

**A Second Implementation Study of HOPE Toledo Promise (2020-2022):
A Novel Two-Generation College Scholarship Program**

Teresa Eckrich Sommer
Northwestern University
Principal Investigator

Lauren A. Tighe and P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale
Northwestern University
Co-Principal Investigators

Atiya Addie, Hope Salvador, and Eman Kasha Akhtar
Northwestern University
Program Coordinators/Research Assistants

For the Period Covering January 1, 2022 – August 31, 2022

HOPE Toledo Promise



A Model Two-Generation College Scholarship Program

Teresa Eckrich Sommer, Lauren A. Tighe, & P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Northwestern University



Postsecondary enrollment and college credentials are beyond the reach of many low-income students and their families.

- Nationally, 48% of recent high school graduates from families in the lowest income quartile enroll in a postsecondary education within six years, compared to 79% of graduates from families in the highest income quartile (Cahalan et al., 2022).
- In Toledo, Ohio, fewer than 20% of adults have earned a postsecondary certificate or degree (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021).
- At Jesup W. Scott High School in Toledo, only about one third of high school graduates enroll in college.

HOPE Toledo Promise is the first fully funded two-generation scholarship program in the United States.

HOPE Toledo Promise



Toledo, Ohio, starting with families of Scott High School graduates and expanding to other high schools in the future.



Full package of services:

- 4.5 years of full college tuition, room and board, books, and fees
- Wrap-around supportive services and coaching
- Youth and parents attending college at the same time



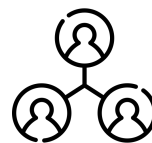
To date, offered to two cohorts of Scott High School graduates ($N = 208$). Parents are eligible if:

- Their child participates
- They have a high school degree or equivalent
- They have not yet attained a Bachelor's degree

Northwestern University



HOPE Toledo Promise and Northwestern University began collaborating in 2020.



The Northwestern team are national experts in two-generation theory and research and have a long history of research-practice partnerships.



Study data include:

- Administrative data on Scott graduates and HOPE Toledo Promise participants
- Surveys of youth and parents
- Interviews with program and community leaders
- Interviews and focus groups with youth, parents, and families

Early Indicators of HOPE Toledo Promise's Success

Program Entrance

- **61%** of eligible youth (127 of 208)
- **19%** of eligible parents (24 of 127) entered the HOPE Toledo Promise program.

College Enrollment

- **56%** of eligible youth (117 of 208)
- **10%** of eligible parents (12 of 117) enrolled in a postsecondary institution with a HOPE Toledo Promise scholarship.

College Persistence

- **54%** of enrolled youth (63 of 117)
- **58%** of enrolled parents (7 of 12) persisted by continuously enrolling in a postsecondary institution.

College Graduation

Six students have graduated from a postsecondary institution:

five youth with phlebotomy, EMT, massage therapy, and cosmetology certificates and one parent with an addiction counseling certificate.

Persistence Rates by Cohort

	After One Year (Cohort 2)	After Two Years (Cohort 1)
Youth	69% (33 of 48)	43% (30 of 69)
Parent	80% (4 of 5)	43% (3 of 7)

Behind the Numbers: Voices of Students & Staff

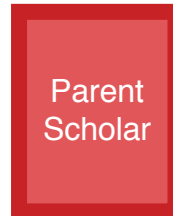
“It feels like a family.” The program’s staff benefits students. For example, intensive coaching seems to promote kinship, camaraderie, and better use of college resources.

“It’s more than just a scholarship.” Students appreciate the opportunity to remain engaged in the program when life circumstances necessitate a pause in college enrollment, and then to re-enroll and compete over 4.5 years.

Among the seven families attending college at the same time, novel benefits include **mutual motivation**, **healthy competition**, and shared skill development which may lead to higher rates of college persistence and completion.



“We both support each other; we both motivate each other. And we both give each other pep talks when we’re feeling down, or when there’s news coming up. And we pray together.” –Cayla (Youth Scholar)



“It’s kind of building our relationship a little bit more than what we had. [...]. So basically, we’re trying to figure out who can get the best grades by the end of the semester.”

Challenges remain for youth and parents, including financial and food insecurities, loneliness, and limited academic preparation. HOPE Toledo Promise is addressing these concerns.

Looking Ahead

Program: Continue to offer intensive supports to help students prepare for and persist in college, and increase parent engagement.

Research: Add new cohorts of students and use National Student Clearinghouse data to study college outcomes over time.

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We thank HOPE Toledo for its generous support of this project. We could not have accomplished this work without the commitment and collaboration of HOPE Toledo’s Reverend John Jones, Chief Executive Officer; Shawna Woody, Vice President; and Autumn Parker, Community and Family Navigator. Rev. Jones, Ms. Woody, and Ms. Parker are the innovative, dedicated, and expansive leaders of HOPE Toledo, including both the college promise and the early childhood education components of the program. Importantly, the Youth and Parent Scholars who are engaged in HOPE Toledo are the reason we do this work. Their dedication to and passion for their education, families, and futures inspire us every day.

This second-year implementation report focuses on HOPE Toledo’s ongoing Two-Generation College Promise initiative, which aims to strengthen intergenerational economic wellbeing in racially and economically marginalized communities in Toledo, Ohio. HOPE Toledo Promise provides cost-free postsecondary education with wrap-around supportive services to high school graduates and one of their parents or legal guardians. During the grant period, HOPE Toledo Promise served youth (and their parents) who graduated from Jesup W. Scott High School in 2020 and 2021 and offered them 4.5 years of funding to attend a postsecondary institution in Ohio at no cost.

Introduction and Goals

Two-generation programs that target children and parents together represent a promising and innovative antipoverty strategy that can promote intergenerational economic opportunity in families. These initiatives link intensive, high-quality education services for children and parents within the same family. HOPE Toledo Promise, which began in 2020, is the first model two-generation college scholarship programs in the United States. Funding for HOPE Toledo Promise comes from the Kadens Family Foundation and ProMedica, and the program is directed by President Reverend John Jones, Vice President Ms. Shawna Woody, and Community and Family Navigator Ms. Autumn Parker.

HOPE Toledo Promise provides cost-free postsecondary education (including tuition, room, board, books, and fees) to high school graduates and one of their parents or legal guardians. At this time, parents/guardians may only participate in the program if their child participates. Thus far, HOPE Toledo Promise has been offered to two cohorts of scholars: youth in Jesup W. Scott High School's Graduating Classes of 2020 and 2021 in Toledo, Ohio ("Youth Scholars") along with one of their parents/guardians ("Parent Scholars").

In 2021, we conducted our first implementation study of HOPE Toledo Promise and its initial cohort of students (i.e., "Cohort 1" who graduated Scott High School in 2020). In its inaugural year, this novel family-centered program showed promise for both generations. Despite learning about the scholarship during their senior year and attending college through a global pandemic, approximately 75% of Scott High School graduates entered the program and 54% enrolled in college. Sixteen percent of eligible parents enrolled in a postsecondary education program. In the first year, Youth and Parent Scholars enrolled at two- and four-year institutions in the Toledo area, and most performed at or above average academically. Families attending college at the same time experienced shared learning, healthy competition, and mutual motivation. Cohort 1 celebrated many successes, but challenges remained such as continued financial and food insecurities, loneliness, and limited academic preparation (Sommer, Chase-Lansdale, et al., 2021). Findings from the first implementation study have been communicated through an in-depth mixed-method report (Sommer, Chase-Lansdale et al., 2021)¹, a research brief with College Promise (Sommer, Jones et al., 2021)², and conferences and webinars. Together, they suggest further testing of a whole-family approach to college promise as a potentially promising strategy for improving educational and economic outcomes of youth and parents alike.

HOPE Toledo Promise has since expanded to include its second cohort of scholars (i.e., "Cohort 2" who graduated Scott High School in 2021). The goal of the second-year implementation study is to examine the ways in which this innovative college promise program has the potential to reframe how program and policy makers view education access and opportunities, including a two-generation or family-focused approach to education (Sommer, Chase-Lansdale et al., 2021; Sommer, Jones, et al., 2021). Further research is also essential to inform the scaling of HOPE Toledo Promise across Greater Toledo through partnerships with local educational institutions and employers. HOPE Toledo Promise's focus is on long-term systems change that will reduce racial and economic inequity and improve educational and economic outcomes for low-income families.

¹ <https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/sites.northwestern.edu/dist/6/3833/files/2021/08/HOPE-Toledo-Implementation-Report-1.pdf>

² https://assets.website-files.com/61ba001bb59d05538c5a4bd8/61d319ec83733e11d06b6332_hope-toledo-brief.pdf

We address six main research questions using a mixed-methods approach:

1. What are the rates of program entrance among eligible youth and parents, and what are key descriptive differences among those who enter and those who do not?
2. What are the rates of college enrollment, persistence, and completion among Youth and Parent Scholars?
3. What are the characteristics of Youth and Parent Scholars and are there generational differences in key domains (i.e., postsecondary enrollment, employment, and career identity, learning and study skills, psychological wellbeing, and home and family functioning)?
4. What experiences, positive and negative, are currently enrolled Youth and Parent Scholars having with the program including the additional opportunities and challenges presented by COVID-19?
5. For families with both generations in the program, what types of interpersonal dynamics are taking place? In what ways are these dynamics promoting/interfering with the educational success for either or both generations?
6. From the perspective of program leaders, in what ways has the HOPE Toledo Promise program evolved and what successes and challenges is the program facing?

We conducted our study of HOPE Toledo Promise's ongoing implementation over six months from January to June 2022. The mixed-methods research involved six data components, which are explained in detail in the appendices:

- a. Administrative data from Toledo Public Schools and the HOPE Toledo program
- b. Surveys of Youth and Parent Scholars
- c. Family-focused dyad interviews (pairs of Youth and Parent Scholars in the same family)
- d. Separate interviews and focus groups of Youth and Parent Scholars
- e. Observations of monthly scholars' meetings (March and April)
- f. Interviews with program leadership (Rev. John Jones and Ms. Shawna Woody)

We first provide background on the significance of a family-centered education for positive youth and family development. We then outline the specific details and innovations of HOPE Toledo Promise. Next, we present key findings from our mixed-methods implementation study, which incorporates quantitative data as well as the voices and perspectives of Youth and Parent Scholars and program leadership. We conclude with recommendations for program improvement of HOPE Toledo Promise and directions for the future based on the evidence from our two implementation studies of this innovative college promise program, previous research on similar family-centered education programs, and our expertise in two-generation theory and research (Chase-Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Chase-Lansdale et al., 2019; Sommer et al., 2020; Sommer, Chase-Lansdale et al., 2021; Sommer, Gomez et al., 2018; Sommer, Jones et al., 2021; Sommer, Sabol et al., 2018). Additional details on the study's methods, analytic strategy, and references are included in the appendices.

Background

Two-Generation Education Programs

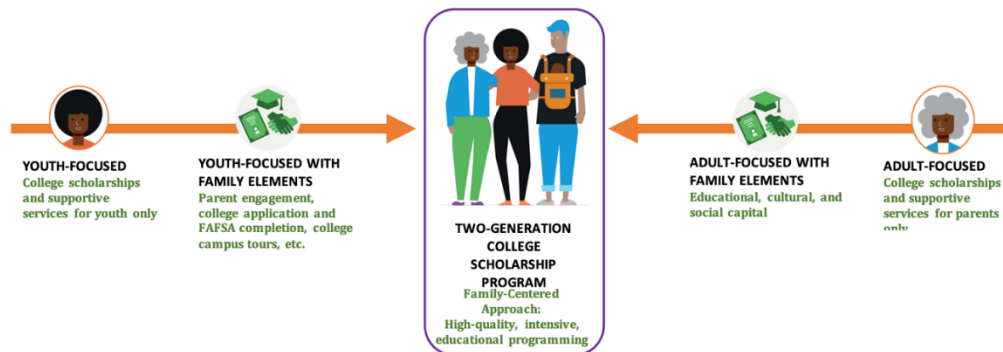
At the Northwestern University Two-Generation Research Initiative, we view two-generation programs in the 21st century as:

- Family-centered or dual-generation strategies that purposefully and systematically combine services for parents and children/youth with the goal of promoting the education and skills of both generations.
- High-quality educational programming for children/youth and parents in the same family at the same time.

Two-Generation College Promise Programs

- College promise programs vary in their offerings but typically guarantee tuition coverage to students who meet certain requirements such as residing in a particular location, attending a specific school, and/or meeting certain requirements such as grade point average.
- Many current college promise programs focus solely on youth. Few college promise programs take a family focus and provide scholarships for both youth and adults at the same time.
- The figure below demonstrates the characteristics of two-generation college promise programs for youth and adults in the same family.
 - On each end of the continuum, youth-focused and adult-focused approaches typically center on college scholarships and supportive services for youth only or adults only (in adult programs, an intentional emphasis on parents is rare).
 - There is some involvement of the other generation as youth- and adult- programs move toward the center of the continuum (e.g., FAFSA completion workshops for youth with parental involvement, adults improving their educational and social capital which confers benefits to children).
 - However, true two-generation education programs recognize the interconnectedness of youth and parents and intentionally align services and supports across generations.
 - HOPE Toledo Promise employs a family-centered lens in its approach to a two-generation college promise program, with intensive, high-quality programming for both generations.

Figure 1. The Two-Generation College Promise Continuum³



³ Figure adapted from Ascend at the Aspen Institute (<https://ascend.aspeninstitute.org/resources/making-tomorrow-better-together>)

Why do college and postsecondary education matter so much?

- Postsecondary education and skills training are essential in the 21st century economy.
- Individuals who attain a college degree are more likely to end up in the top 20% of the income distribution compared to students who only complete a high school degree, regardless of parent income.
- Those with a college degree or postsecondary certificate, on average, make 66% more than students who only complete a high school degree.
- However, there are issues of equity surrounding postsecondary education: Nationally, 48% of recent high school graduates from families in the lowest income quartile enroll in a postsecondary education within six years, compared to 79% of graduates from families in the highest income quartile.

(Cahalan et al., 2022; Isaacs et al., 2008)

What have we learned from the evidence on single-generation college scholarship programs, including promise programs?

- Fully funded college scholarship programs are rare: single-generation programs typically do not cover full tuition, room and board, and school-related costs.
- Few college scholarship programs have been studied rigorously: A 2020 meta-analysis identified only six college scholarship programs with experimental and quasi-experimental research designs.
- Impacts tend to be modest: The average impact across six programs demonstrated a 10 percentage point increase in college enrollment among participants.

(Castillo, Collins, & Maynard, 2020)

Why would a family-centered approach be more successful than a program designed just for youth?

- Youth cannot be the only agents of change in their environments.
- For youth to change behavior, the contexts around them need to change.
- The family is an environmental context that has a significant influence on youths' success.

(Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Davis-Kean et al., 2021; Sabol et al., 2021).

Parents and guardians have a significant influence on youths' developmental trajectories over their lifetimes.

- Parenting is the first and primary engine of healthy or unhealthy youth development.
- Parents' educational attainment is linked to child and youth skill development and academic achievement through parents' beliefs and behaviors.
- Parents' education is also associated with their children's economic mobility through parents' careers, economic standing, and psychological wellbeing.
- Parents who have experienced educational and economic success may serve as educational role models and help youth develop strong academic and career identities.

(Akee et al., 2010; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Chase-Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Davis-Kean et al., 2021; Dubow et al., 2009; Felfe & Hsin, 2012; Heinrich, 2014; Magnuson et al., 2002, 2007, 2009).

Youth face many family-centered opportunities and challenges to their educational advancement.

- Low-income parents want to give their children more resources than they had, and they believe that a college education will improve their children's economic circumstances.
- Most parents seek to be good educational role models.
- However, many parents do not directly connect their own educational success with the future success of their children.
- As youth succeed in school, they may also inspire parents to meet their own educational goals.
- Many parents are not equipped to guide their college-going children on the best ways to succeed if they did not acquire higher education themselves. In turn, youth may be unable to rely on their parents for substantive support and counsel when in college.
- Youth may not experience a college-going culture at home or school, resulting in less motivation and preparedness for college.
- Youth from low-income families may feel more pressure to prioritize immediate employment and family financial and care needs over their own education (Sommer et al., 2012).

HOPE Toledo Promise

Core Programmatic Elements

- ***Scholarships for Youth:*** Every graduate in the Classes of 2020 ($N = 116$) and 2021 ($N = 92$) at Scott High School was eligible for a fully funded scholarship to attend a postsecondary education program of their choice in the state of Ohio, including career certification and AA and BA degree programs. HOPE Toledo Promise covers tuition, room and board, books, and fees for up to 4.5 years after financial aid (excluding loans) is applied. Youth Scholars also receive individual and group coaching.
- ***Scholarships for Parents or Guardians:*** For Youth Scholars who are accepted into the program, one parent or legal guardian may be eligible to participate in the program. Therefore, parent eligibility for HOPE Toledo Promise is contingent on their young adult child's entrance into the program. Further, parents who have yet to attain a GED or had already received a Bachelor's degree cannot participate. Parent Scholars receive the same financial benefits and supportive services.

At this time, HOPE Toledo Promise has been offered to its first two cohorts of Youth and Parent Scholars: Cohort 1 in 2020 and Cohort 2 in 2021. In Toledo, Ohio, fewer than 20% of adults have earned a postsecondary certificate or degree (U.S. Census, 2020). Scott High School in Toledo is a Title I school which suggests that most, if not all, students come from low-income families. Most students who attend Scott High School identify as Black (85%) (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). Before the implementation of HOPE Toledo Promise, it is estimated that about one-third of Scott High School graduates enrolled in a postsecondary institution.

Key Innovations of HOPE Toledo Promise

- Addresses the critical financial barrier to college enrollment and covers all college-related costs to complete a degree or career certification program.
- Takes a family-centered approach to economic mobility by financially supporting the education and career advancement of a youth and one parent (or guardian) at the same time.
- Puts youth and their families at the center of choosing an educational path forward and offers coaching to help Scholars make fully informed education and career choices that suit their skills, interests, and life circumstances.

HOPE Toledo Promise has continued to evolve since its inception. From the beginning, requirements for program participation included graduating high school and completing the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA), with the intention of enrolling in a postsecondary institution immediately or in the near future. In its second year, the program began providing scholarship levels based on the number of years of attendance at Scott High School. For example, students who attended Scott High School for all four years received the complete 4.5 years of funding, while students who moved and attended for their senior year only received one quarter of the total funding. In its upcoming third year, the program will focus on six key postsecondary institution partners (i.e., Owens Community College, University of Toledo, Lourdes University, Mercy College, Bowling Green State University, and Central State University) as preferred places of enrollment for student scholars where students will receive the highest level of financial aid and wrap-around support. New students will also be required to participate in regular check-ins with program staff and maintain a GPA of 2.5 or higher, and the program will no longer cover the tuition costs of failed coursework. Starting summer and fall of 2023, the program will increase its focus on career employment by offering internships and career shadowing opportunities for students during the summer months.

Summary of Study Methods and Limitations

Please see Appendix A for a detailed description of the study's methodology. This second implementation study of HOPE Toledo contains administrative, survey, qualitative, and observational data. Toledo Public Schools provided administrative data on the 2020 and 2021 Graduating Classes of Jesup W. Scott High School ($N = 208$ eligible graduates and their families). HOPE Toledo provided administrative data on youth and parent program entrance, college enrollment, college persistence, and college completion ($n = 127$ Youth Scholars and $n = 24$ Parent Scholars who entered the HOPE Toledo Promise Program).

Youth and Parent Scholars who enrolled in a postsecondary institution through HOPE Toledo Promise were invited to participate in an online survey ($n = 117$ Youth Scholars enrolled and $n = 12$ Parent Scholars enrolled). Fifty-nine Youth Scholars (59/117) and six Parent Scholars (6/12) completed the survey.

More Youth Scholars who completed the survey were women (69%) compared to men (31%). The majority of Youth Scholars in the survey identified as Black or African American (93%) while the remainder identified as multiracial. On average, youth were 19 years old ($M = 19.16$, $SD = 0.87$).

The six Parent Scholar survey participants were women who identified as Black or African American. Parents were, on average, 43 years old ($M = 43$, $SD = 3.85$).

For the qualitative portion of the study, we approached the seven Youth-Parent/Guardian pairs, or dyads, who were in the same family attending college. We were able to interview one or both members of the six dyads for a total of nine participants. We interviewed four Scholars in two sets of dyads (i.e., Youth and Parent Scholars in the same family in one interview), three Parent Scholars in a focus group without their youth, and two Youth Scholars interviewed individually.

Among the nine youth and parents/guardians who participated in the interviews, all were female and eight were Black and one was White. At the time of the interview, the four youth were 18-20 years old, and the five parents were 38-48 years old. None of the four youth and two of the five parents were employed.

In the dyad interviews, Youth and Parent Scholars were first asked questions about their decision to go to college (when they decided, who helped in the decision-making and process, and the influence, if any, of the other generation's decision to go to college on theirs). Then, Youth and Parent Scholars were asked a series of questions, alternating between Youth and Parent responding. When appropriate, scholars were asked to comment on the perspective of the other generation after both had commented. These questions included sharing when their parent/child had (or had not) supported them in their education, job, or career and when they had supported their parent/child. We also asked each to name something positive and challenging about their parent/child going to college at the same time. Our analysis of interview data (recorded and transcribed) identified types of intergenerational dynamics related to college going among the six dyads.

One limitation of this implementation study is the small number of survey respondents. Although approximately half of Youth and Parent Scholars completed the online survey, these samples are relatively small and may be skewed towards more invested program participants. For ease of reading and interpretation, we report basic descriptive statistics (i.e., percentages, means) but please keep the overall sample size in mind, particularly for the parent sample. We have further detailed each measure, including exact response ratios for youth and parent survey participants, in Appendix A. The small number of youth and parents attending college at the same time also suggests caution in interpreting the interview findings. Our small sample may include mostly or completely families with positive parent-child relationships and dynamics prior to program participation.

Overall Study Results

1. What are the rates of program entrance among eligible youth and parents, and what are key descriptive differences among those who enter and those who do not?

HOPE Toledo Promise Program Entrance

Table 1 describes the HOPE Toledo Promise program entrance rates of eligible Scott High School graduates and their parents, separately by cohort and then pooled together.

Overall, 208 students were members of Scott High School’s Graduating Classes of 2020 and 2021 and became eligible for the HOPE Toledo Promise. Of the 208 eligible graduates, approximately three-fifths entered the HOPE Toledo Promise program, which we define as actively expressing interest in enrolling in college and engaging with program staff and resources (61%, 127/208). Conversely, around two-fifths of eligible students did not enter the program (39%, 81/208).

Parent eligibility for HOPE Toledo Promise was contingent on their young adult child’s entrance into the program along with certain education requirements (e.g., at least a GED and not yet received a BA or higher). Thus, 127 parents over Scott High School’s two graduating classes were eligible to enter in the program. (This is likely an overestimation as some of these parents could not enter due to these education requirements.) Of the 127 eligible parents, approximately one-fifth (19%, 24/127) entered HOPE Toledo Promise.

Table 1. Program Entrance Rates of Eligible Youth and Parents

	After One Year (Cohort 2)	After Two Years (Cohort 1)	Pooled Cohorts
Youth	62% (57/92)	60% (70/116)	61% (127/208)
Parent	23% (13/57)	16% (11/70)	19% (24/127)

Descriptive Differences between Youth Who Did and Did Not Enter HOPE Toledo Promise

There were descriptive differences between the youth who entered HOPE Toledo Promise (61%, 127/208) and those who did not (39%, 81/208) as described in Table 2. On average, youth who entered the program had a high school grade point average (GPA) almost 0.60 points higher than youth who never entered (see Table 2). Additionally, youth who entered the program scored, on average, 38 points higher on the SAT standardized assessment. Lastly, the likelihood of having an Individualized Education Plan (IEP) for youth who entered the program is 14 percentage points less than their counterparts who never entered in the program. These differences suggest that youth who performed better academically in high school and/or received more positive messaging about attending college seem more likely to select into HOPE Toledo Promise

Table 2. High School Statistics of 208 Eligible Youth by Program Entrance

	Size	Proportion	GPA avg	SAT score	IEP status
Entered the Program	127	61%	2.66	811	23%
Never Entered the Program	81	39%	2.08	773	37%

2. What are the rates of college enrollment, persistence, and completion among Youth and Parent Scholars?

College Enrollment

Table 3 describes the college enrollment rates of eligible Scott High School graduates and their parents, separately by cohort and then pooled together. Of the 208 eligible youth graduates across both cohorts, more than half enrolled in a postsecondary institution (56%, 117/208). Of the 117 eligible parents across both cohorts, one-tenth enrolled in a postsecondary institution (10%, 12/117).

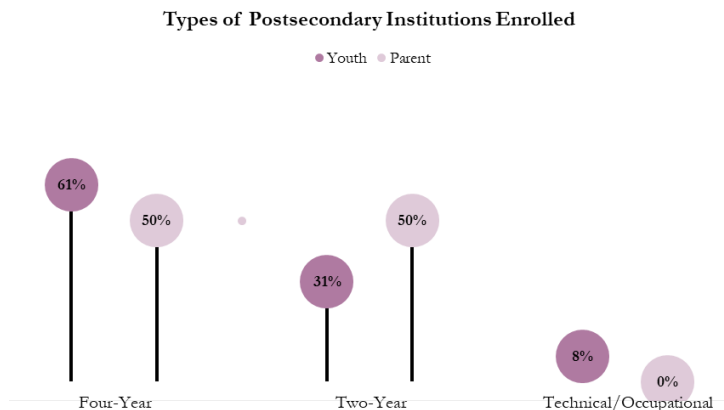
Table 3. College Enrollment Rates of Eligible Youth and Parents

	After One Year (Cohort 2)	After Two Years (Cohort 1)	Pooled Cohorts
Youth	52% (48/92)	59% (69/116)	56% (117/208)
Parent	9% (5/57)	10% (7/70)	10% (12/117)

Most Youth Scholars enrolled in four-year schools and about one-third enrolled in two-year schools. Few Youth Scholars engaged in technical or occupational schools. Half of the Parent Scholars enrolled in four-year schools while the other half enrolled in two-year schools. No parents attended technical/occupational institutions.

Although Youth Scholars were eligible to attend college across the state, most youth enrolled in postsecondary institutions in or around Toledo. For example, approximately 75% of youth enrolled within 30 miles of the city, including Owens Community College, University of Toledo, Lourdes University, Mercy College, and Bowling Green University. Per a requirement of the program, all Parent Scholars attended postsecondary institutions in Greater Toledo.

Some Youth Scholars transferred among postsecondary institutions, with a total of 22 transfers to date. Nine youth transferred from four-year to two-year schools, four transferred from two-year to four-year schools, seven transferred among similar types of institutions (e.g., two-year school to a different two-year school), and two from four-year to technical/occupational schools. There were no transfers among Parent Scholars.



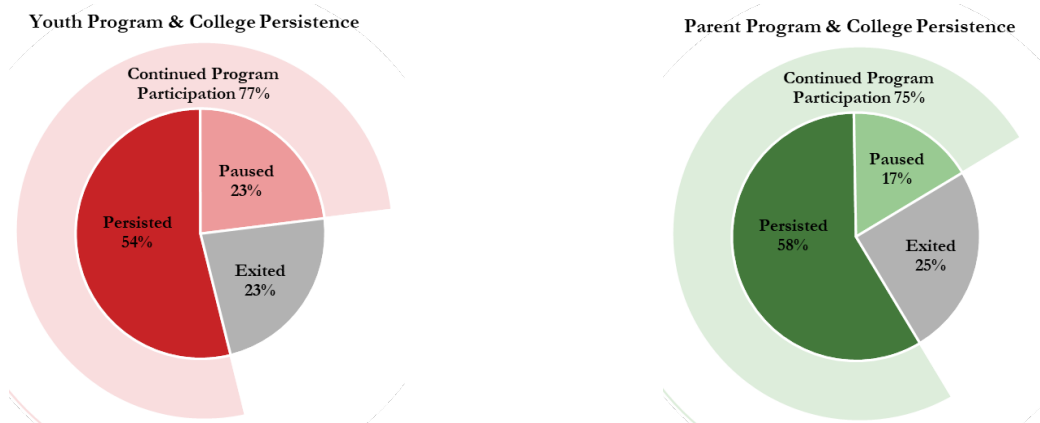
College Persistence

Table 4 describes the college persistence rates of enrolled youth and parents separately by cohort and then pooled together. Of the 117 enrolled Youth Scholars across both cohorts, more than half persisted, or continuously enrolled, at a postsecondary institution (54%, 63/117). Rates of persistence were similar for the 12 enrolled Parent Scholars across both cohorts (58%, 7/12).

Table 4. College Persistence Rates of Enrolled Youth and Parents

	After One Year (Cohort 2)	After Two Years (Cohort 1)	Pooled Cohorts
Youth	69% (33/45)	43% (30/69)	54% (63/117)
Parent	80% (4/5)	43% (3/7)	58% (7/12)

In addition to those who persisted, 23% of Youth Scholars and 17% of Parent Scholars paused their enrollment but continued receiving programming and support from HOPE Toledo Promise with the intention of returning to college. Thus, around three-quarters of youth (77%) and parents (75%) continued program participation in HOPE Toledo Promise. In contrast, around one-quarter of youth (23%) and parents (25%) exited college and the program.



College Completion

The first graduate of HOPE Toledo Promise was a Parent Scholar who received a certificate in addiction counseling at a Toledo-area community college in March 2022. This parent is currently working as a case manager at a behavioral health care organization⁴. Since then, five Youth Scholars have graduated from postsecondary institutions with phlebotomy, EMT, massage therapy, and cosmetology certificates.

⁴ <https://www.hope-toledo.org/news-updates/hope-toledo-promise-announces-its-first-graduate>; <https://www.toledoblade.com/local/education/2022/03/02/abena-rowland-hope-toledo-organization-graduate/stories/20220301144>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XCeTjHpdt4M>

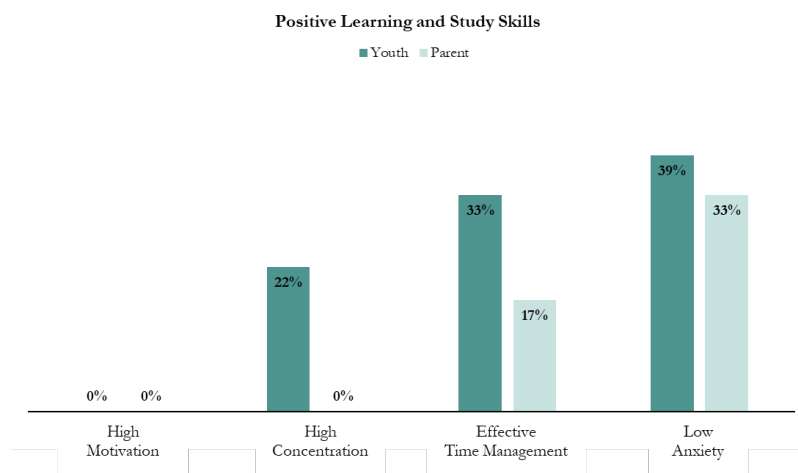
3. What are the characteristics of Youth and Parent Scholars and are there generational differences in key domains?

Employment and Career Identity

According to the survey, most Youth (54%) and Parent (67%) Scholars reported working while enrolled in school. On average, Youth Scholars worked 31 hours per week (range 15-48 hours/week) and Parent Scholars worked 36 hours per week (range 21-45 hours/week). Generally, Youth Scholars were employed in entry-level cashier and crewmember positions in restaurants or stores, and Parent Scholars held positions in supportive services or operations. A few Youth Scholars engaged in more career-oriented positions such as an architect intern or a teacher's assistant. Less than one-fourth of Youth Scholars (22%) and Parent Scholars (17%) reported high levels of career identity, or an attachment and commitment to a career.

Learning and Study Skill

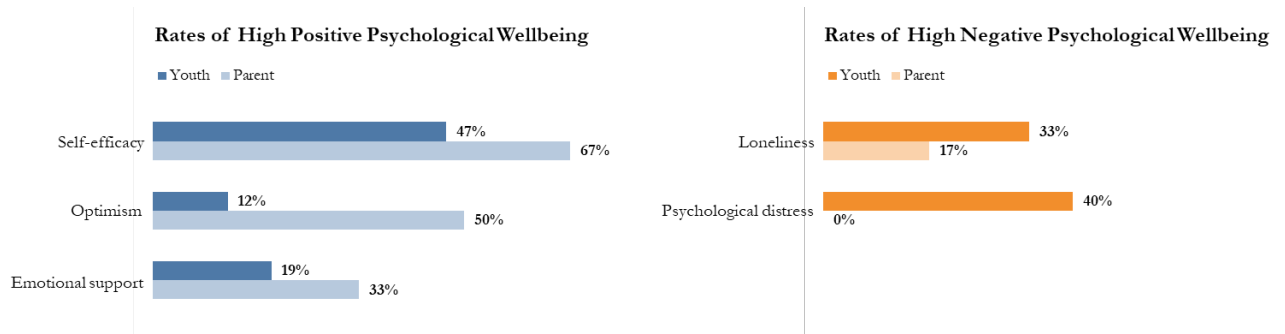
Overall, Youth and Parent Scholars did not demonstrate high levels of positive learning strategies. First, no Youth or Parents Scholars reported feeling highly motivated to exert the effort necessary to successfully complete their academic requirements. Moreover, only about one-fifth of Youth Scholars reported high concentration, or the ability to direct and maintain their attention on



academic tasks and no Parent Scholars experienced this level of concentration. Thirty-three percent of Youth Scholars and fewer than 20% of Parent Scholars scored high on use of time management principles and practices for academic tasks. Finally, around one-third of Youth and Parent Scholars reported low levels of anxiety, or the degree to which they worry about school and their academic performance.

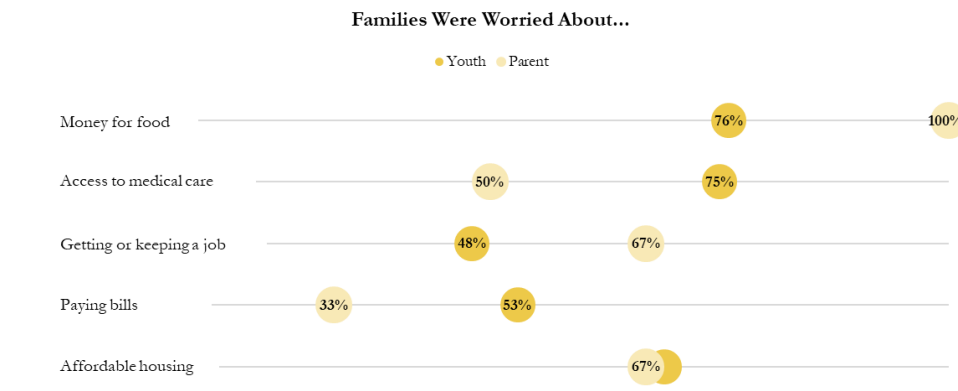
Psychological Wellbeing

Although sample sizes are small, there appear to be generational differences among the psychological wellbeing of Youth and Parent Scholars, with Parents Scholars reporting somewhat better psychological health. For example, more than two-thirds of Parent Scholars reported feeling that they could reach their goals while less than half of Youth Scholars reported feelings of high self-efficacy. Likewise, half of the Parent Scholars felt optimistic and positive about the future while only 12% of Youth Scholars felt the same. Respondents in neither generation reported receiving much emotional support from their support system. In terms of negative indicators of psychological wellbeing, one-third of Youth Scholars reported feeling extremely lonely and disconnected from others compared to only 17% of Parent Scholars. Lastly, about two-fifths of Youth Scholars reported high psychological distress stemming from depression or anxiety while no Parent Scholars reported these same feelings.



Home Life and Family Functioning

Overall rates of financial worry were high among Youth (46%) and Parent Scholars (50%). Youth were more worried about paying bills and getting medical care if they or a family member became sick, while Parent Scholars were more worried about having enough money for food and getting or keeping a job. Both generations were equally worried about affording adequate housing.



In general, both Youth and Parent Scholars rated their relationship quality with the other generation (i.e., parent or child) as higher than moderate. Youth and Parent Scholar relationship quality ratings were between 3.6 and 3.8 on a scale from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive). In addition, most youth selected their maternal relatives as the most influential parent or guardian in their lives, including mothers (61%) and grandmothers (14%).

Lastly, Youth and Parent Scholars considered their decision-making process across two sets of four vignettes (see Appendix A for more detail). These vignettes focused on their own decisions regarding education and career as well as the decisions of the other generation (i.e., parent or child). On average, Youth and Parent Scholars each rated themselves as completely independent in their decisions for themselves. They also tended to rate the other generation's decisions as independent, although parents reported less independence and more parent-child discussion around youths' decisions.

4. What experiences, positive and negative, are currently enrolled Youth and Parent Scholars having with the program, including the additional opportunities and challenges presented by COVID-19?

Cohorts 1 and 2 and COVID-19

The two cohorts who participated in HOPE Toledo Promise thus far experienced high school and college in different contexts due to the evolving nature of COVID-19. Cohort 1 graduated from high school in May 2020 and began college in August 2020, experiencing major life milestones and events during the height of the pandemic. In 2020, much of the country and world was under lockdown and in social isolation as classroom learning pivoted to an online, virtual format with varied success (Maqableh & Alia, 2021; Schaeffer, 2021). Cohort 2 graduated from high school in May 2021 and began college in August 2021 at a time when COVID-19 vaccines were readily available to adults and life was returning to some degree of normality. In 2021, in-person classes at postsecondary institutions had mostly resumed, as had clubs, sports, extracurricular activities, and much of student social life. Due to these experiential differences, we descriptively compared survey responses between Cohorts 1 and 2.

Cohort Differences in Psychological Wellbeing

Although Youth Scholars across cohorts reported similar rates of self-efficacy, Cohort 2 appears psychologically healthier across other measures. Cohort 2 reported higher levels of optimism and emotional support, and lower rates of loneliness and psychological distress compared to Cohort 1. Cohort 1 is especially noteworthy for its very low rates of optimism, or hopefulness towards the future, and high rates of loneliness. These cohort differences in psychological wellbeing may in part reflect the different stages of the pandemic each cohort experienced. For example, Cohort 1 experienced greater isolation and online learning during their first year of college, with possibly lingering effects into their second year. Meanwhile, Cohort 2 experienced more in person schooling and activities in their first year of college.

Youth Psychological Wellbeing by Cohort

High levels of...	Cohort 1 (2020)	Cohort 2 (2021)
Self-efficacy	48%	45%
Optimism	5%	17%
Emotional support	14%	23%
Loneliness	72%	53%
Psychological distress	42%	35%

In interviews with students, at least one Youth Scholar from Cohort 1 expressed again the challenges of entering college during a global pandemic, especially with virtual learning:

The normal college experience, everybody has like going in as a freshman, but it wasn't like that, because of COVID. And like, everything, there were no events on campus, so we weren't really meeting new people. [...] And like, since everything was virtual, even a professor [said] they were having trouble with the new virtual thing. And all the apps and stuff that we have to use, it was very different.

These sentiments were echoed in our first implementation report. During the current academic year, Youth Scholars from both cohorts noted the benefits of in-person learning and the resumption of other campus-based activities.

Observations and Scholar Perspectives on Program Experiences: Positive and Negative

We interviewed Youth and Parent Scholars to better understand their perspectives on program experiences, including what is working (and not working) with HOPE Toledo Promise, what they would like to change, and their recommendations for new students entering the program. We also observed two monthly scholar meetings (March and April 2022) where we noted the content of the meetings as well as the level of attendance, group dynamics, rapport among participants, and overall mood and energy. In interviews and focus groups, we focused on Youth and Parent Scholar experiences with the program beyond the receipt of the scholarship itself. All Scholars were deeply grateful for the financial support and the opportunity to attend college debt free.

Outside of the scholarship, Youth and Parent Scholars identified three positive aspects of HOPE Toledo Promise and three negative or challenging aspects of the program. The positive experiences included *warmth and kinship* among Scholars and program leaders, *camaraderie* among Youth Scholars from the same high school and among Parent and Youth Scholars attending college at the same time, and *resource sharing*. The negative experiences included the *challenges of newly attending college*, *variation in the level of responsiveness* from program leaders, and the *low attendance and limited active participation* of Scholars in monthly meetings. Table 5 describes these six concepts, including definitions, examples, and exemplary quotes.

Warmth and Kinship

Warmth and kinship refer to the feelings of support, connectedness, and a family-like environment promoted by HOPE Toledo Promise. In focus groups and interviews, Parent and Youth Scholars discussed familial connections with program leaders like Rev. Jones and Ms. Woody:

It feels like a family [...] we have monthly check ins. I see Reverend Jones everywhere, anywhere. [...] I know that they're just a phone call away [...] it's just been an outpouring of family and love and support. And I think that makes it extremely easier. Parent Scholar, Dyad 6

It feels like a family. We always have we have one scheduled meeting every month where like everybody is on Zoom and we're talking to John Jones and Shawna Woody.
Youth Scholar, Dyad 4

Scholars noted that their relationships with the program leaders went beyond professionalism toward kinship:

They don't just say go to college and turn their backs. They're a phone call, text message away [...] it's just like a sister. Parent Scholar, Dyad 1

Scholars have many forms of contact with program leadership, including phone calls, texts, emails, and individual and group meetings. Monthly group meetings, while attended by a small proportion of Scholars, provided an opportunity for the Scholars who were present to feel like they were part of a family. Rev. Jones and Ms. Woody personally connected with the group through prayer, acknowledgement of student successes, and expressions of love and support.

Table 5. Positive and Negative Program Experiences of HOPE Toledo Promise Scholars

Concept	Definition	Examples	Exemplary Quotes
Warmth and Kinship	Feelings of support, connectedness, and a family-like experience from program leadership	Parents and youth spoke of feeling connected to a family through relationships with program leaders. Though attendance was often low and engagement hard to know with certainty, warmth and kinship were evidenced in monthly meetings when students shared achievements, prayed together, and celebrated successes (i.e., Scholar Spotlights).	<p><i>It feels like a family [...] we have monthly check ins. I see Reverend Jones everywhere, anywhere. [...] I know that they're just a phone call away [...] it's just been an outpouring of family and love and support. And I think that makes it extremely easier.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 6</p> <p><i>They don't just say go to college and turn their backs. They're a phone call, text message away [...] It's just bigger than the school; it's just like a sister.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 1</p> <p><i>It feels like a family. We always have we have one scheduled meeting every month where like everybody is on Zoom and we're talking to John Jones and Shana Woody [...] When we're not in the meetings and stuff, like anything we, we possibly like need, like, we can contact them, and they can kind of figure it out for us.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 4</p>
Camaraderie	Experiences of companionship among student peers and/or family members; feeling that one is not alone in college	<p>Youth Scholars expressed the value of attending college with peers from the same high school and home community.</p> <p>Parent and Youth Scholars discussed the way they identified with each other and the support that they felt from the other generation while attending college at the same time.</p>	<p><i>We [HOPE Toledo Youth Scholars] do have our monthly check ins. And we pray together, we share our experiences we you know, we talk about personal things, too.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 6</p> <p><i>The pluses are knowing that we [both generations] are going through a similar goal, and we are having similar stresses and similar gratifications. So, we are going through the same thing. So, we know all the emotions that we're all going through, the anxiety, and the just not knowing.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 5</p>
Resource Sharing	Offering instrumental and financial resources that support persistence and academic success in college	During group and one-on-one meetings, program leadership regularly shared resources for academic supports, coaching, tax preparation, and financial assistance. Examples of academic and coaching support include the TRIO Academic Opportunity Center (Owens College); study tables, (UToledo); Pathway for Successful Leadership program.	<p><i>I like the monthly meetings. Those are very encouraging. The tools that are available at the school, those are very helpful.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 3</p>
Newly Attending College	Struggles that relate to starting and continuing college	Both Youth and Parent Scholars expressed negative experiences in newly attending college. Youth struggled with the change of pace in academics from high school and the transition to dorm life. Parents struggled with returning to education, often after a nearly 20-year absence. Struggles seemed to be reduced when students had access to on-campus resources. Youth and Parent Scholars also noted that providing a living stipend and announcing the scholarship earlier would have helped them in the transition.	<p><i>My first year was kind of I was like kind of all over the place. Like I was really just playing like I was not taking the scholarship seriously. I wasn't really going to class I was falling off and stuff. But my second year I really made sure I wasn't like, like playing around and stuff and making sure.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 2</p> <p><i>So, being out of school for so long. It did take a lot to try to get online, navigate through Blackboard and stuff like that, in order to kind of get there and then tutoring get your data online too. So that that was kind of a big kind of barrier, you know, there for that situation.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 4</p>
Program Leader Responsiveness	How quickly and effectively program leaders responded to the questions and needs of Scholars	A few Youth and Parent Scholars spoke about struggling with low responsiveness from program leaders.	<p><i>And the only thing I could say is probably more like, people to contact like, because it's so many of us. And only like two of them running like the cohorts like actually running it like talking to us on a daily basis and have to answer our calls and texting emails and stuff. Maybe they need like a few more people to help with that.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 4</p> <p><i>In the beginning, there was an issue with not knowing who to go to, who to talk to. So I think [we need] more information.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 4</p>
Meeting Attendance and Participation	Scholar attendance to one-on-one and monthly meetings and level of participation in them	Approximately one-quarter of Youth Scholars attended monthly meetings, and only a small number of Parent Scholars joined. During meetings, energy could be low and participation was often limited to a few vocal Scholars.	

Camaraderie

Camaraderie refers to a sense of companionship among Youth Scholars who attended the same high school and among Parent and Youth Scholars who were attending college at the same. In focus groups and interviews, Youth Scholars expressed the value of attending college with peers from the same home community and participating in monthly meetings together:

We do have our monthly check ins. And we pray together, we share our experiences, you know, we talk about personal things, too. Youth Scholar, Dyad 6

One Parent Scholar suggested that these monthly meetings were an important way to build camaraderie among the Youth Scholars, not Parent Scholars:

And [it's] more so for our children, not for us. [...] And I believe that [it's] good for the students for them to all get together from so many different colleges and stuff. And to talk about their struggles and successes Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

Parent and Youth Scholars also discussed the value to them of identifying with each other, noting the shared goals, uncertainties, and achievements of attending college simultaneously:

The pluses are knowing that we are going through a similar goal, and we are having similar stresses and similar gratifications. So, we are going through the same thing. So, we know all the emotions that we're all going through, the anxiety, and the just not knowing. Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

One Youth Scholar also noted that the experience helped she and her mother bond:

It's a good opportunity with that parent or guardian because it can bond you to like, me and my mom, we always been close. I think we've been too close. But it definitely made us closer. Because [...] we're both in college, knowing that we're not alone. Youth Scholar, Dyad 6

Not wanting to feel alone in the experience of college was a common desire across all Scholars, Youth and Parents alike.

Resource Sharing

Resource sharing included instrumental and financial resources offered by HOPE Toledo Promise and the Scholars' postsecondary institutions that supported persistence and academic success in college. During group and one-on-one meetings, HOPE Toledo Promise leadership regularly shared resources for academic supports, coaching, tax preparation, and financial assistance. Examples of academic and coaching support include college initiatives to expand support, including the TRIO Academic Opportunity Center at Owens College, where students can receive extra financial and academic support; study tables at the University of Toledo; and the Pathway for Successful Leadership program, which included a "store" that provided necessities and personal care items free of charge to Scholars.

Youth and Parent Scholars spoke positively of these resources and of how Rev. Jones and Ms. Woody went above and beyond in providing referrals and support for them, such as assistance with car repairs:

So, one time we were in a meeting, and there was like, [Shanna and John] told us, like, if we don't ask them, they don't, they won't know like what we need. [...] I'm like, 'my car won't start.' And she, they told me to, like, contact them by email because they can try to like figure it out. Like, they're trying to get people who can do like stuff all around the board like that we might need help with. Youth Scholar, Dyad 4

One parent also noted the help that Ms. Woody of HOPE Toledo provided support when the college did not:

Whenever I need anything that I can't get from [college success coach], she will go beyond her means [...] she even delivered a book to me to my house that I needed. That was hard for me to get. She tracked down and she brought it to my house. So just another support system. That's what she is. And it's beautiful. Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

Another parent found the sharing of resources at monthly meetings to be an important source of encouragement.

I like the monthly meetings. Those are very encouraging. The tools that are available at the school, those are very helpful. Parent Scholar, Dyad 3

Struggles seemed to be reduced when students had access to numerous on-campus resources, especially additional grant and scholarship funds to pay for course supplies and living expenses. Rev. Jones and Ms. Woody offered strategies and tools for Scholars to attain additional resources themselves. For example, one Parent Scholar expressed immense gratitude for the guidance in obtaining funds at her college to cover the costs of photographic supplies.

Newly Attending College

Parent and Youth Scholars spoke extensively about their experiences newly attending college, often negatively. Youth struggled with the change of pace in academics from high school and the transition to dorm life, feeling that they did not treat their first year as they should have or finding difficulty in choosing and persisting in a path of study.

One Youth Scholar felt that she had not taken the scholarship seriously and ended up failing classes, something that Rev. Jones has expressed concerns about during the March monthly meeting. With extra program support during her second year, the Scholar focused more on her academics:

My first year was kind of I was like kind of all over the place. Like I was really just playing like I was not taking the scholarship seriously. I wasn't really going to class I was falling off and stuff. But my second year I really made sure I wasn't like, like playing around and stuff and making sure. Youth Scholar, Dyad 2

Parents also struggled with returning to education, often after a nearly 20-year absence. This struggle to adapt seemed to be exacerbated by the application of new technologies, which were a necessity during the height of the pandemic when many courses were still virtual or required online services:

So, being out of school for so long. It did take a lot to try to get online, navigate through Blackboard and stuff like that, in order to kind of get there and then tutoring get your data online too. So, that that was kind of a big kind of barrier, you know, there for that situation. Parent Scholar, Dyad 4

One additional concern of Parent Scholars was the full financial cost of attending college. Although a scholarship from the HOPE Toledo Promise covers tuition, parents (and many youth) often still work to provide for their families despite also attending college. While one Parent Scholar noted that she had saved up enough to not have to work while attending college, others expressed feeling unable to manage both school and work simultaneously:

I work full time. So I'm already taking two classes at a time [...] I don't do [anything in a] formal classroom because I need a break. I'm probably going to start summer classes probably next summer [...] It's hard for me to do school full time to get [my degree] done in the four or five years, whatever we have.
Parent Scholar, Dyad 3

Youth and Parent Scholars both noted that increased financial resources, especially through living stipends which could offset the cost of housing, could alleviate some of the stress of attending college:

Owens Community College, they don't provide housing [...] and] I got to Central State. and I can either stay on campus or I can do it virtually. Some people don't want to be on campus, but they also need somewhere to stay so like if they want it, like apartment in my hometown, but they're still doing like the schooling online. I feel like that should happen. Youth Scholar, Dyad 4

If money wasn't an object, maybe allow us parents a living stipend like they do a dorm, how they pay for the dorm and maybe we could get a stipend for our rent so it would be less stressful on us.
Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

Furthermore, one Parent Scholar noted that if the HOPE Toledo scholarship had been announced earlier in their child's academic career, they would have had more time to plan and save up money so Parent Scholars could return to their education too:

Maybe if we had a little bit more time to plan more people like me who could have saved up. So, we wouldn't be like [other Parent Scholar] with a full-time job and still trying to reeducate ourselves after so many years of being in school. Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

Past interviews with staff and students also suggest that knowing about the scholarship earlier in their educational career would likely benefit all students.

Level of Responsiveness

A few Youth and Parent Scholars spoke about struggling with how quickly and effectively program leaders responded to their questions and needs. One Youth felt that more people were needed to assist in answering calls, texts, and emails since the cohorts are so large:

And the only thing I could say is probably more like, people to contact like, because it's so many of us. And only like two of them running like the cohorts like actually running it like talking to us on a daily basis and have to answer our calls and texting emails and stuff. Maybe they need like a few more people to help with that. Youth Scholar, Dyad 4

The same Youth Scholar also noted that more information needs to be provided for students who may prefer to go to trade school over a traditional academic degree, which in turn could increase overall attendance and persistence in the program.

One Parent Scholar also spoke about wanting to know more from leadership about how the program worked, especially in its first year:

In the beginning, there was an issue with not knowing who to go to, who to talk to. So, I think [we need] more information. Parent Scholar, Dyad 4.

Staff resources have continued to grow, reducing the likelihood of similar issues in the future. In the first year of the program, Rev. Jones was the only staff member and responsible for all aspects of the program, including direct support to Scholars. In the second year, Ms. Woody joined. In the current third year, Ms. Parker has joined the team as the Family and Community Navigator. The expansion of staff gives each staff member increased bandwidth to directly and more timely address a greater proportion of the requests and needs of youth and parents.

Level of Attendance and Participation of Scholars

Approximately 25% of Youth Scholars attended monthly meetings, and only a small number of Parent Scholars joined as well. During these virtual meetings, energy tended to be low and verbal participation was often limited to a few vocal Scholars who spoke about their achievements (i.e., “celebrations”). That said, few Scholars used the Zoom camera feature, making it difficult to observe their level of responsiveness to program leaders during the meeting. Monthly meeting participation in April was lower than it had been in March. One plausible explanation for both the low energy and low participation in April is that Scholars may have felt burnt out at the end of the school year and busy with exams. Students also held one-on-one meetings with leadership during that month, which also may have reduced attendance at group meetings. Despite these observed challenges, Youth and Parent Scholars only spoke positively of monthly and one-on-one meetings during interviews and focus groups.

5. For families with both generations in the program, what types of interpersonal dynamics are taking place? In what ways are these dynamics promoting/interfering with the educational success for either or both generations?

Intergenerational Dynamics: Experiences among Youth-Parent Dyads

Our analysis of interview data identified five types of intergenerational dynamics related to college going among the six dyads (see Table 6): intergenerational decision-making, academic competition, mutual motivation, simultaneous skill development, and bidirectional support. Notably, among the three dyads interviewed together, each strongly exemplified one a particular dynamic, namely intergenerational decision-making, academic competition, and mutual motivation. Scholars discussed bidirectional support in all interviews and simultaneous skill development in a few.

Concept	Definition	Examples	Exemplary Quotes
Intergenerational Decision Making	The ways in which Youth and Parent Scholars influence the educational decision-making and trajectory of the other generation. This includes educational and academic expectations that one generation has for the other generation, or for themselves.	Some Parent Scholars pushed their Youth Scholar to enroll and persist in the program, in part so they too could enroll. In some cases, this led Youth Scholars to feel pressured by their parent to persist in college. Youth Scholars also persuaded their reluctant parents to enroll and took great pride in supporting their parents' college attendance. Parent and Youth Scholars negotiated educational expectations they had for each other and themselves.	<p><i>I don't want what happens, like how I do, to affect her. Because I know she wants this. She always wanted to be a photographer. So, I don't want to mess that up for her. It's just a lot of pressure.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 1</p> <p><i>I just feel like this is a great opportunity for me, like riding on her college. Like, so I know how they've got it set up, I think because of parents like me. If someone told me, 'Your child has to go to school, you can go if she goes', I'm gonna do everything to get her to go so I can go too.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 1</p> <p><i>The reason why she's in college, now it's because of me. I told her to go. Follow your dreams now [...] I did tell my mom, 'If you don't accept the scholarship I'm leaving.'</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 6</p>
Mutual Motivation	When Youth and Parent Scholars motivate each other to attend and persist in college, especially by sharing similar goals, challenges, and life experiences while in college.	Nearly all dyads spoke of encouraging and supporting the other generation to persist in school and experiencing the same in return. A feeling of camaraderie developed between the generations while attending college together.	<p><i>We both support each other; we both motivate each other. And we both give each other pep talks when we're feeling down, or when there's news coming up. And we pray together.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 6</p> <p><i>It's like kind of like going to the gym like it's, it's cool to go to the gym, but it's better when you have a partner. So that's pretty much the same thing with going to college now.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 6</p>
Academic Competition	Parent and Youth Scholars compete over academic performance, particularly when attending the same college (and classes) or similar paths of study.	Both Youth and Parent Scholars only expressed positive examples of academic competition for course grades and overall Grade Point Average.	<p><i>It's kind of building our relationship a little bit more than what we had. [...]. So basically, we're trying to figure out who can get the best grades by the end of the semester.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 4</p> <p><i>We both started [college] together. When the scholarship came, and we had like, a bit like, 'whoever gets the highest GPA, like she got to give [the other] some money.'</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 4</p>
Simultaneous Skill Development	Parent and youth scholars develop academic skills in tandem, particularly when attending the same college (and classes) or similar paths of study.	Youth and Parent Scholars discussed learning academic skills together as well as giving direct assistance in coursework and study/organizational skills to each other.	<p><i>We got the same like comp class, you know, like we can pivot off each other to learn [...] you do the share [...], like we are here for each other, like, that is just the best support to me is to call [my daughter].</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 1</p> <p><i>My mom, she helps me with understanding my papers, understanding some of the English words because I struggle with pronunciation and understanding certain words. [...] She helped me understand and give me ideas of how I could better my paper. So she's been a big help in my writing view.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 6</p>
Bidirectional Support (Instrumental and Financial)	Parents and youth scholars providing support to the other generation in academic and organizational skills, technology use, transportation, finances, and the transition to college life.	Parent Scholars experienced their children helping them with the adjustment to an academic environment, use of technology (e.g., Blackboard) and household chores, although some Parent Scholars felt their children did not support them enough. Youth Scholars found support from their parents with transportation, paperwork, finances, and transitioning to dorms and life away from home.	<p><i>My biggest thing that my kids helped me to do was conquer the computer. I was terrified and freaked out.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad 3</p> <p><i>They don't want to deal with us. I thought I was going to have a study buddy; not happening.</i> Parent Scholar, Dyad</p> <p><i>I never felt unsupported [...] she'll send me money or, like, if I can't do something like if she or I need advice on, like, talking to administration about something, she helped me with that. Or, like, if I needed a ride because my car had broke down.</i> Youth Scholar, Dyad 4</p>

Intergenerational Decision-Making

We define intergenerational decision-making as the ways in which Youth and Parent Scholars influence the educational decisions and trajectory of the other generation. This includes educational and academic expectations that one generation has for the other generation, or for themselves.

Some Parent Scholars pushed their Youth Scholar to enroll and persist in the program, in part so they too could enroll:

I just feel like this is a great opportunity for me, like riding on her college. Like, so I know how they've got it set up, I think because of parents like me. If someone told me, 'Your child has to go to school, you can go if she goes,' I'm gonna do everything to get her to go so I can go too. Parent Scholar, Dyad 1

In some cases, this led Youth Scholars to feel pressured by their parent to persist in college:

I don't want what happens, like how I do, to affect her. Because I know she wants this. She always wanted to be a photographer. So, I don't want to mess that up for her. It's just a lot of pressure. Youth Scholar, Dyad 1

Youth Scholars also persuaded their sometimes-reluctant parents to enroll and took great pride in supporting their parents' college attendance:

My mom is the type where she makes sure me and my brother get our dreams and goals set first and doesn't worry about her dreams. The reason why she's in college, now, it's because of me. I told her to go, follow your dreams [...] We both can say, 'Hey, we went to college.' I think it changes statistics saying that 'Oh, it's always down on the younger generation,' we really don't, because like my mom said, it's never too late to go [...] I did tell my mom, 'If you don't accept the scholarship I'm leaving. [...] you got your whole life ahead of you too! Go to college, you can still do everything, you can still provide for me and my brother, you could still be our mom. And nothing's wrong with that. Youth Scholar, Dyad 6

This Youth Scholar understood the value to her mother and herself of attending college together, wisely noting that economic change for the family does not have to rely solely on the younger generation.

Parent and Youth Scholars also negotiated educational expectations they had for each other and themselves. For example, one pair attended the same college and degree program at the same time. The Youth Scholar then transferred colleges and her course of study to a vocational program, which the parent initially did not support. The parent's experience at the first college had been highly positive, and she encouraged her daughter to continue to pursue the same opportunity. The mother, after listening to her daughter, soon had a change of heart and mind:

At first I wasn't supportive [of my daughter switching to trade school]. Like you stay at UT and get your four-year education. This is not going to come around again. You're not going to have this opportunity again. She's like, 'I'm not going to be happy.' [...] And I just had to listen to her. Parent Dyad

The mother realized that she had to accept and fully support her daughter's new educational choice. In time, together they arrived at educational decisions that were mutually beneficial for both.

Mutual Motivation

Mutual motivation refers to circumstances when Youth and Parent Scholars motivate each other to attend and persist in college, especially by sharing similar goals, challenges, and life experiences while in college. Nearly all dyads spoke of encouraging and supporting the other generation to persist in school and experiencing the same in return.

We both support each other; we both motivate each other. And we both give each other pep talks when we're feeling down, or when there's news coming up. And we pray together. Youth Scholar, Dyad 6

It's like kind of like going to the gym like it's, it's cool to go to the gym, but it's better when you have a partner. So that's pretty much the same thing with going to college now. Parent Scholar, Dyad 6

A feeling of camaraderie developed between the generations while attending college at the same time, which was one of the most positive aspects Scholars described about their experiences with HOPE Toledo Promise.

Academic Competition

We define academic competition as the circumstances when Parent and Youth Scholars compete over academic performance, particularly when attending the same college (and even classes) or similar paths of study. Both Youth and Parent Scholars only expressed positive examples of academic competition for course grades and overall grade point average (GPA). One dyad best expressed this type of healthy competition:

It's kind of building our relationship a little bit more than what we had. [...]. So basically, we're trying to figure out who can get the best grades by the end of the semester. Parent Scholar, Dyad 4

We both started [college] together. When the scholarship came, and we had like, a bit like, "whoever gets the highest GPA, like she got to give [the other] some money." Youth Scholar, Dyad 4

Simultaneous Skill Development

Simultaneous skill development takes place when Parent and Youth Scholars develop academic skills in tandem, particularly when attending the same college (and even classes) or similar paths of study. Youth and Parent Scholars discussed learning academic skills together as well as giving direct assistance in coursework and learning and study skills to each other.

We got the same like comp class, you know, like we can pivot off each other to learn [...] you do the share [...], like we are here for each other, like, that is just the best support to me is to call [my daughter]. Parent Scholar, Dyad 1

My mom, she helps me with understanding my papers, understanding some of the English words because I struggle with pronunciation and understanding certain words. [...] She helped me understand and give me ideas of how I could better my paper. So, she's been a big help in my writing view. Youth Scholar, Dyad 6

Writing support was one of the most common ways that Youth and Parent Scholars helped each other with academic skills. This type of skill building across generations seemed to occur most often when Youth and Parent Scholars were studying similar subjects or were even in the same class.

Bidirectional Support (Instrumental and Financial)

We define bidirectional support when Parents and Youth scholars assist the other generation in learning and study skills, technology use, transportation, finances, and the transition to college life. Parent Scholars experienced their children helping them with the adjustment to a college environment, use of technology (e.g., Blackboard) and household chores.

I'm saying you support them all their life, and now they can support us in just this little bitty way. My daughter felt proud. Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

My biggest thing that my kids helped me to do was conquer the computer. I was terrified and freaked out. Parent Scholar, Dyad

Youth Scholars found support from their parents with transportation, paperwork, finances, and transitioning to dorms and life away from home.

I never felt unsupported [...] she'll send me money or, like, if I can't do something like if she or I need advice on, like, talking to administration about something, she helped me with that. Or, like, if I needed a ride because my car had broke down. Youth Scholar, Dyad 4

Some Parent Scholars felt their children did not support them enough:

They don't want to deal with us. I thought I was going to have a study buddy; not happening. Parent Scholar, Dyad 5

For example, one Youth-Parent dyad noted how busy the Youth scholar was with her own work and felt that the youth does not have the time or energy to assist with her parent's work as well:

So when sometimes I asked her to read my 2000 word essay to make sure it's right. And she'd be like, no, okay, sometimes she don't want to. She's like, "I got my own essay" Parent Scholar, Dyad 1

She's right. They'll be long. And I just, I just, you know, I don't want to read it. Youth Scholar, Dyad 1

She also felt that she wanted to help her mother but felt frustrated when she does not have the capacity to do so:

Like, I can't, even though she does ask for my help and I try it, I can't really help her in everything because there's some things I don't know. And I know that some of the classes that she took that I haven't, I can't really help her with everything. So that's really challenging. Youth Scholar, Dyad 1

Despite this, the Youth Scholar noted that she was willing to support her mom, namely with her photography homework:

Like she said, well, for her photography, even though I don't really like when she takes photos of us. I, you know, it's for her schoolwork. So I'm willing to help her with that. And I would much rather do the photography than the essay. Then I, you know, I don't mind. Youth Scholar, Dyad 1

In these instances, Youth Scholars felt they did not have the time or ability to address their parents' schooling needs as well as their own. This is likely part of Youth Scholars evolving healthy independence from their parents in emerging adulthood.

6. From the perspective of program leaders, in what ways has the HOPE Toledo Promise program evolved and what successes and challenges is the program facing?

HOPE Toledo's Evolution, Success, and Challenges: The Leadership Perspective

From its inception, Rev. Jones has viewed HOPE Toledo Promise as a way of giving "hope" that one can attend college without accruing debt. The program began with Scott High School to give "opportunity to parents and children in underserved communities." The cornerstones of the program involve a two-generation approach, relationship building, and community partnerships.

The Benefits of a Two-Generation Approach

HOPE Toledo Promise is a first of its kind family-centered college scholarship program and Rev. Jones remains a strong advocate for its innovative, two-generation approach:

I am no less, after two years in and starting into our third cohort, I'm no less of the belief that this is the right process. I'm just as firm in my belief that a two-generational approach is necessary.

A key benefit of this approach is mutual family problem-solving and decision making that happens even in face of unexpected challenges. In one college-going dyad, the daughter is due to have a baby soon. According to Ms. Woody, the pair has worked through an accommodating schedule where both can care for the baby and remain in college:

I just had a parent today call me and the daughter is in school-the daughter is pregnant. So, she's due sometime soon, but she is preparing to take classes in the fall to get back in school and take classes in the fall. She took a semester so off, but mom was preparing to help with the little baby that's about to be born, mom who is in school herself.

Pairs of youth and parents in the same family have faced a myriad of other school-related challenges together as well, including changes in where one generation attends college and their course of study, sometimes switching from a more academic program to a career or vocational certification. As described above in the section on intergenerational dynamics, parents and youth have found effective ways of shared decision-making.

The Importance of Relationship Building

At the program level, these types of intergenerational dynamics seem to originate from relationship building among staff and scholars, another core tenet of HOPE Toledo Promise. As Ms. Woody explained, program staff work directly with Youth and Parent Scholars in regular, one-on-one meetings and monthly group check-ins to develop trust, create space for sharing successes as well as vulnerabilities, and offer opportunities for support and self-advocacy:

There's a lot of relationship building that happens along the way. But it takes a while. But once it clicks, once they realize that we're here, and we can be trusted. That's when there's a click, a shift. There's you can see the gates open, and we're getting texts about their life and getting invited to plays and where they're singing. And they're sending us pictures of their certificates and their accomplishments. So, we build hope, as well.

With leadership needing to put so much energy and care into building relationships with scholars, the program has added new staff, such as the Community and Family Navigator, to directly support scholars in these ways. Rev. Jones now has more time to focus fundraising, program redesign, and increased connectivity with local leaders and partner organizations.

The Value of Community Partnerships

Further promoting partnership with educational and employment leaders and direct service providers also seems central to the success and sustainability of the HOPE Toledo Promise. The program, in partnership with the Northwestern research team, garnered a Kresge Foundation College Promise 2.0 grant in January 2021 to promote systems change across the city of Toledo. Rev. Jones has created working groups of leadership and direct service providers comprised of its core educational partners (Owens Community College, University of Toledo, Lourdes University, and Mercy College) and employment partners (ProMedica, Mercy Health, and Toledo Public Schools). The goal of this work is to advance racial and economic equity; improve postsecondary outcomes for marginalized populations; reinforce the capacity of community colleges to provide high-quality postsecondary education and improve the wellbeing of students and local communities; and partner with other organizations to leverage resources and maximize program contributions to ensure long-term sustainability.

The Need for Increased Educational Preparation before College

From the beginning, the core focus of HOPE Toledo has been educational investments across the life span in young children, older youth, and parents. The college promise and early childhood education components “go together intentionally.” The premise is that investing in children early prepares them for college and in turn the promise scholarship allows these children as young adults to afford college. Unfortunately, as staff have observed and as survey and focus group data in this report have shown, the students from Scott High School “are not adequately prepared to take us up on the offer.” A fundamental concern for HOPE Toledo Promise is that “kids are graduating from high school unprepared to pursue postsecondary options.” Better academic preparation across the life span, including elementary and secondary schools, remains a significant challenge for the HOPE Toledo Promise.

Expanding Investments in All Parents

Parents are central to youth success in college. For those parents who have taken up the scholarship with their children, there appear to be positive indications of educational benefits to both generations. Yet leadership have also observed a wide range of parent reactions to and support for their children (i.e., Youth Scholars) attending college. For some parents, their primary focus is on their child having the chance that they as parents did not have when they were young. These parents have given up on their educational future, or the child has had to convince the parent to invest in themselves and take up the scholarship. Even among these highly supportive parents, negative dynamics can emerge:

I don't think the parents intentionally mean to, for lack of a better word, [but they] ride their kids so hard. But I think it is their desire to see their babies be great. And they have their own personal challenge of not having done certain things themselves in the process. And so they see it as 'I blew my first shot. I'm glad that I'm getting a second shot. But I'm going to make sure you don't blow your shot.'

In turn, the way some parents interact with their children causes their children to say, “*You know what, I really would rather you not be in the room with me.*” In general, this is a time of transition in

development with youth seeking a balance of connectedness to and independence from their parents.

Young adults and parents making decisions together can of course be challenging even in the best of circumstances. Youth Scholars with Parent Scholars in college together express both pride and frustration with their parents:

The healthy side, is, even though kids get frustrated at mama for yelling at them, they actually will tell you separate and apart, 'I'm real proud of my mom. Because of what she's doing. She's taking the initiative, or dad even for that case, they're taking the initiative to go do something that they did not do.' And so, they're proud of them. But they're also like, 'I'm proud of you, but keep your distance.' That's the weird dynamic that we're dealing with right now.

On the other end of the continuum, there are also parents who are largely unsupportive of their child attending college:

The dynamic of parents who are not in the program, right now is an even harder dynamic, because parents who are not in the program actually come to the table of saying, 'What do you need education for now anyway? Go get a job.' And that dynamic is the on the super unhealthy piece that we have very little control over.

The variation in parent supportiveness suggests that the program needs to develop new ways of partnering with the continuum of parents, not primarily those with an interest in college themselves. As Rev. Jones, explains, “the core idea is to build a relationship with every parent to value what they have done in raising their child and for program staff to “model the type of relationship that youth may need with their parent.” The goal for HOPE Toledo Promise moving forward will be to attempt engage all parents, even the skeptical and some of the opposed. The plan is to invite parents into program, regardless of parents’ own interest pursuing a college education, and hold separate meetings for parents alone (whereas previous meetings have included youth and parents together).

Visions for the Future of HOPE Toledo

From a leadership perspective, the near-term goal (1-2 years) for HOPE Toledo Promise is to create a solid and effective structure around students that supports their transition to college and helps sustain their motivation to persist and complete. At present, this Promise program is a prime example to other communities across the nation, including Hope Chicago⁵ that is an outgrowth of HOPE Toledo Promise. The mid-term goal (3-5 years) is for the program to continue to expand with new cohorts and assess a range of outcomes for students. In this time frame, the program also plans to secure program sustainability funding and expand to other high schools across Toledo. The longer-term goal (10 years plus) is to expand to 5-10 cities across the nation. These expansions will permit rigorous evaluations of the two-generation effectiveness that have the potential of leading to funding HOPE Promise models at the federal level.

⁵ <https://www.hopechicago.org/>

Summary of Findings and Recommendations

In this report, we conducted a second implementation study of HOPE Toledo Promise's novel two-generation scholarship program. Given the small number of participating families and the newness of the model, we are not yet assessing the program's effectiveness on youth and parent outcomes. Based on our studies of HOPE Toledo Promise's implementation in its first two years, we report the following findings and recommendations for future program directions.

- Overall Youth Scholar participation remains strong, with high rates of program entrance (61%), college enrollment (56%), and college persistence (54%):
 - Most youth who entered the program have remained involved two years later (77%), including about a quarter (23%) who have paused but are still engaged in addition to the half who have stayed enrolled in college. About a quarter (23%) have fully exited the program.
 - Among the second cohort of Youth Scholars, college persistence rates are especially high after one year (69%).
 - Notably, five youth have already completed postsecondary certificates.

Recommendation: Continue the intensive, relational supports and resource sharing with added program staff, possibly offering opportunities for more experienced Youth Scholars to mentor new Youth Scholars. Strengthened partnerships with postsecondary institutions and employers will likely help support continued college persistence and positive youth outcomes (e.g., education, employment, and earnings) over the longer term.

- Although parent scholarship participation is relatively low, with modest rates of program entrance (19%) and college enrollment (10%), most parents who enrolled then persisted in college (58%) with one parent completing a certificate. Individual supports for parents have been limited to date.

Recommendation: Provide occasions for Parent Scholars to meet separately from Youth Scholars and offer increased opportunities for exploration of available educational and career opportunities. Parents also need more advanced notice of the scholarship so they can successfully transition away from jobs and careers and back to education. The education requirements of the program (e.g., at least a GED), may prevent some parents from participating. The newly hired Community and Family Navigator may direct parents who need to fulfill these education requirements to the appropriate resources in Toledo. Parents who do not participate in the scholarship would likely benefit from more guidance in how best to support their children in college, including emotional, instrumental, and financial assistance.

- For families taking up the scholarship, many beneficial dynamics are taking place across generations, including intergenerational decision-making, mutual motivation, academic competition, simultaneous skill development, and bidirectional support.

Recommendation: Continue to support family participation in the program and offer opportunities for Youth and Parent Scholars in the program together to mentor newer families. Among the youth and parents interviewed, familial relationships appeared to be positive, but some youth

and parents did not want to be interviewed together. These relationships may need particular attention so that both generations remain successful in the program.

- Youth and Parent Scholars need greater academic preparation for college: both Youth and Parent Scholars (as well as program leaders) expressed concern about Scholars' low academic preparation and learning skills for college, which was supported by survey data.

Recommendation: Continue to support academic preparation through summer institutes, on-campus coaching by educational partners, and increased opportunities for college preparation in high school. Knowing about the scholarship earlier may prompt both the Scholars and their secondary school to focus more intensely on fostering specific knowledge and skills needed to succeed in college.

- Both Youth and Parent Scholars are worried about finances, including money for food, access to medical care, and affordable housing.

Recommendation: Although it may be costly, offer an additional financial stipend for basic life necessities. The stress of financial problems may be affecting Scholars' academic performance and psychological wellbeing, hindering their success in the program. This may lead Scholars to seek out additional funds while in college, and many of the youth and parents worked at least part-time jobs. Working outside of school may take important time away from studying or participating in learning and social activities that are part of the college experience and often promote overall wellbeing. At the same time, a part-time work schedule may provide needed structure for some students and an added feeling of financial independence.

- The small number of Parent Scholars seem to be doing well psychologically, while many Youth Scholars are struggling with mental health.

Recommendation: Supporting the emotional wellbeing of Youth Scholars should remain a high priority for the program and its educational partners. This includes being an advocate for mental health services and linking Scholars to the appropriate resources at their postsecondary institution. A mental health professional specializing in the transition to college, especially for first generation students, may lead to more positive psychological outcomes. As previously mentioned, increasing camaraderie through student-centered mentoring programs may also help with students' overall emotional wellbeing as well as academic outcomes. Parents are likely to be an especially important source of psychological support for youth.

- Youth Scholars in Cohort 2 seem to be doing better psychologically, in addition to higher rates levels of college persistence, than Youth Scholars in Cohort 1, which may be related to greater in-person learning and on-campus activities and social events and/or the added program staff during the program's second year.

Recommendation: Help families remain optimistic about the potentially diminishing negative influence of the COVID-19 pandemic on their college experiences and continue to support their college enrollment, persistence, and completion including both generations when needed and possible. Along with many other young people around the world, these cohorts experienced

major life and educational milestones in an unprecedented time. As greater normalcy returns to educational spaces, future cohorts may see improved outcomes, as shown by the high persistence rates in the second cohort after one year.

Looking Ahead: Next Steps in Research

The Northwestern Two-Generation Research Initiative team has specialized expertise in family systems and family-centered programming and research. We recognize HOPE Toledo Promise as a true innovator by offering a traditional college scholarship program to two generations in one family, and the original exemplar in the newly emerging two-generation college promise field. We next present future directions for research on this novel program.

How Will We Know if HOPE Toledo Promise is Successful?

We envision multiple steps, short-term and longer-term, to continue to test the HOPE Toledo Promise model. The first short-term step will be to describe rates of college enrollment, persistence, and completion among program cohorts over the same period of time (e.g., after one year, after two years) using high-quality administrative data from National Student Clearinghouse (NSC). The next step will be to continue drawing upon NSC data to examine the educational outcomes of Youth and Parent Scholars who entered the program and enrolled in college, and then compare them to demographically similar families in Toledo who did not receive the HOPE Toledo Promise scholarship. As the program expands to other high schools with increased funding over time, the next step will be to test the program's effectiveness on student and family outcomes. If more students apply than can be supported by HOPE Toledo Promise, a program waitlist could evolve. Students could then be randomly selected from the HOPE Toledo Promise wait list while those who are not chosen would provide a strong comparison group for rigorous longitudinal evaluation.

Should HOPE Toledo Promise be Replicated?

Building upon the early successes of HOPE Toledo Promise, the program model is currently being replicated in Chicago, Illinois. Hope Chicago is funded by the Kadens Family Foundation, the same philanthropy that founded HOPE Toledo Promise. An evaluation of Hope Chicago is in the planning stages.

Are There Other Testable Two-Generation Promise Models that are Less Intensive and Costly?

College promise programs throughout the country offer a variety of family-centered approaches that can be less intensive and costly than a model like HOPE Toledo Promise, which offers a full-scholarship and all school-related expenses paid for 4.5 years to a youth and parent in the same family. These programs include early award scholarships to children in elementary school combined with children's savings accounts, family resource centers in elementary schools that increase parent engagement while supporting educational investments in parents, and scholarship programs that separately offer scholarships to youth and adults in the same communities that could be combined for two generations in the same family (see Figure 1).

Conclusion

HOPE Toledo Promise remains in its early stages of implementation. New data in this report suggest areas of great strength and areas for improvement. Early indications show potential benefits of a two-generation scholarship to families when both generations attend college for free at the same time, including increased motivation, better family decision-making, improved academic skills, and enhanced relationship quality. Yet, further rigorous evaluation is clearly warranted. Studies that compare student outcomes to those of similar populations, and eventually students on a HOPE

Toledo Promise program waitlist when the program is oversubscribed, will explore potential evidence regarding the effectiveness of HOPE Toledo Promise. Such evidence would inform future policy and practice in the college promise and two-generation education fields and the larger free-college movement.

Appendix A: Methodology

Overview

Our study on the HOPE Toledo Promise's ongoing implementation was conducted over six months from January to June 2022. The mixed-methods research involved six data components:

- a. Administrative data from the HOPE Toledo program and Toledo Public Schools
- b. Surveys of Youth and Parent Scholars
- c. Family-focused dyad interviews (pairs of Youth and Parent Scholars in the same family)
- d. Separate interviews and focus groups of Youth and Parent Scholars
- e. Observations of monthly Scholar meetings (March and April)
- f. Interviews with program leadership (Rev. John Jones and Ms. Shawna Woody)

Administrative Data

Toledo Public Schools provided administrative data on the 2020 and 2021 Graduating Classes of Jesup W. Scott High School, including grade point average (GPA), SAT score, and the presence of an Individualized Education Plan (an IEP documents the special education instruction, supports, and services for a student).

HOPE Toledo provided administrative data on their current youth and parent participants which included postsecondary institutions of enrollment. Postsecondary education institutions were coded into three categories: four-year (e.g., University of Toledo), two-year (e.g., Owens Community College), and technical/vocational schools (e.g., Toledo Academy of Beauty).

HOPE Toledo's administrative data was then merged with data from the Toledo Public Schools to understand descriptive differences between Scott High School graduates who did and did not participate in the program. There was no missing administrative data.

Surveys of Youth and Parent Scholars

A 20-minute online survey was sent electronically to current (i.e., enrolled) Youth and Parent Scholars in HOPE Toledo Promise, with 59 youth (59/120; 49%) and 6 parents (6/14; 43%) successfully completing the survey by June 2022. The survey encompassed four domains: (1) employment and career identity, (2) learning and study skills, (3) psychological wellbeing, and (4) home and family functioning. Respondents also provided basic demographics such as age, gender, and race and ethnicity. Many measures included in the survey are well established in the research literature. Survey respondents, especially the youth, did not answer each question, which led to some missing data. As such, the sample sizes for each measure are included in a table at the end of this section.

Employment and Career Identity

Youth and Parent Scholars provided information regarding their employment including position title, place of work, average number of hours worked per week, and the month and year of their start date.

Youth and Parent Scholars then answered 10 questions relating to their commitment to careers using the Work Role Salience Questionnaire (Greenhaus, 1971). An example item includes "I enjoy thinking about and making plans about my future career" rated from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. Raw mean scores of 1-5 were dichotomized to show the percent of participants who

responded, “Strongly agree” or “Agree” to most items (i.e., have a mean of 4 or more on the scale), which we considered high career identity.

Learning and Study Skills

Youth and Parent Scholars completed the Learning and Study Strategies Inventory (LASSI, Weinberg et al., 2016), an assessment encompassing positive learning and study skills in time management, anxiety, concentration, and motivation. Participants answered six questions on a 5-point scale from 1 = *not at all typical of me* to 5 = *very much typical of me* for each domain. Example items include:

- Time management: “I end up ‘cramming’ for every test.”
- Anxiety: “Even when I am well prepared for a test, I feel very anxious.”
- Concentration: “If I get distracted during class, I am able to refocus my attention.”
- Motivation: “I do not put a lot of effort into doing well in my courses.”

Scholars’ scores on the LASSI were compared to the scores of a diverse group of college students (e.g., age, gender, race/ethnicity) across the United States at different types of institutions (e.g., community college, four-year college) in various geographic locations (e.g., New England, Mountain, Pacific, Mid-Atlantic). The 75th percentile serves as a benchmark to identify strengths and weaknesses of skills in relation to academic performance. Students who score above the 75th percentile often do not need to work on the skills or strategies for that domain. This percentile served as the cutoff for “high” levels of each skill. For example, 22% of Youth Scholars scored at or above the 75th percentile on concentration, which we conceptualized as “high levels” of concentration around learning and studying in a postsecondary setting.

Psychological Wellbeing

Youth and Parent Scholars completed well-established assessments of positive psychological wellbeing in three areas: self-efficacy (6-item State Hope Scale; Snyder et al., 1996), optimism (10-item Revised Life Orientation Test; Scheier et al., 1994), and emotional support (8-item Emotion Battery: Emotional Support FF Age 18+, Gershon et al., 2013). In addition to answering questions on positive aspects of their psychological wellbeing, Scholars completed two assessments of negative psychological wellbeing regarding loneliness (5-item Emotion Battery: Loneliness FF Age 18+; Gershon et al., 2013) and psychological distress (6-item Kessler 6; Kessler et al., 2002). Example items include:

- Self-efficacy: “Right now, I see myself as being pretty successful” on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*. Raw mean scores of 1-4 were dichotomized to show the percent of students who responded, “Strongly agree” or “Agree” to most items (i.e., have a mean of 3 or more on the scale), which we considered highly self-efficacious.
- Emotional support: “I feel there are people I can talk to if I am upset” on a scale from 1 = *never* to 5 = *always*. Raw scores were converted to standard scores (or “T-scores”), in which a T-score of 50 represents the mean of the US general population (based on the 2010 Census) and 10 T-score units represents one standard deviation. T-scores above 60 suggested high levels of emotional support.
- Optimism: “I’m always optimistic about my future” on a scale from 0 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*. Raw mean scores of 0-4 were dichotomized to show the percent of students who responded, “Strongly agree” or “Agree” to most items (i.e., have a mean of 3 or more on the scale), which we considered highly optimistic.

- Loneliness: “I feel alone and apart from others” on a scale from 1 = *never* to 5 = *always*. Raw scores were converted to standard scores (or “T-scores”), in which a T-score of 50 represents the mean of the US general population (based on the 2010 Census) and 10 T-score units represents one standard deviation. T-scores above 60 suggested high levels of loneliness.
- Psychological distress: “During the past 30 days, about how often did you feel that everything was an effort?” on a scale from 0 = *none of the time* to 4 = *all of the time*. Sum scores of 13 or more represented high psychological distress (https://www.hcp.med.harvard.edu/ncs/k6_scales.php).

Home Life and Family Functioning

On a scale of 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *a great deal*, Youth and Parent Scholars indicated how worried they were about five financial areas: paying bills, getting or keeping a job, getting medical care if they or a family member became sick, having enough money for food, and affording adequate housing (derived from the New Hope Project). Raw mean scores of 1-5 were dichotomized to show the percent of participants who responded “A great deal” or “Quite a bit” to most items (i.e., have a mean of 4 or more on the scale), which we considered high financial worry.

Youth Scholars were asked to identify the parent or guardian who most influenced them. Parent Scholars were asked to think about their child who was participating in HOPE Toledo Promise. Youth and parents then answered 14 questions regarding their relationship quality with the other generation using the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Adam & Chase-Lansdale, 2002; Armsden & Greenburg, 1987). An example item includes “I depend on my {parent/child} for help with my problems” rated from 1 = *never true* to 5 = *always true*.

Finally, Youth and Parent Scholars considered two sets of four vignettes to assess their decision-making process with the other generation regarding education and career. Youth were instructed to continue thinking about the parent/guardian they identified in the previous section regarding relationship quality. Parents were instructed to continue thinking about their child participating in HOPE Toledo Promise.

Instructions: I’m going to first ask about YOU about deciding to go to college.

Please describe who makes most of the decisions in the questions below.

Youth	Parents
sd01. Whether you go to college? sd02. How to manage your school, work, or family schedule? sd03. Whether to have a job right now? sd04. What type of job/career to pursue in the future?	sd01. Whether you go to college? sd02. How to manage your school, work, or family schedule? sd03. Whether to have a job right now? sd04. What type of job/career to pursue in the future?
Response options: 1 = <i>My parent leaves it entirely up to me</i> 2 = <i>My parent leaves the decision up to me after discussing it</i> 3 = <i>My parent and I make the decision together</i> 4 = <i>My parent asks my opinion but has the final say</i>	Response options: 1 = <i>My child leaves it entirely up to me</i> 2 = <i>My child leaves the decision up to me after discussing it</i> 3 = <i>My child and I make the decision together</i> 4 = <i>My child asks my opinion but has the final say</i>

5 = *My parent decides without discussing it with me*

5 = *My child decides without discussing it with me*

Instructions: Next, I'm going to ask you about your {parent or child} deciding to go to college.

Please describe who makes most of the decisions in the questions below.

Youth	Parents
sd05. Whether your parent goes to college?	sd05. Whether your child goes to college?
sd06. How to manage your parent's school, work, or family schedule?	sd06. How to manage your child's school, work, or family schedule?
sd07. Whether your parent has a job right now?	sd07. Whether your child has a job right now?
sd08. What type of job/career your parent will pursue in the future?	sd08. What type of job/career your child will pursue in the future?
Response options:	Response options:
1 = <i>My parent leaves it entirely up to me</i>	1 = <i>My child leaves it entirely up to me</i>
2 = <i>My parent leaves the decision up to me after discussing it</i>	2 = <i>My child leaves the decision up to me after discussing it</i>
3 = <i>My parent and I make the decision together</i>	3 = <i>My child and I make the decision together</i>
4 = <i>My parent asks my opinion but has the final say</i>	4 = <i>My child asks my opinion but has the final say</i>
5 = <i>My parent decides without discussing it with me</i>	5 = <i>My child decides without discussing it with me</i>

Scores were recoded with 3 representing joint decision making (original score 3), 2 representing decision with some discussion (original scores 2 or 4), and 1 representing complete independence (original scores 1 or 5). Scores were then averaged within each set of vignettes (i.e., sd01-sd04 on respondents' own decisions and sd05-sd08 on the other generation's decisions).

Survey Sample Sizes Across Domains and Measures

Domain	Youth (N = 59)		Parent (N = 6)	
	Sample	% or M (SD)	Sample	% or M (SD)
<i>Employment and Career Identity</i>				
Employed	32/59	54.24%	4/6	66.67%
Provided position title	30	--	4	--
Provided place of work	31	--	4	--
Hours per week	28	30.61 (9.81)	4	36 (10.89)
High career identity	12/55	21.81%	1/6	16.67%
<i>Learning and Study Skills</i>				
Effective time management	18/54	33.33%	1/6	16.67%
Low anxiety	21/54	38.89%	2/6	33.33%
High concentration	12/54	22.22%	0/6	0%
High motivation	0/54	0%	0/6	0%
<i>Psychological Well-being</i>				
High self-efficacy	24/51	47.06%	4/6	66.67%
High optimism	6/52	11.54%	3/6	50%
High emotional support	10/53	18.87%	2/6	33.33%
High loneliness	33/53	62.26%	1/6	16.67%
High psychological distress	23/59	38.98%	0/6	0%
<i>Home Life and Family Functioning</i>				

High financial worry	27/52	51.92%	3/6	50%
Completed relationship quality scale	54	3.62	6	3.86 (0.66)
Completed own decisions scale	54	1.39 (0.46)	6	1.38 (0.26)
Completed other gen's decisions scale	54	1.38 (0.52)	6	1.63 (0.41)

Family-Centered Dyad Interviews

HOPE Toledo program leaders provided the Northwestern research team with a list of Youth and Parent Scholars attending college simultaneously through HOPE Toledo Promise. The research team set up family interviews with youth and parents in the same dyad. This yielded two family-centered interviews for two dyads (two Youth and two Parents). Interviews with Youth-Parent dyads lasted approximately 75 minutes and were conducted over Zoom Video Conferencing by two members of the Northwestern team. Youth and Parent Scholars were first asked questions about their decision to go to college (when they decided, who helped in the decision-making and process, and the influence, if any, of the other generation's decision to go to college on theirs). Then, Youth and Parent Scholars were asked a series of questions, alternating between Youth and Parent responding. When appropriate, scholars were asked to comment on the perspective of the other generation after both had commented. These questions included sharing when your parent/child had (or had not) supported them in their education, job, or career and when they had supported their parent/child. Scholars were also asked to name something positive and challenging about going to college at the same time as their child/parent. Sample questions include:

- When did you start thinking about going to college?
- Who helped you to decide to go to college?
- Tell me about your parent's/child's college experiences up until now.
- Tell me something your parent/child has done to support you in your education, job, or career.
- Tell me a time you have not felt supported by your parent/child in your education, job, or career.
- Tell me something you have done to support your parent/child in their education, job, or career.
- Name something positive about you and your parent/child going to college at the same time/place.
- Name something challenging about you and your parent/child going to college at the same time/place.
- What are you interested in doing for work after college?
- What do you think about the program is working well?
- Is there anything you would change?
- What do you think could be done to have more youth/parents in the program?

Interviews and Focus Groups of Youth and Parent Scholars

In addition to dyad interviews, we separately interviewed some Youth and Parent Scholars who were part of a dyad. Using a list of dyads provided by HOPE Toledo leadership, we were able to interview two Youth Scholars separately and three Parent Scholars together in one focus group. Interviews and focus groups with Youth and Parent Scholars lasted approximately 60 minutes and were conducted over Zoom Video Conferencing by two members of the Northwestern research team. We interviewed Youth and Parent Scholars to understand their perspectives on program experiences, including what is working, what they would like to change, as well as recommendations

for new students entering the program, and intergenerational dynamics that occur while both they and their parent or child attend college together. We focused on Youth and Parent Scholar experiences with the program beyond the receipt of the scholarship itself (see questions above).

At the time of this study, there were seven Youth-Parent/Guardian pairs, or dyads, in the same family attending college. We were able to interview one or both members of six of these dyads for a total of nine out of 12 participants. If a dyad member did not participate, we gathered their demographic information from the survey or program leadership. We interviewed two sets of dyads (i.e., Youth and Parent Scholars in the same family in one interview), three Parent Scholars in a focus group without their youth, and two Youth Scholars interviewed individually. Among the 12 youth and parents/guardians attending college together, all were female and 10 were Black, one White, and one multiracial. At the time of the interview, the six youth were 18-20 years old, and the five parents and one guardian were 38-41 years old. Two of the six youth and three of the six parents/guardians were employed. Of the six dyads, four come from Cohort 1 and two from Cohort 2.

Observations of Monthly Scholars' Meetings

Two members from the Northwestern team attended the March and April 2022 monthly Scholar meetings on Zoom Video Conferencing, which lasted approximately 60 minutes. In March, we observed about 40 total participants with the April meeting including around 30 participants. In both meetings, we could not differentiate between Youth and Parent Scholars as most video cameras were turned off. These meetings were observed for themes and topics discussed by program leaders and Scholars, group dynamics, and general observations. Both meetings also had guest speakers. In March, Erica Parish from Owens Community College's Accreditation and Academic Support spoke about offering services for students and parents to meet accreditation requirements. In April, Tyra Smith, President and CEO for Pathways for Successful Leadership, spoke about their leadership program and a "store" of free basic necessities that will be available to HOPE Toledo Promise scholars.

Dynamics that were observed include dominant/reserved personalities, rapport among participants, rapport between participants and program leaders, and overall mood. The Northwestern research team noted low energy and few if any cameras on, making it difficult to ascertain participation and perceptions of the meetings. Most meetings included resource-sharing and time for celebration and connection through achievement sharing, prayer sessions, and Scholar Spotlights, which started in April and highlighted a Scholar going above and beyond in academic achievement.

Interviews with Program Leaders

Two members of the Northwestern research team interviewed the two program leaders, Rev. John Jones and Ms. Shawna Woody, who have direct involvement in HOPE Toledo Promise. Both leaders participated in a virtual interview separately conducted over Zoom Video Conferencing that lasted approximately 60 minutes each. We asked the leaders expected benefits and challenges of the program, and ideas for program improvement. Sample questions include:

- Please describe the partnership you and your organization have with HOPE Toledo. What aspects of the partnership are working well? What are some areas for improvement and what needs to happen in your organization/HOPE Toledo for these improvements to occur?
- What are some key challenges you see facing low-income young adults in Toledo are planning for and going to college?

- In what ways are HOPE Toledo addressing these challenges? What are some areas for improvement with the program?
- What are the benefits of offering a college scholarship program that supports a youth and parent in the same family at the same time? What dynamics have you seen occurring between the youth and parent? What are some drawbacks to this approach?
- What are some recommendations you have for strengthening the program moving forward?

Appendix B: Analytic Strategy

Positionality

A researcher's positionality—their identity, experiences, and worldview—influences all aspects of the research process including how research is conducted, interpreted, and presented (Holmes, 2020; Rowe, 2014). It is impossible for researchers to “escape the social world we live in to study it” (Holmes, 2020, p. 3). Thus, it is critical to make transparent how the identities of researchers relate to the research topic and to the identity of participants (Roberts et al., 2020). To that end, the Northwestern research team consisted of six racially and ethnically diverse women: three members self-identified as multiracial, two members self-identified as White, and one member self-identified as Black. Two of the team members were parents and two members were undergraduate college students. One group of four research team members were first-generation college students and another group of four members had their own direct experience with a college scholarship program, whose eligibility requirements included family income level and prior academic achievement. These characteristics of the Northwestern team allowed for a unique opportunity to collaborate and incorporate team members' insider-outsider perspectives during the research process. However, “academic researchers represent centers of power, privilege, and status” within and beyond their institutions of higher education, which can lead to an inherent power differential in the researcher-researched relationship (Muhammad et al., 2016, p. 2).

Quantitative Data (Administrative and Survey Data)

Quantitative data analysis of administrative and survey data consisted of descriptive statistics using frequencies (i.e., percentages) and means (i.e., averages).

Qualitative Data (Interviews and Focus Groups)

The Northwestern Qualitative Team included a long-term experienced researcher working in conjunction with three research assistants. These research assistants were trained in qualitative methods and had their own direct experience with a college scholarship program. The team meet regularly over several months to thematically code the data, develop memos on themes and subthemes, and to write up the results together. The team first analyzed the data by separate subgroups (family-centered dyad interviews, interviews with Youth Scholars, focus groups of Parent Scholars, and interviews with community leaders) and then across all data sources. Team members discussed and debated how to best to use qualitative evidence including direct quotes and descriptions of experiences to frame themes and subthemes, involving an interactive group process that helped to reduce bias and produce the most objective results possible. Members of the qualitative research team self-identified as White, Black, White/South Asian, and White/Filipina.

Appendix C: References

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