
The Promise of Two-Generation Anti-poverty Strategies: Existing and Emerging Evidence

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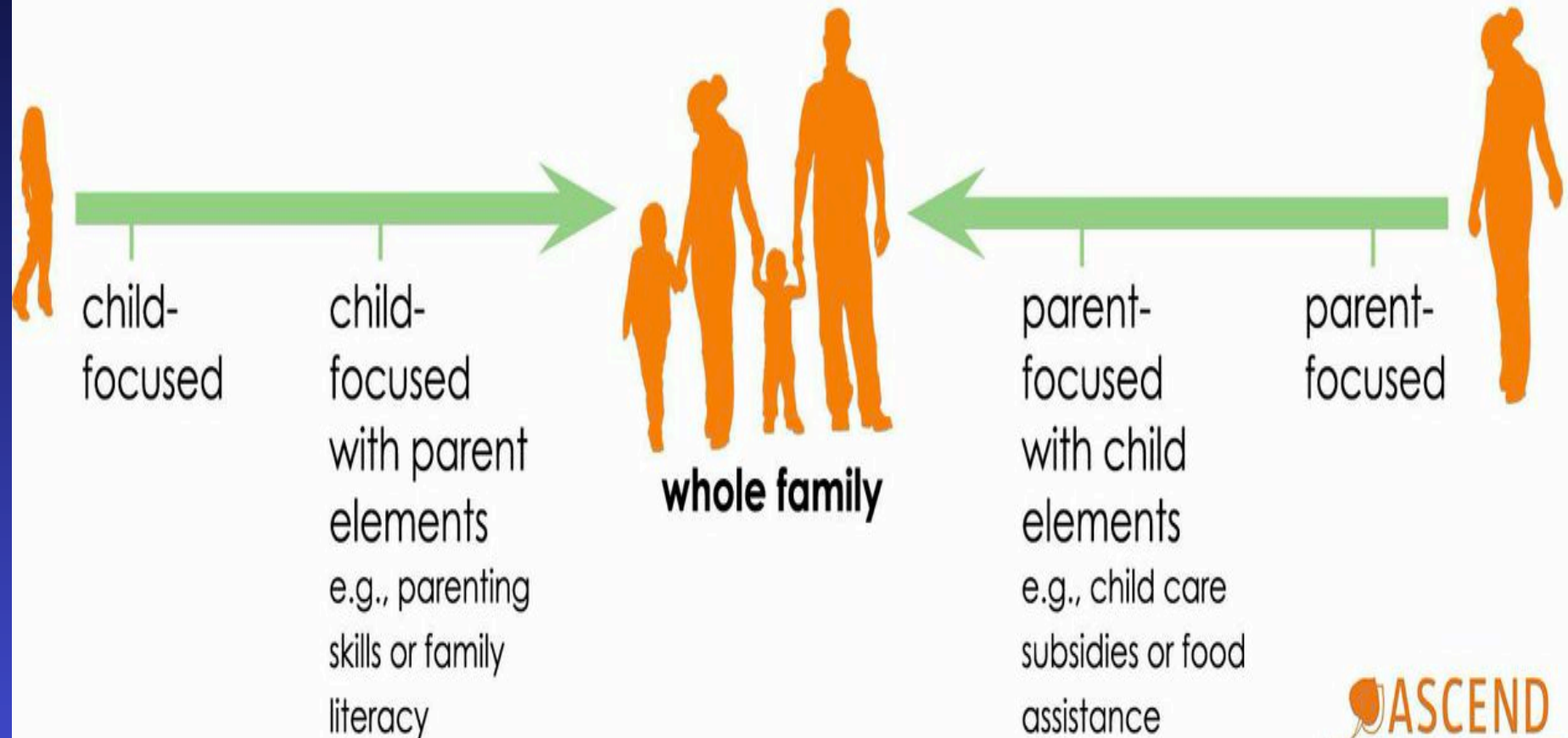
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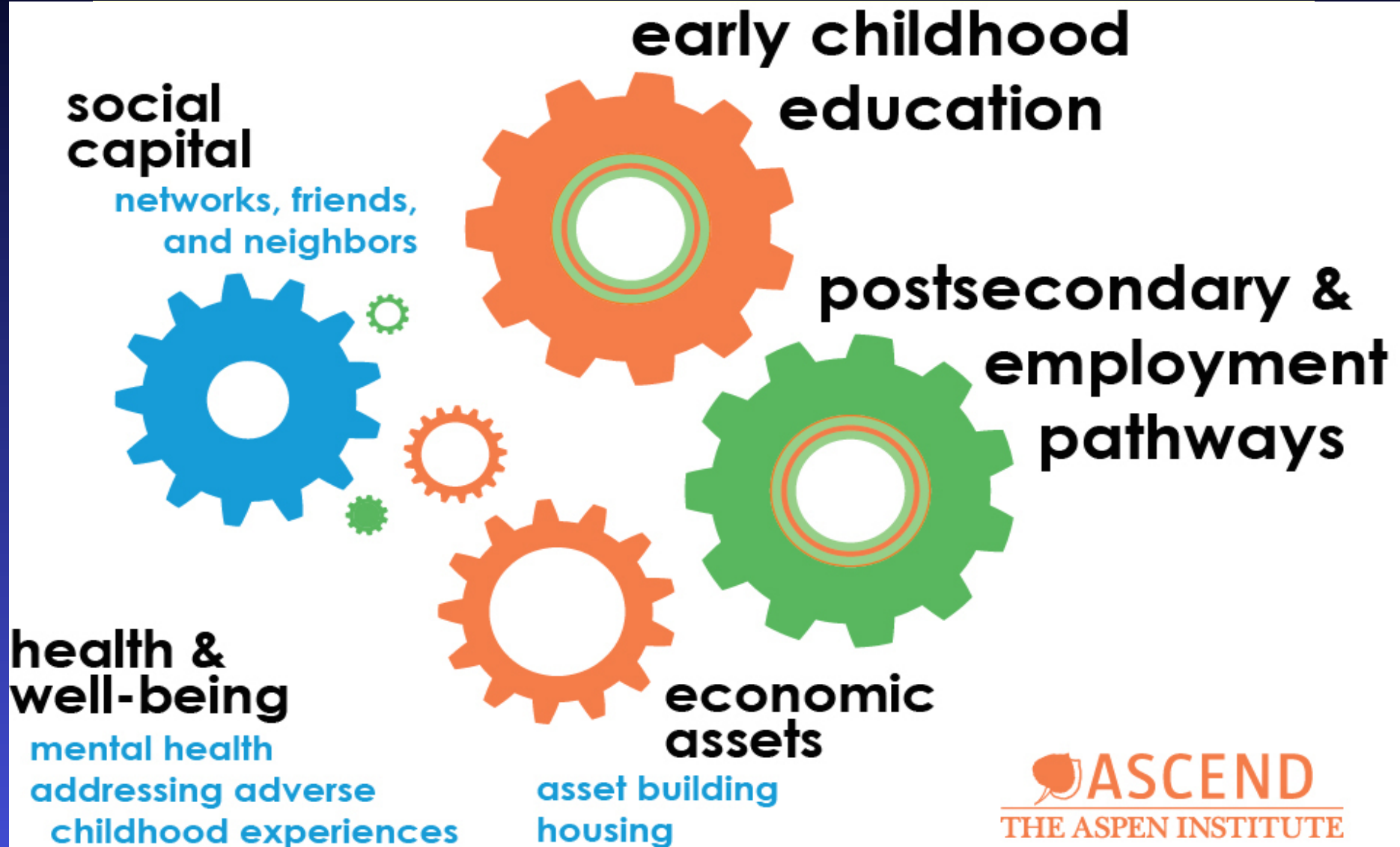


Two-Generation Continuum

The Two-Generation Continuum



Two-Generation Framework



Two-Generation Pathways

Haskins et al. (*Future of Children*, Spring 2014) describe six pathways by which parents and home setting affect child development:

1. *Stress*
2. *Parental Education (including skills training)*
3. *Health*
4. *Income*
5. *Employment*
6. *Asset Development*

Suggests need for comprehensive, multi-faceted strategies.

Stress & Child Development

Thompson (2014), building on brain (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2001) and child development research, finds—

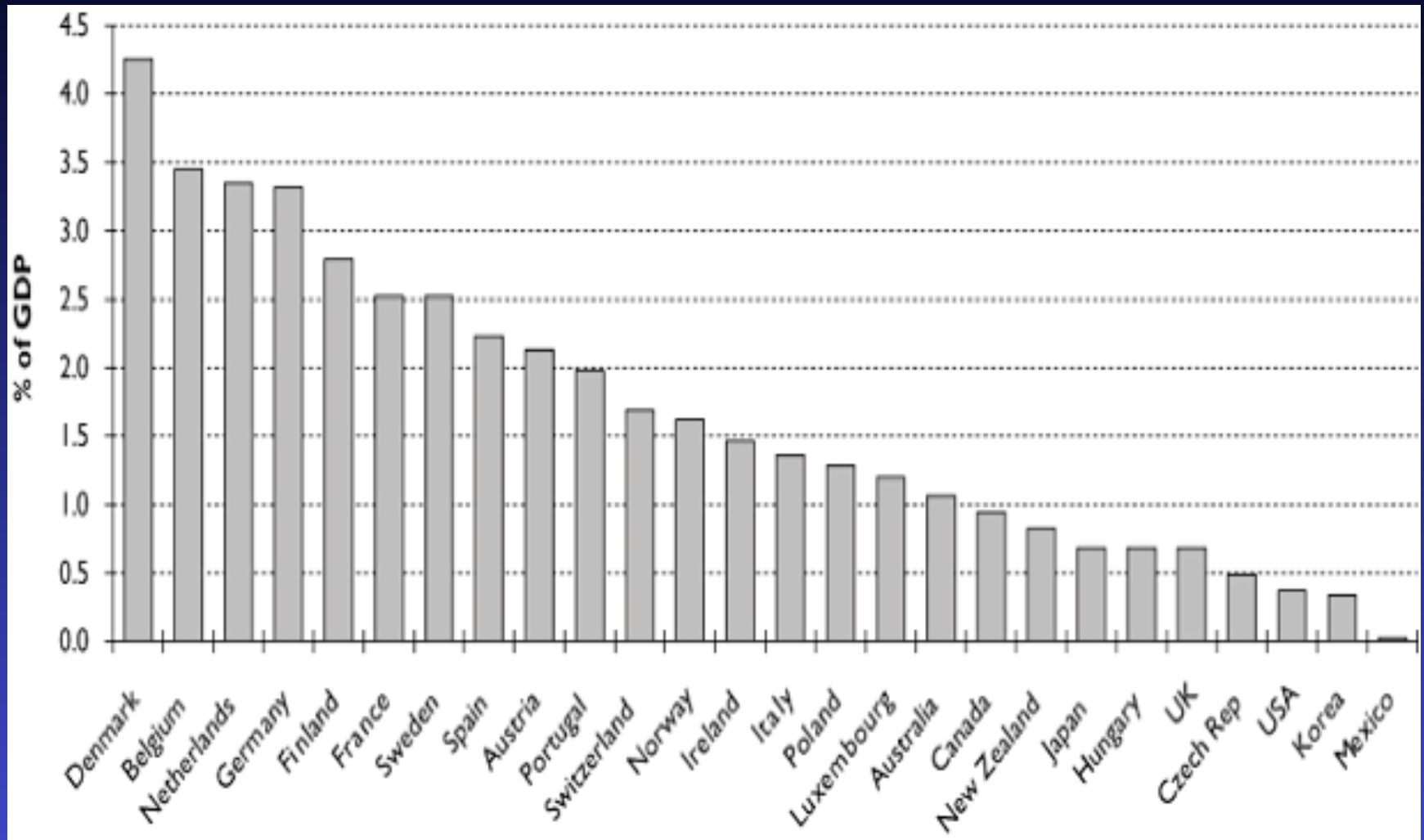
- Marital conflict, domestic violence, child abuse, depression, poverty lead to stress, sometimes extraordinary, unavoidable —“chronic” or “toxic”—stress.
- Biological effects of stress undermine children’s ability to concentrate, remember, control and focus their thinking.
- Developmental plasticity can help ... or *hurt*.
- Parent/caregiver support can offset/buffer stress.
- Better preventive and ameliorative interventions can improve child/parent/caregiver relations via “integrated biological-behavioral approaches.”

Parental Education

Kaushal (2014) finds that “better educated parents have better educated kids.”

- Increased parent education has *positive causal effects* on children’s test scores, health, behavior and development, and on mothers’ own behavior (e.g., teen childbearing, substance abuse).
- Conventional measures of returns to parental education (e.g., income, productivity) *understate* real returns.
- U.S. spends more on education (as % of GDP) than other OECD nations, but disproportionately on richer children, perpetuating inequality. NOTE: U.S. ranks almost last in OECD in spending on labor market programs.

Total LMP Spending as % of GDP, 2005



Source: OECD.

Family Health

Glied & Oellerich (2014) find—

- Healthier parents have healthier children as result of genetics, as well as environment and behavior.
- Key issues include healthcare access, insurance and benefits.
- Problematic that physicians typically treat parents *or* children, *not* the family as a whole.
- Health components (e.g., ‘health home’) not very common in 2-gen programs.

Family Income

Duncan et al. (2014) find—

- Poverty harms child development through family & environmental stress; family resources & investment; and cultural practices.
- Causal effects of low income are “moderate,” but *timing is key*: early childhood poverty has strongest adverse impacts.
- Cash and in-kind income supplements likely have positive effects on child development.
- Note: MDRC research on income supplements and their effects.

Parental Employment

Heinrich (2014) finds—

- Parental employment has mixed effects:

Pluses: increased income, role modeling

Minuses: less parenting time, greater stress

- Children whose parents have unstable, low-wage, low-quality jobs without autonomy or benefits are at much greater risk of adverse effects.
- Note: Yoshikawa et al. (2006) qualitative research on New Hope Project families in Milwaukee found that children of parents with stable work, higher earnings did better over time.

Family Assets

Grinstein-Weiss et al. (2014) find—

- While poverty/child development links are well researched, connections between parental savings, wealth and child well-being not yet clear.
- Low- and moderate-income parents save, if funds are matched by 3rd parties.
- Greater assets lead to increased parent education (and increased college-going for kids).
- Note: Experiments and initiatives are ongoing (e.g., CFED, Colorado DHS).

The Promise of 2-Gen 2.0

Major theories per Chase-Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn (2014) :

- Continuity & Change: “Early learning begets later learning, skills beget skills.”
- Ecological, “proximal environment”: Import of “close-in” environments in kids’ early years, school *and* home.
- Risk & Resilience: Kids can bounce back, thrive in face of adversity with internal and environmental “protective factors”. Interventions must be multi-level, tailored, focused on multiple competence domains, and lasting.
- Human Capital: education and skills investments lead to greater productivity, jobs, earnings over time.

Promise of 2-Gen 2.0 ...

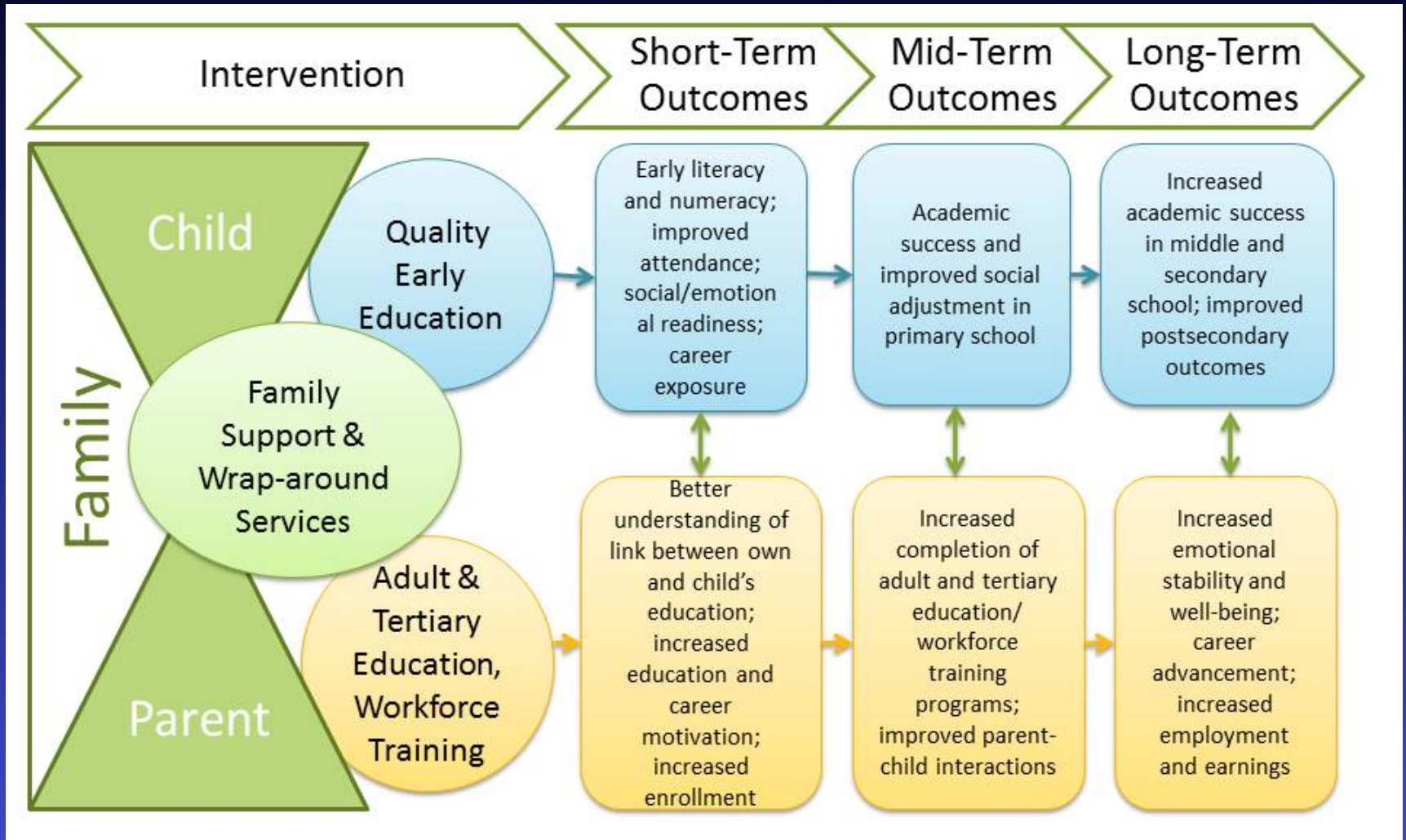
2-Gen 1.0 (1980s, 1990s) produced *modest effects*, mainly adding parenting, low-intensity services to ECE or mostly serving welfare mothers adding child care.

2-Gen 2.0 (late 2000s), starting with Tulsa's CareerAdvance[®], builds on much improved workforce and postsecondary approaches, and is substantively very different:

- *Simultaneous human capital investment for wide range of low-income parents and children*
- *Intensive postsecondary education and training in growth sectors with stackable credentials*
- *Workforce intermediaries combined with strong employer engagement*
- *High-quality ECE*



Conceptual Framework*



*Chase-Lansdale et al. (April 2011), Smith & Coffey (2014).

Rigorous Sector/CP Evaluations

- Experimental evaluation of Per Scholas, New York; Jewish Vocational Services, Boston; & Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership, Milwaukee (Maguire et al., 2010).
- Quasi-experimental Capital IDEA evaluation & ROI analysis (Smith et al., 2012; Smith & King, 2011).
- Experimental evaluation of Comprehensive Employment Training (CET) Replication, a sectoral, career pathway youth program (Miller et al., 2005).
- Experimental evaluation of Year Up, career pathway, sectoral, bridge program for youth (Roder & Elliott, 2011 & 2014).
- Quasi-experimental I-BEST 'bridge' program evaluation (Zeidenberg et al., 2010).

Program Participation Effects

- Participation in E&T services 32% points higher for sectoral participants relative to controls.
- CET youth received 145 more hours of training and earned credentials at rate 21% points above controls.
- Year Up participants 13% points less likely to have attended college 4 years after random assignment.
- I-BEST participants experienced 17% point increase in service receipt, 10% point increase in college credits earned, and 7.5% point increase in occupational certifications earned 3 years after enrollment. But, no significant effects found on associate's degrees earned.

Labor Market Impacts

***Meaningful, significant, lasting impacts on participant employment, earnings and associated ROI.*

Employment

- With exception of Year Up & I-BEST, participation was associated with statistically significant increases in employment from 2 to 7.5 years post-program.
- Even in programs that did not boost overall employment rates (e.g., Year Up), participation led to increased employment in the targeted sectors, typically in much better jobs.

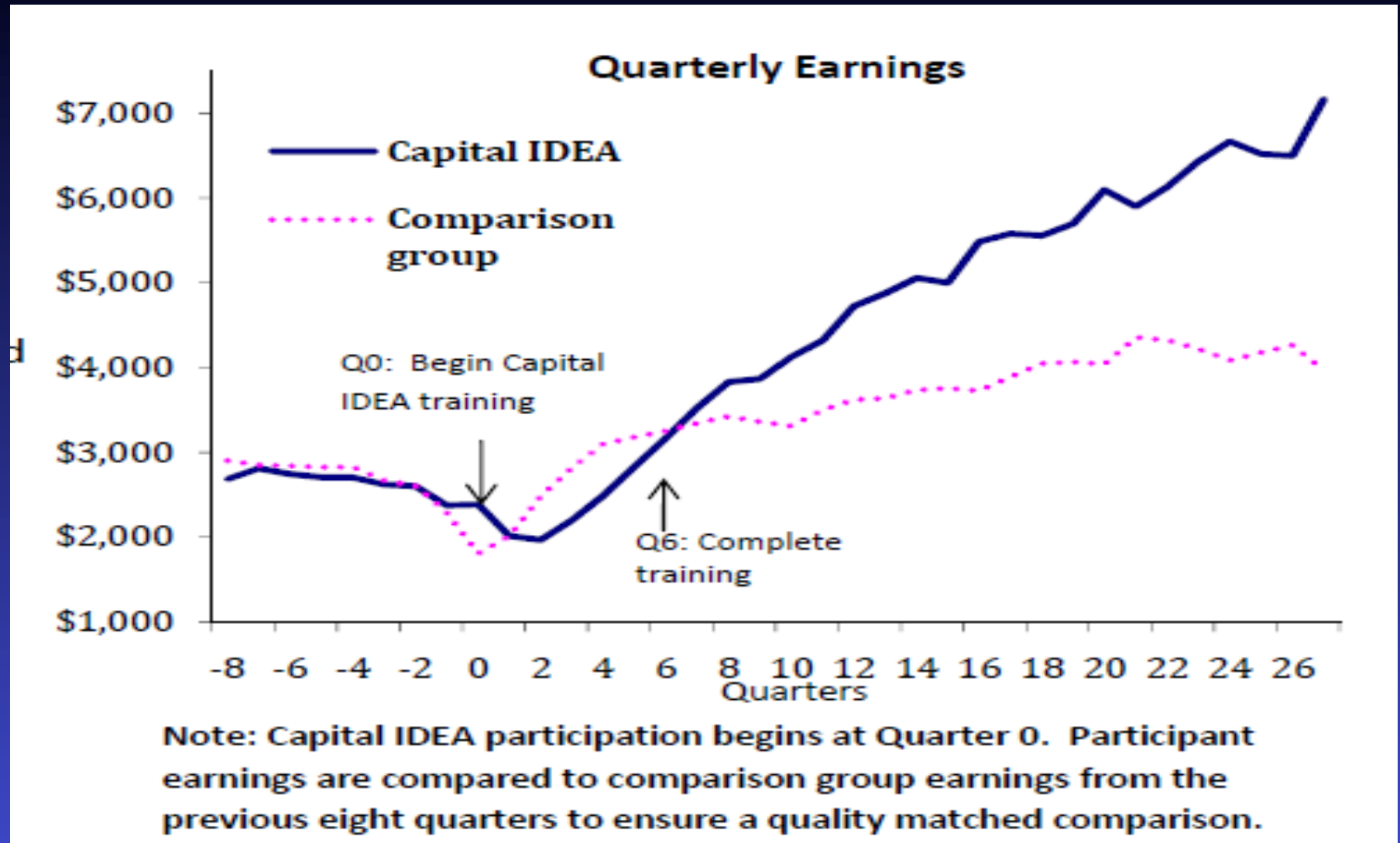
Labor Market Impacts ...

Earnings. Impacts of 12-30% from two to 7.5 years post enrollment.

- WTRP participants earned 24% more than controls over 2 years, largely from working more hours, earning higher wages; more likely to work in jobs paying \$11/hr & \$13/hr than controls. Similar results for JVS & Per Scholas.
- Capital IDEA participation led to 12-13% point earnings increase & increased (monetary) UI eligibility by 11-12% points nearly 8 years post, making low-income workers eligible for 'first-tier' safety net.
- Year Up participant earnings exceeded controls by 32% three years post, largely from working full-time jobs and jobs paying higher wages.



Labor Market Impacts ...



Source: Smith & King, 2011.



Labor Market Impacts ...

Capital IDEA program investments	Annualized return estimate 10 years	Annualized return estimate 20 years
Participants	73%	74%
Taxpayers	9%	17%
Society	39%	43%

Source: Smith & King, 2011.



Innovative Local 2-gen Initiatives

Annie E. Casey Foundation sites in Atlanta, Baltimore, Tulsa & W. Maryland feature varying mix of 2-gen strategies.

Jeremiah Project, a place-based postsecondary effort in Minneapolis/St. Paul (MN), Austin (TX) and Fargo (ND) for single mothers and their children.

2-Gen Austin, an emerging effort engaging a broad array of policymakers, funders and thought leaders.

Tulsa's CareerAdvance® Initiative, providing sectoral job training/career pathways (nursing, healthcare IT), career coaching, peer supports, conditional cash transfers and other supports for the parents of Head Start children.



CareerAdvance®

Local
Colleges

Sectoral
Training/CPs
Employers

Early Childhood
Program

Career Coaches

Peer Support

Incentives

Support Services

Elementary
Schools

'Bridge':
Adult Basic
Education &
ESL

CareerAdvance®

Target Population:
Parents of children in
Tulsa's early
education programs.
Mainly single
mothers, though
some fathers as well.
All low-income,
mostly minority.



Tulsa CareerAdvance® Milestones

2008-2009	Project planning with GKFF funds
Aug. 2009	1 st CNA cohort enrolled
Sep. 2010	5-yr \$10M. HPOG USHHS grant
Aug. 2011	4 th cohort of CNA/PCT, HIT enrolled
Sep. 2011	3-yr \$2.8M USHHS, \$300K Kellogg evaluation
Aug. 2012	6 th cohort of Nursing, HIT & MA enrolled
Jan. 2013	Educational Pathways launched building parents' basic skills for future program entry
Aug. 2013	8 th cohort of Nursing, MA, Pharm Tech, Allied Health enrolled



CareerAdvance® Milestones ...

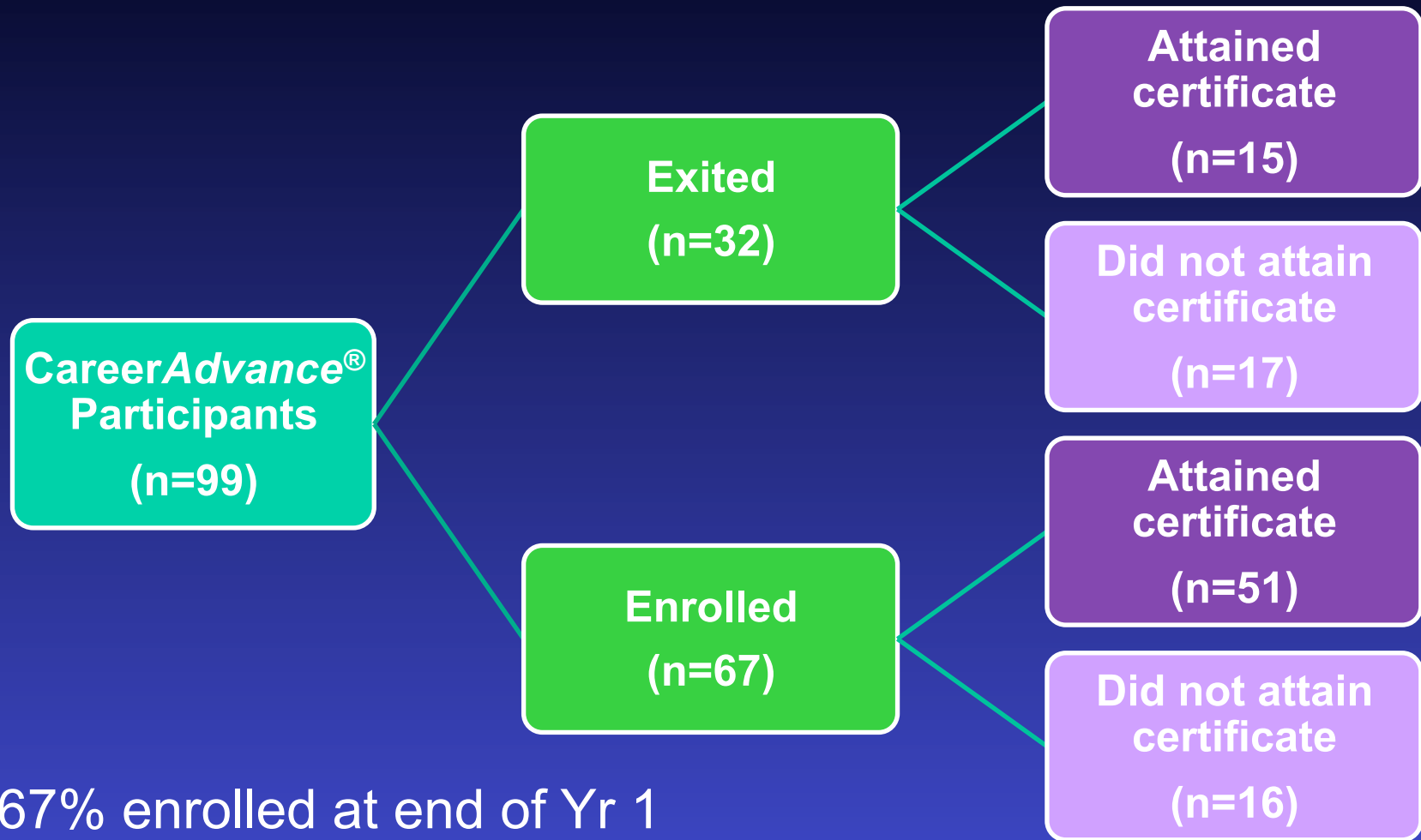
- Fall 2013 *Family Advancement Program* launched with USHHS/ACF funding
- Feb. 2014 9th cohort enrolled
- Aug. 2014 10th cohort enrolled
- Sept. 2015 HPOG funding scheduled to end.

THEN WHAT...?

Big issue is how to sustain and scale the program over time.



Enrollment & Certification at One Year, Cohorts 4-7



67% enrolled at end of Yr 1

66% attained certificate by end of Yr 1

Qualitative Evidence

- Too soon to estimate full *impacts* from 2-gen 2.0 efforts. Early *outcomes* just emerging from Tulsa's CareerAdvance®.
- Partner (e.g., Tulsa Community College, Union Public Schools), CAP, CareerAdvance® and employer *interviews are very encouraging*.
- Participant focus groups and interviews since 2010 tell us CareerAdvance® *and its components are largely on the right track*. A few examples ...

Prior Experiences

“I tried school before joining CareerAdvance® but couldn’t manage everything.”

“When I tried college before, I got burned out. I took too many classes to do well in any of them. No one told me I was taking too much.”

“I tried school before, but had no direction. There were too many choices and I didn’t know what classes to take or what was required. This time, having the choices narrowed down, having a goal, is helping me go forward.”



Coordinated Parent-Child Schedules

“I like how they’ve made the program fit around the youngest child’s schedule... how they’ve tailored it to fit around those hours, which really would tailor around all school-age children’s hours. So only during clinical times do you have to really worry about before and after care. But for the most part, all of us can still take the kids, kiss them goodbye, do our thing, and then be there to pick them up.”

Cohorts & Peer Support

“I mean, it’s just that we’re not the typical college student. Like, we have kids and I have doctors’ appointments and different things, but we’re all, um We all have kids, we all have the same kind of appointments and obligations, and...so we understand when one of us has to miss, and we go, ‘Can you take notes for me because I have to take the kids to the pediatrician?’”

Cohorts & Peer Support ...

“I know if I tried to leave this program, I would have some people on my phone. And that’s the good thing about us ... being a small group of people. If one of us tried to leave it, oh, we gonna be on that phone quick, ‘Wait a minute what are you doing?’ “

“My cohort showed me that there are women out there just like me. We all had the same story. I was so scared and nervous at first. Now I know that you just have to put in the work and keep motivated.”

Career Coaching

“She is always there; she keeps motivating us. We aren’t alone.”

“[The coaches] help you recognize that you have to do something for yourself, not just your kids.”

“She is like your mom. You don’t want to listen, but you know she has your best interest at heart.”

“I was going to give up but the coaches wouldn’t let me.”

Peers, Coaches & Staff Support

“We constantly have the support not only from our classmates but also from our teachers and our coach. You know, and when I was in college before, it was just me against the world basically you know. So if I dropped out, nobody cared. It was just, I was only just disappointing myself. Now if anybody is missing too much class we’d call them and are like, you know ‘Where are you at? Come to class.’”

Role Modeling

“I’m the first person to even go to school. So it feels good to me to just know that I’m gonna make a better, like pave a better path for my son. The chances of him going to school if I complete school are so much higher. And that’s you know, not only will I create a better life for him as a child, but it’ll give him some encouragement and motivation, and I can be a better role model for him to go to school when he’s older. So it makes me feel a lot better I think.”

Financial Incentives

“I strive to get to class so that I can earn my reward for doing good.”

“It helps keep us accountable for every day.”

“[When I tried school before] there was nothing to motivate you to show up. Here there is the incentive and the gas card to encourage us.”

“Don’t plan on the incentive; don’t spend it before you get it.”



Less Time with Children

“I almost feel like I’m neglecting my son, like I know he’s taken care of ... but as far as spending time with him, and he’s taking a hit, when it comes to like mommy and baby time. Because I don’t have that extra time to spend with him anymore now that I am in this program... But I always just have to tell myself that in the long run, it’s actually more beneficial.”

Lessons Learned: Families

- Poor families are resilient and bring real assets to the table, including strong motivation to help their children.
- Families live chaotic lives and face large barriers to participation—e.g., ‘bad paper’, criminal records, family violence—much less parenting or succeeding in the labor market.
- Basic skills vary widely *within* cohorts, *between* pathways. Most must address large deficits before progressing to skills training.
- Supports notwithstanding, intense, human capital oriented programs aren’t for all low-income families.

Lessons Learned: Programs

- Simply referring parents to education and workforce available services will not work (Hsueh et al. 2012).
- Traditional adult education/family literacy services are poorly designed and delivered, largely ineffective.
- Career coaches and peer supports in cohort models are critical program components.
- Keeping partners engaged effectively over time takes considerable energy and resources.

Lessons Learned: Programs ...

- Services are highly fragmented in most communities; typically need an intermediary to “glue the pieces together.”
- Many barriers to 2-gen program success are policy- and program-, not family-related.
- Given barriers and constraints, it takes far longer to achieve success than most policymakers and program officials are comfortable with.

Lessons Learned: Programs ...

- We know a great deal about what works for parents (e.g., sectoral/career pathway approaches, contextualized adult ed/ESL, stackable credentials) and for young children (e.g., Tulsa-style early ed), but we don't know what works for them *together* ... yet.
- Simultaneous parent and child program participation with fully connected and reinforcing components has yet to be done well.

Lessons Learned: Overall

- Two-generation programs entail high costs up front, but are *likely* to yield high returns over the long term. We should view them as investments, not expenses, and value and fund them accordingly.
- Two-generation strategies can be initiated in various ways: either from quality ECE programs, from leading-edge workforce programs, or from the “marriage” of existing quality adult and child programs.
- We haven’t yet figured out the best ways to sustain and scale effective two-generation strategies.

Concluding Observations

Passive, market-based models simply will not help families become economically self-sufficient or break the cycle of inter-generational poverty.

Social mobility in the U.S. is significantly lower than in most developed countries and has been declining. Roughly 8% of children born to U.S. families in the bottom fifth of the income distribution reach the top fifth v. 11.7% in Denmark (Chetty et al., 2014; Boserup et al., 2013).

Some state policy and program frameworks—and their local institutions—are better structured to help families get the services they need to succeed. States not so well structured can still take action to improve their capacity, *without* federal legislation.



Observations...

The Workforce Innovation Opportunity Act enacted in 2014 may be more supportive of 2-gen strategies and their evidence-based components, e.g., sector-based, career pathway approaches for parents. It's largely up to states and localities to implement them well.

Food Stamp E&T Demonstrations offer concrete opportunities for developing 2-generation strategies, as do TANF, Head Start, ESEA and CCDF reauthorizations.

For More Information

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