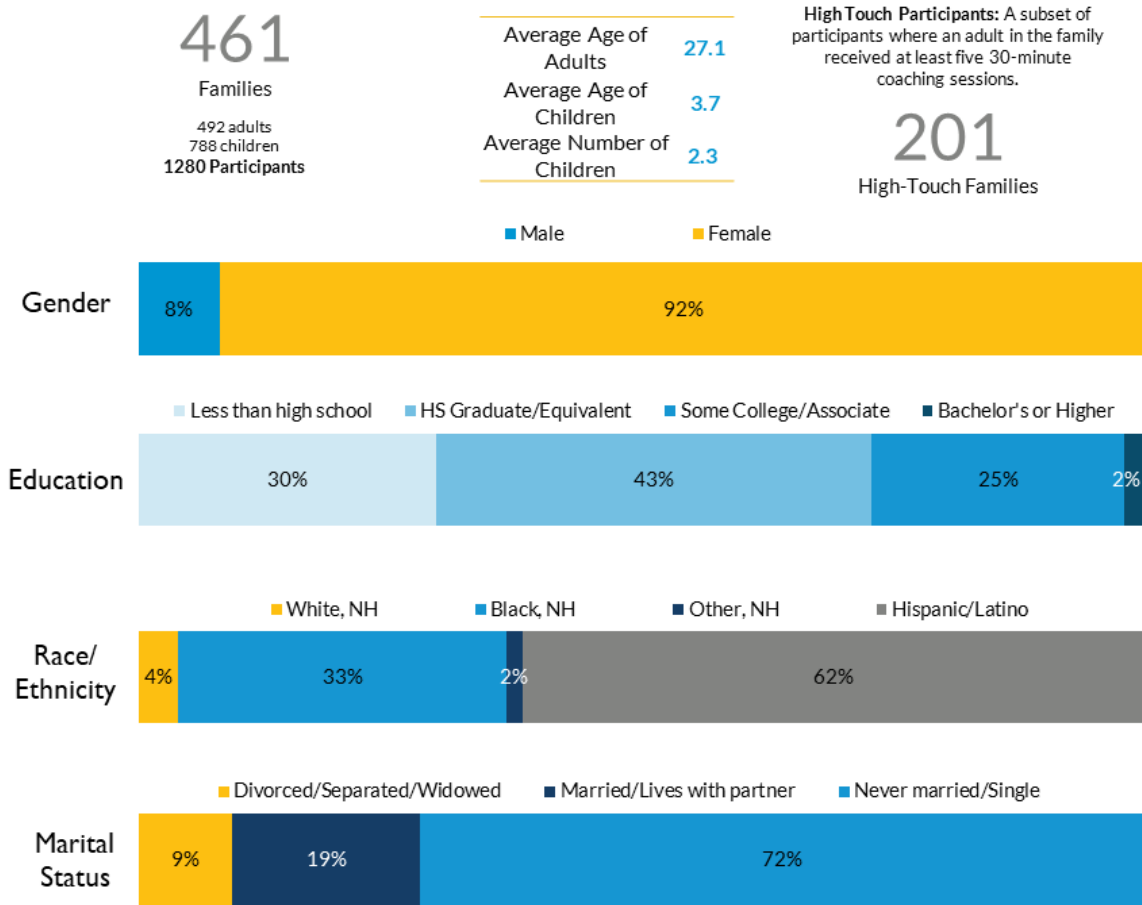
FIGURE 8
Characteristics of Participating Families in Columbus

122
Families

128 adults
231 children
359 Participants

Average Age of Adults	29.9
Average Age of Children	4.9
Average Number of Children	2.5

High Touch Participants: A subset of participants where an adult in the family received at least five 30-minute coaching sessions.

87
High-Touch Families

■ Male ■ Female

Gender
6% | 94%

■ Less than high school ■ HS Graduate/Equivalent ■ Some College/Associate ■ Bachelor's or Higher

Education
42% | 10% | 44% | 4%

■ White, NH ■ Black, NH ■ Other, NH ■ Hispanic/Latino

Race/ Ethnicity
8% | 78% | 9% | 5%

Source: Urban Institute analysis of program data provided by the FCCC grantee partnerships.
Notes: We define families as having participated if that family (1) ever lived in the footprint or had a child enrolled in an FCCC school and (2) members of the family received at least one child and adult service within 365 days of each other. Percentages are of those for whom a value is known. Columbus did not collect data on marital status.

FIGURE 9

Characteristics of Participating Families in San Antonio

461
Families

492 adults
788 children
1280 Participants

Average Age of Adults	27.1
Average Age of Children	3.7
Average Number of Children	2.3

High Touch Participants: A subset of participants where an adult in the family received at least five 30-minute coaching sessions.

201
High-Touch Families

■ Male ■ Female

| Gender | 8% | 92% |

■ Less than high school ■ HS Graduate/Equivalent ■ Some College/Associate ■ Bachelor's or Higher

| Education | 30% | 43% | 25% | 2% |

■ White, NH ■ Black, NH ■ Other, NH ■ Hispanic/Latino

| Race/ Ethnicity | 4% | 33% | 2% | 62% |

■ Divorced/Separated/Widowed ■ Married/Lives with partner ■ Never married/Single

| Marital Status | 9% | 19% | 72% |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of program data provided by the FCCC grantee partnerships.
Notes: We define families as having participated if that family (1) ever lived in the footprint or had a child enrolled in an FCCC school and (2) members of the family received at least one child and adult service within 365 days of each other. Percentages are of those for whom a value is known. San Antonio only provided demographic characteristics of participants who consented to individual data sharing. We adjusted total enrollment numbers to reflect total enrollees, inflated by the estimated consent rate. Demographic information represents data for consenting families only. The 309 consenting families included 530 children and 333 adults.

Adult Services and Family Supports

Many adults were proud of what they had achieved with the support of FCCC partner staff and programming. In particular, several participants mentioned being proud that they were setting good examples for their children. One young mother described wanting to set a good example for her infant son:

I've been working and…getting my stuff together, so by the time he's old enough to work, he's like, "Look, if mom can do it, I could do it too." I'm trying to encourage him.
—FCCC participant, 2017

Most adult services already existed within the communities, though FCCC provided some opportunities to enhance adult service offerings. Adult services and family supports generally fell into five categories: family coaching, financial coaching, employment services, education and training services, and other services. We describe each in turn.

FAMILY COACHING

Family coaching, which was at the core of FCCC services in all three communities, consisted of (1) goal setting and tracking and (2) regular coaching meetings with tools like motivational interviewing. In Columbus, the core of FCCC was an intensive family coaching intervention called Next Doors, with lighter-touch family coaching called Parent Pledge offered in the local school. In Buffalo, family coaching was offered to PAZ families alongside financial, housing, and job coaching. In San Antonio, coaches helped adults develop career plans and remove barriers to persistence in workforce programming. Families noted that the coaches connected them to resources that helped alleviate barriers to their achieving their goals, including help with getting a driver's license or improving their credit. Some adult services and family supports were provided by core partners, and others were available through referral or more tangential partners.

Figure 10 shows the intensity of coaching over the course of participating families' enrollment in each community. San Antonio had the most intensive initial relationship with an average of more than 2.5 coaching sessions across all participants in the first month, but this rate decreased substantially in the second month and in each subsequent month. In San Antonio, almost all (nearly 100 percent) participating adults met with a coach at least once, and 46 percent had at least five 30-minute coaching sessions (the project's definition of "high-touch" coaching). Columbus's families had high-intensity coaching relationships that declined in frequency somewhat but remained at about one meeting per month over time. In Columbus, 97 percent of participating adults met with a coach at least once, and 59 percent had at least five 30-minute coaching sessions. Buffalo took a lighter-touch approach to coaching, averaging one session in the first month and relatively little contact after that on average
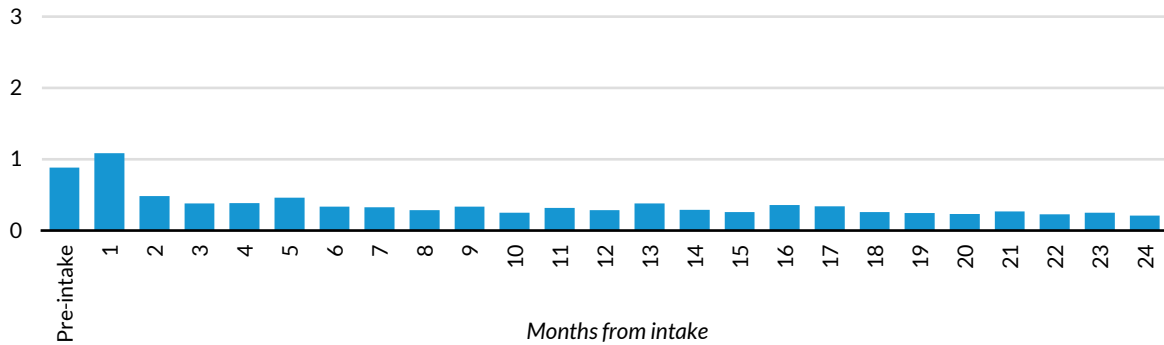
across participants. In Buffalo, 89 percent of participating adults met with a coach at least once, and 43 percent had at least five 30-minute coaching sessions.

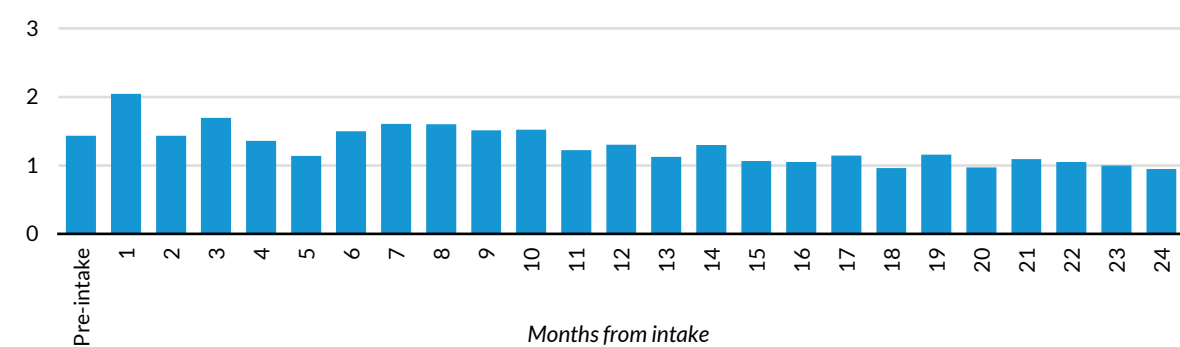**Average Number of Coaching Sessions from Date of Intake, by Community**

Buffalo   89% of adults had 1+ coaching session; 43% had 5+ 30-minute sessions
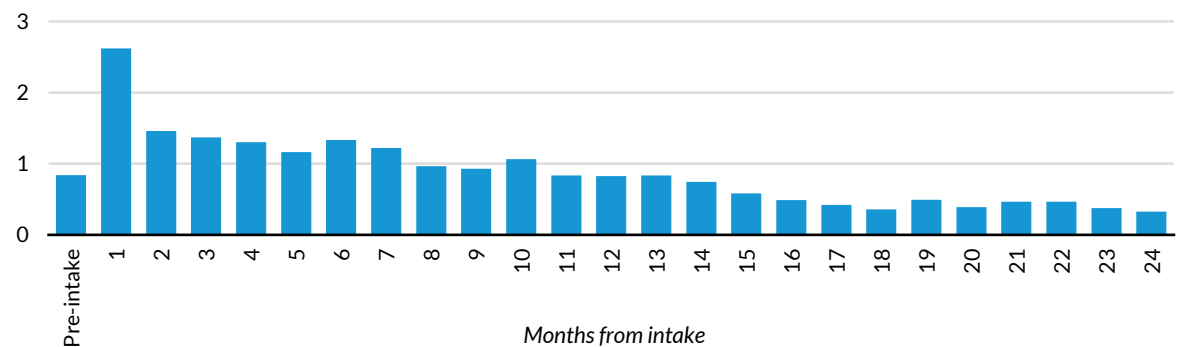

Months from intake

Columbus   97% of adults had 1+ coaching session; 59% had 5+ 30-minute sessions

Months from intake

San Antonio   100% of adults had 1+ coaching session; 46% had 5+ 30-minute sessions

Months from intake

Source: Community program data.

The adults participating in the three FCCC communities with whom the evaluation team spoke often described coaches and other partner staff as caring and respectful individuals who worked hard to provide them with connections to resources and encourage them to overcome obstacles and frustrations that might otherwise have prevented them from reaching their goals. They reported receiving help with goals ranging from the personal, including improving self-esteem or resolving challenges with family members, to the professional, including help with persistence in completing various education and training programs. Figure 11 describes the goals participating families set with FCCC coaches, which points to the service needs and connections that families desired from the partnerships. In Buffalo, the biggest focus areas were financial security, employment, and benefits. In Columbus, the biggest areas were child education (described below in the Child Services section), adult education, and employment. In San Antonio, the biggest areas were adult education, financial security, and employment. In many cases, adults said that they would not have succeeded in reaching their goals without their coaches' support.

FIGURE 11
Goal Setting in FCCC

Buffalo

Child Ed 32 families

Personal 33 families

Employment 99 families

Bigger bubbles mean more families pursued that type of goal

Other 5 families

Benefits 87 families

ECE 7 families

Financial 153 families

Interaction 63 families

Adult Ed 67 families

Housing 57 families

Columbus

Financial 42 families

Employment 47 families

ECE 17 families

Housing 14

Child Ed 69 families

Adult Ed 50 families

Interaction 16 families

Benefits 1 family

Personal 31 families

San Antonio

Child Ed 23 families

Employment 163 families

Interaction 22 families

Financial 172 families

Housing 94 families

Adult Ed 255 families

ECE 2 families

Benefits 12 families

Source: Community program data.
Notes: FCCC families set family goals (gray circles), like securing housing, applying for benefits, or increasing interaction between parents and children by helping them with homework or reading with children at night. Adults in FCCC (blue circles) set goals related to adult education (Adult Ed), employment (which might include updating a resume or applying for a job), financial, and personal goals, like being able to spend more time with children. Families (yellow circles) set goals related to children, including school-age education (Child Ed), goals related to attendance and performance in school, and goals related to early care and education (ECE) like readiness for kindergarten or access to high-quality child care. "Other" goals in Buffalo had incomplete or missing information describing the goal, though they were marked as completed.

Adults often reported developing deep personal relationships with FCCC staff that helped them feel comfortable working with them on their life struggles. One mother explained how her coach helped her get out of a tough personal situation:

I was getting out of a domestic violence situation and [my coach] told me that people are going to show you who you are and you have to accept it and leave it—that was the most helpful. That woman works hard, and she works when she's not even at work.
—FCCC participant, 2015

When asked how she felt about FCCC staff, a mother in another FCCC community said:

I love 'em. I worked with them for so long...we like a family...because the program is really genuine, and people need to feel that.
—FCCC participant, 2019

Adults in all communities often noted that coaches provided support toward reaching their goals, but the coaches did not do the work for them. Several participants noted that this practice meant that success in workforce training and other programming required self-motivation and that some potential participants may not be able to take on the work for a variety of personal reasons. One parent said that she explained this to other parents in the neighborhood to whom she recommended FCCC:

This is a testimony that I give to parents, and let them know what this is—they really help you and they make it happen for you. It's not so much them. It's them prompting you to better yourself. They give you the tools. As long as you use them, you can definitely become a little more successful.
—FCCC participant, 2019

FINANCIAL COACHING

Two of the three communities offered financial coaching services to help families build wealth toward homeownership and other longer-term stabilization. Families in San Antonio's Dual Generation program were required to attend six sessions with the Financial Empowerment Center (these financial coaching sessions may be included in the coaching engagements reported in figure 10). In Buffalo, one to two full-time financial and housing coaches from Belmont Housing Resources for Western New York worked with families to meet their homeownership and other financial goals. Columbus briefly offered financial coaching midway through the FCCC grant period, but the partnership with the financial coaching provider ended. Ultimately, the Columbus FCCC team brought one of the financial coaches on as a family achievement coach who helped participating adults with their financial goals as needed.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

In all three communities, employment services were largely tailored to the adults' goals and included job and career coaching, job and career readiness support (e.g., resume and interview preparation), and supportive employment (e.g., subsidized employment and employment experience programs). Buffalo PAZ employed two job coaches through its partner, SUNY Erie Community College, which encouraged a participant-led coaching approach. Columbus developed a close colocated partnership with Columbus Works (a workforce development nonprofit) in the fifth year of the grant period for employment coaching and supportive placement that complemented existing job readiness services through cpoWORKS (an employment services program operated by the partnership's lead organization). Columbus partners also collaborated on a transitional employment program and offered an AmeriCorps employment experience program until the last year of the FCCC effort. In San Antonio, Goodwill Industries and the San Antonio Housing Authority provided employment coaching, work experience, and placement support. All three communities built out employment services substantially over the FCCC implementation period, aiming to provide services that would help participants obtain a job and not just prepare for one.

However, it was not clear by the end of the grant period whether the available job opportunities and placements would lead families to stable, family-supporting, fulfilling careers. It is common for low-wage jobs to have limited opportunities for career growth (Loprest et al. 2009), and it can take a purposeful effort to help someone who lacks a strong employment history access a good job that leads to a career.[22] We encountered some notable success stories of participants who moved into well-paying careers after completing certification programs like pharmacy technician and nursing. But based on the qualitative research and the information available in the community partnerships' data, it was unclear what portion of the jobs FCCC families obtained through the services provided were on a career track.

Nonetheless, participants' common experiences were like this mother's, who explained how FCCC provided multiple employment supports that helped her get a better job:

I was able to find a better job. This is the highest-paying job I've had. They helped me with building a resume—not only building a resume, but actually building a professional portfolio. I didn't really understand that. That helped me get my job.
—FCCC participant, 2017

EDUCATION AND TRAINING SERVICES

The communities varied in the educational attainment of FCCC participants, with Buffalo serving the highest proportion of families with college degrees. All three communities had partnerships to help adult participants earn high school equivalency credentials. In addition, Buffalo and San Antonio had college and training partners for FCCC adults to gain postsecondary experience. In San Antonio, Alamo Colleges (a local community college network), Goodwill Services, Family Service Association, and other education partners provided professional certificate and degree programs, with some heavily subsidized opportunities in health care and other high-growth sectors. In Buffalo, a partnership with SUNY Erie Community College offered pathways to job training, and another partner offered certified nursing assistant, culinary technician, and home health trainings. Columbus helped participating adults enroll in college if that was among their goals, but it did not have direct partnerships with local colleges. As of the end of the FCCC grant period, the Columbus team was working to develop a nurse's aide training partnership, but it had not come to fruition.

OTHER SERVICES

Each community offered other services for adults and families. Buffalo PAZ, through a partnership beginning in 2018 with Gerard Place (a large local service provider), had connections to a number of services, including transitional housing, preventative services for families at risk of homelessness, life skills training, mental health counseling, and a food pantry. PAZ also had access to resources related to housing through its partnership with Belmont Housing Resources, a housing organization that employed the financial and housing coaches. In addition, the Buffalo PAZ team offered a popular monthly informational and community networking event called PAZ Café for families in the footprint

offering presentations, guest speakers, and trainings on topics such as budgeting and money management and coping with stress.

Columbus continued social capital–building events like a monthly Parents and Pastries support group, a monthly women's Toastmasters group (Women with Voices), a monthly Neighborhood Network event, and six-week informational sessions called Family University. Columbus also built a partnership late in the grant period to support digital literacy.

San Antonio offered Parent Rooms in local schools, an effort initiated before FCCC, but these were discontinued 2019 to refocus resources toward tutoring centers. The parents participated in monthly family nights, including fun activities like a movie showing, dances, ice cream socials, and picnics. San Antonio also provided home visiting to interested parents through a partner or referrals.

Only Buffalo's late partnership with Gerard Place provided an explicit physical or mental health resource serving adults, and in 2019 Buffalo deepened these resources by introducing two family support specialists to provide health and wellness coaching and help connect families to mental health services and resources. Neither Columbus nor San Antonio had explicit adult mental health partnerships beyond the support of the coaches by the end of the grant period.

Adult participants had many positive things to say about programming for families. Several adults in Buffalo mentioned that PAZ Cafés offered helpful information and that the events included fun and educational activities for children to participate in while adults were meeting. Some San Antonio adults mentioned enjoying going to Dual Generation family nights with their children.

CHALLENGES FOR ADULT SERVICES AND FAMILY SUPPORTS

Many challenges in adult service and family support provision were structural: quality jobs were not located close to the footprint; participants faced transportation challenges; and an ongoing housing crisis undermined family stability. We explore these and related issues in our earlier report on community context (Popkin et al. 2019).

Adult services and family supports faced programmatic challenges as well. The biggest common challenges involved organizing programming and services to meet the diversity of family goals and securing funding. Individual communities faced challenges around shortage of training slots, difficulty engaging employers, and staff turnover. In addition, community members flagged an unmet need for appropriate mental health services and supports.

Programming and services to meet diverse goals

Families came into FCCC with different goals, depending on their housing, education, employment, and family situations. The goal-centered nature of the work was a boon to families trying to move forward on their trajectories, but it sometimes made it difficult for FCCC partners to anticipate and accommodate the range of appropriate services. Some early partnerships faded over time, and new partners came on. These changes meant that the FCCC efforts evolved to better reflect family interests and needs, but they did not always have the exact resources families sought. In many cases, the coaches tried to mitigate these negative effects by helping families find related resources outside the FCCC partnership or directing them to services that were available at the time.

In some cases, participating adults said that adult services or family supports were difficult for them to access (e.g., because they were too far away or took place during work or training) or that supports offered were insufficient for them to overcome barriers to participation or program completion. For example, a few adults in Buffalo noted that PAZ events could have been more effective if they took place at times that worked better for their families, were less crowded, offered less repetitive content, and/or provided concrete steps to obtain a job. A few adults in Columbus who signed up for the Parent Pledge but did not participate in Next Doors felt that programming could have been more expansive and that it would have been useful if staff provided more structured discussions to help them pursue goals.

Several adults across the communities noted that they had not received a career training certification or GED that they had set as a goal because they were unable to start or complete programming. These adults typically had many other commitments and stressors in their lives that made it difficult to devote sufficient time to school or training to succeed in the FCCC programming. In these cases, it appeared that the FCCC programming and supports were not enough for adults to overcome such obstacles. For instance, a mother of teenagers in one community spoke about wanting to go back to school but being unable to balance a school schedule with her parenting responsibilities:

It's just kind of crazy, because I have to work at the office, get out at 4:00, go pick up the kids. Then just get home, make dinner, do this, help them out with their homework. I'm like, if I stopped working and go to school, how can I do it?
—FCCC participant, 2017

One Dual Generation leader summarized some of the challenges the partnership faced to successfully help families reach their goals:

When you look at the demographics and the population you're dealing with, you're dealing with pretty severely poor folks with some pretty severe issues associated with trauma and all sorts of other things. Some of those that we never actually found resources for.
—San Antonio FCCC staff member, 2019

Other common challenges that adult participants shared included being unable to afford to take time off from work to go to school (particularly if they did not have other supports such as a partner or other family members or friends who could assist with responsibilities like child care), lacking transportation to training programs, and mental or physical health problems that made participation in school or training challenging.

Funding challenges

The funding challenges were manifold. In Columbus, the Mayor's office ended funding for a transitional jobs program that had operated through an FCCC partnership, resulting in a change in the organizations partnering to offer the program and decreased program capacity. Buffalo faced the untimely death of a major philanthropist who had been supporting Buffalo Promise Neighborhoods indefinitely; his passing led to a five-year timetable on the remaining funds, raising the specter of new medium-term fundraising needs. San Antonio faced fewer unexpected funding hurdles, though it struggled to concurrently fund child care and subsidized training at the levels its families needed. The size of the footprint made a difference. Although San Antonio attracted and capitalized on various grants and resources within its large footprint, Columbus leadership reported struggling to draw resources and attention to the small Weinland Park FCCC footprint. San Antonio's lead organization also benefitted from its position as a funder and the fact that it included a team with substantial fundraising experience and capacity.

Other issues

Individual communities flagged specific issues that affected their adult service and family support delivery:

- Buffalo highlighted the challenge of staff turnover in 2019, largely due to funding challenges as PAZ looked uncertainly toward the future. Two job coaches and one financial and housing coach left PAZ in the last year, leaving many families without a familiar connection even as services were still available. As the evaluation was ending in early 2020, FCCC partner SUNY Erie College leveraged its relationship with the New York State Department of Labor to continue on-site and other job-related services with the FCCC community.

- High-quality adult training and job preparation services often benefit from close and meaningful relationships with employers, ideally employers offering family-sustaining jobs (Spaulding and Blount 2018). Similar to their challenge in attracting funding, Columbus leadership had a hard time engaging employers because of the small size of the footprint and the small number of potential workers they served there. The partnership with Columbus Works, which had strong employer relationships, substantially helped this problem.

- San Antonio faced a major setback in building out its programming when the partnership did not win grant funding to facilitate Workforce Solutions Alamo (the local workforce development board) opening a workforce development center in a building with many colocated Dual Generation adult services or to open an on-site child care facility at that location that would have helped to facilitate more participation in FCCC services. Workforce Solutions Alamo did eventually move into the building in early 2020.

Columbus took the largest step in offering mental and emotional health support to children (see below), but only Buffalo developed a partnership that offered mental health support to adults. The issue of unmet mental health needs came up many times in FCCC cross-community discussions, and it was the focus of one of the Foundation's FCCC convenings and ongoing technical assistance to each community. Communities struggled with a shortage of providers, high costs, and other complications in developing meaningful adult mental health partnerships earlier in the grant period.

Child Services

Each community partnership provided a different mix of child services to participating families. Most families in all three communities had one or more coaches who helped adults to set goals and access services for themselves and their children. At least some families in each community were given access to subsidized early care and education. Most interventions were enhancements to existing services or referrals to providers outside of the core service partnerships. The child services that the communities

provided were generally available to all children, not just those from FCCC families. The mix of services evolved according to changing resources and priorities.

The services provided fell mainly into five categories: early care and education (ECE), child-focused aspects of coaching, elementary education enhancements; after-school and summer activities; and parenting supports.

EARLY CARE AND EDUCATION

The three communities all provided ECE activities—often considered the most critical service in two-generation intervention—for at least some young children in participating families. Generally, providing an adequate supply of quality, affordable ECE activities was challenging due to shortages of both funding and available providers. Buffalo started with one high-quality child care center[23] that was funded through Head Start until 2016, when Buffalo partners brought in and funded a private for-profit provider. By 2019 Buffalo partners were able to expand to two centers (the Children's Academies) with the same philanthropic funding, and care was available to families free of cost (though by 2019 Buffalo established an income cutoff, which nearly all families met).[24] These providers served most young children who participated in PAZ. The Buffalo program data recorded that 66 percent of ECE-age children in PAZ attended one of the two Children's Academies. Columbus provided quality ECE for free to a small number of children through reserved slots at the neighborhood's only quality-rated provider, which 29 percent of age-eligible FCCC children were recorded as attending during the grant period. That provider was partially funded through an Early Head Start grant, as well as other subsidies and funding streams. Finally, San Antonio partners provided quality ECE to an increasing share of participating children as they worked with partnering providers to improve their quality through a years-long quality improvement process that was ultimately scaled throughout the city. During the FCCC grant period, San Antonio expanded the parent choices for early care and education from one center to seven and assisted four of those in achieving the highest quality level as certified by the state. The San Antonio program data recorded 67 percent of age-eligible children in Dual Generation families as enrolled with a high-quality provider.[25]

Most adults in the three communities spoke positively about the care and early education that their children were receiving, and in many cases emphasized that subsidized care was critical for their own training and employment. Several adults also shared positive assessments of the quality of the teachers at their children's centers. A mother who had completed a course through FCCC and had received funded child care mentioned:

I feel so much better. I felt so good about going to school, and it helped me a lot. I mean, I guess without those programs, it's hard for somebody to go out and work and take care of your kids, or pay a babysitter. When you're working, paying a babysitter and going to school, it's hard.
—FCCC participant, 2017

CHILD-FOCUSED ASPECTS OF COACHING

As described above, all three FCCC efforts included coaches who worked with adults to help them set goals and access services for themselves and their children. Further, coaching was the only service that all three communities delivered to most of the families they served. The extent to which coaches focused on supporting child outcomes varied across the communities. Some coaches addressed child needs only as they conflicted with adults' goals (e.g., if a sick child presented a barrier to an adult attending training). As shown in figure 11, only Columbus recorded child goals among the top three most frequent types of goals set.

One mother explained how she worked with her coach to set and achieve goals for her daughter's education:

I set a goal to get my daughter into [a special program]. [My coach] done got me in there. I just set her a goal to keep up with her grades and she's keeping up with that.
—FCCC participant, 2017

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ENHANCEMENTS

FCCC partners offered enrichment activities within targeted schools in each community during the effort. The extent to which these activities were integral to the service offerings changed over time, along with the strength of the school partnerships. Many of these activities were not targeted specifically to FCCC children but instead were open to all children in the community. School choice in all three communities made targeting enhancements to FCCC children more challenging (see discussion below of school choice under *Challenges for child services*).

Buffalo's partnership was uniquely situated to implement school enhancements, as the partnership's lead organization operated one of the local elementary schools during the FCCC grant period and oversaw another one. Key enhancements that Buffalo made included coordinating with the Children's Academies to form a pipeline into one of the schools and designing dedicated space for coaches in the school buildings.

In the last two years of the grant period, Columbus placed a "school-based team" at the neighborhood elementary school that provided mental and behavioral health supports to children and outreach to adults to support their children's education. This team offered some special attention and services to FCCC families, including a monthly "Lunch Bunch" for FCCC children and parents who could attend during the day and "Star Bucks" rewards for positive life behavior (e.g., getting medical checkups, completing homework, and reading before bedtime), which they could exchange for small prizes. This team also offered trainings for teachers around trauma and helped brainstorm supportive interventions for struggling students.

San Antonio funded several services in the local schools, including Parent Rooms, which provided resources related to education for children and leadership opportunities for adults; instructional coaches; and support for STEM training for teachers.

AFTER-SCHOOL AND SUMMER ACTIVITIES

Partners in each community referred small numbers of school-age children to after-school and summer activities, though they were not core programming in any of the three partnership efforts and the supply of quality services was limited.

PARENTING SUPPORTS

All three communities offered some form of education on parenting skills and tools or a home-visiting strategy as part of their efforts. These services were not available to adults consistently across all three partnerships, however, and often they were also available to families not formally enrolled in FCCC programming. Buffalo provided parenting education and tools through specialized coaching interventions to interested adults. Columbus's coaches and school-based team provided parenting support and education to most participating adults and organized coach-facilitated peer support groups. San Antonio coaches provided light-touch parenting advice, made referrals to home-visiting and other parenting support providers, and later brought a home-visiting provider into the partnership.

Adults across the three communities noted the valuable parenting help that coaches and other partner staff provided. A few adults in San Antonio commented that the coaches helped them become better parents by encouraging them to spend more time with their children or paying more attention to their needs. A few Buffalo adults noted that PAZ staff provided helpful, hands-on parenting assistance. One FCCC parent recounted her experience:

[FCCC staff are] supposed to help out with the kids, like if they have a problem. Like I said when my daughter was using the bathroom in the bed, he helped her with that problem, by keep talking to her and stuff like that.
—FCCC participant, 2017

CHALLENGES FOR CHILD SERVICES

The communities faced numerous challenges in their efforts to provide child services as part of a two-generation partnership. These challenges included a limited supply of quality services, participating families facing many challenges to achieving their goals, parent and caregiver choice in which services to take up, lack of targeting of services to participating children, and lack of integration of partnering child-serving organizations into the broader partnerships. The severity of these challenges varied across communities and over time.

Constraints in the supply and quality of existing child services
Many communities faced multiple challenges in trying to help families access ECE, elementary education, and after-school and summer activities. Some researchers have identified a fundamental "trilemma" of supply, quality, and affordability caused by funding constraints (Savage 2019). The problems are exacerbated in low-income communities because providers cannot rely on private-paying families to create a "floor" of sufficient funding to support an adequate supply of quality services. As a result, services largely depend on nonfamily resources such as government or philanthropic dollars. This dynamic was central in the FCCC partnerships, although the significant philanthropic funds that Buffalo's partnership could direct to child services substantially reduced the supply and quality constraints that the other two communities faced.

Early care and education. A limited supply of ECE services was an inhibiting factor in supporting strong early learning for children in Columbus and San Antonio, though less so in Buffalo.[26] The Buffalo

partnership's direct philanthropic funding to operate the Children's Academies helped it largely overcome these challenges. The partnership was able to bring on a new provider to run the Children's Academies that provided year-round care and extended hours (though not as late into the evening as some adults needed) and a commitment to providing quality care and supports to PAZ families. Although the original Children's Academy consistently had a waiting list and the second location was operating at capacity shortly after opening, reflecting the deep shortfall in supply of quality ECE in the community, Buffalo made huge strides in increasing supply. Nonetheless, some concerns about care quality arose for a period after the Children's Academy care provider switched from CAO Head Start to EduKids. Several participating adults were concerned that EduKids had hired many inexperienced teachers who did not supervise their children adequately. These concerns largely subsided over time as EduKids became more established in the community and implemented staff trainings tailored to the needs of local families and other programmatic enhancements. Longer term, concerns may arise about subsidizing the cost to families at the Children's Academy as philanthropic funding runs out, because the switch to EduKids means that the Children's Academies cannot use federal Head Start subsidies to offset the cost of care. A few adults were also concerned about the quality of child care providers available during PAZ Café events.

The problem of lack of ECE access was particularly severe in Columbus, where the partnership was only able to pay for a small number of slots at the high-quality ECE provider in the neighborhood. Despite concerted efforts over the course of the FCCC grant, the partnership had limited success in securing additional quality slots for children in FCCC families, either through expanding access to other existing high-quality centers or through improving the quality of other nearby centers. Though the partnership did not consider enrollment in quality care to be a necessary criterion for participation in FCCC, the small number of slots limited the number of families for whom the partnership could provide this child service, which can be critical to a robust two-generation service approach. As is typical nationally (Henly and Adams 2018), the availability of slots for infants and toddlers, as well as for care during nontraditional hours, was particularly limited. Many adults in Columbus said that they were unable to get the child care they needed to work or go to school. Several said that the neighborhood should have drop-in care available for extended hours to support work and training. Several also noted the need for more affordable, quality child care centers.

In San Antonio, the partnership had substantial success in combining multiple funding sources, including Early Head Start, small corporate grants, and a local scholarship program, to expand the number of ECE slots available to children while simultaneously improving the quality of care at centers where children were placed. Despite these achievements, the demand for care at quality providers far

outstripped the supply of subsidized slots in quality centers that the partnership was able to provide to its Dual Generation families. As in Columbus, the San Antonio partnership faced particular challenges providing quality care options for infants and toddlers, as well as care during nontraditional hours.

Elementary education. To some degree, all three communities had elementary schools of variable quality, and they often lacked leverage to improve education quality. This situation likely limited their ability to affect the long-term outcomes of participating children. Further, families in all three communities had extensive school choice options, diluting the effects of school-based supports in targeted schools.[27]

Buffalo's lead organization received funding and administrative control to run one of the local schools that had suffered from poor academic performance, but its control over the school diminished at the end of the five-year State Improvement Grant, when school administration was transferred back to the local public school district. Though the school's performance had improved, there was concern that the transfer would lead to backsliding, though the partnership continued to provide administrative funding and to support some academic positions at the school.

Columbus began the partnership serving a neighborhood with a single low-performing elementary school. Over the course of the partnership, the school saw improvements due to increased investments, including a State Improvement Grant and, following the end of that grant, the school-based support team that FCCC established. But it took a new school leader willing to trying new partnership structures to be able to effectively integrate services within the school building. Gaddy and Anderson[28] provide more detail about lessons for two-generation partnerships in schools.

Though schools in the original Eastside Promise Neighborhood (EPN) footprint in San Antonio received enhanced resources from EPN, they continued to struggle from decades of lack of investment. This dynamic persisted with the expansion of the footprint. The expanded footprint was situated within a complex school ecosystem that included multiple school districts that participating children could potentially attend, as well as charter schools and other academic institutions with independent administrative structures that lacked a relationship with Dual Generation.

Schools in the three communities enjoyed some improvements toward the end of the grant period, including the implementation by the partnering school district in San Antonio of a large-scale school improvement effort that included substantial organizational and academic changes. But it was often beyond the ability of the partnerships to enact changes to increase the supply of quality education opportunities for all of the children they served.

After-school and summer activities. Due to lack of resources or other priorities, the partnerships provided only limited after-school and summer activities for school-age children, which are often important to support child development. Buffalo chose to direct its significant investments in child services toward ECE and in-school kindergarten through grade 8 services, rather than to after-school and summer activities. Programs to which Columbus coaches referred children for after-school and summer activities were often oversubscribed. San Antonio partners were only able to secure limited connections to after-school activities due to the low reimbursement rate that they could offer and the lack of available openings for school-age children.

A few adults in Buffalo and San Antonio noted that their neighborhoods lacked adequate after-school programming for older children.

Family challenges

Communities also found that a family's personal circumstances often made it challenging to serve both adults and children. By talking with participating adults, PAZ partners in Buffalo learned that irregular and inflexible work schedules, housing and financial instability, and difficulties meeting basic needs were some of the most common barriers that made it hard for participants to engage regularly with services and work toward goals for their children. Columbus staff noted that it was often necessary for adults to focus on stabilizing their own lives before actively pursuing child goals. Likewise, coaches in San Antonio often found that adults whom it targeted for recruitment, particularly those in public or assisted housing, needed additional supports before beginning Dual Generation programming. Those families were referred to other service partners before receiving subsidized child care along with their workforce training.

Parental choice

Adult autonomy is a core value of the two-generation approach and one that the communities upheld, though it posed challenges to delivering quality services to participating children. School choice was available in all three communities. Coaches worked with adults to encourage good choices, which meant that adults sometimes opted to send their children to schools outside of the partnership (staff and participating adults noted this in Columbus in particular). As noted above, a complex and extensive school choice system existed in San Antonio. When children attended school outside the footprint, partners were limited in their ability to monitor child progress and connect families to school-based services.

In some cases, a similar challenge extended to ECE. At times, the Columbus partnership permitted adults receiving funding to enroll children in nonpartnering centers to better meet their commuting needs; in these cases, the partnership was less able to track child data or ensure care quality.

Targeting child services

In two-generation approaches, it is ideal to meet the specific needs of children and adults within participating families. As we described earlier in this section, in all three partnerships, schools and ECE programs served as the core services for most FCCC children. Because these settings also served the broader community, addressing the particular needs of FCCC children within school settings was often difficult.

Buffalo was somewhat more able to target services to individual children than the other two community partnerships because its lead organization had more operational control over the original Children's Academy location. The majority of children receiving care at that center were in participating families because enrollment at the Children's Academy and enrollment in PAZ were a single intake process for much of the grant period. Similarly, because Buffalo's lead organization oversaw or operated two of the local elementary schools, Buffalo was able to locate PAZ staff on site. PAZ staff at the elementary schools and original Children's Academy coordinated with teachers to monitor child progress and promote care and education quality.

When Next Doors was a smaller pilot, the family achievement coach in Columbus was able to informally but regularly check in with the teachers of Next Doors children who attended school in the footprint. However, this practice became untenable as caseloads expanded and more families exercised school choice options. The school-based team in Columbus did not exclusively serve FCCC families, but they gave additional attention to children from families in Next Doors or whose parents had signed the Parent Pledge.

Toward the beginning of the grant period, the organization that led EPN also led Dual Generation and was able to coordinate services in schools in the initial footprint. These supports were not targeted at FCCC children specifically and ended when the EPN grant expired. The partnership was not able to provide equivalent supports when the footprint expanded. Instead of prioritizing individually focused services, San Antonio spent substantial resources increasing the quality of centers in the footprint overall as a strategy to increase the children's school readiness.

Service and Partnership Integration

Collaboration is hard, but it's rewarding, and you have to stick with it...It's about building trust and relationships, and you can't walk away from the table after a couple meetings if it doesn't go your way. It is about a continuity of a certain mission and a certain focus.
—San Antonio FCCC staff member, 2019

In order to coordinate and build out child services, adult services, and family supports to meet the two-generation mission, each FCCC community had to foster and sustain cross-organizational partnerships. In FCCC, the critical challenge for each community partnership was determining how to set common goals that all providers accepted as they used their different skill sets to serve either child or adult participants. Partners needed to overcome traditional organizational boundaries that naturally define independent organizations. The challenge rested heavily on the lead organizations, which had to navigate their own cultures, mission, resource obligations, and capacities to blend and relinquish money, authority, ideas, acclaim, and habits for a larger community cause, at potential risk (perceived or real) to their own unique organizational identity.

Below we highlight strategies each community partnership adopted for working together and describe their successes and challenges coordinating services across the generations. Generally, partnerships were strongest when funding was secure, when partners felt invested in the work, when leaders communicated a clear vision and direction, and when staff felt they understood each other's contributions and roles. Additional discussion of partnership lessons from this effort—including the roles of money, organizational culture, and leadership—appear in McDaniel et al. (2021).

PARTNER COMMUNICATION

Each community partnership made a concerted effort to meet consistently. Communication meant regular in-person meetings and formal staff trainings, colocating services, or sharing data (e.g., program participation data) across organizations. In addition to frontline- and leadership-level communication across partners, effective partnerships foster "vertical" information sharing: that is, mechanisms for frontline, management, and leadership staff to exchange knowledge with each other in ways that can influence and inform program procedures, functioning, and design. Based on service gaps frontline staff identified, leadership in all three communities became aware of the need for increased focus on

supporting families' mental health and wellness. But vertical communication was not universally successful in FCCC. In all three communities, some frontline staff and partners at different points in the data-collection period described feeling unheard or lacking authority to encourage more family, staff, and partner input in FCCC's overall design and programming. Such input, some staff and partners believed, could further improve programming and families' participation and success.

A common challenge in all three communities was developing data-sharing practices that were useful as staff worked with families but also were effective in monitoring outcomes. In Buffalo, the data system was not designed to capture all of the useful context about the family's specific situation that frontline staff wanted to add (e.g., a particular meeting with an adult may not have focused on a typical coaching topic like education or finances, but on an immediate family crisis). Columbus staff had space to enter qualitative information, but the data were still limited due to staff sensitivities to family confidentiality and the time needed to enter comprehensive qualitative detail. For San Antonio, obtaining full buy-in from all frontline staff at partner organizations that data entry was a valuable use of their time was a challenge, and even when the shared data system was operating successfully some partner frontline staff continued to view data entry as taking away valuable time from more productive work with families. One San Antonio staff member who oversaw data sharing described what the partnership was trying to accomplish with its data system:

What we want to do is eliminate the duplication of a parent having to go to two different places and three different places and tell the same story over and over again… So at the end of the day we can see [in the data], okay, maybe a parent is getting child care and she's enrolling in the physician's assistant program, but she's living with her aunt and can only stay there for another month, so we're going to refer her over here to SAHA for emergency housing.
—San Antonio FCCC staff member, 2018

[Other partners] refer people to us all the time, and if we're not responsive or quick enough, that's not successful. To me what's successful is the system works—the wheels, rolling on the same axis so to speak.
—Buffalo FCCC staff member, 2017

The goal of effective family-centered partnership integration is for organizations to serve caregivers and children together and put the family at the center of services and community change. In FCCC, communities intended this goal to mean delivering complementary services in a streamlined and seamless way through a system of child services that operated in tandem with a system of aligned adult services. Family-centered partnership integration also involves a broader orientation toward families and family needs in all aspects of service delivery.

The three communities made strides coordinating child and adult services over the course of the FCCC effort. Coaching was central to ensuring services and resources were offered in an intentional and efficient way. Many of those gains were aided by increased colocation of staff from different organizations and functions in the same spaces, which facilitated appropriate and personalized referrals between partners. Because they were place-based, the child and adult service providers were especially intentional about where they were located in relation to each other and shared the expectation to be available and accessible within the community.

Despite these successes, partners faced operational and other logistical challenges coordinating child and adult services. In building meaningful partnerships across organizations and agencies serving different generations, child-serving providers were not always well integrated. Often meetings between partners would occur during the school day when staff from child care centers or elementary schools were unable to attend, reducing the opportunity to create a seamless connection between adult- and child-focused services. Operating in the schools also requires building partnerships and gaining buy-in from school leaders, something each of the communities did not always have during the FCCC grant period, largely due to performance pressures on schools that limited their capacity to collaborate. More recently, communities have each developed and/or enhanced those partnerships in ways that could

accommodate schools' competing priorities. Gaddy and Anderson[29] discuss lessons that emerged from challenges coordinating with schools in the FCCC effort.

A critical feature of partnership integration is how families experience their interactions with different organizations. Are the services interrelated, not duplicative, unified, and seamless, or do adults experience them as separate, unrelated, and potentially poorly coordinated or even conflicting? Overall, families in each of the communities primarily saw services integrate and intersect through coaching and case management. In Columbus, especially, the family coaches served as a nexus for services, often personally facilitating referrals to partners and other service providers in the area. Although families in Columbus and Buffalo did not associate the programs they engaged in as "two-generation" and were not familiar with the term or any similar terms, they tended to recognize and appreciate that these programs and the affiliated staff were interconnected. Families in San Antonio were more aware that the effort served two generations due to the name Dual Generation and its associated branding, as well as Goodwill coaches' explanations of the partnership structure in its later years.

Families across the three communities primarily saw service coordination challenges occur with child care. They expressed frustration with not having enough care at the times and places they needed it to allow them to work and pursue other services to help them meet their goals. Some families solved this by relying on their social support system, but others simply had to forgo opportunities like enrolling in school in a given semester, taking on additional shifts at work, or accepting a better job with longer hours. Families in all three communities noted that FCCC staff and programming helped address those child care needs to some extent and shared that subsidized high-quality child care was essential for moving them toward their goals. Adults also felt that the support of coaches was critical for ensuring that they persisted in their training and job-oriented programs.

Although FCCC was place-based, many services, jobs, and educational opportunities were not in the immediate community. Families still needed to work out transportation and schedule conflicts. But for the direct FCCC services offered to families, the local aspects tended to be an advantage.

Staff Labor Costs

Little is known about the cost of two-generation programs and the size of the investment needed to make them successful. Only one published study has estimated the full cost of operating two-generation programs (Harrison, Atukpawu-Tipton, and Bell 2018), but no study to date has isolated the specific costs associated with bringing together existing single-generation services (i.e., services for either

parents or children), building out two-generation services, and coordinating interventions for families within a two-generation framework.
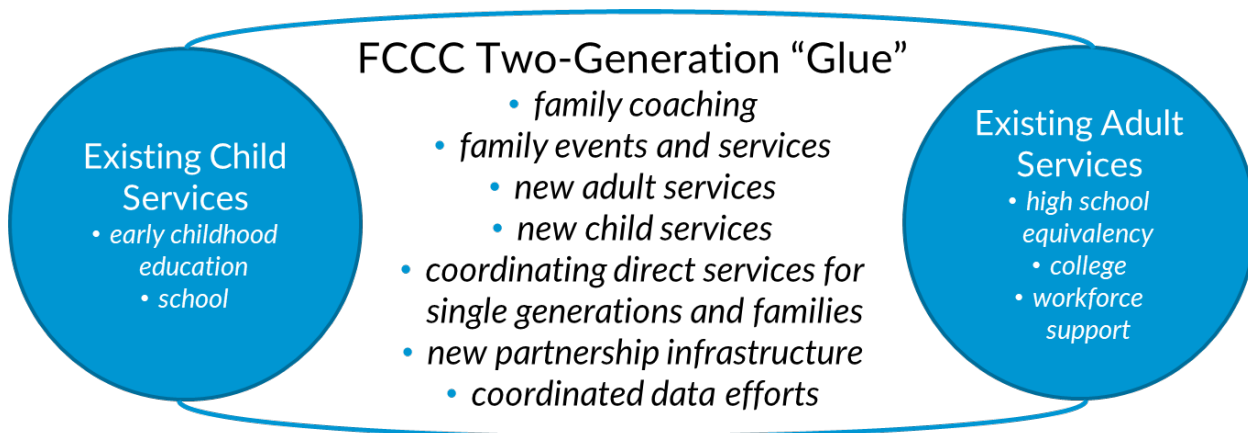
We attempted to fill this gap by isolating and estimating the staff labor cost associated with the connective tissue of two-generation programs, as follows:

- **Coordinating and integrating existing child services and adult education and training services in a place-based effort:** These costs included time spent on outreach and enrollment for two-generation programs; time staff spent involved in leadership, management, and data activities; and time staff spent developing cross-sector partnerships and sustaining those relationships over the lifetime of the program.

- **Directly providing services that had an explicit two-generation focus, such as family coaching and family services and events:** These services were designed to support the entire family and generally did not exist in the communities prior to the launch of the two-generation effort.

- **Directly providing new, single-generation services:** These services were created as a result of the FCCC program. However, we did not include the full cost of directly providing single-generation services that existed prior to FCCC, as these were already funded and operating within each community.

We excluded nonlabor expenses from this study, as they were not well recorded or tracked. Service providers may have incurred nonlabor costs if they helped participants cover costs like groceries, transportation, or tuition. We do not think this decision substantially affects the results, as direct expenses were a small fraction of overall program costs, were often discretionary, and varied from program to program. Figure 12 summarizes the types of costs tracked. The services in the middle of the figure are the glue that binds two-generation approaches; the services in the blue circles are *not* in the scope of our cost estimates.

FIGURE 12
The Glue that Holds FCCC Two-Generation Programs Together

FCCC Two-Generation "Glue"
- *family coaching*
- *family events and services*
- *new adult services*
- *new child services*
- *coordinating direct services for single generations and families*
- *new partnership infrastructure*
- *coordinated data efforts*

Existing Child Services
- *early childhood education*
- *school*

Existing Adult Services
- *high school equivalency*
- *college*
- *workforce support*

Source: Amanda Gold, Peace Gwam, Theresa Anderson, and Marcus Gaddy, The Costs of Coordinating Two-Generation Programs: Estimated Labor Costs of Family Services and Cross-Generation Coordination for Two-Generation Partnerships in Buffalo, Columbus, and San Antonio (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2021).

We conducted this study during the sixth and seventh years of FCCC's seven-year grant period. The two-generation programs in each community were continuously evolving over the grant period, and core elements of the programming continued even after the grant period ended. Therefore, the costs represent a snapshot at a point in time after several years of evolution in each two-generation effort. Extrapolations of the findings below to estimate annual costs should be made cautiously, as these data do not account for seasonal variation. Given the timing of the study, we also do not have information about start-up costs.

The three communities also differed from each other—each one represented a distinct approach to two-generation programming. Each community had a different number of organizational partners and staff providing services, a different number of families with different characteristics, and different services offered (as summarized elsewhere in this report). However, all three cities had similar costs of living. The findings represent three separate case studies and should only be compared across communities to understand the types of activities that were more or less costly, rather than comparing total dollar amounts. Full results appear in Gold and colleagues (2021), but the summary findings follow:

- Buffalo's cost of staff labor came to an estimated $120,600 over a three-month period (October–December 2018). The largest proportion of costs came from data activities (23 percent), coaching (18 percent), management (14 percent), and outreach and enrollment work (12 percent). The share of costs spent on data activities aligned with Buffalo's emphasis on refining its data-tracking procedures and using them for management purposes.

- Columbus's cost of staff labor came to an estimated $104,200 over a three-month period (October–December 2019). Most costs were related to coaching (22 percent), leadership activities (19 percent), child services (16 percent), and data activities (15 percent). The share of costs on coaching aligned with Columbus's intensive approach to family coaching.

- San Antonio's cost of staff labor came to an estimated $295,300 over a three-month period (January–March 2019). The largest costs were related to leadership activities (21 percent), followed by management (20 percent), data activities (16 percent), and child services (14 percent). The share of costs on leadership activities aligned with San Antonio's emphasis on coordination across numerous two-generation organizational and agency partners.

- Nearly all labor costs (92 percent or more) were *compensated* in every community, meaning that staff were paid for their time (as opposed to working "off the clock"). The staff roles that were reported as requiring the largest amount of *uncompensated* time varied across each community. The tasks that required the most uncompensated work were outreach and enrollment activities in San Antonio and leadership tasks in Buffalo and Columbus.

- Data tasks were among the top four most costly activities in every community. Staff used data to track participants' service receipt and to coordinate service delivery. The communities were also required to report data to outside organizations (including FCCC evaluators) for performance measurement and evaluation. The research team instructed FCCC staff members to record evaluation-related costs separately so they would be excluded from this study, but some community leadership members thought that some of these costs may have been captured in the reported totals.

- Adult education and training were among the least costly activities in each community, though this finding is likely because our study mostly captures the costs of coordinating these services, rather than the full cost of providing them.

The full cost study report presents considerations and limitations in these estimates, but we believe that multiple audiences may be interested in these results. By providing three case studies of the staff labor costs of two-generation program coordination, these findings may help other localities and nonprofit service providers thinking about implementing their own two-generation programs. Funders or policymakers, including representatives of state and local governments, interested in supporting similar collaborative work may benefit from understanding the investment necessary to support cross-organizational partnerships and coordinated service delivery. Researchers may also benefit from the

findings, which could benchmark future two-generation cost studies. Box 2 details a variety of two-generation programming costs.

Reflecting on the Effort

FCCC was a large undertaking for all three community partnerships as they tried to improve opportunities for families. In developing this report and throughout the evaluation, we have attempted to document the organizations' iterative efforts to infuse a two-generation framework into a place-

based intervention. As we come to the end of this grant period, it is appropriate to ask if the communities achieved a meaningful two-generation intervention and if they were able to foster lasting community change.

Did the Partnerships Succeed at Creating Integrated Two-Generation Services?

HOW COMMUNITIES ALIGNED WITH THE THREE PILLARS OF TWO-GENERATION INTERVENTIONS

The Foundation specified three pillars of two-generation interventions at the outset of its FCCC investment: (1) family economic success strategies; (2) capacity building for parents, caregivers, and agencies; and (3) early care, education, and quality experiences for children. In this report, we have described the range of services that each community offered to FCCC families and highlighted areas of strength and remaining challenges. We summarize here some of the key takeaways within each pillar.

The three components of family economic success are workforce and career development, access to income and work-support benefits, and financial coaching and education. All three communities offered job and employment services that were targeted to adults' goals, but it was not clear if the job opportunities that adults connected to were on the pathway to stable, family-supporting, fulfilling careers. The coaches largely were responsible for connecting families with income and work-support benefits, but the intensity and reach of family coaches varied among the communities, with higher intensity and coverage in San Antonio and Columbus than in Buffalo. In addition, Buffalo and San Antonio were able to offer consistent financial coaching services, while Columbus was not able to sustain a formal financial coaching intervention and instead opted to hire a financial coach into a family coach role.

Capacity-building for parents, caregivers, and agencies in the Foundation's model includes accessible resources and partners to engage families, support for parent advocacy and networks, strategies to address family stress and trauma, and culturally competent staff. These goals were partially met during the FCCC effort through family coaching and peer groups, but mental health resources and staff cultural competence were uneven:

- The role and relationship of coaches varied by coach and individual. While some coaches focused on developing self- and community-advocacy skills, others focused more on barrier remediation and helping facilitate service access. And not all participating adults received coaching.

- In efforts to enhance parent networks,[30] all three communities offered recurring community events, with varying attendance and content.

- Only Buffalo had explicit mental health resources for adults, and only Columbus had these resources for children.

- Although the cultural competency of coaching staff was generally high, leadership in two communities struggled to internalize REEI principles.

The REEI disconnects became apparent following the 2015 Foundation–sponsored trainings and technical assistance focused on race and racism. These resources emphasized that each person should reflect on his or her own biases and social positioning and how addressing inequity and exclusion involves recognizing who is absent from key decisionmaking tables. After participating in trainings, staff from the FCCC partnerships described taking more steps to seek out parent feedback and encourage parents to form peer groups, but none made systematic changes to their partnership, decisionmaking, or leadership structures (with the exception of one strategic hire in Columbus), citing challenges such as having limited staff time and changes in leadership (McDaniel et al. 2019).

Finally, early care, education, and quality experiences for children include high-quality ECE, successful transition to elementary school, and high-quality elementary school experiences. The targeted interventions for individual children were limited, but children across communities may have been more likely to get quality education and care, with improved access to quality ECE in Buffalo and San Antonio and improved elementary school experiences for children in Buffalo and Columbus. PAZ staff in Buffalo had offices in the elementary schools, though it was sometimes challenging to integrate with school services. The enhancements in the school in Columbus were notable, with a robust set of partnerships and services, including mental health support and trauma-informed care, located within the neighborhood school. Children across communities may also have experienced secondary benefits of interventions for participating adults and families.

In all, the communities continued to iterate on two-generation services in ways that aligned with the original pillars specified by the Foundation, but providing strong and complementary interventions in all three areas was challenging, especially as the communities tried to prioritize the individual and family goals that adults set with the coaches in focusing their efforts.

HOW COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS OVERLAPPED IN SERVING FAMILIES

Traditional service models serve children and adults independent of other family members. The two-generation focus of a community effort relates to how well services (which often fall into the three

pillars described above) come together with the glue of a meaningful two-generation approach. Simply offering services for all family members does not ensure an integrated two-generation approach. It may be useful to think about individual services and the body of services in a community as falling along a spectrum from child-focused to parent/adult-focused, with whole family in the middle (figure 13). Though we would not expect every individual service to fall in the middle of this spectrum, in answering the two-generation question we consider if the connections among services were meaningfully focused on the whole family.

Aspen Ascend Two-Generation Graphic

Source: "What Is 2Gen?," Aspen Ascend Institute, accessed April 15, 2021, https://ascend.aspeninstitute.org/two-generation/what-is-2gen/.

In all three communities, coaching was the primary glue among services for families, as coaches were the main touchpoint at which adults could get help in addressing family needs and leveraging opportunities for themselves and their children. Though we were not privy to each coaching interaction, we can get a sense of how much coaches focused on whole-family issues by looking at the goals that adults set, which indicated their priorities for the coaching relationship. Many, but not all, adults set what could be considered a "two-generation goal," meaning they either set at least one family goal or set both an adult and a child goal (figure 14). In Buffalo, 70 percent of participating families set a two-generation goal. In Columbus, 83 percent of families set a two-generation goal, and in San Antonio 46 percent set a two-generation goal. Otherwise, most goals set were only adult goals.

FIGURE 14
Types of FCCC Coaching Goals

FAMILY GOALS	ADULT GOALS	CHILD GOALS
FCCC families set goals that helped the whole household, like securing **housing**, applying for **benefits** or increasing **interaction** between parents and children by helping them with homework or reading with children at night.	Adults in FCCC set goals for themselves across a number of categories including **adult education**, **employment** (which might include updating a resume or applying for a job), **financial**, and **personal** goals, like being able to spend more time with children.	Families in FCCC also set goals for their children in **early childhood education** and **school**. Child goals could be related to attendance and performance in school, readiness for kindergarten, or access to high-quality child care.

Source: Authors' analysis of FCCC goal descriptions

All three community partnerships brought an awareness of the need to coordinate services for both generations to existing child and adult services. For example, all of the San Antonio partners committed to taking on a "dual-generation mindset" in their work, even if they were not directly working with multiple generations. This shift was eye-opening for some partners:

Before two-gen came along, people didn't realize how much change you can make, effectively, when you put them together and you're working with them at the same time.
—San Antonio FCCC staff member, 2019

A Columbus partner described a similar reflection process:

I know for us, it's really prompted us to think more about the two-generation approach because [Community Properties of Ohio] focuses more on the adults. We have some specific programs for the kids, but this is a reminder that we have to work on both.
—Columbus FCCC staff member, 2015

The most important contribution toward a rich two-generation environment in all three communities was the development of partnerships that could glue together a complementary set of family services for community members. Nonetheless, some services were scattered or not well aligned in time or location so that families could take advantage of all the offerings that would support their goals. Despite the place-based approach, the communities were still serving geographically large and diverse communities, especially in San Antonio. Colocation of services and common intake procedures smoothed many barriers to access, but there were still opportunities to create an even more integrated, family-focused experience for community members in all three locations.

Did the Partners Get to Meaningful Community Change?

Although FCCC had "community change" in its title, the Foundation saw community change as a product of the existing CCIs, which it envisioned would be enhanced with the two-generation framework and the Foundation's strategic co-investor role. The Foundation did not expect to affect population-level indicators, but the title "community change" begs the question about whether the communities *did* change as a result of the long FCCC investment.

To begin, we tried to appropriately define "meaningful" community change in the FCCC context. To some degree, community change in FCCC can be defined by what it was not. Community change in this case was not a grassroots effort: in all three places, organizations and institutions led this work and, as noted, community members were participants but not codesigners.[31] Community change also was not about keeping community members in place as they bettered their situations, as residential mobility was high and consequently focusing on a fixed residential population was difficult (though some coaching relationships persisted even as participating families moved out of the footprint). As one partner shared:

Yes, we're benefitting Eastside families primarily, including families who are now moved out of the neighborhood because they've achieved a certain economic outcome...I don't think we have a terribly coherent strategy when it comes to impacting place.
—San Antonio FCCC staff member, 2019

The communities changed dramatically over the seven-year grant period, with infrastructure, demographic, and policy shifts through the transition of federal, state, and local leadership and with continued gentrification pressures (Popkin et al. 2019). In the grant period, the interventions were not strong enough to be able to move a large proportion of longtime community members out of poverty or counter the exclusionary changes wrought by gentrification.

When the research team posed the question to community leadership about what community change might mean when reflecting upon the evolution of the FCCC effort, one partner suggested that community change could be thought of as what would be left behind as a legacy of this work. The partnerships summarized some reflections on what they believed they would leave behind as a legacy:

- In Buffalo, they believed they would end this grant with a new, mutual commitment among community partners to focus on families living in the footprint. Buffalo also built capacity to serve families in schools and influenced child-serving partners to consider adult and family needs.

- Columbus leadership highlighted the new commitment among partner organizations to work together and share data about how they were serving the same families. They pointed to the embedded family services team in the local school as a meaningful change in business-as-usual service provision, and they hoped it might lead to a broader paradigm shift across the school system.

- San Antonio leadership highlighted the quality improvements they achieved at ECE providers for families in the footprint, which should lead to better kindergarten preparation for families in the future. They also highlighted the closer relationships among community partners and stakeholders that turned organizations from competitors to collaborators and the infusion of a dual-generation mindset across the service system.

Overall, all three partnerships created or strengthened connections with school and ECE providers in notable ways that reflected a distinct change from the partners' relationships at FCCC's start in 2012. And the relationships developed and deepened many important touchpoints for continued or future work.

These reflections emphasize that many changes occurred in the systems serving families, as opposed to fundamental changes in the operations of communities and the well-being of people who live in the neighborhood. These changes in the service delivery system, as opposed to the community itself, are fairly common in CCIs.[32] It could be that service systems change is a necessary prerequisite to

change in the inherent opportunity pathways in communities, but that is a hypothesis that would need to be validated through further study.

Sustaining the Efforts

The communities have each faced challenges determining what sustainability looks like for FCCC partnership infrastructure and grant-supported services. In Buffalo and Columbus, individual partner organizations were pursuing funding and collaborative opportunities to continue their pieces of the two-generation work, but the sustainability of the overarching organizing structure was uncertain. Buffalo's team of relatively new staff and leadership were looking to new models to guide the next phase of their ongoing work. Many members on that team did not have first-hand experience with the lessons from the original planning, which may be reflected in their desire to gather more comparative insights:

I think we would have liked to have experienced more what was working well in those other cities to see if it's something that we could bring here or improve even our other programming that's not funded under [the Foundation]. We're always trying to increase our knowledge of what's working in this field, how do we move people forward, what's best practices.
—Buffalo FCCC staff member, 2019

Columbus was exploring how to expand the focus area beyond the Weinland Park footprint:

It is very difficult to recruit, because we have a very limited footprint.… I think we still are very much viable and valuable. I just think the well might be a little dry in Weinland Park. —Columbus FCCC staff member, 2019

Columbus had also committed to keeping coaching as a key element of service delivery:

At this point, looking forward, there just seems to continue to be a commitment to say the intensive coaching is good, and we're going to keep doing that. We're not going back to business as usual.
—Columbus FCCC staff member, 2019

San Antonio had a more solid footing for continued partnership and to support services in the near term due to the strength of its partner relationships and fundraising capacity. It has continued its successful fundraising efforts, has brought new partners into the Dual Generation work, and was engaging in shared strategic planning about how to move forward as of the end of the grant period.

Lessons for Next Steps and Future Research

Responding to new challenges: An important consideration as the communities build on this work is how the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated challenges affected and will continue to affect families in the footprint and the ability of organizational partners to provide effective services. The communities repeatedly emphasized the importance of relationship- and trust-building between coaches and families, and the focus on social capital emphasizes the importance of facilitating interpersonal relationships. Communities will need to be creative in thinking about how to safely build social connections in a time of physical distancing, while also addressing the crushing and likely lasting economic consequences of the pandemic and honoring the new national attention on racial justice. These large social, economic, and cultural shifts largely took place after the end of the evaluation period, so we do not have in-depth insights on what it has meant for service delivery, though communities shared that they are trying to adapt and are doing the best they can to address families' basic needs.

» As these social pressures continue and even after the effects of the pandemic are ostensibly over, service providers and other stakeholders will want to consider a purposeful approach to deal with social recovery and the processing of continued trauma rather than going back to business as usual.

Understanding the context: People going into community-focused work need to ensure they are well attuned to community-level factors that affect families' opportunities and constraints, such as housing, transportation, child care availability, job opportunities, training and education resources, and other services (such as access to health and mental health resources). These issues affect both

generations' ability to attain economic stability and help highlight opportunities for and constraints on the work.

» Local residents and long-established community-serving organizations like public schools and workforce development agencies are experts on many of the contextual challenges and can provide important insights alongside a traditional scan of community data indicators.

Incorporating a broader understanding of equity: Incorporating a racial and ethnic equity framework is an essential element to creating new and sustainable economic opportunities in areas with large numbers of Black and Brown families. This effort includes training staff and creating shared language to name and address the long history and continuation of housing and employment discrimination, unequal education opportunities, predatory lending, overpolicing and overincarceration, gentrification, and other forms of racism and exclusion that continue to affect the lives of community residents.

» Going beyond local context to understand and mitigate the continued effects of racism and exclusion for families will help advance meaningful community change.

Defining the framework and goals: Identifying key concepts and goals at the outset will help orient future work. Just because services are glued together for children and adults does not mean that they still make sense as a system to support families. Similarly, specifying the goals of community change will help partnerships understand when they are beginning to make the impact they desire. It is important to understand if the goal is for families to "age in place" or to benefit from the intervention and move on to new locations and opportunities.[33]

» Setting out a framework for two-generation efforts that includes not only the types of services but also the nature of the glue that should bring them together could improve coherency in family experiences.

Ensuring racial and ethnic inclusion: Structural racism and racial and ethnic exclusion are deeply embedded in low-income service delivery. Very often, white decisionmakers determine what communities of color "need" and how to provide it, giving low-income families just enough to scrape ahead without sharing too much power. Meaningfully involving community members is necessary but not sufficient to reduce the perpetuation of traditional, racially exclusive power structures in community interventions.

» Disrupting racist paradigms requires real power-sharing in which families and communities are included and centered in the development of strategies to break their own cycle of intergenerational poverty and are given the necessary resources and tools to take action.

Engaging partners at multiple levels: This type of work has potential stakeholders at multiple organizational levels, and each grantee partnership took a different approach. San Antonio took a systems focus in engaging a broader ecosystem of public and nonprofit organizations; Buffalo took an organizational focus in building out service offerings; and Columbus focused more on individual coaching relationships. Integrating across levels may become an important next step.

» Engaging the policy and service ecosystem, individual organizations, and resident families in planning and design may allow for new, creative opportunities to emerge.

Defining partnership dynamics: Effective partnerships are complex but critical, and they take time to develop, often with trial and error. Partners are more likely to persevere, even when things get complicated, when they believe they are valued and heard and that others at the table are making an authentic effort to understand their needs and perspective.

» Determining key elements of partnerships explicitly in a way that all partners are comfortable with—including funding relationships, organizational culture alignment, development infrastructure, communications channels, and other dynamics—will increase the chance of successful, sustained organizational relationships.

Understanding impact: Finally, it will be important for researchers documenting future efforts to try to understand how families fared as a result of their participation through an outcomes or impact study. This work would require measurement of families' needs before and after participation in programming and services. This information would help funders, system leaders, and organizations to understand if they actually made things better for members of the community as a result of their efforts. Researchers might also investigate which characteristics of partner relationships (e.g., funding relationships, power dynamics) are most conducive to promoting successful two-generation approaches and community change. Such evaluation efforts should be sensitive to the issues raised here, including the context, the framework and goals (ideally including a logic model or well-specified theory of change), and how community members and the various partners can be appropriately respected and involved in the research process so that the work is not extractive and advances equity.[34]

» Documenting the effectiveness of an intervention helps inform meaningful change efforts and makes the case for continued investment of energy, time, and financial resources.

Appendix. Data Sources

The data in this report come from six years of the formative evaluation of the FCCC effort. The evaluation involved multiple evaluation firms and a partnership between the evaluators, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, and the FCCC communities. Data include the following:

- secondary data from public sources, including the American Community Survey and other Census Bureau data, as well as reports from local governments

- quantitative data from evaluation partners on program services and participant demographics

- quantitative data on key performance measures, reports, and other publicly available documents on partner organizations and other relevant background

- a time-use survey of staff time and effort

- qualitative data on progress, partnership integration, and challenges from twice-yearly site visits, including interviews with partners and focus groups and interviews with program participants. Individual site teams took part in additional activities, including observing partner meetings. Site visit areas of focus are detailed in table 1.

TABLE 1
Site Visit areas of Focus, 2014–19

Site visit	Activity	Focus
Spring 2014	Staff interviews	Introduction to FCCC, including introduction to development, approach, enrollment and services, family participation, partnerships, target outcomes, incorporation of feedback, and financing
Fall 2014	Staff interviews	FCCC development and approach, enrollment and services, family participation, partnerships, target outcomes, incorporation of feedback, and financing
	Family focus groups	Awareness of FCCC, how participants were introduced to FCCC, perspective on services, and goals for services and how services could be improved to help meet them
Spring 2015	Staff interviews	Evolution of enrollment, services, partnerships, financing, and data capacity and use; discussion of logic model with lead organization leadership
	Service partner observations	Content, timing, logistical features, staffing, and participation; staff engagement; participant engagement
Fall 2015	Staff interviews	Goals for FCCC, enrollment and services updates, partnership, and service integration
	Family focus groups	Awareness of FCCC, how participants were introduced to FCCC, perspectives on services, and

Site visit	Activity	Focus
		goals for services and how services could be improved to help meet them
	Service delivery observations	Activity identification, logistical features, form and format, participant engagement, and staffing
Spring 2016	Staff interviews	Presentation of findings from first two years of evaluation and feedback from staff
	Family focus groups	Participation in services and experiences with coaching and classes
Fall 2016	Staff interviews	School relationships, child services, adult education, employment, economic and financial success services, service integration, and contextual and policy issues
Spring 2017	Staff interviews	Program and staffing updates; contextual and policy issues; race, equity, and inclusion; community engagement
	Resident community leader focus groups	Community changes, impressions of FCCC, and FCCC community engagement
Fall 2017	Staff interviews	Program and staffing updates, context and policy updates, and partnership integration
	Family interviews	Participant background, community context, impressions of FCCC, goals and engagement with services, and family and health concerns
Spring 2018	Staff interviews	Program and staffing updates, child services, school partnerships, data collection and use, and partnership integration clarifications
Fall 2018	Staff interviews	Program and staffing updates and sustainability of common goals, collaborative service delivery, data sharing, and funding
	Family Data Walks	Community context, child care, FCCC programming, and family engagement with FCCC
Spring 2019	Staff interviews	Programming and staffing updates, evaluation feedback, preferences for focus of final site visit
	Family interviews	Participant background, community context, impressions of FCCC, goals and engagement with services, and family and health concerns
Fall 2019	Staff interviews	Programming and staffing updates, reflections on what FCCC has achieved, challenges encountered, and key lessons learned
	Family Data Walks	Programming and services, participant demographics, and goals for FCCC participation

Notes

1   FCCC is trademarked by the Annie E. Casey Foundation. The abbreviation is pronounced "F-triple C."

2   "Webinar Explores Casey's Strategic Coinvestor Approach to Community Change," The Annie E. Casey Foundation, March 28, 2021, https://www.aecf.org/blog/webinar-explores-caseys-strategic-coinvestor-approach-to-community-change/.

3   For more information about the Annie E. Casey Foundation's role as a strategic co-investor, see "Webinar Explores Casey's Strategic Coinvestor Approach to Community Change," The Annie E. Casey Foundation.

4   "Lessons From Casey's Strategic Coinvestor Approach to Community Change," The Annie E. Casey Foundation, August 19, 2020, https://www.aecf.org/blog/lessons-from-caseys-strategic-coinvestor-approach-to-community-change/.

5   See Popkin, Falkenburger, and Haight (2018) for a review of other place-based two-generation approaches.

6   See "What Is 2Gen?," Aspen Ascend, accessed April 15, 2021, https://ascend.aspeninstitute.org/two-generation/what-is-2gen/.

7   See "A Two-Generation Strategy," The Annie E. Casey Foundation, December 27, 2013, https://www.aecf.org/blog/a-two-generation-strategy/ for the Foundation's theory about a two-generation approach.

8   "ACF & Two-Generation Approaches," Administration for Children and Families, accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.acf.hhs.gov/two-generation-approach/acf-two-generation-approaches.

9   See "Georgetown Study," CapTulsa, accessed April 15, 2021, https://captulsa.org/our-impact/results/ for a summary of all research on the Community Action Project's two-generation intervention in Tulsa.

10   "Agape's 2Gen Program in Memphis, Tennessee," Mathematica Policy Research, January 12, 2021, https://www.mathematica.org/-/media/internet/files/events/agape-webinar-one-pager.pdf.

11   See "Introducing Building Healthy Communities," accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.buildinghealthycommunities.org/.

12   Figures are from the 1970 decennial census and the 2012–16 5-year American Community Survey.

13   Members of the FCCC leadership team believe that the actual rates of poverty and demographics may differ somewhat from what government surveys capture. See also "How Programs Can Better Support Career Advancement Opportunities for Policymakers, Funders, and Practitioners to Develop and Implement Effective Career Pathway Programs," Urban Institute, 2019, https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/2019/01/18/how_programs_can_better_support_career_adv.pdf.

14   Public and private investment in the neighborhood between 2008 and 2013 totaled about $50 million (Weinland Park Collaborative 2013).

15   See "Promise Zones Overview," US Department of Housing and Urban Development, accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.hudexchange.info/programs/promise-zones/promise-zones-overview/.

16   W. Scott Bailey, "Bloomberg Philanthropies Helping San Antonio Become Financially Literate," *San Antonio Business Journal*, January 8, 2013, https://www.bizjournals.com/sanantonio/news/2013/01/08/bloomberg-philanthropies-helping-san.html; "Eastside Promise Zone 101," City of San Antonio, March 4, 2016, https://sanantonio.gov/Portals/0/Files/EastPoint/PromiseZoneBrochure.pdf.

17   The FCCC evaluation and resource teams included three research organizations and one technical assistance resource consulting firm. The research organizations include the Urban Institute (evaluating all three community

partnership efforts and outcomes for families), Metis Associates (helping to build and support each community's data capacity and performance measures), and TCC Group (evaluating the Foundation's co-investor role in FCCC). Rouson Associates provided technical assistance for program and service implementation.

[18] A data walk is an interactive way for community stakeholders to engage in dialogue around research findings about their community or program. For more information, see Murray, Falkenburger, and Saxena (2015).

[19] Metis Associates, another Foundation contractor, helped the communities build data capacity and provided data quality technical assistance for the annual data deliveries.

[20] All of Urban Institute's FCCC reports are available at "Family-Centered Community Change: A Two-Generation Approach," Urban Institute, accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.urban.org/policy-centers/metropolitan-housing-and-communities-policy-center/projects/family-centered-community-change-two-generation-approach.

[21] At the time of the study's final site visit to Buffalo, at the end of 2019, staff reported the change in eligibility had not affected enrollment as most families were still eligible based on their income and residency. The new program participation requirements were still too new for staff to report how the changes might affect participation and for the study team to gather reflections from families.

[22] See also "How Career Pathways Can Support Career Advancement," Urban Institute, accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.urban.org/policy-centers/cross-center-initiatives/building-americas-workforce/projects/how-career-pathways-can-support-career-advancement.

[23] High-quality child care providers are defined as either those awarded a quality rating through a state Quality Rating and Improvement System or accredited through a nationally recognized accrediting entity.

[24] Buffalo leadership anticipated future loss in philanthropic funding and a potential need to help qualifying families access the Children's Academies with child care subsidies.

[25] In San Antonio, programs based in schools or (Early) Head Start centers, or private centers that had a quality rating of at least three stars in 2020 in the Texas Rising Star rating system, were coded as high quality.

[26] See the discussion of ECE availability in these communities in Popkin et al. (2019).

[27] See the discussion of school choice in these communities in Popkin et al. (2019).

[28] Marcus Gaddy and Theresa Anderson, "Four Lessons on Building 2Gen Partnerships in Schools," *Urban Wire* (blog), August 11, 2020, https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/four-lessons-building-2gen-partnerships-schools.

[29] Gaddy and Anderson, "Four Lessons on Building 2Gen Partnerships in Schools."

[30] The partnership did adopt a shared assessment of social support, and the indicator was an available tool to inform coaching. It is not clear how much it contributed to a targeted social capital–building strategy.

[31] At the beginning of the grant effort, Columbus had resident engagement specialists who were paid community members whom the FCCC leadership brought into the effort at first to be part of the decisionmaking body and later to support the family coach with outreach and recruitment. Early in 2015, the Columbus team phased out the resident engagement specialist position because there was not a clear role for it in the Next Doors pilot, and the resident engagement specialists were not as helpful to the community support coordinator as originally anticipated. Columbus staff expressed an ongoing interest in reengaging community members once they made more progress in defining the FCCC decisionmaking and service delivery model, but this idea never came to fruition. This lack of engagement might have been partially influenced by the Promise Neighborhood model, which did not engage residents in a grassroots way.

[32] Meir Rinde, "Did the Comprehensive Community Initiatives of the 1990s, Early 2000s Bring About Change?," *Shelter Force*, March 15, 2021, https://shelterforce.org/2021/03/15/did-the-comprehensive-community-initiatives-of-the-1990s-early-2000s-bring-about-change/.

[33] Rinde, "Did the Comprehensive Community Initiatives of the 1990s, Early 2000s Bring About Change?"

[34] For some valuable principles of how to embed a racial and ethnic equity perspective into research, see Andrews, Parekh, and Peckoo (2019).

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