NYU | STEINHARDT

Neighborhood Networks Supporting Mexican Immigrant Communities in New York City

Report on Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation's
Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities Initiative

METROPOLITAN CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON EQUITY
AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SCHOOLS

SUBMITTED BY

New York University
Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools
Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development
726 Broadway, 5th Floor
New York, New York 10003

Executive Director: Dr. David E. Kirkland

April 19, 2017

SUBMITTED TO

Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation
60 Wall Street, 23rd Floor
New York, New York 10005

Neighborhood Networks Supporting Mexican Immigrant Communities in New York City

A Report on Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation's
Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities Initiative

Prepared by

Marcela Rojas

Pamela D'Andrea Montalbano

Joy Sanzone

Evan Johnston, and

Roey Ahram

With support from

Carolina Ramirez

Raisa Martinez, and

Flor Khan

April 19, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABOUT NYU METRO CENTER

Metro Center promotes equity and opportunity in education through engaged sciences: research, program evaluation, policy analysis, and professional assistance to educational, governmental, and community agencies serving vulnerable communities and populations. Metro Center is nationally and internationally renowned for its work on educational equity and school improvement, bringing together scholars, educators, and innovators from diverse backgrounds to collaborate on a range of projects to strengthen and improve access, opportunity, and educational quality across varied settings, but particularly in striving communities.

For nearly four decades, Metro Center has been a partner and resource for schools and school districts throughout the U.S., including Detroit, Denver, Houston, New York City, Pittsburgh, San Juan, Washington, D.C., and Wilmington. Its research and community engagement programs help prepare teachers, school leaders and staff, and parents to improve school culture and climate, reduce referrals to special education, and better support the unique needs of youth across a range of abilities and backgrounds. Its research initiatives inform policy and intervention communities on how best to serve vulnerable populations in and beyond our school systems.

AUTHORS | Marcela Rojas[*], Pamela D'Andrea Montalbano[*], Joy Sanzone, Evan Johnson, and Roey Ahram, with support from Carolina Ramirez, Raisa Martinez, and Flor Khan

EDITING | David E. Kirkland

GRAPHIC DESIGN | Pamela D'Andrea Montalbano

SUGGESTED CITATION
Rojas, M., D'Andrea Montalbano, P., Sanzone, J., Johnston, E., & Ahram, R. (2017). *Neighborhood Networks Supporting Mexican Immigrant Communities in New York City: A Report on Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation's Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities Initiative*. New York: Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools, New York University.

---

[*] These authors contributed equally

Neighborhood Networks Supporting Mexican Immigrant Communities in New York City

A Report on Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation's
Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities Initiative

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes the development and implementation of five community-based neighborhood networks, funded by the Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation (DBAF) under the Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities initiative (AAMC or the initiative). The initiative aimed to improve the long-term educational and economic well-being of children, youth and families of Mexican origin in New York City through the development of five community-based neighborhood networks: one in each borough. The following goals broadly framed the initiative:

- Goal 1: Increase the availability of and access to high-quality education programs and services
- Goal 2: Increase student and parent engagement in school- and community-based learning activities
- Goal 3: Improve academic performance and employment prospects

With these goals in mind, the networks came together to develop and implement programming in their communities.

This report describes the evolution of the five networks, the programs they implemented in their communities, their reach within their communities, and any program outcomes. In addition to the discussing each network, the report also describes the broader initiative, examining all of the networks as a whole. Through this lens, we discuss the general theory of change, implementation strategies, and outcomes of the AAMC initiative overall.

It is clear that networks successfully met the initiative's goals. Each network increased the availability of and access to high-quality education programs and services, which provided the space for increased student and parent engagement in school- and community-based learning activities. Initial data from the networks suggest that the networks have contributed in a meaningful way to the longer-term goals of improved academic performance and employment prospects amongst their participants. Many of the network programs and partnerships that formed developed through this initiative are slated to continue beyond DBAF's support, indicating that the initiative had a meaningful and potentially lasting positive impact on how these communities are served.

Immigrant-serving, community-based organizations such as these funded neighborhood networks are vital to immigrant communities, both in facilitating socio-economic acculturation of immigrant families and individuals, and serving as a means of advocacy for the needs of the immigrant community within political systems (Cordero-Guzman 2005). Moreover, as groups begin to work together, the benefits provided by each community-based organization increase (Mulroy & Shay, 1998). As exemplified by their current work and goals, in the short term, these community-based organizations established educational and employment programs for youth with their respective communities, which were undergirded by an array of educational and social service supports for their parents. In the long-term, should these community-based neighborhood networks continue to operate, we can expect them to grow in their capacity to empower Mexican families (Fix, 2007; Newland, Tanaka, and Barber, 2007).

These neighborhood networks funded in this initiative each developed unique partnerships and models to ameliorate the barriers facing Mexican and Mexican-American students through relevant research and

high-quality programs and services. The initiative targets young learners (ages 0-6) who may require additional supports to be ready to enter and perform in school, and high school-aged students (ages 16-21) who may need support to engage with or remain in learning activities that better equip them for advancement college and productive careers. At the heart of this effort are neighborhood-based networks of nonprofits, schools, libraries, and other community institutions, each located in or bringing services to communities in New York City with large concentrations of people of Mexican origin.

Theory of Change

In looking across the networks, a general theory of change emerged. While programs adapted and changed over the course of the initiative, their overall theory of change remained constant. Program participants and staff identified five structural aspects of their networks: (1) expanded reach of services, (2) recruitment and access, (3) staffing and building trust, (4) participant engagement, and (5) quality programming. The theory of change was centered on the network structure, and brought together service providers in a formal partnership.

Program Strategies

Networks employed some common strategies, although strategies did tend to vary somewhat based on the age group they sought to serve. That is, the strategies used to work with young learners and their families varied significantly from the strategies used to support older youth. The primary strategy used in those networks serving young children is a dual-generation approach to literacy, comprised of literacy activities for parents and children and additional supports for parents. Networks serving older youth used a variety of in-school and out-of-school programs geared at preparing youth for college and career, including academic programs, college visits, and internships. All the networks also provided additional supports for parents and families as part of a two-generation/community school strategy. This included social supports through workshops and case management, as well as educational and employment supports.

Program Outcomes

The networks as whole demonstrate a large level of success in meeting the AAMC initiative's goals. The design and implementation of the neighborhood networks contributed to increased availability and access to high-quality education programs and services (Goal 1). As a result, networks increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities (Goal 2), first through the added availability of resources, and then concerted recruitment efforts of the networks' staffs. This continued engagement in combination with the quality programming fostered improvements in academic and employment opportunities within each network (Goal 3). The data also reveal some key program limitations and challenges that the networks faced in doing their work, including funding and the existing policy landscape.

Conclusions and Lessons Learned

Overall, the experiences of the participants in the AAMC networks highlight the importance of a two-generation approach to serving the more vulnerable segments of the Mexican community in New York, as well as the value of bringing together educational partners with community-based organizations. More broadly, the results from the initiative also speak to the value of a systems-thinking approach to programming and funding: bringing together multiple partners together to address a specific problem.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1990, the United States has experienced the greatest influx of immigrants in its history, surpassing even the unparalleled increase in immigration that occurred during the years 1900 – 1910 (Grieco et al., 2012). The nation's total immigrant population reached a record 40.4 million in 2011; moreover, an estimated 30% of the total immigrant population is comprised of undocumented immigrants (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). New York City has seen a dramatic shift in demographics since 2000. According to an analysis conducted by New York City's Department of City Planning, more than a third of the city's foreign-born residents arrived in the United States after 2000, and nearly half of those recent immigrants speak languages other than English. In 2011, more than half of all children born in New York City were born to immigrant families, with significant growth in the Mexican community, making Mexicans the 3rd largest foreign-born group in the city (New York City Department of City Planning, 2013).

Poverty is a significant issue in New York City's Mexican community. The Community Service Society estimates that approximately 80% of Mexican youth under the age of 16 live in households earning below 200 percent of the federal poverty line (Treschan, 2010).[2] Low-income immigrant students from families with low educational attainment have been overrepresented among the ranks of dropouts (Rodriguez, 2014), students placed in special education (Artiles et al., 2002), and students labeled at risk of academic failure (Bartlett & Garcia, 2011). In many schools that serve recent immigrant students, a student's inability to speak fluent English, or more precisely, to display a command over academic literacy, is used as a justification for locating the student in courses designated for English language learners (ELLs). This often relegates them to the lowest level academic courses, including non-credit bearing classes and electives, rather than honors or college preparation courses. While such placements may seem warranted to ensure that recent immigrant students learn English, these courses all too often serve as a means of tracking ELLs into courses that fail to prepare them for college and preclude them from participating fully in the U.S. economy, thus limiting their economic and social mobility. They are also frequently overrepresented in special education, often due to a tendency in many districts to misdiagnose challenges in language acquisition as a form of disability (Figueroa, 2005). Tracking on the basis of language difference is one of the factors cited by researchers as contributing to the high dropout rates that are common among recent immigrant students (Orfield & Lee, 2005; Valdés, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999).

Immigrant populations experience numerous challenges related to educational outcomes and employment. In New York City, approximately one-third of Mexicans aged 16-24 are enrolled in school, and more than half of young Mexicans immigrating to the US do not have a high school diploma (Treschan, 2010). In New York City between 2007 and 2011, an estimated 46 percent of young adult (age 17-24) Mexican immigrants dropped out of high school (i.e., do not have a high school diploma and are not currently enrolled in school), a much higher rate than the estimated 16 percent of foreign-born young adults or 11 percent of all young adults citywide who dropped out of high school (New York City Department of City Planning, 2013). The Community Service Society estimates that amongst Latino youth (ages 16-24), Mexican youth have the highest rates of disconnection and disengagement from school, estimating that over two-thirds of Mexican male youth are employed and not in school, and one-third of Mexican female youth are neither in school nor the labor force (Treschan, 2010).[3]

---

[2] The Community Service Society report was funded with the support of DBAF.
[3] Comparatively, only 25.7% of Latino male youth are employed and not in school, and only 11.6% of Latina female youth are not in school and not in the labor force.

Research shows that immigrant populations are vulnerable to challenges related to identity formation (Jiobu, 1988) and acculturation (Olneck, 2006; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorava, 2008), which also can hinder their academic success. The challenges are particularly acute for Mexican and Central American youth, who are more likely to be undocumented than other immigrant youth (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009; Smith, 2006) and whose families are typically poor, have low levels of education, work in low wage -- and often dangerous -- jobs (Jenkins, 1978; Yoshikawa, 2011), and typically lack the social capital to exert influence over the schools their children attend (Valdés, 1996). For students whose parents are struggling financially, and particularly for students who are undocumented or are children of undocumented parents, the challenges encountered both within and outside of school can be quite formidable (Gonzales, 2011; Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013). In addition, a large number of immigrant youth arrive in the US with significant gaps in the formal education they received in their countries of origin. Such children are often not literate in their native language and, consequently, experience greater difficulty learning academic English (August, Shanahan, & Escamilla, 2009; García, Wilkinson, & Ortiz, 1995). Schools can make a difference in creating supports for undocumented and for other first and 1.5-generation youth; however, this requires a comprehensive approach to providing educational, social capital, legal and family supports (Gonzales, 2010).

Aiming to improve the long-term educational and economic well-being of children, youth, and families of Mexican origin in New York City, the Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities initiative (AAMC or the initiative), funded by the Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation (DBAF), developed and implemented five community-based neighborhood networks. This report describes the evolution of the five networks, the programs they implemented in their communities, their reach within their communities, and their program outcomes. In addition to the discussing each individual network, the report also describes the broader initiative, looking at all of the networks as a singular group. Through this lens, we discuss the general theories of change, implementation strategies, and outcomes of the AAMC initiative as a whole.

Over the past three years, the Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools (Metro Center) in the Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development at New York University (NYU) conducted a study of the five community-based neighborhood networks. The following questions guided the study:

1. What are the outcomes of the Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities initiative in the Mexican American and Mexican immigrant communities?
    a. To what extent has each of the funded projects met their own proposed objectives? What are the processes through which each funded project has met its own objectives?
    b. What are the program processes through which each funded project has met the initiative's objectives?
    c. What are the experiences of community members with accessing and participating in the program services?
2. What is the sustainability and generalizability of each of the funded projects?
    a. To what extent might other organizations be able to replicate these processes?
    b. To what extent are these projects and their processes sustainable?

To answer these questions, Metro Center researchers observed program activities through a series of site visits, attended program meetings; conducted interviews, focus groups, and surveys of program staff and

stakeholders; and collected key program data regarding the structure and implementation of five community-based neighborhood networks. Using this data, it is evident that the networks successfully met the initiative's goals. Each network successfully increased the availability and access to high-quality education programs and services, which provided the space for increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities.[4] Initial data from the networks suggest that the networks contributed in a meaningful way to improved academic performance and employment prospects amongst their participants. Many of the network programs and partnerships that formed as a result of this initiative are slated to continue beyond DBAF's support, meaning that the initiative had meaningful and potentially-lasting positive outcomes on how these communities are served.

Additionally, as part of this work, Metro Center, along with the Youth Development Institute (YDI) and DBAF, continue to to support the development of these neighborhood networks, working with program staff to provide feedback and advice as needed. YDI and Metro Center worked with the neighborhood networks over the past three years to understand, support, and help strengthen their work. As such, Metro Center took on a dual role both as the program evaluator and a technical assistance provider.

This report provides insights on how the community-based neighborhood networks engaged members of the Mexican and Mexican-American community in their specific geographic regions, the overall design and implementation of the AAMC initiative, and the outcomes of the initiative. The remainder of the report is organized into two major finding sections tied to the two main guiding questions of the study: (1) Outcomes of the AAMC initiative for Mexican American and Mexican Immigrant Communities and (2) Sustainability and Generalizability of Funded programs. In the first findings section we detail (a) the organizational and community resources utilized in the development and implementation of the community-based neighborhood network; (b) how the programs changed over time; (c) program activities (i.e., the processes, tools, events, and actions that have been intentionally created and implemented in each network to meet the network objectives); and (d) program outcomes (i.e., the levels and targets of services delivered through the program activities and the experiences of program participants). The findings section discusses the extent to which our findings indicate the generalizability and sustainability of the programs. Lessons learned are discussed throughout the findings sections, but are fully detailed in the final section: "Conclusions and Lessons Learned".

---

[4] Under the AAMC initiative, engagement was defined by the number of people who engaged with network. YDI developed a separate report on engagement discussing the specific approaches used by networks to develop and maintain engagement, utilizing a broader definition of engagement in the process.

FINDING 1: OUTCOMES OF THE AAMC INITIATIVE IN THE MEXICAN AMERICAN AND MEXICAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Deutsche Bank's Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities (AAMC) initiative aimed to improve the long-term educational and economic well-being of children, youth and families of Mexican origin in New York City, through the development of five community-based neighborhood networks—one in each borough. Overall, the networks were able to successfully increase the availability and access of high-quality education programs and services, which provided the space for increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities. Moreover, initial data from the program suggests that the networks have contributed in a meaningful way to the longer-term goals of improved academic performance and employment prospects amongst their participants.

Immigrant-serving, community-based organizations are vital to immigrant communities, both as facilitators of socio-economic acculturation of immigrant families and individuals, and as advocates for the needs of the immigrant community within political systems (Cordero-Guzman 2005). When these organizations work together, the benefits provided increase (Mulroy & Shay, 1998). In the long-term, should these five community-based neighborhood networks continue to operate, we can expect them to grow in their capacity to empower Mexican families (Fix, 2007; Newland, Tanaka, and Barber, 2007). As exemplified by their current work and goals, in the short term, these community-based organizations established educational and employment programs for youth with their respective communities, which were undergirded by an array of educational social service supports for their parents.

In this first section, we answer our first guiding question, "What are the outcomes of the AAMC initiative in the Mexican American immigrant communities?" We begin in the "Descriptions of Community-Based Neighborhood Networks" by describing each of the community-based neighborhood networks, their project-specific goals, the overall goals of the AAMC initiative, and how each network sought to meet these goals within the initiative. The first section also provides excerpts from the formal semi-structured interviews from the qualitative portion of the AAMC program study.

 Following the network descriptions, we delve into the findings related to the overall initiative, first by discussing the programs' theories of change (see "Theory of Change), then by examining how programs were implemented (see "Program Implementation"), and finally, by analyzing the program outcomes (see "Program Outcomes"). We close the section by touching on key program limitations (see "Program Limitations").

Descriptions of Community-Based Neighborhood Networks

The neighborhood networks funded in this initiative each developed unique partnerships and models to ameliorate the barriers facing Mexican and Mexican-American students through relevant research and high-quality programs and services. The initiative targets young learners (ages 0-6) who may require additional supports to be ready to enter and perform in school, and high school-aged students (ages 16-21) who may need support to engage with or remain in learning activities that better equip them for advancement college and productive careers.

At the heart of this effort are neighborhood-based networks of nonprofits, schools, libraries and other community institutions, each located in or bringing services to communities in New York City with large concentrations of people of Mexican origin.

As shown in Table 1 below, networks' annual reports indicate that the overall reach of the networks' combined numbers was greater than ten thousand, and the combined reach within the target populations numbered into the thousands. Some networks were better able to keep running counts of individuals reached and unduplicated individuals reached (See Appendices for more detailed breakdowns by program), but it is worth noting that even with measurement inconsistencies in some programs, the overall reach of the combined networks was a significant number of the total target population of Mexican families and students. Furthermore, the totals provided in the table are a lower-bound limit, as some numbers were unreported or underreported by some networks in certain years.

In addition, the networks held or participated in large-scale community events each year which broadened their reach both within and beyond the target communities. In most cases, the additional people reached were either Mexican and living outside the program area or immigrants from non-Mexican backgrounds seeking similar services or information due to similar needs. In both cases, the additional reach provided unintended but beneficial spillover effects to populations beyond the immediate targets. Jackson Heights in particular showed a wide reach in total individuals and through larger events. Port Richmond appeared to have more difficulty in tracking yearly numbers, which led to a significant number of its outcomes being reported as lower-bound estimates that were significantly lower on average than outcomes reported by the other networks in similar categories. Future iterations of these or similar programs would benefit at the outset from more uniform, consistent, and accurate data management strategies for outcomes across networks to avoid such outcome measurement discrepancies.

As can be seen in the descriptions of the individual networks, in general, each of the neighborhood networks provided a range of services related to their program goals, including workshops, community events, and referrals and resources for legal, social, and health-related services. At the same time, each network had one or more mainstay programs that specifically targeted educational outcomes. Perhaps the important thing about each of these networks is that their programs evolved over time in response to shifts in policy landscapes, challenges faced in implementation, newly-recognized needs, and changing partnerships, all the while focused on meeting the initiative and program goals. This ability to change course was brought upon both by the network relationships (i.e., partners bringing multiple strategies and programs to bear in each network) and the flexibility of the funder, DBAF, to trust organizations to make meaningful (and in some cases radical) programmatic shifts to meet the needs of their local community.

Table 1. Program Engagement at a Glance

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached				
All Individuals Reached				
Bushwick	1607	2471	1612	5283
East Harlem	328	2323	740	3391
Jackson Heights	1837	1936	1809	5582
Mott Haven	310	662	1385	2357
Port Richmond	337	>700	>700	>1737
Target Population Reached				
Bushwick	111	237	268	616
East Harlem	NR	341	NR	341
Jackson Heights*	1520	1660	1926	1926
Mott Haven	92	199	246	537
Port Richmond	NR	436	105	541
Key Programs and Activities				
Total Number Served				
Bushwick	137	192	293	622
East Harlem	821	NR	NR	-
Jackson Heights	858	2456	2573	5887
Mott Haven	324	1898	2275	4497
Port Richmond	> 664	> 1815	> 1067	> 3546
Hours of programming				
Bushwick	NR	3775	3803.5	7578.5
East Harlem	NR	212	186	>398
Jackson Heights	300	1614	1782	3476
Mott Haven	324	1898	2275	4497
Port Richmond	NR	127	NR	-

*The Jackson Heights network's data tracking enabled them to exclude duplication, resulting in year to year participation reported cumulatively rather than discretely.

In describing each of the networks, this report focuses on highlighting key program features and how the networks changed over time. The descriptions touch upon key program outcomes. For the most part, the data from these outcomes are presented in the Findings section because programs seemed to produce the same general positive outcomes.

Port Richmond (Staten Island) Network

Make the Road and **El Centro**: overall project management; mentoring the Promotores (parent course) cohort; Promotores training on the New York City school system; language breakfast classes (Make the Road only); homework help and development of Promotores curriculum (El Centro and Wagner)

Wagner College: soft skills training for school success, early literacy and language development training; in-depth childhood development course for children of parents attending Promotores courses; development of evaluation tools

Project Hospitality: data collection; development of community partnership for literacy hub events; local library services coordination

...I think how the moms, the families are building self-confidence, especially in the community and in the school. I see now there are more integrated ... They like to help each other, they bring information from the school, or information they got from el Centro... Now they are bringing out the people. They are more Promotores. It's like they are ... Now they understand the idea to be a promatora. It's true, I see that the kids, they are been with us for these years, they're growing a lot. Their confidence is growing...

It's unbelievable. I see a lot of change within these years. Also, I see the families are more able to come to events, are more trying to see what's going on in the community... An event that usually you don't see a lot of people at. There was a lot of people, and they're really interested in to see what's going on in the community. Also, talking about how the kids work with the books that we're receiving. I love this book we have in bilingual books. You see, we always were working with volunteers, but this year we don't have volunteers at all. Now the moms, especially the moms that are been with us, are able to come around and read the books with the kids and with other kids in Spanish. The kids learn in English, and now they're alternated. It's so beautiful. They talk about this, these books are about their culture, and they can talk about other things, and they have a conversation there. It's so beautiful to see this.

The Port Richmond Neighborhood Network was led by Project Hospitality, a community outreach organization based in Staten Island. Project Hospitality formally partnered with El Centro del Inmigrante (El Centro), Make the Road New York (MRNY), and Wagner College (Wagner), and maintained a strong relationship with PS 20, an elementary school in the Port Richmond neighborhood of Staten Island where the majority of students are of Mexican descent. It is through this relationship with PS 20 and the collective work of all their partners that the network was able to recruit parents and community members into their programs and provide a range of services to community members to promote parent empowerment, academic success of students, and productive relationships between community members and their local school (PS 20). The network's primary goal was to support literacy (and more broadly, the academic success) of Mexican youth in the Port Richmond community. Additionally, the network sought to develop parents as community leaders, helping to promote literacy in the community and the knowledge gained through the network's programs to other community members.

Through their network, partner organizations successfully developed a novel program (Los Promotores) that served Mexican families with young children, supporting the children's educational growth (particularly in the area of literacy) as well as parental capacity to support their children's learning at home and at school. The Promotores program combined literacy supports for children with leadership training and educational advocacy training to promote language development in children and empower parents to engage in their children's learning, with the hope that parent will both support their own children's educational development and also share their knowledge with the broader community. The network also cultivated wide range of community partnerships (through their "HUB"), and leveraged those partnerships to support the Mexican community in Port Richmond. These partners supported activities including ESL and adult education programs, immigration support, community literacy events, and recreational and educational out-of-school time programming for youth within the Port Richmond community.

Overall, the network provided direct support to over 500 community members annually. Over the course of the initiative, the network also directly supported 56 families in the Promotores program, and provided services through their HUB to dozens of families annually. Community members acknowledged need for these services and welcomed their presence in the neighborhood. Additionally through the network, over 450 families received referrals to outside agencies. The Promotores program helped improved literacy skills of both children and parents and achieved its goal of developing parent's leadership skills.

In discussing the community-based neighborhood network, it was apparent that PS 20, while not a formal partner, was critical to the ability of the network to reach its target constituency. They are what the network refers to as their "educational partner." Over the past three and half years, events and direct outreach were conducted at the school. As a parent in the network recounts:

> In the school [PS 20] they told us there was a program that would will be offered. I volunteered working with a reverend; she told me about the program too. I thought it was an excellent program. It is; the children learn a lot...The school coordinator sent us a flyer to come to the program...You don't have to register. But you have to be willing to come. They just ask us to attend regularly to the sessions regularly.

Once parents learned about the program, they began to talk to other parents who also became interested in the program, thus growing the network.

As seen in the program structure and through their visual representations (see Figure 1), the Port Richmond Network provided wraparound services to community members (parents and children). Their programming is focused on three areas: (1) language development, (2) home-school connections, and (3) economic stability and local parent leadership. Based on the network's theory of change, these three interconnected areas can influence child development, academic achievement, and the vibrancy of the Mexican-American community in Port Richmond.

Figure 1: Port Richmond Network visual representation of program structure
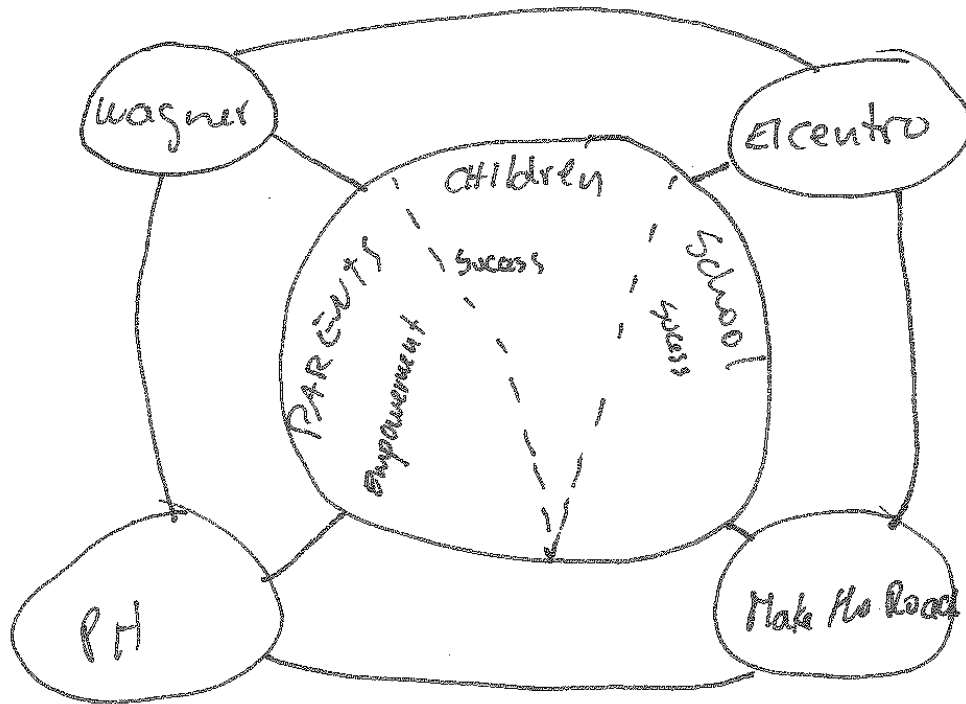
Supporting language development focused on providing youth with the rich linguistic experiences in early childhood that are necessary for children to grow and flourish, particularly in formal academic settings. Support for home-school connectedness emphasized "soft skill" behaviors like classroom participation and work completion, as well as supporting and empowering parents to effectively engage with their children's school. The network also sought to empower community members to carry their knowledge forward (sustainability) through economic and civic engagement. This involves GED and vocational preparation, workshops on how to fully participate in civic life, and leadership development for Mexican adults in the community. In discussing how their goals relate to one another, program staff members in the Port Richmond Network describe their goals as centered on providing support to both children and their parents around academic success, particularly reading and language skills. They note that the long-term goal of the network is to improve the family-school relationship across the community, using participating parents as the primary mechanism for sharing information within their community.

Throughout the initiative, the Port Richmond Network's primary tool was their parent leaders program (Los Promotores program). This afterschool program focused on empowering parent leaders (Promotores) and provided activities for both parents and their children on literacy and language development, as well as parent-focused trainings. The parent and child program is led by faculty and master's students from Wagner College, who engaged in one-on-one and small group sessions with participants. The focus of these sessions was to develop literacy in both children and adults. In observing the program, these master's students actively engaged with the children around a variety of early literacy skills. At the same time, they explained to the parents the skills they were teaching and how they could support the development of those skills at home. Additionally, parents were provided training and courses designed to improve their leadership skills and promote educational advocacy, so that their knowledge can be shared with the wider Mexican community in Port Richmond.

The program was originally slated to serve ten families for two days per week, but due to its popularity and at the request of families, the program was expanded in its first year to serve 25 families three days week. Each meeting included food for participants and homework help for youth along with a specific program for adults (e.g., leadership development or curriculum workshops). The program grew in popularity over the course of the initiative. Additionally, parents participated in special meetings with New York City Department of Education (NYCDOE) officials, and received specialized training on the Individualized Education Program (IEP) process. Participants in the Promotores program were also either directly provided with or received referrals for English language courses and adult literacy courses, job training programs, tutoring services, and legal supports, each provided through community-based neighborhood network partners or through their partners.

A critical element of their program was the intercultural approach that was incorporated throughout. As a network staff member, in talking about the desire to empower parents, explained:

> I mentioned empowerment as a starting point, but empowerment in terms of their strength, what they were bringing to the table. Also, a sense of the importance of the cultural aspect. That they didn't have to shy away from who they were, but that their traditions, their beliefs, their language was an important component in all of this. With that, it became clear that we needed to share who we were, also. It became the role of being intercultural communicators, in a way, and incorporating that component into the conversation. It wasn't only focusing on culturally responsive practices and how to help the parents navigate a system that wasn't necessarily responding to all their needs.

This approached helped participants open up and engage with program staff, and also helped program staff and participants navigate around language barriers.

Along with the Promotores program, the network also supported what they referred to as "HUB Literacy Activities." These activities included morning reading programs, after school programming, and community events (e.g., nutrition workshops), celebrations (e.g., Day of the Dead Celebrations, Cinco de Mayo events), and field trips around the New York City area. The HUB Activities extended the network's reach into the larger PS 20 and Port Richmond community (though Promotores families also participated in these programs). These HUB Activities served a large number of families in the network. The network estimated that they reached over 700 people annually through their HUB activities in Year 2 and Year 3 of the initiative. Community events and celebrations proved to be particularly popular. They note that over 100 children attended their daily breakfast reading programs each year. Additionally, their Cinco de Mayo celebrations welcomed over 140 youth annually and, as part of the event, provided attendees with free books (most celebrations in the network were accompanied with book giveaways and literacy activities).

Since its inception, the Port Richmond Network was able to grow its support network and offerings through the development of formal and informal partnerships that comprised the HUB. The network also was able to develop what they call HUB partners who provided additional supports. These HUB partners include the Staten Island Jewish Community Center and the YMCA New America Centers, which provided ESL classes for the mothers of the Los Promotores children. Additional partners included Faith United Methodist Church, Snug Harbor Cultural Center, Lincoln Center, Staten Island Children's Museum, Christ Church of God, The Giving Circle, Fresh Air Fund, Qualitas Foundation and Staten Island OUTLOUD, as well as the

Wagner College Football Team. Community members welcomed and sought after these HUB activities. As community member explains, the availability of these free services were particularly valuable:

> In this country, I have been here… umm since February 1988. As Mexicans, when we arrive to this country, we just focus on working and working. We don't think about enrolling in a school. Initially We -as immigrants- have to work to pay the money we borrowed to come here. When I arrived to this country, English schools were not free. I worked and I didn't understand English at all. I just knew how to say vacuum and Windex. But later on, I found a cheap school to study English. My husband paid $35 per week. My mind opened; I started to understand when people talked to me in English. In general, I understand when people talk, but I am afraid of talking. That's why I say that mothers should value this program. Before this program arrived, we had to pay for these services.

As noted above, the Promotores program represented only a fraction of the total work provided in the network, but it served a key program in the network, providing the necessary depth of services for a number of parents and children, and helping drive the growth of the network. In observations for the Promotores program, parents actively participated in both the adult learning components as well as parent-child components. Based on the success of the first semester and at the request of parents, this program was expanded from two days a week to three days a week, and from two and half hours per day to three and half hours a day. The Promotores program model encouraged parents to share information from the network in their community, fostering increased engagement. This has been both a success and presented some challenges as the network needed to respond to the growing interest of community members, as discussed by several key program staff:

> **Port Richmond Staff 1:** That's been a challenge for us in terms of we start with: twenty and then the next week we have thirty, then the next week we have forty-five was the last … And planning specific things.
>
> **Port Richmond Staff 2:** Doesn't change, so all of a sudden the group that was this many kids is expanding.
>
> **Port Richmond Staff 1:** These are not parents that are part of the list, it's just parents that are here and are bringing their cousins...
>
> **Port Richmond Staff 2:** They are acting as the Promatores, and they do bring other parents in which is kind of great, because the initial thought was they would back out… We've been bringing in extra people because the groups are growing.

Program data shows that over the past three years there has been a consistently large number of community members from the Port Richmond area participating in the neighborhood network programs and services. They report serving over 700 individuals in the second and third year of the initiative, many of who through large community events that included literacy workshops and activities, as well as through programs provided through the network's HUB.

Table 2. Port Richmond: Summary

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached				
All Individuals Reached	337	>700	>700	>1737
Target Population Reached	NR	436	105	541
Key Programs and Activities				
Total Number Served[5]	> 664	> 1815	> 1067	> 3546
Hours of Programming (Weekly)	NR	127	NR	-

While not part of their original program design, the network was also able to implement a referral network that joins the programming provided by each of the network partners, and provides case management for those participants with additional needs. In Year 3 alone, the Port Richmond Network referral and benefit services (e.g., DACA, financial counseling, legal counsels, access to a food pantry) provided services to 68 heads of households and 105 children. As reported by both program staff and community members. This capacity to do case management was borne out the close relationships forged between the program staff and the community members in the program as well as between community members. Parents looked to the program staff and fellow community members for a number of supports ranging from childcare to tax advice.

Mothers in the Promotores program were proud to share the improvements that their children made. Program staff also report improvements in language development, the development of soft skills, and the capacity to access educational spaces as well other programs and services. With respect to language development, program records show that both mothers and their children in the Promotores program saw improvements language development. As the network notes in its Year 3 report:

> Mothers and children learned specific language-based academic vocabulary as well as strategies for increasing both academic and conversational vocabulary. The strategies learned included evidence-based practices used in schools (e.g., webbing). Mothers' abilities to increase the use of reading and writing in different settings was evident in both specific examples and dispositions displayed (e.g., writing plays, incorporating resources at home, incorporating target vocabulary during interactions with children, using culturally responsive pictures images as a stimulus for writing). Mothers and teachers utilized more Spanish and English during intercultural interactions. In addition, younger children had the opportunity to attend sessions and develop emergent literacy abilities for listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

ELS Assessment conducted at the YMCA and El Centro ESL programs indicated that program participants made meaningful progress in their English language development. Parents who participated in the

---

[5] Lower-bound limits, likely exceeded significantly, but the extent to which is unable to be determined, as some counts measured individuals while others measured families, and other numbers provided were minimum estimates (See Appendix for extended measures).

programs also reported that their developing language skills improved their capacity to effectively help their children with their school work and engage with their children's school. To this point, program staff in Port Richmond Network noted that parents gained the language and soft skills needed to interact effectively with schools, explaining:

> *Based on our interactions with families, we noticed an increase in parent leadership within our literacy sessions (e.g., taking ownership of leading activities, writing, presenting, and bringing in culturally relevant examples and artifacts).*

They also reported that the program benefited program staff (i.e. the Wagner preservice teachers) explaining:

> *Communication among Wagner [preservice] teachers and parents increased (e.g., related to students' performance). It was evident that parents were willing to use English as a form of communication as needed while Wagner teachers were encouraged by the parents' effort to increase their own use of Spanish to facilitate interactions (another example of parents' leadership role to support communication in a variety of languages). Wagner teachers also demonstrated growth in their ability to find adequate resources and collaborate with families using Spanish while also encouraging bilingualism.*

It is important to note that these preservice teachers are going to be able to take these experiences and skills into classrooms across New York City, potentially benefiting the culturally and linguistically diverse array of students with whom they are bound to teach.

Despite these successes, program staff indicated that the total level of expressed need exceeded the capacity of the program offerings. The program staff indicated the need to provide more time to deliver the program curriculum. They also pointed to deep economic need and social service needs. They noted that many parents could not afford school supplies. Additionally, parents may have benefited from additional social service supports that could help them navigate some aspects of the education system - e.g., special education, health screening, and gifted and talented programs.

The Port Richmond network plans to function beyond the life the initiative. To that end, the network is refocusing their work to include students through grade 5 in order to continue to support the Promotores families with whom they are currently working. The network is going to focus its resources on the Promotores families, providing them with additional HUB support. In discussing their plans for continuing the network beyond the life of the initiative, they note that expense of coordinating and hosting some of the network activities exceeds their current budget capacity, noting that programs like their morning breakfast reading groups required a large amount of human and financial resources provided by network partners above and beyond the allotted grant resources. Due to resource constraints, the network intends to stop hosting large HUB events, opting instead bring their resources to bear at existing community events. They also hope to expand their partnerships to include additional service providers and HUB partners to provide onsite support to community members at the network locations and throughout the Port Richmond Community.

The success of the Port Richmond Network was due to its strong ties with the Port Richmond community and the quality and range of its services. It is currently seeking funding to continue its efforts.

East Harlem (Manhattan) Network

> **Union Settlement**: Educational advocate who runs the referral network; Head Start for youth ages two to four, out-of-school time programming for youth, adult and community education programs
>
> **Little Sisters of the Assumption Family Health Services**: early childhood and parenting support (including prenatal support), early literacy programs and Head Start readiness
>
> **Boys' Club of New York**: Out-of-school time programming

We had Cinco de Mayo events, knowing that most of the families came from Mexico, from Guerrero and looking at what kind of music, and asking people, "What kind of music did you listen to in your hometown? What did you do at the parties?" Remembering, we hired a brass band as opposed to the traditional mariachis... one of the fathers was almost in tears because he said it reminded him of his hometown. I think that was the first year. Having different folk dance groups, but making sure that they're representing a diverse population in Mexico because I think sometimes we get lost in the stereotypes of Mexican culture.

The East Harlem Network was formed with the goal of improving early-childhood education outcomes (i.e., school readiness, literacy, and engagement) improving family-school relationships (working with both schools and parents), and providing additional social service and related supports to families with young children. The network was led by Union Settlement Association (Union Settlement, in partnership with the Little Sisters of the Assumption Family Health Service (LSA) and the Boys' Club of New York (BCNY). The network was designed to maximize the utilization of services provided by the partner organizations to community members and promote early literacy in the community.

Through the coordination of these three established community partners, the network was able to develop a robust referral process to meet the needs of community members. These referrals made the entire network's suite of services available to each community member engaged with one of the network partners as well as connected community members to needed outside resources through a social-based model of case management. Additionally, in deepening its engagement with the East Harlem community, the network developed new literacy programs, particularly to support community members whose primary language is Mixteco (and not Spanish).

Over the course of the initiative, the network programs serviced hundreds of people annually through workshops and community events and provided intensive case management to an average of 90 community member annually. Interviews with program participants revealed that literacy-based activities to be extremely beneficial, and parents reported gaining new skills and knowledge to support the educational development of their children. Moreover, parents noted that they gained new literacy skills in both English and Spanish.

As a result of the initiative, Union Settlement and LSA are continuing to work together to implement early literacy and educational programming.

Each of the partner organizations had considerable experience working within the East Harlem community with each partner providing a unique set of supports within the network, that cover youth and adults. The overlap of these services meant that as a network, they could provide services for youth from birth through high school graduation, as well as supports for parents (and other community members). Union Settlement has both youth and parent programs. As part of its bailiwick of services, they have early learning and Head Start programs for youth ages 2-4, as well as out-of-school time programming for youth in kindergarten through 12th grade. They also support adult education programs. LSA provides services for youth ages 0-3 as well as support for parents (and expectant parents). These include early intervention and home-based socialization groups that are designed to help transition youth successfully into Head Start programs. Additionally, BCNY provides recreational and academic out-of-school time programs. Under the network structure, the partners provides existing programs to a larger, shared constituency – cross-referring families to each other programs.

At the center of the organizations and programs was the Educational Advocate. The envisioned role of the Educational Advocate was to bring the partnerships together coordinate referral between the programs, functioning essentially the network hub between each partner has an Agency Liaison who serves as the Educational Advocate's point of contact. The Educational Advocate provided case management and social work support for community members with needs that exceed the capacity of the network partners, as well as conducting community outreach, workshops, support groups, and community events throughout the network. Social work interns assisted the Educational Advocate. In this model, the network's primary mode of service made use of intra-network referrals as well as inter-network referrals. As originally conceived, the intra-network referrals aimed at ensuring community members connected with a particular partner could access potentially valuable resources across the network. As a program staff member working with the Head Start program recalled, these referrals happened through phone calls and the sharing of information about community members in need:

> The other director called and said, "I know that you have East Harlem Neighborhood Network there, and do you think that they can help one of my parents? Their child is having a hard time in school and they need someone" - and it's a Mexican family – "they need someone to be able to assist them." So I will be able to refer them to [the Educational Advocate].

In complicated or sensitive cases, the Educational Advocate may provide intensive educational counseling and provide inter-network referrals to outside service providers. In discussing the inter-network referrals a program staff quoted above explains that these referrals expanded the capacity of the program, meeting needs that might otherwise go unmet:

> ...for some reason, we have a lot of – there are a few parents who have come in crying because of domestic violence that they're dealing with. And you know, it's a very touchy subject, and sometimes my family worker cannot do as much as she wants to for them. I have had – [the Educational Advocate] has actually gone to different programs – Justice House – for them – different things like that. So she's there for them for those touchy topics that they wouldn't necessarily want the whole school to know about. So she's able to do those kind of things.

As noted above, the Educational Advocate plays an essential role in this network, serving as a bridge

between programs and organizations as well as conduit to outside resources, filling in the resource gaps in the network. The Educational advocate also enabled program staff to more effectively do their jobs, proving the social service support that might otherwise fall to educators (without specialized training) to provide.

Another key to the network success was its ability to evolve and grow to meet newly-identified needs of community members. The network officially took form in the middle of Year 1 (December, 2013), with the hiring an Educational Advocate, and by the end of the year had achieved significant gains toward its outlined plans. East Harlem Network's mid-school year launch meant that it was too late in the school year to refer new students to some of the planned after-school programs. However, at that time, they provided a series of community events and workshops, including an Adult Spanish Literacy series that included educational programming for youth, as well as more specialized convenings covering topics such as special education and immigrant rights (including the rights of immigrant children). They also provided legal support for community members. All told, the Educational Advocate served 147 families in the first year of the program, and more in subsequent years.

As the program grew, the network learned new lessons that changed how the network sought to support community members. While the network initially sought to make referrals within and outside the network, the need for additional supports became clear. In reflecting on the early development of the program, a staff member explains:

> ...in order to bridge the education gap or really help children improve their academic performances, you have to work with the parents and help the parents to be able to feel like they understand the education system, but also, if they have their own education goals, for them to be able to achieve them, or to be able to achieve better employment opportunities, or immigration status, so I think working with both the parents and the children was probably the ... Initially, that was not supposed to be how the network was going to work, but I think we realized that that was what was needed.

As the program shifted to provide more referral support in Year 2, the Educational Advocate was promoted to Educational Advocate/Program Coordinator and continued to oversee the day-to-day operations of the program, including: one-to-one participant assistance, steering committee meetings with the three agency liaisons, and supervision of three MSW interns.

The East Harlem Network also expanded their program offerings, providing basic English courses as part of their existing adult education programs, expanding its attention to dual-generation literacy approaches with Family Reading Nights, and adding additional resources to the network such as "La Hora Mixteca" (Mixtec Hour) and "Intercambio de Lenguas" (Language Exchange) groups for community members whose primary language is Mixteco. The network provided English classes, aimed at increasing parents' ability to communicate with systems (schools, hospitals, public assistance), expand social ties in the community, and increase mobility (public transportation, engaging with others at grocery store, learning about NYC), while allowing participants to share their own experiences from their hometowns including food, traditions, and migration stories. These supports were achieved not just by reshaping the roles of existing partners, but also through an expansion of network to include local business - La Casa Azul Bookstore - and other local non-profit organizations - Endangered Language Alliance (ELA). They also maintained a relationship with the Mexican Consulate, hosting five Mobile Mexican Consulates in the network as well as workshops on

resources available through the Consulate in NYC. By the end of the initiative, the language exchange groups proved to be one of the most popular groups within the network, servicing 215 families.[6]

The East Harlem Network connected with and provided services to a large number of Mexican and Mexican-American residents in their catchment area. Network staff did note that early in the project, they experienced some issues with recruitment (although this issue was common at the start of most of the networks). Ultimately, the network reported meeting and surpassing their three-year goal of reaching 400 families (⅓ of Mexican and Mexican-American population with children under 8 years) with extended services by end of second year. Due to the multiple offerings by all of the partners, is difficult to calculate the exact number of families reached through the network: some families participated in multiple programs over multiple years, and thus may have been counted several times in the data.[7] Looking at case management data alone, it is clear that the network was able to provide much-needed services to the community. The data shows that the network effectively connected 271 community members to services within and outside the network through intensive case management. In the second and third years of the project, the network provided approximately 400 hours of workshops and training.

Table 3. East Harlem: Summary

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached				
All Individuals Reached	328	2323	740	3391
Target Population Reached (Cumulative)	NR	341	NR	341
Key Programs and Activities				
Total Number Served*	821	NR	NR	-
Hours of Programming (Weekly)	NR	212	186	>398

*Lower-bound limits, likely exceeded significantly, but the extent to which is unable to be determined, as some counts measured individuals while others measured families, and other numbers provided were minimum estimates (See Appendix for extended measures).

This was due in part to the high demand for its workshops and programs (e.g., Language Exchange groups and financial literacy), referral services, and case management services, and the strength of the Educational Advocate's social work approach to outreach and engagement. When describing the initial start of the network and their promising practices, one staff member notes:

> *I think using a lot of the social work practices of engaging the clients, of giving someone enough space and time for them to get to know you. They can understand the services that you provide. I think being flexible, even though sometimes it's hard. We were able to have kind of not set appointments where people could drop in because I was at a head start, the interns were at a head start. They were able to drop in. Having staff at different sites, that was also helpful.*

---

[6] The network continued to provide a range of additional services throughout the initiative including financial literacy workshops, grief and loss support group, domestic violence workshops, and health and health insurance workshops.
[7] The East Harlem Network attempted to count both families and individuals served by the network. In different years, different data was reported.

The network suffered a setback when the Educational Advocate stepped down. In Year 3, the Educational Advocate departed after the first half of the year, eventually taking a permanent position with one of the partner organizations, where she continued work for the network, but the position of Educational Advocate remained vacant due to difficulties in hiring related to the short term of funding remaining. The MSW intern program also dissolved due to lack of coordination through the office of the Educational Advocate following the Educational Advocate's departure. This, along with the reliance on social work interns with varying experience, skill, availability, and reliability may have contributed to a reduction in the number of families served for one-to-one case management and referral services. During this year, the success of the program in reaching new families also appeared to diminish, though its extended reach and the community ties and engagement the network had fostered appeared to continue to thrive. Even with the Educational Advocate, the program struggled to keep up with demand.

Although the network partners each have the capacity (and established track record) of serving the East Harlem community, in the model attempted by the East Harlem network, the continued coordination of services and case management is incumbent of having a strong and well-supported staff member to work across the network. It was widely noted amongst program staff and community members that the Educational Advocate served a vital role in the network.

At the conclusion of the initiative, there was no evidence to suggest that the full network would continue. However, several of the programs created under the network remain active under the auspices of LSA and Union Settlement. Based on their work during the initiative, Union Settlement was awarded $25k in additional funds by the Pine Tree Foundation to establish a new Family Literacy Program, consisting of monthly workshops for parents of children enrolled at Head Start and child care centers and adults enrolled in Adult Education classes. Under this initiative, Union Settlement intends on collaborating with LSA to support recruitment and programming (proving some space and personnel to support the program).

Mott Haven (South Bronx) Network

MASA-MexEd (MASA): overall project management; coordinate home visitations for parents with children age 18mo - 4yo for 36 families; early-childhood education onsite; provide referrals for wraparound supports; community outreach to increase awareness of program services; coordinate speakers bureau; coordinate customized trainings for daycare providers

Parent-Child Home Program (PCHP): provide staff for home visits; train MASA staff to conduct home visits Mott Haven Library: provide space for literacy events and access to early-childhood education materials for parents and daycare providers

Committee for Hispanic Children and Families (CHCF): provide qualified educators and resources for daycare provider trainings

---

Everything I think is connected and there's been families that, yeah, we come in first time and we have no idea what else is behind. It's a little scary because as an agency we've had to learn very quickly how to respond or not respond and kind of set priorities. If there's a person with low level of literacy who you know is going to go to get a service

and isn't going to be served well because they don't even know how to speak Spanish, then maybe that person gets accompaniment for 8 hours sitting in the welfare hour with that person versus somebody that you know has a much more advanced level, maybe finished 8th grade. For us, 8th grade is you are okay with people that we work with. I think just going back to how do you attract, making sure that people know that you're going to get an answer whether it's sorry we can't help you, we don't do this.

The Mott Haven Neighborhood Network was launched by MASA-MexEd (MASA), who, in partnership with the Parent-Child Home Program (PCHP), the Committee for Hispanic Children and Families (CHCF), and the New York Public Library, developed programs to improve early childhood outcomes in the Mott Haven neighborhood of the South Bronx. Their overall goal was to provide new literacy and expanded educational supports to children, the toddler years through elementary. To this end, the Mott Haven Network was centered on three areas of work, each of which are designed to provide educational support for young children and their families: (1) support for families with young children; (2) wraparound support services; and (3) training and resources for daycare providers.

The network grew quickly to meet the needs of its community, providing an array of needed resources in the community including educational home visits for families with young children and educational out-of-school time programs. The network also developed a referral process that extended the reach of services beyond the network.

Over three years, the network was able to connect with over 1,400 Mexican community members with direct services (not including the over 500 referrals made through the network and hundreds of community members who participated in network events). The programs provided valuable resources to community members, including providing books and toys to families in the home visit program as well helping support positive academic gains in literacy. Additionally, through cross-pollination of programs, the network expanded the capacity of MASA to better support the Mexican community.

Within the network, MASA was tasked with providing a large share of the network's direct services to the Mott Haven community by implementing the PCHP Home Visiting Program and providing Pre-K playgroups, out-of-school time Literacy Programming (grades K-5), and wraparound support services to families through a referral process. As such, MASA's Program Coordinator oversaw implementation of early childhood education programs, education and literacy programs, and family support services and referrals for the network.

Direct support for families with young children was provided through two programs: PCHP home visitors and MASA center-based toddler programs. At the onset of the project, PCHP trained MASA staff to conduct these home visits, and continued to provide technical support to ensure program fidelity. PCHP home visitors would go to children's homes twice a week for half an hour to work directly with parents and children and model parenting practices that enhance school readiness. During these visits, parents were taught ways to encourage early-childhood literacy skills and effective parenting practices. In addition to home visits, MASA ran a center-based program for young children, which provided supports for literacy and language development, which included a pre-K playgroup and school year and summer literacy programming. These programs proved to be the primary means by which the network sought to achieve their goals.

The network was able to engage the Mexican community through its afterschool program and home visitor program. These programs were in such high need in the first year that demand actually surpassed the network's resources. The relationships among partners in the network continued to evolve, with the primary network relationship developing between MASA and PCHP. PCHP became the primary resource for provision of most network services direct to families and CHCF became more of a resource for external referrals for care providers who were further along the path to becoming licensed providers. Additionally, the network partnership with the New York City Public Library did not come to full fruition. Originally, the New York Public Library intended to host a reading center with early-childhood materials and workshops, but funding limitations required the network to scale down this partnership.[8]

The network was also able to develop new initiatives with other South Bronx literacy programs and established relationships with a number of schools with significant populations of Mexican children to help inform its parent engagement work. The network also deepened its relationship with other South Bronx initiatives focused on literacy, including the ReadNYC Campaign for Grade-Level Reading, focused on third-grade reading success. This led the group to dedicate much of its efforts at families with K-2 students, although not at the expense of older children. MASA also participated in community partnership meetings led by the Jewish Child Care Association. It also deepened existing ties with schools, two schools in particular, enabling them to host their outreach programs and adult education courses.

Undergirding these programs are supports for families. Initially the, the network provided parent workshops covering a range of issues pertinent to parents' needs. As the network grew, so too did formal structures of support to meet the community's needs. By the third year of the initiative, the Mott Haven network provided wraparound support services using a case management approach that was built into the network's inital intake process for parents. During the intake, each participant's needs were assessed to determine any educational, employment, health, housing, and legal needs. In noting the array of resources, network leaders explained:

> Participants were then referred to outside support organizations. All those binders over there are just full of resources. There's everything from education to housing to immigration. We have organized them so that anybody can pretty much open up and try to look for a resource and this is the list, so we have a referral. This was actually because of Deutsche Bank. We knew we had to set up a system and the referrals was something tricky to have put as part of the project as you know because it's hard to document. Now, what we've been able to get better at year 3 now is just creating all those resource binders and saying you're at least going to get something as you walk out, some guidance.

The Mott Haven network was successful at providing services on multiple fronts, most notably, in their PCHP (home visitor) program, and in their literacy programs. Their home visitor program successfully engaged community members and provided educational services to the Mexican community in the Mott Haven neighborhood.

---

[8] The network still hosts larger literacy events with the library, and there are plans to take parents to go get library cards with their children, as well as work with the library to clear all of their accounts of any overdue book fines.

Table 4. Mott Haven: Summary

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached				
All Individuals Reached	310	662	1385	2357
Target Population Reached	92	199	246	537
Key Programs and Activities				
Total Number Served	324	1898	2275	4497
Hours of programming	324	1898	2275	4497

The Mott Haven network also was able to develop referral process connected community members with needed resources. Number of referrals to outside services expanded from 28 families in Year One to 231 in Year Three.

The programs resulted in an array of positive outcomes for youth and parents alike, including increased parent capacity to support learning and healthy child development at home as well as increased reading performance for youth.

Staffing changed as the start of the project delayed their initial launch, and the network continued to struggle to meet the growing demand for their services. The demand for after-school program and home visitor program exceeded capacity after the first year, and already excessive demand continued to increase. This increased need was compounded by gentrification and housing shortages affecting the communities served, and limited staff to address issues of housing and how they affect community.

They also struggled to find the correct informal approach to training day care providers. The requirement of business identification number became intimidating and therefore limiting for undocumented persons who wished to participate, and a significant number of families misinterpreted the services and contacted the program seeking child care rather than seeking to become care providers themselves.

Beyond the initiative, the Mott Haven Network seeks to continue its home visiting program as well as its out-of-school time literacy programs. This work will be carried forward by MASA and PCHP. These are cost-intensive programs, meaning that funding is a high priority for network leaders. They have been successful in securing some outside funding, but will need continued funding to operate without any service interruptions.

Bushwick (Brooklyn) Network

Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow (OBT): hire project coordinator; provide job readiness and career exploration workshops at GROW

Churches United for Fair Housing (CUFFH): manage the weekly GROW program

Academy of Urban Planning (AUP): provide ESOL and career preparation/exploration classes during students' lunch hours once per week

There was one individual that I do remember, and this goes throughout, even those we serve with OBT, is sitting down with them, making a clear cut plan. Well if you aren't earning enough, how many people are in your home right now? There was a situation with this woman, she was going through a lot of homes, she had lost her job, but her daughters were of age that they could start working. Like kind of like saying and factoring in look, let's try to figure out if we can help her find a job or maybe connect them with X services so we can bring more income home. This is where the root of the problem is there's not enough money. So let's start there. How do we bring more wages in? Could it be through employment, of course. But there are some training programs that will pay her if she's having a hard time because she couldn't pay to go to school anymore. So let's get you engaged. So she went to our program and she did the medical administrative assistant program and she got hired. She started.

The Bushwick Neighborhood Network was led by Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow (OBT), in partnership with Churches United for Fair Housing (CUFFH) and the Academy of Urban Planning (AUP), and New York City public school on the Bushwick High School Campus. The goal of the network was to engage with disconnected older youth (i.e., youth who are not working and not in school who are between the ages of 17 and 24), providing them educational and employment programs, and to work with in-school youth at local high schools to prevent disengagement, ultimately improving educational and employment outcomes for older Mexican youth in the community.

The program successfully merged the educational workforce development experiences of OBT with programming and outreach of CUFFH and AUP, helping OBT connect with the Mexican community in Bushwick and supporting two new educational and workforce development programs in the Bushwick community. During the three-year grant, the network served a total of 1612 Bushwick community members; 656 were from Mexican descent, of which 268 were youth or parents of youth between the ages of 16 and 21.

While there were some programmatic shifts (discussed below), these programs collectively helped improve the landscape of job readiness and educational programming in the Bushwick community, and other community-based organizations (e.g., churches and schools) began integrating OBT programs into their own program offerings.

OBT brought to this partnerships a range a services, including adult education classes, English a Second Language (ESL) courses, citizenship classes, and an array of workforce development programs. OBT specialized in providing services to "disconnected youth" (disengaged), providing the out-of-school youth a

job training and education program that has 20 weeks of job training. Despite this, OBT realized that their programming was underutilized by the Mexican community in Bushwick.

The Bushwick network's programming initially focused on college and career readiness for adolescents through three main programs: (1) OBT's Youth Education and Job Training programs; (2) Anchor Up (originally called Anchoring Achievement in Mexican Communities College and Career Readiness program); and (3) Gaining Responsibility through Ownership and Willingness (GROW). Each of these core programs was developed using the OBT extensive educational and workforce knowledge base, and used the network partners to help recruit participants and refine, deliver, and implement the programs. In partnership with CUFFH's programming at Saint Joseph's Patron Church, CUFFH and OBT implemented the GROW program. The GROW program provides adolescents with job readiness and training programs, Regents Exam tutoring services provided by Cornell University students, and recreation opportunities. Similarly, in partnership with AUP, OBT implemented the Anchor Up program, which provides job readiness programs and career exploration during students' lunch period (and as the program expanded, after school), as well as parent workshops. Both Anchor-Up and GROW also had parent-centered programming that included informational workshops on a range of topics, including financial literacy, college and financial aid programs, and immigration services.

Over time, each of these programs developed and adjusted. Early in the initiative, two connected challenges presented themselves. First, the initiative found that youth as young as 13 participated in the GROW and Anchor Up programs. Through interactions with parents and recruitment efforts, network staff realized that they needed to shift their focus to work with slightly younger youth in the GROW program. As one staff member noted in her attempt to recruit parents and youth into the program:

> I would go do these presentations at the churches. Most of them had younger children in middle school. It was like yeah, I have five children but they're like 13 and below. And we were like, "Wait a minute, where are the other kids?"

Many students interested in attending were between the ages of 13 and 15, not 16 to 21 as originally intended, meaning the programs need to adjust to serve younger audiences.

At the same time, the program staff noted that they struggled to recruit disconnected older youth into the GROW program stating, "Finding disconnected youth in general is a challenge because they're not connected to a lot of networks." (The idea that there were not a large number of older youth who were easily recruitable into the program proved to be a challenge for both networks seeking to connect with that demographic). Although OBT was able to continue to recruit disconnected youth through its relationships with local high schools, this difficulty in reaching disconnected youth into its other programs contributed to a changed mindset within the organization –from reconnecting to prevention— and a resultant shift in programming. In talking about working with in-school youth, a program staff member explained:

> One of the things that this is why this relationship with the high schools is so critical because for us, and even as an organization, in terms of the strategies to engage disconnected youth, is the prevention portion. I'm literally becoming more strategic in how I work with high schools. From now, in terms of engaging their seniors, and engaging all their young adults that have attrition problems because one of the things that I'm saying in terms of messaging, lets capture them while they're here. Because once they

leave this school, it is so difficult to find [them].

Thus, while Bushwick Network programming was well-attended throughout the year, it became necessary to expand the scope of GROW programming. In AUP this shift meant reshaping the Anchor-Up curriculum for 9th and 10th-grade students to focus less on career development activities in favor of broader personal development topics (e.g., public speaking, self-confidence).

The demand and popularity of the programs further underscored the need continue to grow the in-school programs. As one of the initial program leaders reflected on the shifting balance focus towards supporting in-school youth:

> *It obviously changed every year, it had a different focus based on what we experienced each year throughout the grant. The first year in respect to the older youth, we never really envisioned that we would really have this popularity within the in-school youth population. We never thought we were going to lean in that direction... Just being part of that year one, saying we wanted to move focus on young adults who are not engaged or in school. The goal was pretty much for OBT, and OBT's main focus was to really get a hold of those young adults so we could increase graduation rates, that they can get their high school equivalency, so that we could increase the number of people that are going into college. I think that was a driving factor for us. It became so holistic, it was like wow there's a whole other approach here.*

As a result of this interest, the network intensified focus on the in-school programming with AUP and was eventually implemented across the four high schools that make up the Bushwick Campus. Also, the GROW program was adopted by Saint Joseph's Patron Church as their own program. CUFFH also continued to offer the program at Mayday Space (which joined the network in the third year).

During the initiative, the AUP and CUFFH both enjoyed a symbiotic relationships with OBT in their respective programs. At the same that it was growing its educational programs for youth, the network was also getting more involved in the Bushwick community, playing an increasing role in meeting the needs of the community members through an expansion of their own services, and by partnering with other local organizations. In reviewing program documents and talking to program staff, it is apparent the housing and immigration posed a critical concern to community members. In talking with community members, program staff noted that community members had only a limited amount of knowledge about specific programs for undocumented youth (e.g., DACA and in-state college tuition for public colleges and universities in New York State), which the network leaders saw as destabilized the Bushwick community. In conversations and reports, several network leaders and staff noted that Bushwick was (and still is) experiencing a substantial level of gentrification, causing many low-income residents to be displaced. To this end, the network provided a constellation of services including housing workshops, partnering with Brooklyn Legal Services Corporation to conduct workshops on housing rights and evictions and free legal services that focused on both housing and immigration consultations (notably DAPA and DACA assistance). The network also partnered with All Saints Church, which has a large Mexican congregation and a longstanding relationship with both OBT and CUFFH, hosting community workshops and a Health and Social Services Fair.

They also began to engage individual case management, something that was not originally part of the

network plan. Several program staff members noted after the first year the depth need amongst the youth in the program. As a staff member at AUP noted:

> Our students need resources. And not like go to the office, but a direct contact for let's say a college, for financial aid, for immigration, for legal services, social work services, therapy. We could use professional directly linked, like this psychologist is for thread come through the program and we'll work with any student that needs psychiatric treatment, and their family, that person, not an entity, but a direct contact.

In reflecting on how the network changed to meet that need a staff member shared:

> That was a challenge for us, because there were just so many needs that I just wanted to develop a promise neighborhood for this program because there were just so many needs. Originally we weren't planning on doing any case management. Then ended up taking a lot of new clients.

Ultimately, case management became part of the network's recruitment and outreach.

Table 5. Bushwick: Summary

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached				
All Individuals Reached	1607	2471	1612	5283
Target Population Reached	111	237	268	616
Key Programs and Activities				
Total Number Served	137	192	293	622
Hours of programming	NR	3775	3803.5	7578.5

Interview and program data shows that youth in network programs effectively engaged youth in activities that supported them on their college and career pathways. Youth from the afterschool and school-based programs noted opportunities to engage in more thinking around college and career, and learned concrete skills like resume writing. For disconnected youth, OBT noted that 100% of youth in the job training programs experience positive outcomes including vocational credentials or advanced learning, high school equivalency degree, gains in literacy assessments, internships, job placement, and college enrollment.

Beyond the initiative, the network continues to function, expanding it reach to serve a pan-Latino demographic of older youth. This decision was borne out the recognition that many of the social service needs affecting Mexicans in the Bushwick community also impacted other Latinos in the community.

Jackson Heights (Queens) Network

> **Internationals Network for Public Schools:** school/program development; district and state advocacy on behalf of Mexican students
>
> **Make the Road New York (MRNY):** youth development; college/career readiness programming; referrals for youth and families to other MRNY resources
>
> **City University of New York (CUNY):** provide college readiness resources; coordinate mentoring

[It] is just part of the way we work, the assets-based approach to working with both students, teachers, staffs, you know, that it's about what students and teachers and everybody brings to the table, that's a resource. Also the support structures. We work in such a way that it's not the individual ... I mean, this was true in the Make the Road is doing, what the peer mentors are doing, it's not the individual people alone, it's what structures are in place to support them, to train them, to check in with them, to kind of build that capacity.

Led by Internationals Network for Public Schools, Make the Road New York (MRNY), and the City University of New York (CUNY), the Jackson Heights Network sought to develop a full-service community school designed to serve the academic, economic, and social needs of both Mexican youth and their parents, focusing specifically on older Mexican youth (ages 16-21) who are "out-of-school/never-engaged-with-school" (i.e., disconnected or disengaged from school). In their planning of the network and its program, the network partners noted a range of potential barriers to education facing older immigrant youth including low levels of formal education, undocumented immigrant statuses, competing family and employment obligations, and school structures that struggled to be responsive to the lives of these youth.[9] Their plan was based on three main strategies: (1) implement an innovative school model that would be responsive to the needs of these youth; (2) provide wraparound services for youth and parents focused on employment, leadership development, immigration services, and ESL classes; and (3) provide college and career support for youth. Under this model, MRNY would provide workforce development, youth development, college access programs, and CUNY would provide peer mentors for students enrolled in the school and access to early college programs.

While they ultimately were not able to develop a new school during the time of the initiative (for reasons discussed below), the network developed school programming in two Internationals Network schools that served the local community, bringing to bear the programs and services of MRNY and CUNY. Through their efforts, they brought new programming to those International Network schools, and connected with over 1,500 community members annually. These programs helped foster improved educational and employment outcomes for youth in the school and MRNY programs.

---

[9] They note the following "push-out" factors with traditional public school that preclude engagement and promote disengagement: (a) Traditional schedules and unaccommodating attendance policies (i.e., limited flexibility); (b) Overcrowding; (c) Incidences of peer ethnic bias or anti-Mexican sentiment expressed by peers and adults; (d) Weaker academic norms and rigor; (e) Weaker ties between students and teachers/administrators; (f) Weaker ties between parents and teachers/administrators due to the absence of culturally-grounded parental involvement programs; (g) High rates of classes taught by unqualified teachers, including ESL classes; (h) Absence of high-quality, culturally-sensitive academic counselling to assist students with course selection and career development.

At the onset of the initiative, the Jackson Heights Neighborhood Network experienced the most drastic change to their original program plan. A new and innovative school model was the anchor program for this network, but despite continuous efforts by Internationals Network to work with the New York City Department of Education, this new school did not come to fruition. Unforeseen policy changes in the NYCDOE policy halted the development of any new public schools citywide. Midway through the first year of the grant, the NYCDOE created a moratorium on the opening new schools, choosing instead to focus on a school improvement agenda targeting existing struggling schools.

Figure 2: Jackson Heights Network visual representation of program structure
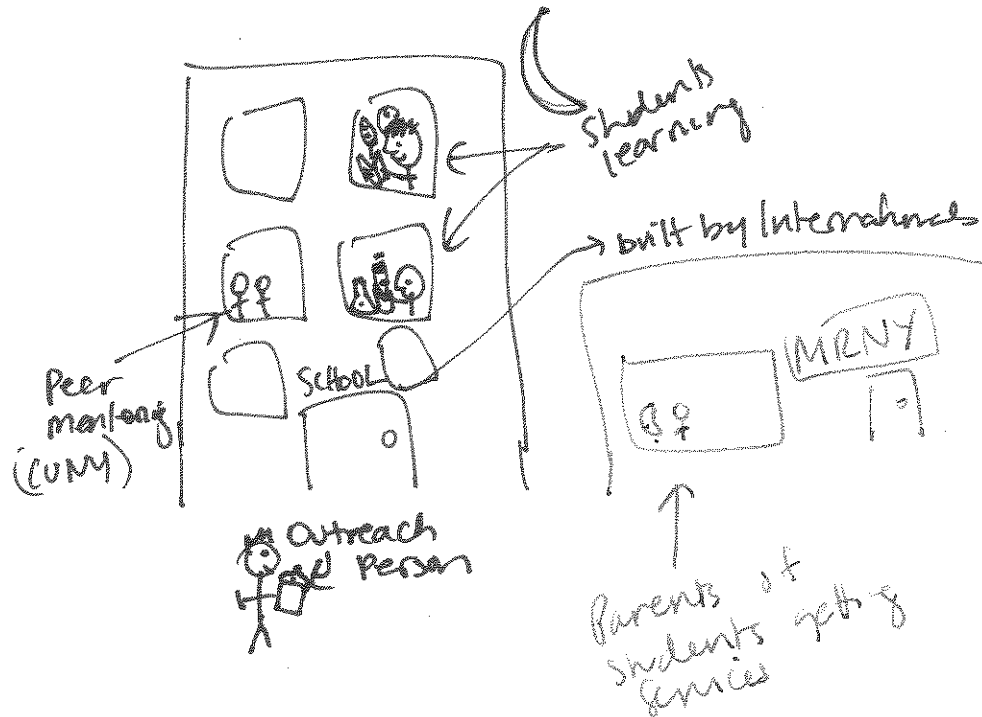
Internationals also began discussions with NYCDOE on formally expanding the school program to include evening classes at the Pan American International High School (PAIHS) for Mexican youth who are currently out of school. They also continued to engage in deliberate planning to find alternative ways to create school programs for disengaged youth. Through a series of planning meetings with NYCDOE, the network advanced a proposal for an evening school at PAIHS that would serve out-of-school and never-engaged-with-school recent immigrant youth while also providing support to PAIHS to improve academic achievement for students. This school was slated to open in the fall of 2016, however, changes in NYCDOE policy once again (and the inflexibility of existing policies) prevented the launch of this school. In their Year 3 report, the network noted, "the innovative and much-needed school we had planned to open does not fit neatly into specific categories of existing school programs in New York State."

While the Jackson Heights Network was not able to open a school during the span of the initiative, they did make significant progress towards their program goals by placing a significant number of resources intended for the new school in existing Internationals Network schools located within the network catchment - in particular PAIHS and (to a somewhat lesser extent) the International High School for Health Sciences in Elmhurst (IHS-HS). In doing so, they adapted their first strategy (implementing an innovative

school model) to existing schools by locating some of the network programs provided by MRNY and CUNY in PAIHS and IHS-HS.[10]

The inability to open a new school ultimately hindered the network's ability to fully engage with disconnected youth (since the existing schools lacked some of the necessary flexibility to meet this goal), but it did enable the network to provide a responsive academic foundation for youth enrolled in school, and provided a space for a new program to build upon that foundation. As a parent in the network shared:

> *You know why, the parents come to this country, they don't know English then they search for a school where they could speak Spanish, and most of the International school offer this service. The International schools are schools that receive people from all around the word. In these schools students can use their home language, practically what they do is to learn English in Spanish. I mean, it's easy for the students to communicate and for the teacher to provide the explanations in Spanish. For example, when my son arrived four years ago he did not know to talk in English, he arrived two months before finishing the school year, and he was able to get good academic results. He initially was able to talk in Spanish to understand the English. I think that helped him a lot. Also they are talking with their classmates in the same language and that help him to build relationships and friends.*

Despite the setback in starting the new school, the network was able to establish itself in the first year, recruiting community members (parents and youth) to participate in programming at PAIHS and MRNY, and identifying and hiring new staff to grow their program offerings. This enabled to the network to expand services to both youth and their families.

Within PAIHS, the network provided peer mentoring to 10th grade youth through the CUNY Caminos program (starting in November 2014). The mentoring program was designed to improve students' academic performance, increase their capacity to persist through high school, and be better prepared to enter college through a combination of college preparation workshops, class visits (mentors visiting students in class), lunch meetings, and college visits. MRNY provided a considerable amount of outreach and services to parents and students affiliated with PAIHS as well as the broader network community. When discussing the role of MRNY one staff explained that their role within the initiative was multifaceted, working both inside and around the school:

> *[We're] Mostly doing youth work and then we're also doing parent work. So we are – and primarily this is happening in relationship to this project in Queens. So providing support for recently-arrived immigrant students' parents, not only for helping navigate the education system and supporting them with translation and so forth at parent-teacher conferences, but generally trying to help support parent engagement inside of the high schools. And attending parent-teacher conferences and so forth...But then also doing a sort of needs assessment with families and determining what kind of services would be helpful and would be supportive of keeping their student in school. So then linking them*

---

[10] The role of these schools should not be overlooked. While they were not able to implement many of the design features intended for the new school, they provided a supportive learning environment for students and a means to engage both with youth and parents.

up with a range of services they may need inside Make the Road from health services to GED, ESL classes, immigration legal services, so forth and so on.

Thus, MRNY brought wraparound support to the educational pursuits of the network. Social services were provided at both MRNY's office and PAIHS to serve youth and families.[11] MRNY also provided after school programs, ESL classes, adult basic education programs, legal services (including consultations on immigration), college awareness programs, workforce development programs, and health services. During the initiative, MRNY innovated and implemented ActionNYC to provide technical assistance to community members impacted by delays to expansion/implementation of DAPA/DACA, helping the network serve more community members. Additionally, the network started evening ESL and workforce development programs at IHS-HS in Elmhurst.

The network reached 1660 individuals across the first two years, and reached 1926 individuals by Year 3. The percentage of students completing the program grew to 78% in CUNY programs and 66% at Internationals, the latter of which increased from 50% in the first year. The network completed 10 employment certifications and placed 20 people with jobs.

Table 6. Jackson Heights: Summary

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached				
All Individuals Reached	1837	1936	1809	5582
Target Population Reached (Cumulative)	1520	1660	1926	1926
Key Programs and Activities				
Total Number Served[12]	858	2456	2573	5887
Hours of programming (Weekly)	300	1614	1782	3476

Each of the network partners stayed actively engaged in the project throughout its three years, yielding improved educational outcomes for Mexican youth attending PAIHS, including an increase in the attendance rate and decrease in the dropout rate (see Table 7). As a school, PAIHS also experienced an increased graduation rate.

The MRNY program data showed an increased number of Mexican community members enrolled in a wide array of programs and services aimed at improving educational and employment outcomes including ESL and workforce development programs (See Table 8). For some of these youth, these programs resulted in job placements.

The initiative focused on sustainability in Year Three. Unfortunately, the Jackson Heights Network was unable to develop a sustainability plan for two of its key programmatic goals: the Caminos peer mentoring program and the establishment of an evening school. Additional legal and political barriers created difficulties in the provision of services and contributed to a lessened sense of safety within the community.

---

[11] Through the initiative, PAIHS placed a social work intern in the school to serve parents and students.
[12] Lower-bound limits, likely exceeded significantly, but the extent to which is unable to be determined, as some counts measured individuals while others measured families, and other numbers provided were minimum estimates (See Appendix for extended measures).

However, by the end of three years, the programs offered by the network partners had reached just short of 2,000 Mexicans.

Table 7. PAIHS: Summary

PAIHS	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Total Enrolled	367	351	430
Mexican Youth Enrolled	50	40	43
Attendance Rate for All Mexican Youth	88.9	96	94
Graduation Rate	50	66	76
Credit Accumulation	74.5	86	93
College applications submitted by Mexican students	28	27	11
College Field Trips	4	1	10
Dropout rate - All students		6	4
Dropout rate - Mexican students		3	1

Table 8. MRNY: Summary

MRNY	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Youth Enrolled	1470	1552	1670
Parents Enrolled	25	23	34
Youth in Summer Programs	12	13	15
ESL Classes	160	180	308
DACA Recipients	168	225	148[a]
Immigration Services	446	1141	1423
Workforce development	68	103	105
Employment/Job Placement	4	24[b]	15[b]

(a) Does not include 421 DACA renewals
(b) Includes employment certifications, MRNY students transitioning to MRNY positions, and job placements

Table 9. Jackson Heights Points of Contact and Individuals Served by Year

People Served	Year 1[13]	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Points of Contact	591	3276[14]	4268[15]	8135
Unique Individuals Served	591	1107[16]	1453[17]	1926[18]

Beyond the initiative, the network intends to continue working with the NYCDOE to open and support a first-of-its-kind evening school that will provide a school option for disconnected immigrant youth.

Fidelity to Program Models

Each of the network's programs models shifted and evolved over time in response to the needs expressed by community members as well as the policy climate in New York City. Even with these shifts, goals and major program activities were generally carried out as planned, with the following modifications either occurring in Year 1 or planned for Year 2. For example:

- At the request of families participating in other site activities in the South Bronx, MASA added five family support group events in Year 1.
- In Bushwick's GROW program, the age range for students was modified, as many interested youth were between the ages of 13 and 15, not 16-21 as originally intended. In Year 2, the program was modified to focus less on career development activities more appropriate for 16-21 year old participants in favor of broader personal development topics (e.g., public speaking, self-confidence) for this younger age group.
- Year 2 at the Bushwick site was modified to include an ESOL class at St. Joseph Patron church, as recent budget reductions for adult literacy programs in the area has increased confusion and distrust among parents and other adults in accessing community resources.
- Starting in Year 2 in East Harlem, the Educational Advocate's role expanded to include increased supervision of three social work interns, and facilitating deeper connections between schools and community-based organizations.
- Literacy programming at the Port Richmond site was either modified or delayed - it's unclear exactly which.

Beyond these minor changes, Internationals Network in Queens was forced to make some major program delivery modifications. Per their Year 1 report:

Midway through the grant year, with the new New York City Mayor and newly appointed Department of Education Chancellor in place, the school reform focus of the New York

---

[13] Annual Report, Year 1. "People reached." (Table). Sum of PAIHS and MRNY Year 1 totals.

[14] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached." (Table). Sum of 2014-2015 PAIHS "Total Enrolled" and all 2014-2015 MRNY Mexican participants (includes duplication).

[15] Annual Report, Year 3. "People reached." (Table). Sum of 2015-2016 CUNY Mexican enrollment, PAIHS Mexican enrollment and Mexican participants, and MRNY total Mexican participants in all categories (includes duplication).

[16] Annual Report, Year 2. "People Reached." (Table). Derived from sum of all "# new" participants.

[17] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached." (Table). Derived from sum of all "# new" participants.

[18] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached: Grand Total Over Three Years." (Table). Appears to account for duplicated individuals across services and years.

City Department of Education shifted. The new focus of the Department moved away from opening new schools and toward developing programs that could improve current schools. As a result, the Elmhurst/Jackson Heights network will not open a new school as originally intended, but will instead pursue a program to expand the school day at Pan American International High School (PAIHS) located in Jackson Heights.

Despite this challenge, Internationals Network remained in conversation with NYCDOE regarding the formal expansion of their the school program to include evening classes at PAIHS for Mexican youth who are currently out of school, and has implemented in-school program offerings in the interim.

As noted above, all of the networks are carrying their work forward in some way beyond the initial three-year initiative.

Theory of Change

Theories of change provide a description of how and why a desired change is expected to happen across the networks. Networks articulated their theories of change in their proposals, and fleshed them out though meetings with Metro Center and YDI. In articulating their theories of change, network staff explained how their programs related to achieving their network (and initiative) goals. The specific theories of change varied slightly between networks and changed over time, but in general, they converged on the basic theory of change embedded in the AAMC initiative goals - (1) increasing the availability and access of high-quality education programs and services, which provided the space for (2) Increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities, ultimately contributing to (3) improved academic performance and employment prospects.

In this section, we look at the overall theory of change expressed across the networks and how these theories of change came to fruition during the course of the three-year initiative. In looking across the networks, a general theory of change emerged. While programs adapted and changed over the course of the initiative, their overall theory of change remained intact. For example, although the network in Jackson Heights experienced a dramatic shift in the programs offered in their network, their network leaders maintained their theory of change, implementing it in a new space.

> *Our theory of change didn't change or alter in any way, and I think applying a lot of the ideas that we had in this to the PAIHS model was good, and proved effective... It's not that the theory changed, it's that the implementation, the ultimate goal of opening the school did not happen.*

Program participants and staff identified five structural aspects of their networks: (1) expanded reach of services, (2) recruitment and access, (3) staffing and building trust, (4) participant engagement, and (5) quality programming. Outcomes related to the first four aspects of the networks are discussed throughout this section, while the following two sections examine the implementation and outcomes related to the quality of programming and the overall initiative. Figure 3 outlines the shared theory or change across the networks.

As will be discussed in the remainder of this section, the theory of change was centered on the network structure and brought together service providers in a formal partnership. The expanded reach of services created by these networks brought high-quality programs into each of the communities (goal 1). The networks then increased participant engagement (goal 2), first through the added availability of resources, and the concerted efforts of the networks through their staff and recruitment. Additionally, the quality of the programs and their purposeful two-generation approach to their work supported continued engagement. This continued engagement in combination with the quality programming fostered improvements in academic and employment prospects (goal 3).

Figure 3: Program Theory of Change
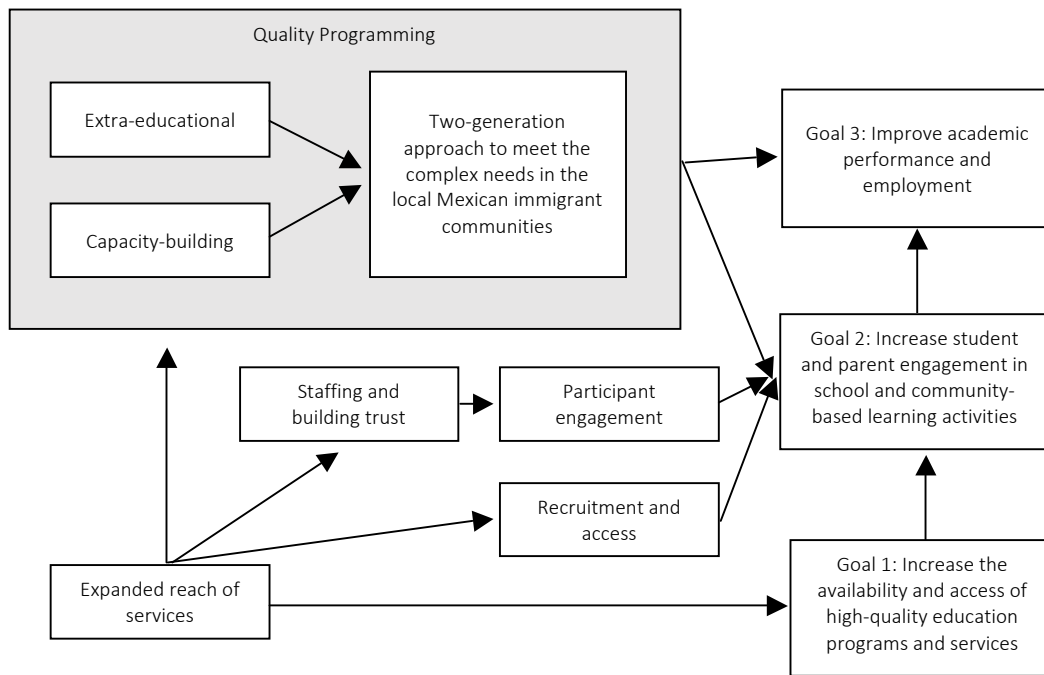
Expanded Reach of Services

An expanded reach of services was at the core of this initiative. In order to meet the first program goal of increasing availability of and access to high-quality educational programs and services, networks had to form and collectively expand their reach of services in their respective communities. The network structure required as part of the initiative was embraced by the programs and contributed to the increased access of programming in the communities. Community-based neighborhood networks, such as the ones funded under this initiative, allow community-based organizations and nonprofits to expand their geographic coverage across the neighborhood and provide services in new neighborhoods. This enables them to provide an array of services better-designed to meet the complex needs of the community members. One program director shared how development of the community-based neighborhood networks allowed their organization to connect with other organizations, thus expanding their reach:

> *I would say I don't think that we've worked closely with any of the churches before [the*
> *development of the community-based neighborhood network]. The churches have*
> *access to a very large population of immigrants that we are looking to serve even beyond*

the grant. I think that opening up that partnership and having access to that community we've been able to have the ability to reach them in a different way, and gain their trust in a different way….Our relationship with the schools have changed, too. Being able to work in the schools, and gain the trust of the schools to be able to reach youth that are disconnected, and who've dropped out of high school…In general I think that we're in a new part of the district that we haven't been in before. And even though it's only two subway stops away it's dramatically different in the demographic and population that's around the church and that the church services.

Similarly, another program director shared how the additional resources and patterns enabled them to expand their community outreach:

…[W]e were very conscious about growing. And although people knew we were there, it was kind of word of mouth, and we appreciated it that way because we didn't have any resources to really expand. This work actually made us go out into the community because we were recruiting… Now we definitely have a new group, a new audience that we weren't tapping into before. And it's really forced us to really start – not be afraid of going out and doing (because we had waiting lists before for all our services). So it's been a great year, especially because now we have the referral network.

The locations of the program services are key. As one staff member noted, it is difficult to get participants to travel outside their own community:

We've found that people, and this is true of all of our sites, that people tend to want services right where they are. Certain groups are willing to travel certain ways and other ones aren't. Even though it's only two subway stops away we're starting to realize how challenging it was. In the beginning when we were trying to get folks to come and access our services, and then four subway stops away is this location which you would think is really close in terms of New York City and traveling, but that is also difficult for folks to come here without the buy-in. So I think by being able to provide direct services at [a local program site] and getting the trust of people is necessary for them too, especially within the Mexican community for them to come and access [the] services.

This expansion of reach and services is critical to improving the educational and employment outcomes of recent immigrants. Immigrant families face multiple changes in their daily life including limited educational and employment opportunities, bias and racism, and social isolation. Trist (1983) and Selsky and Parker (2005) refer to these problems as "metaproblems," noting that they are too extensive and too complex to be addressed by any single organization and thus require collaboration across organizations. As such, these community-based neighborhood networks fill in gaps in services (Wolch, 1996), and meet growing demands for services and support (Keyes et al., 1996).

The community networks expanded their services to the Mexican community already within their service catchment as well as expanded or improved their current programs to the community. This was accomplished by joining catchments of the individual organizations within each network. In the East Harlem Network, both Little Sisters of the Assumption Family Health Service (LSA) and Union Settlement joined together to make referrals across networks to LSA, Union Settlement, and Boys' Club of New York

programs. As evidenced by the attendance at network-wide events, this increased the amount of potential contact that each organization was able to have with the Mexican community in East Harlem. Additionally, through the case management process instituted by Union Settlement, LSA programs were able to operate more efficiently and provide more targeted services to families around health and education. Issues outside of the domain of LSA could be handled by Union Settlement either through direct service or referrals to outside organizations. In the Port Richmond network, the network itself developed an entirely new program offering for the Mexican community in Port Richmond. In the Bushwick network, Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow (OBT) expanded their service reach in the Bushwick Mexican community by working with Churches United for Fair Housing (CUFFH) and the Academy of Urban Planning (AUP), both of which already had strong connections with the Mexican community. In Mott Haven, by working with MASA, PCHP was able to expand their services to families in the Mott Haven community by training and supporting MASA members to conduct PCHP home visits. The Jackson Heights Network brought new services to students and parents through its relationship with Make the Road and CUNY. As noted by one Jackson Heights Network staff member, relationships with community-based organizations were critical to providing a range of services:

> Make the Road was broader... they worked with the parents and they worked with students and the organization, but their work was also just broader Elmhurst, Jackson Heights neighborhood. They're really the ones who got our numbers in terms of meeting the number of the population requirement because whether through ESL or Workforce Development or immigration support, DACA and DAPA support.

As will be discussed in the next section, within-network partnerships also facilitated increased engagement.

In order to both build participant capacity and attend to immediate needs, networks also sought to expand their reach by partnering with other local agencies such as churches, health service providers, and other local institutions not formally part of their network, creating a larger and more informal network of services. The Port Richmond network dubbed their informal network the HUB. As noted above, the HUB was extensive and included partners that could support the network goals through ESL classes for the mothers of the Los Promotores children as well as recreational opportunities for children and their families.

Networks developed these informal partnerships by matching participant needs with appropriate services and in filling gaps in the formal network's capacity. In many cases, this required program staff to carefully assess the needs of their participants and to utilize a strong knowledge of available local resources, even when those resources could not be provided directly by their network. As a home visiting staff person (from the East Harlem Network) discussing how they assessed additional needs shared:

> We ask things. 'Do you have any concerns?' We ask about their pregnancy, their partners, where they are from, their education. And more or less with all those questions we can kind of assess what their needs are. We also ask them, what are your needs? What do you think this program could help you with?

After getting to know participant needs, networks involved in immediate need provisions referred participants to services including: mental health, at-risk programs, immigration lawyers, and accountants. These referrals were met with positive responses from participants and fostered continued participant involvement in program and trust of program staff. A Bushwick Network parent participant shared her

positive experience learning about and being referred to additional services:

> *The program coordinator is very helpful. She helped me find a lot of information. I want to create my own business. She connected me with people. She also referred me to several workshops to better understand how to create my own business. Through her, I found a person that is helping me create my business. Through her, I have the opportunity to meet a lot of people that have been helpful in reaching my goals. That has also incremented my work.*

Other expansions in service included partnerships to aid in the direct delivery of program activities. In partnering with child development experts at New York University, the East Harlem Network created a more strategic curriculum to maximize participant experience. According to East Harlem staff, NYU helped them set curriculum priorities such as instilling in parents an understanding of methods of secure attachment and separation, breastfeeding, and child language and literacy development.

The network structure persisted throughout the first three years of the initiative, but it was not without challenges. Depending on the different needs of the community and the organizational structure of the network, partnerships within the various networks either strengthened or weakened. For example, the role of the Boys' Club of New York appeared to diminish within the East Harlem Network. DBAF, through their close working relationship with the networks, did allow for changes in network structures as the need presented itself. This may indicate that future networks may require a certain level of flexibility in creating and maintaining their own network.

Recruitment and Access

Expanded reach of services also went hand-in-glove with recruitment and access. In expanding their reach of services, the networks either developed particular outreach positions or relied on local partners that already had positive working relationships with the Mexican community in their catchment, or a combination of the two. For example, in the Bushwick proposal, OBT noted that despite their longstanding relationship with the Bushwick community, they had not been able to effectively engage the Mexican community. Moreover, in discussing the state of work in Bushwick, the framers of the Bushwick Network note:

> *Organizations in Bushwick do not have a long history of collaboration. Given that the organizations are limited in their capacity to reach any population, they depend highly on other organizations for referrals as a recruitment tool. A lack of collaborative networks diminishes the frequency of referrals and greatly impacts community access to programs.*

The creation of the Bushwick Network allowed them to dedicate a staff member to conduct outreach and recruitment. Additionally, the network partnered formally with Churches United for Fair Housing and informally with St. Joseph's Church, both of which had strong ties with the Mexican community. Similarly, prior to the formation of the network, parents in the Port Richmond Network received some support from El Centro, one of their network partners, and their children attended P.S. 20, an informal partner. By joining with these two groups, Wagner College and Project Hospitality brought new educational programs to community members and recruited parents into the Promotores program. As such, the expanded reach of services undergirded recruitment efforts and helped programs meet the second goal of the initiative:

increasing student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities.

Although networks did develop outreach strategies, it is apparent that the direct connection with the Mexican community was a vital part of participant recruitment and helped expand access to services. Participants became aware of the programs through word-of-mouth from neighbors and friends and through engagement with other community organizations and institutions such as schools.

Networks held conversations about the AAMC program to make sure the program was well-known throughout each partner organization. Networks also developed logos and twitter hashtags to promote their programs. Partners canvassed and traveled to become visible in the community, developed flyers, connected with local community members (e.g., church and school leaders), and worked on building word-of-mouth campaigns about their programs. With regard to these word-of-mouth campaigns, the Bushwick Network noted that with regard to the OBT program, "many current or previous Mexican participants were the referral source for new Mexican participants." Similarly, program staff in the Port Richmond and Mott Haven Networks noted the parents' positive experiences in the programs led them to tell other community members about the network. As a result of their services, several of the programs (Port Richmond, Mott Haven, East Harlem) had waitlists; the demand for their services exceeded capacity.

A notable finding is the role of local churches in disseminating information about AAMC programs and in helping prospective participants secure access to programming. As a community member noted:

> *We came to the church and they talked to us. They told me that they wanted to work with youth and they also told us they have meetings for the parents. They told us that those meetings would help us to plan our finances and get information about college applications for our children. They said it would be a bit of everything.*

Despite strong and effective recruitment strategies, two important lessons can be derived from the network experiences: (1) there are unique challenges to recruiting and engaging with disengaged older youth that may require changes in local, state, and federal policy; and (2) the recruitment process is time-consuming and high levels of effort are required to turn recruitment into engagement.

Contact with community members is not enough; community members need to feel welcomed and safe in networks when utilizing and engaging with network programs. Thus, embedded in networks' recruitment practices were efforts to build trust with community members.

Staffing and Building Trust

The joining of programs under the single network umbrella brought network participants in contact with program staff in a trusted program space. While not explicitly stated in the program models, staffing and trust building proved to be important factors in the networks' theory of change. Although recruitment efforts (i.e., working with organizations known within the community) built trust for the networks among organizations, a more personal level of trust was built by the staff relationship with participants. Research suggests that immigrant parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more comfortable enrolling in programs when the program services are perceived as directly benefiting children, and when enrollment is facilitated within the context of a trusting relationship (Capps & Fortuny 2006; Chaudry & Fortuny 2010;

Yoshikawa, 2011). As such, the building of trust is key milestone in the development of these networks.

> Without trust, the networks would not be able to successfully engage with the
> community and effectively offer any services. I think that gaining the trust of the church
> was probably our biggest success, number one…I think that that gives a legitimacy to the
> project that we wouldn't have been able to just do on our own because building trust
> takes a lot of time.

Even early in the initiative, the level of trust built between network actors and participants appeared to be a potentially significant initial barrier to providing programming and services. As one program staff member from the Bushwick Network explained, the intake process – just getting information about participants – can be a difficult process:

> Also a lot of parents who are undocumented they don't necessarily trust a lot of
> organizations very easily. They don't give their info, and they're not as willing to go
> somewhere where we might recommend.

Moreover, building trust was a time-consuming portion of the theory of change. In some cases, the effort needed to build trust with participants exceeded what organizations had anticipated. In looking back on their program, one network leader shared:

> I think that had we had the flexibility to do it all again in terms of theory of change
> framing, I think that the first year it was so important to build up that trust within the
> community and I think it was hard for us to balance the numbers with building that
> trust…Because a lot of what [our outreach coordinator] had to do was a lot of other
> services that didn't really count towards the grant that were really important in building
> that trust so that we could take the next step in trying to fill all the boxes we needed to
> check for the grant.

This points to tension between initial engagement and providing services, with preliminary engagement efforts not necessarily leading to meaningful provision of services. In many cases, trust in programming was only developed over time and with participants continuing to engage in program services.

Therefore, just as they were able to expand their service reach, the networks capitalized on existing trusting relationships and developed new trusting relationships to gain and maintain contact with their constituent communities. Trust is an important element of engagement discussed by many of the program staff. In comparing her organization to other community-based organizations and service providers (outside of her network), a staff member shared:

> [We are] very well known in our community and to me their workers make the
> difference. The workers make the difference; they are not like in other agencies that they
> are cold. Our workers are very effective and empathic. We welcome [parents] and make
> them feel [like they are] in a trust environment…We are also available all the time for
> them and they feel we are supporting them.

In most networks, organizations built trust with the communities they served by partnering with organizations and individuals who were already trusted partners in that community. For the Bushwick Network, this meant an informal partnering with a local church, St. Joseph's. In the Mott Haven Network, PCHP's services were widely sought after, due mainly to the trusting relationship MASA has with its community. For the East Harlem Network, two trusted organizations – LSA and Union Settlement – were able to work together and give each other added credibility.

Staffing also helped build trusting relationships within networks. As a means to build trust, other organizations made use of program volunteers and other individuals who engaged with participants on an empathic level. Volunteers can prove vital in the support of community-based programs as community brokers and collaborative problem solvers (Boris & Steuerle, 2006). As exemplified in the Jackson Heights Network and their CUNY peer-mentors and the Staten Island Network Los Promotores, these individuals are more likely to be able to empathize with the needs for service and have a better understanding of the issues facing the community (London, 2010). As in the case with the CUNY peer-mentors, the CUNY mentors drew from their own experiences in working with the youth.

> So [the mentors] who are of similar background of the Mexicans in the school come in. I mean, some of them are from a range of language background, Latino, some are – were or are – undocumented, some are document eligible, in college…They are doing workshops with the students and mentoring them one-on-one on how to get to college, issues about completing high school and addressing the counselors at the school.

Promotores-based programs, such as the one developed by the Port Richmond, are also an effective means of reaching and engaging with communities, disseminating information, delivering interventions, and empowering community members (Haberstroh, Gee, & Arredondo, 2008; Hernandez & Organista, 2013; Organista, 2013; Kieffer et al., 2013; Pérez and Martinez 2008; Rotheram-Borus et al. 2012). Ayón (2013) asserts that even professional case managers such as social workers could benefit Promotores programs. Beyond formal Promotores programs, Yoshikawa, Weiland, Ulvestad, Perreira, and Crosnoe (2014), note that training trusted community members to disseminate information about programs draws on the strength of immigrant community social networks, and can help overcome language and cultural barriers.

Across the networks, program participants noted that the program staff in their respective networks were approachable, available, and had attitudes that sought to motivate. These characteristics helped foster a safe and positive environment for families. Program staff and participants also viewed the length of their collaboration together as favorable in having positive relationships. Program participants like this youth participant from Bushwick noted that getting to know both staff and participants helped foster this safe space. They explain:

> When they [the program staff] came, it was a safe space. Nobody was judged for saying this or doing that. We all were able to talk to each other, because we all knew each other for some time, and our relationships grew. _____ and _____ weren't teachers that were like, 'Oh, do this, do that.' Demanding. They let us do us. How we roll is how they want us to connect with them. She would tell us stories about her while we expressed ourselves more, to connect with them.

In contrast, some programs did not retain the same staff and volunteers for long periods. In those cases

participants noted that programs needed improvement in consistency of teaching strategy, consistency in staff and volunteer level of qualification, and consistency in program scheduling. Nevertheless, in these cases, participants found overall value in their involvement in the program. In this respect caring and compassionate staffing won out, as parent in the Port Richmond Network noted:

> *Another positive aspect is the people that come to help the children, the volunteers from the Wagner School, they see my children as their students, but I think they treat them as their own children. When they do something good they reward the children. Also, last Christmas we shared some time, parents, children and people from Wagner. They gave the children a Christmas gift. The children were happy. They felt good about the meeting.*

Many participants also characterized their experience seeking out and interacting with staff. Parents held a positive view of staff's approachability when addressing issues, such as children coming home without their homework complete. In these cases, parents viewed as easily approachable, responsive, and effective in rectifying problems as they came up. Additionally, that staff responsiveness was high even when their schedules were overwhelmed was seen as a positive attribute by participants. For example, this youth participant from the Bushwick Network described the responsiveness of his program's staff:

> *People are always available. If they are busy, they will tell us to come back on another day. Then they give you more time and attention… so they are available and they help you with your problems in a personalized way.*

Ultimately, staffing proved to be a vital component of building trusting relationships. In fact, when one program director shared that after participants completed interviews and surveys for this report, they would reassure the program director that they only said good things about the program out of fear that any negative feedback might reflect poorly on the director and get her in trouble.

Participant Engagement

As a result of the expanded services and expanded trusting relationships developed in community-based neighborhood networks, community members are provided access to the network programming – i.e., network resources and information – they might otherwise not be aware of or have ordinarily accessed. While the continuation of these safe spaces within each of the community-based neighborhood network space is an ongoing and negotiated process (with particular challenges discussed below), their development in such a short period of time was vital to the initial success of each of the community-based neighborhood networks. A program staff member from the Bushwick Network explained:

> *Before, [the parents] were concerned. Where are their kids going when they get out? But now, they feel safe, knowing that they're coming here, that they're here, instead of being in the street…Most of the kids are from the church, from the community, so they meet new friends, and parents like to know the kids are making friends inside of the church.*

Broadly, this safe space enabled the community-based neighborhood networks to effectively provide programming. Often, networks created the space around a single need expressed by the community, and

then provided additional services once the community members were fully engaged. In discussing their out-of-school time program, program staff from the Mott Haven Network explained:

> We are going to do homework help for a long time. That's what brings the community. That's what engages. That's what people want. But while we're there, we're trying to build other supports and provide a lot more training to our volunteers around how to help better support.

By addressing immediate identified needs in the community, new networks and partners created an entry point for accessing broader services (Yoshikawa et al., 2014). Research suggests that this safe space may have an inherent benefit as well. For example, Izzo, Weiss, Shanahan, and Rodriguez-Brown (2000) found that for Mexican immigrant families, those parents who feel greater social support also feel more efficacious as parents.

While trust was a crucial component of engagement, networks employed additional strategies to keep participants coming back for program offerings.

In some programs, participant commitment was difficult to maintain after initial enthusiasm and involvement. As a result, many programs found ways to promote and drive better participant attendance and engagement. Staff reported that asking participants to notify them if they are going to be absent was one effective way to promote better attendance. A similar policy of not allowing participants entrance after being 15 minutes late also proved effective in lessening the number of tardy participants. Additionally, programs found ways to incentivize participants to stay active. As a staff member for the East Harlem Network noted:

> With the attendance what I've been doing with parents is that those parents that have been consistent throughout the month, they'll be parent of the month. The parent of the month is that one who has, I don't know if you know but the families that we serve, they also have home visitors. Now the parent of the month, if they are consistent three months consecutive, they get a special reward....It could be like a metro card, it could be something for mom.

Similarly, a parent form the Port Richmond Network explained how the networks gave them food (and other things) when they came to meetings.

> We come to the meetings and they tell us how our sons are doing. It's really nice because they provide lunch, and sometimes they gave us things, for the winter, for instance, they give us clothes.

In addition, where involvement was lacking with particular participants, staff responded by incentivizing that group in particular. The incentives rewarded participation and also acknowledged the challenges families members faced in order to participate in events. As a staff member from one of the networks noted:

> We actually had about a month ago a breakfast for daddies….We have grandmas come but we try to praise them, because we know it's not hard. I mean, we know it's hard. We

know it's hard that they have to either wake up and the kids having to go five flights with the stroller, having to go down, take the kids to school, having to come here. We know it's a challenge.

Food was a large incentive for programs, particularly those that met in the late afternoon and early evening. Other programs offered childcare (during parent meetings), and recreational activities to incentivize participation and build engagement.

Quality Programming: Capacity Building and Extra-Educational Supports

In line with program goals for the communities they served, the neighborhood networks approached programming in two primary ways: (1) building sustainable capacity by enhancing participant knowledge and skills in a variety of areas to promote academic success of youth and young adults in the program; and (2) attending to the immediate needs of participants by responding to immediate or day-to-day issues, both at the individual child level as well as the family/parent level. The interplay of both produced positive outcomes for participants. In discussing the general structure of quality programs, we outline the basic framework of the programs and their implementation: a two-generation approach to programming, or what Chase-Lansdale and Brooks-Gunn (2014) call "Two-Generation Human Capital Programs."

Based on the initial program structures and ongoing conversations with network leaders, we found that four of the five networks (East Harlem, Bushwick, Mott Haven, Jackson Heights) worked to balance both approaches, whereas the Port Richmond Network focused primarily on capacity building (through the creation of the Promotores community, many of the participants' immediate needs were met). For all the networks, approaches fell in line with program goals and the identified needs of the community served. However, program goals were not the only deciding factor for approaches; the program's capacity itself, whether in staffing, community involvement, or other factors, contributed to the feasibility of different approaches.

Each of the five networks employed capacity-building approaches. These approaches were largely preemptive in nature and focused on building academic, career, and parenting capacity in participants. We use the phrase "capacity building" to underscore the idea that network approaches went beyond simple academic instruction by supporting the children's overall learning environment, thus further supporting and facilitating learning gains. The employment of this approach was centered on program goals such as child academic success (particularly in language and literacy), self-advocacy, improvement of parent-child and family-school relationships, and career and college readiness. Networks utilized both on-site and home-visitation programs geared toward literacy, a local parent leadership program, adult education programs, evening education programs, and parenting programs to realize these goals

The networks that attended to the immediate needs of participants aimed to provide social service and wraparound supports in their communities. For example, the Mott Haven network assessed participant needs to determine educational, employment, health, housing, and legal needs and provided programming accordingly. Similarly, the East Harlem Network employed a relatively hands-on case management approach, taking community members to appointments and conducting follow-up and consultation. Networks also held lectures and talks about housing, immigration, employment, and acquiring a NYC ID and provided this type of information through flyers or as part of support groups. As the networks matured,

these supports grew and became better integrated into the fabric of these networks.

This combination of capacity building and responsiveness to issues beyond education is emblematic of a two-generation approach. Two-generation approaches are a key approach to supporting the early learning of young children, bringing together direct programs for youth and additional programming for parents to support the development and home lives of their children (Brooks-Gunn, Berlin, & Fuligni, 2000; St. Pierre, Layzer, & Barnes, 1995; Yoshikawa, 1994). For older youth, the two-generation approach is best exemplified in the community school movement, which is predicated on the idea that schools and their community partners can collaboratively address the impacts of poverty and indirectly impact student achievement.

One network leader discussed the amount of need among their community members and the efforts needed to address those needs:

> One family, right now, one family that we have right now has 7 open items. Those are 7 different categories of things from housing to legal to food that they have opened with us. What does it really take? It's not just about education. I mean, that's just the ultimate goal, but if all those other things, and we have three of their kids in our program all suffering the same thing under that same household with no hot water. They all work crazy hours. Of course it's going to affect their education, right? The importance of they don't have documents and the younger ones, getting them healthcare. One of the kids had to wait for knee surgery until they had to figure out the right procedure for a young kid. They didn't know that they couldn't access child health plus and all these other things, so the kid had been waiting on his knee and so, anyhow. The whole idea of how much effort it does take and the resources it does take to move the needle.

In the network context, programs provided high-quality programs to both parents and youth to help support and sustain positive academic outcomes.

Underlying this approach by the neighborhood networks is the recognition that vulnerable populations such as immigrants face a complex set of obstacles – particularly poverty - that may hinder learning and academic achievement (Coppel, Dumont, and Visco, 2001; Hernandez, Takanishi, & Marotz, 2009; Raphael & Smolensky, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al.,2010). Each network acknowledged these challenges, noting high rates of poverty in the catchment (30% or higher). Rothstein (2013) notes that the experiences associated with being low-income create real obstacles to learning and academic achievement. Outside-of-school factors related to poverty can hinder student outcomes (Rothstein, 2004; Phillips, Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Crane, 1998). Additionally, people in poverty face the stresses of unstable housing and employment conditions which may contribute to student transiency (Bruno & Isken, 1996; Gasper et al., 2012; Kerbow, 1996; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1994). For immigrant families, these risks may be exacerbated by language barriers, documentation status, and discrimination (Hernandez & Cervantes, 2011). By focusing not just on the youth, but also on the family, the networks take into account and seek to address the larger community and societal barriers that hinder the academic opportunities and limit the academic growth of immigrant youth and young adults.

The programming not only contributed to positive outcomes for community members (as will be discussed in more detail later in the report), but also contributed to overall engagement. In many of the networks,

the simple availability of quality programs available to community members spurred engagement - an "if you build it, they will come" approach. In speaking about family engagement, a network leader opined:

> I think folks also should understand when you're working with our community [Mexican community], you're talking about folks who typically are just a little bit more resourceful in general. They're folks who decided to uproot from what was familiar to them, walk across the desert if that's the case, and you know take a lot of chances. Typically, they're more resilient, robust, even healthier. Some of the health outcomes show that the folks who are coming are. That really I think are good indicates for families who are going to take advantage of services, who are going to participate if given the opportunity.

The act of reaching out to community members and allowing them to engage with programs played towards community strengths. This proved true not just for parents, but also for older youth. As a program staff member working with high school aged students in the Jackson Heights network noted:

> The students want to learn, right? They want to be doing this work. They want to be with their peers, and they want to come to school. And sometimes, they don't leave or don't want to leave, right? It's hard to get them out of the school.

Networks capitalized on this type of engagement. While it is difficult to determine how many participants would have sought out some sort of services regardless of the establishment of the networks, participants shared that the establishment of the networks did bring some new services into the community and ultimately led to their participation in the network. As a Mott Haven Network participant noted:

> There was not a program like that [PHCP] in the neighbor. You know, they go to visit you in your house. I have three more children and it's very difficult to go out, and when it's cold is even harder. I also have to cook and have everything ready for dinner time. I think is wonderful that the teacher can come to work with us.

Another Mott Haven Network participant, in discussing her decision to utilize the network's out-of-school time program, shared:

> The last year my son got the letter and he was going to be held back. I think it was my fault. I was studying for the citizenship test, and I didn't have enough time to help my son. I was afraid. I have five children and he was the first one that was held back.

It is important to note that the existence of programs in a community, while necessary, was not sufficient to providing access. Critical to the reach and access of the programs was their alignment of the programming to meet the needs of community members and their ability to overcome barriers. Each network, in their proposal development, through surveys, interviews and contextual knowledge made a concerted effort to offer programs that met the needs of their local community. As a result, their programs sought to overcome barriers to access. As the first parent quoted above notes, home visitor programs helped connect with parents for whom the normal constraints of homelife might preclude them from participating in educational programs with their children. The second parent's experience highlights the added vulnerability of immigrant families, who are not just navigating daily routines, but also have additional pressures and barriers that may hinder their availability to effectively support their children's

education.

Education and literacy proved to be significant barriers across all of the networks. Across programs, many adult participants had not completed a high school degree and had low levels of literacy their first language. Chiswick and Miller (2001) found this is critical because a limited command of English in the United States affects the earnings of populations that speak a different language. Language proficiency is also a predictor of the type of jobs or occupations that participants can access.

Mexican parents experienced frustration for not being able to communicate in English. As a result, they felt constrained when applying to jobs, helping children with their homework, or advocating for their children at school. As a parent in the Bushwick' program explained, "I have been here for ten years, I still cannot speak English, I cannot go to clean a house if the owners speak English, I don't understand what do they want me to do. And at my children's school, the teachers do not speak Spanish, it's very hard to understand them." To this end, offering literacy programs in English and Spanish, as well as programming to help parents navigate their children's education proved vital. Parents from other networks also expressed their concerns and difficulties to learn and communicate in English. In reflecting on her time before her introduction to the Port Richmond Network, a parent explains:

> *We really needed a program to help us with our English. We didn't have a person to help our children with their homework and their reading. I had another son, who is older, then he can explain things to the little one. But I know other mothers who don't have anyone, they need help. You know, how are we going to help our children with the homework if it's in English? We barely finish elementary school and we don't know English that well. The level of English we have is very basic. It doesn't work to help our children with their homework.*

In response to this need, the network expanded its ESL program offerings through the HUB each year. For some networks, English classes and workshops were provided directly by partners in the network while for other networks, these classes and workshops were provided by outside organizations. However, while ESL programs are helpful, some participants noted that they needed more support in this area, particularly in regard to communicating with their child's school. As one parent from the Jackson Heights Network shared:

> *In my case, I am learning English, to read in English. Sometimes the school sends us a sheet with the homework and we don't even know what it is; we don't understand anything. We can translate it, but we don't understand.*

Some networks provided parents with workshops on navigating the US and New York City educational system, while other programs like the Jackson Heights Network used parent coordinators (through the Internationals Network schools) to help parents. As will be discussed later, however, the outcomes of these supports were limited. Additionally, even within the programs, some parents still struggled due to a low level of basic education, as another Port Richmond Network participant shared:

> *Monday and Tuesday we, the parents, take English classes. But I don't know what happens with me, I am a slow learner...I swear; I don't know what happens with me. I think that learning English is so hard. And I only finished 6th grade, I am not good for studying.*

Research suggests that an adult's level of literacy in their first language is an important factor in their learning a second language (Koda, 2007). Thus, developing first language literacy can be an effective strategy to support second language development. To support adult literacy in Spanish, networks have sought partnerships with the Mexican consulate to establish Plazas Comunitarias, which provide a wide range of services including literacy courses in Spanish.

The East Harlem Network conducted multi-week basic Spanish literacy workshops in response to the low literacy levels of parents in the network. This network is very responsive to the participants' language background. Having staff members that speak indigenous languages such as Quechua allowed parents to communicate their needs and to advance in their learning of Spanish and later English. A teacher in this network said:
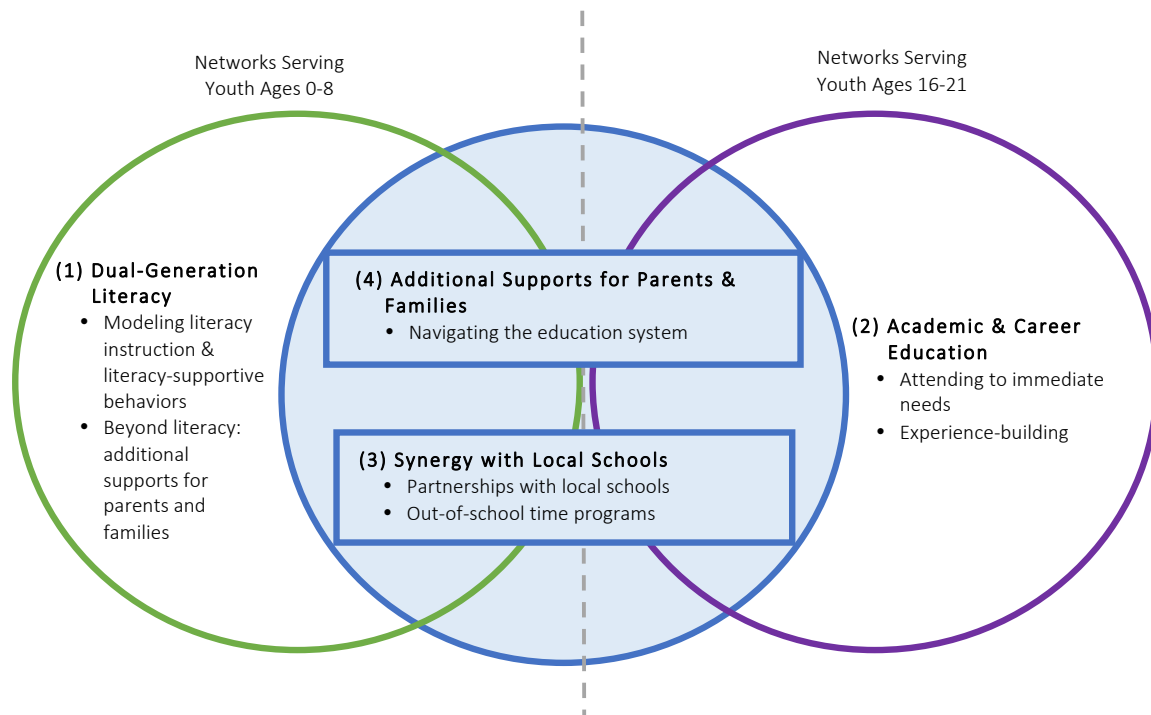
> *I think some of the challenges have been the communication barriers? A lot of them don't speak Spanish, they speak Mixteco. And even though I've been working here long enough, I've learned to communicate with them through signs or you know, just easier language. That has definitely been a barrier, just trying to actually communicate what I'm trying to say and understand what they're trying to say. We do have other professionals that work with them and talk Mixteco, then, sometimes I ask them for help.*

The need to expand adult learning programs is discussed in greater length in the Program Limitations and Conclusions and Lessons Learned sections of this report.

Program Implementation: Approaches and Strategies

In order to carry out the AAMC initiative goals and provide service tailored to young children, older youth, and families, networks implemented four main program approaches: (1) a dual-generation literacy approach serving youth ages 0-6 and their guardians, (2) an academic and career education approach serving youth ages 16-21, (3) a synergistic approach between community-based programs and educational partners; and (4) an additional supports approach servicing parents and families of children of any age. In those networks serving young children, the dual-generation approach to literacy comprised of literacy activities for parents and children and additional supports for parents. Networks serving older youth used a variety of in-school and out-of-school programs geared at preparing youth for college and career including academic programs, college visits, and internships. Each of the networks engaged with educational partners either through formal or informal partnerships with local schools or educational entities. They also all provided additional supports for parents and families (as part of a two-generation/community school) strategy. This includes social supports through workshops and case management and educational and employment supports. Figure 4 below depicts these primary implementation approaches with the left side of the diagram representing those networks serving young children and the right side representing those networks serving older youth (ages 16-21).

Figure 4. The four program implementation approaches and their strategies

Networks Serving
Youth Ages 0-8

Networks Serving
Youth Ages 16-21

(1) Dual-Generation Literacy
- Modeling literacy instruction & literacy-supportive behaviors
- Beyond literacy: additional supports for parents and families

(4) Additional Supports for Parents & Families
- Navigating the education system

(2) Academic & Career Education
- Attending to immediate needs
- Experience-building

(3) Synergy with Local Schools
- Partnerships with local schools
- Out-of-school time programs

The four implemented approaches informed the specific strategies utilized by the programs. We apply the term "strategies" here to mean program activities that were largely embedded within the program structure and guided by its primary approach. We organize this section of our report by the three main approaches discussed above, and detail each of the approaches the specific strategies that were employed. The nature of these strategies and the relationships between program components proved more complex than can be represented in a single report. For example, approaches and strategies can sometimes overlap (as is the nature of networked programs).

Although there were some common strategies between the networks, strategies also varied somewhat based on the needs of the group they sought to serve. That is, strategies used to work with young learners and their families varied significantly from the strategies used to support older youth. Likewise, networks tailored their strategies to better connect with the community, engage participants, and to address needs that emerged such as literacy among parents.

Implementation Variation by Age

Program implementation varied with respect to ages of participants. This was based both on the different foci of the initiative as well as the different needs of each group. The initiative challenged networks to provide educational programming for youth in both groups, but also sought to improve employment outcomes.

Each network serving young children addressed literacy, with the understanding that early literacy programs pave the way for future educational success. To this end, networks' partners included strong

literacy providers and leveraged programs that supported literacy - PCHP, Wagner College, LSA - and could also foster support for early literacy at home.

Programs serving older youth focused more on college and career programming, relying on schools to provide core instructional programs. The inclusion of schools as formal partners in those networks serving older youth helped provide the educational foundations of the programs and allowed partners to provide add-on programs focused on helping youth understand and formally prepare for college and career pathways - something that is not part of the regular school programs.

Moreover, young children, by necessity, are more connected with parents and home, meaning that programs serving them had to connect both with parents and children in order to maximize effectiveness. Networks serving early childhood and elementary level children and their parents employed a variety of strategies in achieving goals of building participant capacity in language, literacy, and parent behaviors that contribute to the development of these. The key implementation strategy used in these programs was engaging with youth and parents together. Networks serving older youth provided some programs that brought parents and youth together (like in the GROW program in the Bushwick Network), but for the most part, programs focused on youth were separate from programs focused on parents. Although the parents of youth were encouraged to participate in the network, their participation was not necessary for youth participation.

Some clear commonalities across networks emerged, namely out-of-school time programs for youth that included recreational programs and providing instruction to parents, but even these varied between age groups. In programs serving young children, the out-of-school programs provided general educational and literacy support for youth (such as homework help) - while programs serving older youth maintained a tight focus on college and career preparation.

Dual-Generation Approach to Literacy and Support for Families with Young Children[19]

Two-generation approaches have been a key method to support the early learning of young children, bringing together direct programs for youth and additional programming for parents to support the development and home lives of their children (Brooks-Gunn, Berlin, & Fuligni, 2000; St. Pierre, Layzer, & Barnes, 1995; Yoshikawa, 1994). The networks utilized a specific version of this strategy that worked with parents and children in the same space through a combination of joint and concurrent programs.

As part of the dual-generation approach for networks working with young children, networks spent considerable amount of focus on supporting parents in support of their children through home visits. Home visitation programs have long been recognized as a method to access low-income and marginalized populations such as immigrant populations (Grindal et al., 2016; Nievar, Van Egeren, & Pollard, 2010; Sweet & Appelbaum, 2004). Both the East Harlem and the Mott Haven Networks provided direct support to

---

[19] The phrase "dual-generation" is meant to distinguish this approach to literacy from more general two-generation approaches of helping youth and families also discussed in this report. The former denotes parents and children working together in the same space, while the latter refers to the more general practices of both supporting children and families at the same time. Some of the programs supporting older youth also directly engaged parents, but these programs did not emphasize parents and youth working in the same space.

families with young children through in-home visits and helping promote parenting skills and home-based early literacy skills.

Some networks provided on-site parent-child programs that, like home visits, had educators model literacy and language behaviors, providing guidance and a broader set of supports for children and parents. East Harlem also had literacy programs on-site. Port Richmond, seeking to both create a community of empowered parents and teach parenting skills, used a site-based program that grouped and engaged parents, youth, and teachers and provided workshops for parents.

Within the home visits and on-site programs, modeling literacy instruction for parents while teaching literacy skills to the child was a major strategy employed by the networks working with the dual-generation approach. Other strategies beyond literacy were employed during home visits and on-site programming that were geared toward providing additional needs-based support to families.

Modeling literacy instruction and literacy-supportive behavior

As part of the dual-generation approach, these networks fostered "parents as teachers," using modeling as a key mode of early literacy and school-aged literacy instruction. Research has shown that this type of modeling and practice of behavior can be effective in providing parents the behavioral tools to support their children (Bandura, Blanchard, & Ritter, 1969; Blok, Fukkink, Gebhardt, & Leseman, 2005; Kaminski et al., 2008; O'Toole, 1979; Brown et al., 2004). In engaging with both parents and young children, program staff modeled literacy strategies with the expectation that parents can then use the same techniques at home with their children. As explained by a program staff member in East Harlem:

> *[Parents are] sitting here while we're doing the program. They sit next to you and they watch what you're doing with the kids. So just in like a modeling fashion, like they can see that when – my older child, I have him reading, and if I don't think that he's understanding a sentence I'll stop him there and I'll back track, and I'll ask him questions, and I'll make sure that he understands it. Just so that they see that that's what I'm doing, that I'm stopping and I'm asking questions, I'm engaging in a dialogue, and we encourage them to do that at home. We do a lot things where – so every week when I meet with a child, if I have like a lesson plan, I know I'm gonna focus on comprehension – like, two weeks ago I focused on comprehension. I made up a note card for the parent to take home that on the front side it had comprehension questions in English. Like, the six questions I really wanted them to focus on with this child that I thought he would benefit from. And then on the other side I put the comprehension questions in Spanish. Regardless of what story they're reading, if they want to there was questions for before, there's questions for right during, there's questions for after….So they're seeing it modeled, and then they're also taking home some kind of like takeaway, we call it a pocket, a pocket idea. So kind of takeaway that they can then practice at home, so I think that benefits them.*

East Harlem's early literacy programs implemented by Little Sisters of the Assumption, Mott Haven's home visiting program, and Port Richmond's Promotores program served to explain and model positive literacy and language development practices combined with providing guidance for parents to adopt these

strategies in the long term through the dual-generation learning approach to literacy. As part of modeling, parents observed how the teacher or home visitor practiced language and literacy with the child. The teacher then gave some direct instruction to the parent. For example, in the Promotores program, teachers, students, and parents sat together for some of the time practicing a particular skill. At moments, teachers would stop and explain a concept or strategy to a parent and how the parent might use the strategy to help their child with homework. Then, the teacher would continue to work with the child.

As a result, the parents we interviewed indicated new learning and increased capacity to help facilitate their children's language and literacy development (outcomes are discussed in more depth in the Program Outcomes section later in this report). One Port Richmond Network parent explained how the student teachers in the Promotores program taught her daughter new reading skills and taught her how to support her daughter's learning:

> ...The way they teach them. For instance, they separate the words into syllables, so they can pronounce the words better, and my children get better at reading. I saw that with my daughter because she struggles with English readings, but this strategy helps her, especially when the worlds are long, they separate it into two or three parts...During the sessions they [teachers] also teach us. They tell us that we should learn how to help them read. We should help them to concentrate on the reading topic...

It is important to note that the dual-generation approach was not only focused on literacy support for children; these literacy programs became an opportunity to engage with parents needing literacy support by teaching them strategies that they could continue to practice on their own time.

> A lot of our parents did not know how to read. However, we explain them that they can describe the drawings...Sometimes we model this type of strategies, we plot a story about a book drawings to show them that is not necessary to know how to read. They can also see that even when the book is in English they can make a story of it. We also teach them how to do it. For instance, encouraging them to do the animal noises, with facial expressions… in that way they are developing language, parallel to another benefits that reading bring with. They build an attachment with their children through the reading too. We explained to them that their children do understand; we also illustrated to them through videos and examples how it works.... Reading strategies, most of the times when the mothers start the program they did not talk that much, they are shy, they did not talk with their children…initially when we made a reading circle and they start reading or describing the books, their participation was low. However, we motivate them, we told them they could express and describe the book. We also told them that here we come to learn… then, little by little, they acquire it as a routine. Then, when it was reading time, all the children took a book and the mothers naturally described or read the books… they also used facial expressions…This is one of the strategies that reflect a lot changes in comparison from the beginning and the end of the course. The mothers improved a lot.

As part of the language and literacy development modeling strategy and in response the low income of many families served, Port Richmond and Mott Haven networks provided learning materials to the families such as books and educational toys for parents to keep and continue to use with their child. A Mott Haven parent gave this account regarding the materials brought by her home visitor:

What I like most is that they bring things for learning; they don't bring just anything. I thought they would bring just anything. But no, they bring a book. One week it's a book, and the other week it's a toy. But the toy teaches you something. It is not a doll and that's it. The item has something for the child to learn. That's what I like. And the book, I know that children must be read to very early on because when they grow up they like reading and it is not boring.

Programs under the dual-generation approach used educational toys and games to help children develop social skills they will need as they enter school. For instance, tutors at the Mott Haven network used toys to teach about ways to interact and relate with others. A mother that participated in the sessions explain how she learned to play with her children using educational toys:

I will give you an example, there is a toy; it's a house. I play with her, ringing the bell, and she should ask, who is it...we teach her that. In that way she learned what you have to do when you go to a house, for example, you have to ring the bell, say hi and be respectful with people. She learned to knock on her brother's door and respect his privacy.... Playing with that house and the toys, she also learned manners; she learned to say thanks, please, excuse me can I have __. It's good because sometimes she only takes the other children's toys without permission. It has been very helpful, it happened to me before, I will take her to a play date and she will take other children's toys and argue with them.

These skills are crucial for transitioning to school settings. According to Yosso (2005), students who enter school without normative cultural knowledge and skills are more likely to have poor academic performance. This could be explained by the expectations and cultural roles that education communities value in the United States.

Networks also worked to tap into the experiences and culture of the parents. For example, the Port Richmond network engaged parents and children in literacy events, making use of traditional Mexican festivals such as Day of the Dead. A staff member from the network shared with us a curricular strategy the program used in seeking to be culturally inclusive to families:

What we've done is we've used pictures of people we've met in Mexico, and places we went in Mexico when we visited, and we've used that as the focus of our instruction. It's familiar to the parents, it's familiar to the kids, and it definitely increases the engagement because it's something that goes into their background knowledge, into their schema, and brings it into what we're doing on a daily basis. We did a whole lot of work on vocabulary, but we did it based on pictures from Mexico. The picture became the central focus, the vocabulary learning came out of that. The teachers were really aware of the kinds of vocabulary that would be important to the children, but the moms got right in there. What started to happen was that picture would be there, and the teachers would start working in English, and then they'd say to the moms, "How do I say this in Spanish?" We wound up with bilingual lessons, because we were able to be culturally responsive. Oh goodness, how lovely.

Although not readily a literacy-related aspect of the program implementation, another important engagement point for parents, in particular for the implementation of the home visit programs, was the

flexibility in scheduling that this strategy provided. A mother from the Mott Haven Network shared, "what attracted me the most about the program is that you don't have to go out of your house with the baby. It's hard to do so, especially during the winter. It's also hard to go out given all the things we have to do at home." By providing the added benefit of flexibility[20], home visit programs responded to the needs of parents that could not easily leave from the home or had inconsistent schedules making the attendance of on-site programming difficult.

For both home visit and on-site programs using the dual-generation approach, the parents we interviewed explained that these programs helped them devote structured time to support their children's needs and taught them new ways to aid in their development. During modeling activities program staff encouraged parents to participate in the activities and to utilize the strategies on their own with their children. As will be discussed in the Program Outcomes section of the report, parents were able to effectively use these strategies, thus building their own capacity to support their children's learning and better prepare them for school.

Beyond literacy: additional supports for families

The strategies used on-site and in-home visits as part of the dual-generation approach provided more than literacy support, also functioning to strengthen the parent-child bond and foster a mutual experience of learning. They created a check-in and (if needed) a safety net for parents and children. As this East Harlem Network staff member noted, they conducted assessments of both the child and the parent:

> *So even though our job title basically indicates that we go in there, make sure the child is developing according to his age, we sit down on the floor, we play with the child, mom is involved in the play interaction because we're basically modeling play interaction so that mom can learn to play with their child. This helps the child learn and have a better connect to their parents. But also, if they're going through a crisis then we also have to tend to those needs at that time, so if they have something to tell us, if they're depressed because something is going on at home, we listen to them and help navigate and help them with whatever the issue may be. But, if everything is fine and very low risk, what we do is we go in, sit on the floor, we play with the child, we play with mom, we perform questionnaires, developmental questionnaires, depression questionnaires for mom to see how she's feeling, safety surveys to see if the home is safe for the child. We have a number of questionnaires that we do with them. We also do the PICCOLO to see how the relationship between parent and child is. So just like keeping track of the child's development and helping mom have a safer bond with their child.*

They also engaged with the parents to see if any additional supports wereneeded. This process included staff keeping open communication with the parent about their child to be responsive to parents' needs. As explained by a staff member from the East Harlem Network:

> *We model those strategies and we also have a lot of conversation about, okay so,*

---

[20] While home visits provided flexibility to parents, networks also used site-based programs. These are more cost effective and can also support community building. In singling out home visits, we are claiming that their instructional methods differ or are more effective than site-based programs.

*'What's going on with your child? What is new? What is working for you, what is not?' So
that we can help them go from there.*

Home visits such as the ones utilized in the Mott Haven and East Harlem Networks are undergirded by the home visitor and the mother building a helping and trusting relationship (Paris & Dubus, 2005; Slade, 2002). Through this relationship the home visitor can not only promote educational and developmental goals and increase parental knowledge, but can also reduce mothers' levels of depression and sense of isolation (Nievar, Van Egeren, & Pollard, 2010; Paris, 2008; Gomby, 2007; Gomby, Culross, & Behrman, 1999). Moreover, home visitors who have a shared cultural background and language with the mother can act as a "cultural broker" for immigrant mothers, providing information about local resources and providing additional emotional support to guard against the stress of migration, acculturation, and parenting (McGuigan, Katzev, & Pratt, 2003).

In site-based programs, staff spent additional time working with youth and parents separately.[21] Notably, the Promotores program included both joint parent-child activities, and separate programs for parents and children that ran concurrent to each other. As one of the Port Richmond Promotores parents noted:

*While they are helping the children, they are also giving us English lessons. Because some days,
while our children are doing the homework, we are paired with an English teacher. In that way, we
can learn more English. I love it.*

Besides modeling and practice, after school programs, and separate instruction for parent and child, programs serving young children and their families used other notable strategies, such as parent support groups on a variety of topics and "case presentations" that involved the staff in devising original and relevant solutions to problems, as discussed by an East Harlem Network staff member:

*We also have the PCD meetings, which is the Parenting and Child Development meeting,
where all the teachers and all the home visitors meet. And we talk about the program,
what is being done in the groups, any upcoming events that we might have. And I think
maybe once a month during these meetings we have something called the case
presentation, which is one home visitor will present a case which is a problem or an issue
that they're having with a family. We don't mention the name of the family. We just talk
about the problem, we can say okay, so this family has, this mommy has two kids under
five. They're from Mexico. And then she says this is the issue that we're having so that we
have a conversation between all of us, if it was like twelve or thirteen of us, we all give
each other feedback and see what worked for another worker.*

Academic and Career Education Approach for Adolescents

Programs servicing older youth primarily focused on career and college readiness. This approach yielded (1) strategies of providing important information focused on attending to immediate needs and helping

---

[21] Another strategy used by programs in promoting language, literacy, and academic success in young children was conducting after school programming centered on academics and homework help. Parents did not participate heavily in some of these programs either because of their schedules or because the program did not create a structure or had the space for parents to join, though these programs did offer concurrent parent workshops. For example, in the Mott Haven Network, while students received homework help and tutoring support, parent could attend informational sessions on DACA or talk with program staff.

students understand and navigate college and career-related matters and (2) experience-building strategies focused on capacity building. As will be discussed in this section, a wide range of adolescent program strategies were implemented as a result of the varying needs of older students. In addition to these two major strategies, a wide range of other program activities emerged as a result of student needs and engagement (e.g., allowing students time to work independently on school work, participating in non-academic and recreational activities, and attending informational sessions on topics relevant to students).

Attending to immediate needs

In implementing these programs, the networks recognized that the Mexican immigrant youth in their local communities faced numerous challenges. As a longtime educator in the Bushwick Network explained:

> *Oh, well, our immigrant population is one third of our student population. And a lot of that comes with children who don't live with a parent at home. They're living with an extended family member whom they can grow up with, or sometimes friends of family. You know, with that comes the social-emotional issues of detachment. So most people that go to high school are living with a parent, that's not true for our kids. And then, they may be undocumented, so the prospect of going to college, which we preach around here all the time, and going to have a job is also a dimmer when you don't have your papers, social security number.*
>
> *And then on top of that, financial issues, just because they're here, they may not be supported by their family back home. Or even if they're here with a family member, they're not receiving that economic support necessary to sustain, you know, sustain life in a way that's comfortable for a child to go to school. So a lot of our kids worry about money. Then, the knowledge of going to school, like going to school is like playing a game; you need to know the rules. And some of our students haven't in their home country, or even if they were born and raised in America, have not had consistent school patterns throughout their entire life, so that's another issue.*
>
> *So social-emotional issues of detachment, of coming to a new place, combined with economics, combined with just not understanding the ways of school life, all in the setting of high school that comes with its own issues of self-worth and challenged on every degree. So that's a lot more than a kid that's just going to high school and living at home with parent, and have some high school teenage issues.*

Additionally, and as is consistent with research, several program staff members noted that older youth enrolled in schools felt pressure to leave school and enter the labor force before completing high school, and that parents did not have knowledge of the U.S. educational system and how to advocate for their children in high school and college (Gándara, 2002; Lee, 2005).

Furthermore, research suggests that most working-class and poor immigrant students attend schools with limited resources and limited educational opportunities (Olsen 1997; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008; Valenzuela, 1999). It is not uncommon for immigrant youth in traditional educational settings to have limited academic opportunities that might prepare them for college (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Callahan,

2005; Callahan et al., 2009; Goldrick-Rab, Carter, & Wagner, 2007; Valdés, 2001), and limited information and guidance around applying for college and financial aid (Louie, 2007). Programs like the ones offered by the networks were primarily designed to supplement the educational programming offered to students in school. The networks offered an array of career and college programs to engage youth, keep them on track to graduate, and help them think beyond high-school. In-school support came in the form of mentoring and classes. Outside-school support came through educational programs such as tutoring and High School Equivalency (HSE) courses, career training, and workshops. The networks made considerable efforts to also engage with disconnected youth through out-of-school time and site-based programs. This entailed reaching out to local community organizations, including using the connections within their respective network partners, and (in the case of the Bushwick Network) collecting school discharge records.

It is important to note that in discussing employment opportunities, programs focused on careers rather than jobs. In this vein, except for a few specific job-training programs, college and career were oftentime mentioned together. As one partner working with high school aged youth explained:

> For eleventh and twelfth [grade students] [our goals are] college and career. How to find a good job? What do you want to be? What are your goals past high school? What does college life look like for you? And if anything is inhibiting that, how can we address that? In eleventh and twelfth grade, they completed a career builder online. So they figured out what pathways to take to become a dentist, to become based on what their interests are. It gives them talents. Because our goal as a school is not to develop them to work in a corner store, but to have a profession.

Experience-building strategies

The academic and career approach taken by the networks serving adolescents involved a strategy of experience-building whereby participants could strengthen skills associated with preparing to attend college and to enter careers. Experience-building strategies included workshops for cover letter and resume writing, mock interviews, student internships, and informational sessions. In this section, we share quotes from youth and parents that exemplify the program descriptions we heard from interviewees during our evaluation.

Through resume writing and mock interviewing, networks sought to prepare students for communicating their qualifications to potential employers. A youth from the Bushwick Network shared their experience with this program activity:

> We got certain people talking about what we need to access to certain colleges. We need a resume, and we figure out how to fill out a resume...We also have this activity were one-person plays the role of the boss and the other person is the one who wants the job, then, we switch places. It's like imitating a job's interview.

The experience-building strategy also encompassed activities that provided opportunities of access to internships and college programs, allowing students a first-hand experience of college and career. A parent from the Jackson Heights Network described one such program to us:

> *He got into a program where he will be an intern for one week - during the fall- at a University in Long Island. He will have the experience of living in the university for a week. They will cover everything, transportation—they will pick them up at LaGuardia airport and they will bring them back, housing. We only will have to pay for the food.*

In addition to experiential activities such as internships, networks implemented strategies to foster knowledge and understanding of how to navigate college and the job market. These activities included job fairs, college fairs, college counseling, career planning counseling, and college visits. A parent from the Jackson Heights Network described the career planning program in which her child participated:

> *The program is called, hacia el futuro [towards the future], the program prepares them for the College application process. They talk about youth expectations and ideas about their futures, their career aspirations, and motivations. The program sessions are on Saturdays. They go to visit museums, they introduce them to other youth, in that way they can improve their communication skills. Thus, students that are shy get better at talking and interacting with others. For instance, my daughter, she wants to study architecture. Then, the program guides her, showing her what is architecture. Then she gets to know about it, before you could ask her, what is architecture? And she will answer she didn't know, but that she likes it.*

While the programs were specifically geared to give youth exposure to college and career opportunities, informational sessions and events provided the type of programming in which parents could be involved. A parent from the Jackson Heights Network described their participation in an informational event and what they learned about the university programs offered:

> *I didn't participate in any program, but I went with my son to a College fair... Brown University. We went to get information about the programs they offer, and the requirements to access to these programs. We had the opportunity to talk with some University professors and directors...they talked about the programs they offered, the levels they offer, the type of diploma they could get with each career -two year or four-year College...my son was very interested. He wants to study aviation. Then, he was very interested in a university program which offers three concentrations for a single program. The program was a four-year program.*

Synergistic approach with local schools (and educational providers) and community-based organizations

Schools can make a difference in creating supports for undocumented youth and for other first and 1.5-generation youth; however, this requires a comprehensive approach to provide educational, social capital, legal and family supports (Gonzales, 2010). Capitalizing on this, networks created synergistic relationships between community groups and educational providers to provide strong educational programming. Throughout the initiative, network partners supported each other through sharing resources and ideas. This coordination was purposeful and supported through regular network meetings, work with YDI, as well as cross-network meetings (including initiative-wide events and site visits to fellow Networks).

During these interactions, community-based organizations brought the networks expertise around the local

community and the necessary conditions for outreach, while educational providers brought with them technical expertise. The joining of these two groups under the network structure and interactions and cooperation of these partners produced a combined effect greater than the sum of their separate effects, increasing the capacity of one or more network partners and, in several cases, leading to the creation of new and innovative programs in the community. For example, Wagner College was able to develop and implement a new educational curriculum to support youth in the Port Richmond Network, as well as promote preservice teacher development. Their work has since be published and shared widely.[22] Similarly, because of their network partnership LSA and Union Settlement are working together to develop new educational programming for young learners. In Bushwick, OBT programs were incorporated into AUP to create Anchor Up. Additionally, OBT was able to shape the GROW program. In Mott Haven, MASA staff learned how to implement PCHP's home visitation program, and bring their knowledge of educational programs to new out-of-school time programs. Thus, as a general approach, this synergy is what enabled the networks to reach their goals.

From this work, two key strategies for working with older-youth emerged: (1) Partnerships with local schools, and (2) The use of out-of-school time partners.

Table 10. Network partnerships

Network	Educational Partner	Role
Port Richmond*	Wagner College	Curriculum development and teachers
East Harlem	Union Settlement - Head Start Centers	Early-childhood education
	LSA	Literacy specialists and home visitors
Mott Haven	PCHP	Home visitors
Bushwick	AUP	High school education
	OBT	Educational programs for disconnected youth
Jackson Heights	INPS	High school education, school planning
	CUNY	Peer mentors

* Port Richmond also has an informal partnership with PS 20

Partnerships with local schools

Both the Bushwick and Jackson Heights Networks included local schools as primary partners. The Bushwick Network included the Academy of Urban Planning (AUP), a local New York City Department of Education public high school serving students in the Bushwick community. The Jackson Heights Network was lead by Internationals Network for Public Schools, a national organization based in New York that helps found and support high schools for immigrant youth. Schools have been the indispensable institution[23], positioned at

---

[22] *See: Gonzalez, K., Frumkin, R. (2016). Literacy and Early Childhood: A Culturally Responsive Program for Mexican Mothers. In K. Gonzalez, & R. Frumkin (Eds.). Handbook of research on effective communication in culturally diverse classrooms. PA: IGI Global*

[23] In City Schools and the American Dream (2003) Noguera describes urban public schools as the indispensable institution because it

the front lines to respond to the demographic changes that have transformed America in the past and continue to do so to this day, absorbing new populations, producing and maintaining the ties that bind the social fabric (Fass, 1989; Takaki, 1989; Tyack, 2003). The networks acknowledged this role taken on by schools builds on existing relationships between the other network organizations and schools, providing added resources to schools, and helping support their educational mission of preparing children to be college and career ready.

In talking about her school's relationship to the network, an educator in Bushwick said it best:

> *Extra support. More than one adult saying the same thing to them that come – who come with a different set of skills to address them with is what our students need. Our average student has five times the issues of a regular New York kid going to school.*

Seen from the service provider perspective, in speaking about their partnership with AUP local school, a staff member from OBT (the Bushwick network's lead application) explained their growing relationship with schools before the initiative and the role they hope to play within the school:

> *We found that the partnership with AUP in providing services within the school allowed us to access the population that were leaving school because they were dropping out for whatever reason, mostly because they were over-age and under-credited and just didn't want to be there anymore. For years, we've been contacting guidance counselors, and high schools about accessing this population and I think that they've always felt just understaffed with just too much to do and just couldn't really pay attention to it. But we've been able to also earn the trust, and the buy-in from the particular high schools that AEP just gave us their discharge list with all the contact information of the students which is huge for us of being able to access that population for our programming.*

This led to the successful implementation of the Anchor-Up program: a college readiness program housed in the AUP building (and expanded to other schools and campuses during the initiative) and staffed by OBT staff. The program was made available to all student in ESL classes at AUP, providing job readiness and career exploration workshops as well as one-on-one counseling and support during students' lunch period and after school. Students also participated in college visits through the program. Additionally, the program included guest speakers and (in later years) worked to integrate parent meetings into the program.

Similarly, staff members from Make the Road New York shared their longstanding relationship with Internationals, and noted how the initiative has afforded them the opportunity to develop innovative programs for youth:

> *Internationals Network and Make the Road have a long history over the last decade, I would say. And we've engaged in a number of different collaborative projects including working together to start Pan-American International High School some years back, in 2007. And so that was a big initiative that we did together that's been really successful. Recently more challenging, but I think there's a lot of alignment for our vision of working*

---

alone is burdened with the responsibility for maintaining some degree of stability for poor children in inner-city communities. Public schools play a similar role for immigrant children. See Learning a New Land by M. Suárez-Orozco and C. Suárez-Orozco (2008).

with recently-arrived immigrant young people. And so, we've sat in a lot of circles together over the years of trying to develop innovative programming and support and doing advocacy on behalf of those young people.

As discussed above, while the Jackson Heights Network originally planned to co-develop a full-service community school to attract and support disconnected youth, policy changes within the New York City Department of Education forced the network to modify their plan. Instead of creating a new school, both Make the Road and CUNY integrated programming into Pan American International High School (PAIHS), an existing Internationals Network school. CUNY implemented peer mentoring at PAIHS through the CUNY Caminos program. The trained peer mentors met with students at PAIHS on a regular basis and, eventually, based on feedback from students and mentors, the program was successfully incorporated into the school schedule. Peer mentors provided youth with college preparation workshops and helped students think about their college and career plans through lunchtime discussions. Additionally, the mentors facilitated college campus visits. At the same time, Make the Road provided youth and family services to PAIHS, placing one of its social work interns at PAIHS to serve parents and students. Make the Road also provided leadership development opportunities for youth and parents from PAIHS-Elmhurst (and IHS-Health Sciences, another Internationals Network school).

As discussed in the theory of change, staffing was very important to making this work. Several staff members in these networks noted that a portion of the participating youth were undocumented immigrants and, as such, were concerned about applying for college and financial aid - despite local and federal policies in place at the time of the initiative that would help undocumented youth access college. Abrego (2006; 2008) notes, however, students' undocumented status may depress educational and career aspirations.

To address this concern, the Bushwick Network offered students DACA workshops as part of its AUP-based program. Jackson Heights went a bit further, connecting youth with individuals who recently navigated the college admissions process and are now enrolled. Network staffers and leaders from the Jackson Heights Network explained that it was important to put these youth in contact with "peers" (college students) from the CUNY system to provide not only support and guidance but, through their affinity with the younger students, also serve as exemplars. As one staff member explained:

> *Students at PAIHS have this peer-mentoring component in place that is a partnership with CUNY. So, CUNY students who are of similar background of the Mexicans in the school come in. I mean, some of them are from a range of language background, Latino, some are – were or are – undocumented, some are document eligible, in college. They are doing workshops with the students and mentoring them one on one on how to get to college, issues about completing high school and addressing the counselors at the school.*

Another network leader added expanded on this idea of affinity, explaining:

> *I think the peer mentoring piece because the students are seeing students like themselves in college and supporting them...developing those relationships with peers, rather than adults saying, "Oh, this is the way you should do it," will be much more effective. And the college students being able to say, "I know it's hard. I know the temptation is to leave and work, but if you stick with it, your prospects are much better."*

So, I think the relationships-building – and the parents are really excited about it, too, so that's been good.

In-school mentoring has been shown an effective way to support student learning (Herrera, DuBois, & Grossman, 2013; Portwood, Ayers, Kinnison, Warris, & Wise, 2005) and to support college-going (Burkander, 2013; Radcliffe, 2011; Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006). Moreover, Burkander (2013) posits that mentoring programs like the one developed in PAIHS can provide youth the opportunity to develop relationships with their mentors while at the same time forging a positive association with the school.

More broadly, these in-school college and career programs which focus on preventing Mexican youth from dropping out of high school are grounded in research that finds that immigrant youth maintain aspirations for postsecondary success and professional careers (Lukes, 2014) and believe that application of hard work towards the goal of reaching college will put them on a path toward economic stability and success (Fass, 2007; Hochschild, 1995; Lukes, 2014).

Out-of-School Time Programs

A key challenge taken up by the Bushwick and Jackson Heights Networks was to engage with disconnected youth and provide them with educational and employment opportunities. Thus, in addition to within-school programming, the community-based organizations developed and implemented out-of-school programs housed in local community spaces like churches and community-based organizations.

The Bushwick Network attempted to serve disconnected youth through OBT programs and GROW. The Jackson Heights Network relied heavily on the array of services provided by Make the Road. In describing the offerings at OBT and Make the Road, it was apparent that a considerable amount of their work was focused on basic education and employment. As a staffer from Make the Road shared:

So, there's some job skill training and resume development and general worker's rights stuff that we've done. I think we've tried to spend some time over the last couple of years trying to figure out this piece. It's been a struggle to figure out how to really be funneling young people into not low wage jobs; actually, getting them good training opportunities. It's a challenge, I think, in the city that we're trying to spend some more time focusing on and figuring out how to build out within our organization. So, I think any time that we're able to – so I think first was the path of supporting young people in getting their work permits, right? And then those of which who were able to help support get their work permit, we did everything we could to then also find jobs.

Similarly, OBT offered an array of programs in the Bushwick Network focusing primarily on job readiness. These included: Out-of-school Youth Education and Job Training (OSY), Young Adult Paid Internship Program (YAIP), Medical Administrative Assistant program (MAA), Website Design and Coding Fundamentals (Coding), Adult Education and Literacy Program (AELP), and immigration consultations.

In contrast, the Bushwick Network's GROW program was more closely aligned with Anchor-Up, offering academic support and career readiness as well as college mentorship. In observing a job-training workshop,

youth learned how to develop resumes and prepare for interviews. They were also connected with job fairs and summer employment and internship opportunities.

Out-of-school time programs are important tools in improving educational outcomes, particularly for older youth. In general, participation in high-quality afterschool programs has been associated with an increase in academic achievement, increased school attendance, more positive attitudes towards schoolwork (Anderson-Butcher, Newsome, & Ferrari, 2003; Lauer et al., 2006; Pettit, Bates, Dodge, & Meece, 1999; Pierce, Hamm, & Vandell, 1999; Posner & Vandell, 1994; Posner & Vandell, 1999), higher aspirations for college, better work habits and interpersonal skills, and increased homework completion (Hofferth & Jankuniene, 2001). While much of the research focuses on academic performance, there are also positive benefits associated with related outcomes such as social and emotional development and wellness (Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003; Lauer et al., 2006; Posner & Vandell, 1999; Roffman, Pagano, & Hirsch, 2001). Moreover, there are positive post-secondary benefits including college and career success (Gardner, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008).

Additional Supports for Parents and Families

All the networks subscribed to an approach of providing supports not only for children but for their parents and families. As part of this approach, networks implemented some educational programming in the form of workshops, courses, and information sessions for parents that were separate from youth-focused programs. A Bushwick Network parent participant we interviewed spoke with us about their participation in this type of programming:

> The finance workshop helped me a lot. I started registering all the things I needed to buy, how much money I can spend and so on...During the immigration workshop they provided us with a lot of information. Information for us, for undocumented people, just like me. Mainly, he told us, not to be afraid. And to apply [for benefits or housing].

Topics covered in these educational programs ranged from "basic literacy development" courses in both Spanish and English and high school equivalency courses to information sessions addressing topics such as immigration and financial development. For some networks, network partners provided these classes and workshops; in other networks, outside organizations offered classes. For example, the Jackson Heights Network provided computer-based English as a Second Language (ESL) programs to parents. Similarly, the Port Richmond Network provided ESL programs through El Centro and their HUB. Additionally, networks sought partnerships with the Mexican consulate to establish Plazas Comunitarias, which provided a wide range of services including literacy courses in Spanish.

> [We have parent workshops]. We've been trying to put in place is a component for parents of students, which is around basic literacy development, Spanish academic language support – so basic skills in Spanish.

Although many such workshops, courses, and information sessions were implemented as part of the approach to provide additional supports to parents and families, the two primary strategies implemented by the networks in response to this approach were (1) providing workshops and direct support to navigate the school system and (2) intense case management in which close relationships with case managers allowed networks to address pressing needs of families. These strategies served the purpose of equipping

parents and families with the tools and language to help them communicate with their children's schools, to be empowered to be involved in their children's education, and to leverage their own resources and their community's resources as needed.

Navigating the education system

Many of the networks provided workshops and direct support on how families can successfully navigate the education systems in both New York City and in the United States. For the families of younger children, this included how to successfully engage with schools and support their children's education at home. Notably, the as part of Promotores curriculum, the Port Richmond Network invited parents to directly engage with schools, inviting them to meetings with local school officials (and even providing transportation to those meetings). They also spent a concerted amount of time teaching parents about the special education system.

For the families of older children (adolescents) workshops included how to navigate the college application and financial aid processes. As part of the both the GROW program and Anchor Up, parents were invited to informational workshops on these and other topics. The Jackson Heights Network conducted summer orientation for families sending their children to schools in their network.

With respect to home-school connections, immigrant parents have varying understandings about schooling and how to engage with schools (Carreón, Drake, & Barton, 2005). While immigrant parents score lower on conventional measures of school involvement (Crosnoe, 2006), these lower scores are more reflective of socioeconomic and language barriers than different values or motivations (Crosnoe & Kalil, 2010; Glick, Bates, & Yabiku, 2009; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). There also exist cultural discontinuities between school and home that effectively marginalize parents (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Lareau, 1987; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Martinez-Cosio, 2010; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todrova, 2009; Yosso, 2005). Thus, immigrant families may be penalized for not exhibiting the same types of parental involvement as their non-immigrant peers. In discussing this, a program staff member explains:

> *Everyone says parents are lazy. They're too overworked and they don't have time. Nah, they squeeze the time. They come to these workshops. They came to these parent workshops and they're so thirsty for knowledge. The workshops expose them to how to read a letter or how to understand when you get mailing in, encouraging them don't be afraid to call that phone number. Call in and speak to someone or go yourself and take ownership of your child's future.*

Lacking the benefit of effective advocacy from their parents, immigrant youth are often at particular risk to experience a reproduction of inequality in educational outcomes, as well as economic and health outcomes (Cole, 2009; Evans, Li, & Whipple, 2013; Milner, 2013; Suárez-Orozco, Tseng, & Yoshikawa, 2015).

Since teachers and other school staff members are usually the sole provider of information about the education system (Stanton-Salazar, 2001), parents who do not know how to engage with the American education system can be shut out. While research suggests that low-income and Latino parents are supportive of their children's postsecondary school aspirations, these parents' own limited experience with postsecondary institutions in the US limits their assistance in the college or financial aid application

procedures (Auerbach, 2006; Torrez, 2004). This may mean that for adolescents, information about post-secondary opportunities and the college financial aid system is not readily shared, while for families with younger children, information about how to help their children succeed in school is not shared (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todrova, 2009).

As the experience of the program staff member quoted above highlights, by demystifying the hidden norms of parent engagement and teaching parents to effectively navigate the educational landscape, previously disenfranchised parents can feel connected to schools and promote parental engagement and participation in school (Baker et al. 1999; Kilburn & Karoly 2008). Moreover, educating families about college and the college application process can improve college readiness and college-going rates (Auerbach, 2004; Perez & McDonough, 2008).

Intensive case management

Several of the networks used a "case management" approach to enable community members to access a variety of necessary services. These case managers extended the capacity of the network, enabling the partners to address critical needs of community members. Case management is a necessary strategy that is a widely accepted amongst immigrant-serving organizations; Cordero-Guzman's (2005) review of community-based programs serving immigrants in New York City found that 63% of them offered some form of family counseling and case-management services. Thus, it is not a surprise that while several networks did not initially plan to provide case management, each took on this role in some way by the end of the initiative. As a program staff member explained, in using the network, she can get added supports for parents that her program might not otherwise be able to provide.

> So, we have parents that leave some help, and my family worker – there are certain things that are really outside of her job description; there's just a limit that she can do. You know, we can refer them to [the] network. If the parents are having domestic violence issue or an immigration issue, that's basically outside of what my family worker can really do. [The family worker] can help in some sense, but she can't take them all the way.

These case managers can either make referrals to other programs within the network, or to specialized outside organizations. These referrals were vital to engagement. The act of case management effectively linked participants with community resources throughout the city such as transportation, health care assistance, family advocacy, food and nutrition services, referrals for employment, referrals for services for battered women, and translators (Layzer & St. Pierre, 1996; Huston et al., 2003). In some networks, trained staff such as social workers and social work interns handled case management, while in other networks this role fell to teachers and other program staff.

Research has shown that language barriers and stigmas of immigration status contribute to decreased access to- and utilization of- health services amongst Mexican immigrants (Burgos et al, 2005; Flores et al, 1998; Ortega et al, 2007). Given the wide range of needs within the community and limited scope of services provided in the networks (primarily focused on education and employment), case management proved to be an effective way of meeting the needs of Mexican community members, particularly in sensitive domains like health or social services.

Program Outcomes

The networks as whole demonstrated a large level of success meeting the AAMC initiative goals. As noted in the previous sections, the design and implementation of the neighborhood networks contributed to increased availability and access of high-quality education programs and services and increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities (Goals 1 and 2). This section focuses on the program outcomes as experienced by program participants.

Table 11. Program outcomes from qualitative interview findings: Summary

	Academic and career-readiness outcomes	Capacity building outcomes	Community outcomes
Early childhood and Elementary school	Improvements in the reading proficiency levels on standardized tests Academic achievement in areas such as early numeracy and mathematical notions	Gains in all modalities (reading, writing, speaking, and listening) Literacy skills (reading comprehension, critical thinking, and summarizing) Writing skills (writing in different genres, organizing writing, and grammar)	
Older Youth (Adolescents)	Applying for jobs Applying for college Resume writing Interviewing Public speaking Planning for college	Writing skills for professional settings (e.g., resume writing) Public speaking skills Job and college interview skills Selecting a career and a potential College Knowledge of the U.S Education system Knowledge of the requirements to access college Knowledge of college financial aid	Building relationships with other Mexican youth in different grades at the same school Volunteering to support peers with college and career readiness
Parents	Applying for jobs	Speaking, reading, and writing in English and in Spanish. Knowledge about child development Learning pedagogical strategies that can be used at home How to advocate for their children at their children's school	Preserving cultural customs and values Preserving food culture Building relationships with other community members

Data across sites show that specific aspects of the program structure (expanded reach and services, recruitment process and participant engagement) and the program approaches and strategies implemented provided the conditions to effectively address the social, emotional, and learning needs of Mexican families. The analysis of data revealed three main categories of outcomes:

1. Academic and career-readiness outcomes include increased academic achievement and career readiness.
2. Capacity building outcomes include learning gains in areas of knowledge such as child development, literacy, and English as a second language. This area focused on building with the participants the knowledge and practices needed to address some of the more pressing issues that Mexican families face daily, e.g., language barriers and low academic outcomes. This area is closely related to the development of academic and career outcomes; participants pointed out that building knowledge and skills improved their performance on standardized tests, boosted academic achievement and prepared them for career contexts.
3. Community outcomes display how the networks created communities and built strong relationships with the participants, who claimed that it allowed them to overcome isolation, offering emotional support, guiding them to navigate New York City institutions, and encouraged them to preserve their cultural heritage.

Table 11 above summarizes some of the main program outcomes found across the networks. In this section of the report we describe our findings along with representative quotes from our qualitative interviews within four outcome sections: (1) academic outcomes for younger children, (2) academic and career readiness outcomes for adolescents, (3) capacity-building outcomes, and (4) community outcomes.

Early childhood and elementary school level: Positive early learning outcomes

My children have progressed a lot. They have improved in reading and also in mathematics.

- Parent in the Port Richmond Network

Collectively the East Harlem, Mott Haven, and Port Richmond Networks helped produce meaningful early learning outcomes. Overall, parents interviewed were happy to share positive results, reporting that their children were more engaged in learning and experienced improved educational outcomes. Child outcomes also indicated that they improved in standardized testing since their participation in the program. Several parents reported that prior to the network participation, their children struggled with reading in school, getting low grades and, in some cases, being retained

Because of their participation in the program a mother in the Port Richmond Network shared: "The program helped my daughter a lot; she was in the E level of reading, that is very bad, you know. Then, after attending to the program...my daughter had advanced significantly. We got the scores last week she is at level G." Another mother from Port Richmond highlighted how her daughter acquired reading habits: "my daughter, … she finished with all the books we had at home, and she got a lot better at reading. I figured she needed motivation, we did not used to read that much before." She continued, "The school teacher applied the exam this January; my daughter progressed from the E level to the H. Actually, now she is reading books in the L and K levels." Similarly, the Mott Haven Network noted that children's grades and reading levels also improved; their final (Year 3) report showed struggling readers in their intensive literacy program had made average gains of over two reading levels through the course of a 12-week cycle.

Not surprisingly, the literacy program benefits extended beyond early literacy into other areas of school readiness and academics such as achievement in social studies and math content areas. Research in this

area has shown that improvements in literacy are closely related with improvements in content areas (Cummins, 1986, Planas & Civil, 2013; Gutierrez, 2002). Marjorie Faulstich Orellana (2003) found that when children are engaged in rich linguistic and high cognitive demand experiences they gain multiple social tools, cross-cultural awareness, literacy skills, number sense, and reasoning skills. A mother from Mott Haven explained her daughter's progress:

> *My daughter has learned a lot, she learned the colors, she knows the numbers... I feel that the next year that she is going to pre-K she will be more prepared for it. I think she is more prepared for school. Because of the program, we've had positive changes.*

Home visits in the Mott Haven Network and workshops at the East Harlem Network had a positive impact on children's development of early mathematics literacy. Parents report that children gained understanding of early math topics such as shapes and could recognize attributes like height, weight, and color. As a parent from the East Harlem Network explained:

> *We also play with a set of geometrical shapes, we also have some logic blocks...those consist also of geometrical shapes, they have different sizes, colors, some are thin others are fat. Then, you can use them to learn about colors and shapes. My son and my daughter learned about it, now they can recognize colors, they can organize the shapes according to their size. I think this is very good for them. They won't arrive blank to school. They will be more prepared.*

Additionally, data showed that parents found their children developed study habits and an appreciation for linguistic activities as a result of participating in network programming. A participant from the Port Richmond network commented:

> *Before we started the program, she did not like to read books; she was not interested in it. I would tell her, let me read you something, and she wouldn't listen to me, she was distracted and bored. Then, somehow, she learned to develop a disposition, an interest in learning, in studying.*

Another participant from the same site commented on how the program prepared her daughter for schooling:

> *For example, my daughter she learned how to behave when we are studying, she learned, I mean the teacher told me that she wanted to find my daughter ready to learn, I mean, not in pajamas, more like sit and ready to learn, just like in the school. Then, I try to have her ready for the visit. In that way, the children get this idea of going to the school and studying. She is learning some study habits."*

As networks turn their attention to developing more robust internal data collection procedures, we are confident they will continue to show positive results in all areas of youth learning. This is due to the strength of the strategies used in these networks, which not only focused on teaching children through direct instruction, but also developed parental capacity to support learning at home. There is persuasive evidence (that will be discussed in the Capacity Building section of this report) to suggest that parents in these programs have taken up what they have learned and are using it with their children.

High school aged youth: On a pathway towards college and career

We were able to help them get scholarships and apply to college and enroll and matriculate and then as well help employ them to be able to continue to be able to help in the community.

- Program Staff Member from the Jackson Heights Network

Jackson Heights youth enrolled in a wide array of programs and services aimed at improving educational and employment outcomes including ESL and workforce development programs. For some of these youth, these programs resulted in job placements. Similarly, in-school youth in the Bushwick Network reported more thinking around college and career, and learned concrete skills like resume writing. For the out-of-school youth, OBT reported that 100% of youth in the job training programs experienced positive outcomes including vocational credentials or advanced learning, high school equivalency degrees, gains in literacy assessments, internships, job placement, and college enrollment. Moreover, many students completing their ESL programs reported positive gains in learning English.

Programming in the Jackson Heights and Bushwick Networks focused on college and career readiness for adolescents. To that end, they worked with network partners to develop and implement academic enrichment programs, in addition to job readiness and career education programs. The programs provided adolescents with self-confidence and public speaking workshops, Regents Exam tutoring services, and recreation opportunities. Programs utilized effective intervention strategies such as college visits, job fairs, interview practice, assistance with college application essays, and assistance with job applications.

Mexican youth experience several challenges that range from low academic achievement to lack of knowledge of the U.S educational system at the college level. This, combined with their economic conditions, puts them at an increased risk of dropping out of school. In 2015, the New York City Department of Education reported that students who were learning English or foreign-born were less likely to graduate: 34% compared to 80% for their native-born peers. A youth from the Bushwick network articulated this challenge:

You know, before coming to the program I didn't care about my school grades. I didn't care about college; I didn't know what I wanted to study. Then, when we visited a college they explained to us what we needed to do to be able to apply to that college. Then, I realized I needed to do better in the school or they wouldn't accept me with my current grades.

A program director expressed the need to reach youth who are in districts where they are less likely to receive any assistance in career education programs and college applications:

We reach youth that are disconnected, and who've dropped out of high school…In general I think that we're in a new part of the district that we haven't been in before. And even though it's only two subway stops away it's dramatically different in the demographic and population that's around the church and that the church services.

Work conducted with older youth significantly impacted participants' communication skills and supported them in making job and career choices and in providing college application guidance.

College readiness

As part of the programs, students participated in college visits. Visits to colleges and universities allowed Mexican youth to experience the environment, the application process, and steps toward attending college. This experience motivated youth to better understand the environment of the college where they sought to enroll and the requirements needed to apply. For instance, two older youth at the Bushwick Network mentioned:

> *First, we go there and, for example, we went to John Jay and we had a tour of the school. Then they would talk to us about where we would go if we need help with college or get college classes. After that we just go around the school, we learned a little bit more. Sometimes we could find out if this is not the school for you, we can go to another school and they would actually accept us after. We go to two years and after, they could accept us after the two years.*

Another youth described, "From the college visits, I really liked that we could talk with people. We ask them about the requirements. About 'What do I need to do?' We could also ask students about how do they feel."

For youth, participating in these types of activities generated awareness about the requirements for college acceptance. After the visits, students evaluated their current academic performance, and reflected about how their current performance aligns with their intentions to attend college. Across the networks that focused on youth, students valued learning about the requirements to attend college:

> *I know I have to improve my grades from now on. If I don't do it, I will not be able to apply to the college that I want. I was not good in math, but now I am more concerned about doing better. I have time. If I leave it like this, at the end I will not be able to do anything.*

Another youth from the same network highlighted how the knowledge acquired in the program increased his awareness of the need to plan for a college education:

> *I need to start now, not later. I need to prepare from now on to be able to get into college. I can start now. Before, I thought I wasn't ready. I was like...I'm not really looking right now at college. Then, it's like, now I'm here, junior year, I really know what I'm going to go for. Before, I didn't. I was like, "I can wait until senior year or two years from now...but then, I realized it will be too late to try to do something with my grades and the other stuff.*

To further support youth in learning about the US educational system at the college level, the networks provided information about loans and scholarships. This information proved crucial for older youth, some of whom believed that their socio-economic status would prevent them from attending college. A youth from one of the networks shared, *"In my case, the program has supported in finding scholarships or financial aid to apply to college. Also, I volunteer for the program to support other youth."* Several youth participants mentioned the benefits of knowing about scholarships opportunities. The practice resulted in youth making more strategic plans about their college applications, as reported by another youth at the

same site, "In the program I learned where to go to find scholarships, which websites are useful to look for scholarships, which scholarships are better, and which of them are better for me."

Career readiness

In addition to supporting college-going pathways, the programs maintained a focus on careers. Programs offered guidance to youth who traditionally felt unsupported in making decisions about their careers. All adolescents who participated in the interviews mentioned that prior to the program they were not sure about what to study and where. In addition, youth received information about the supply and demand for specific professions. These helped adolescents to consider additional variables such as potential earnings, program duration, and requirements, while deciding what career they want to pursue. Some youth participants illustrated this finding during their interviews:

> *When I entered the program, I didn't know what I wanted to do with my life. No, I didn't. I was confused. I was debating and then it was last year when she gave us these papers and they told us if we apply for this, if we go for this major, what kind of jobs we are able to apply. Then I found out there's so many other jobs that I didn't know. There's some that you could study sleep and everything. I found out more about other colleges than just being a nurse, and just being a writer, a teacher. It opened up my mind a bit more to explore.*

Another youth articulated how she found the specific program she wanted to pursue, "I want to go study in the medical field. I found out that there's actual special doctors for special things. There's special doctors to check for blood pressure. I want to be one of those." In addition to finding their area of study several participants were able to assess the labor market and demands for specific professions. Another youth at the Bushwick Network claimed:

> *We also did this one... this activity where the teacher gave us this pack of papers and we could actually go online and research how many people are participating in this certain department and how many people are actually needed for it. It'd be like how many people are employed for firefighters, or cops. It gives us a standard for what people actually go for. Then it shows how little people ... They go for the big things, things that are already known. They don't go for the little ones. They could be a doctor or a psychiatrist and how many people actually go for that one instead of going for this other one.*

Similarly, another youth highlighted having learned how to analyze the labor market and potential earnings:

> *Yes, like I started comparing... like I work in construction with my dad over the summers and I compared my job with another person's job, like in the field of medicine. And then I compared the salaries. The construction person make less and the medicine person earn more. Now, I think about that when choosing what to study at college.*

Communication skills

Youth expressed during the interviews that they improved their communication skills, especially those related to job and college applications. Adolescents found it useful to learn how to write resumes, essays for college applications, and how to interview for a job. A youth at the Bushwick Network commented:

> *Yeah. Every class is positive. For instance, the last class we had, they helped us to learn how to give a speech. They were giving us steps on how we can improve our skill for when we are in front of people. How can we not get nervous, or something like that. That was so useful for us. We got a lot of speeches here in the school. Not like speeches, like explanation on topics.*

Youth that were interested in participating in internships or getting a job were supported in creating resumes, allowing them to connect what they had learned about strong resumes to the actual process of writing one. A youth mentioned:

> *In OBT, they helped us do resumes. Last year, we did a resume and then I used it to actually apply for my job this year. I actually got the job. We also went on college trips, so we went to Baruch College. We also went to John Jay. I forgot, we went to another one. It was very useful to see what they look like, what programs they have and what are the requirements to apply.*

Another youth explained:

> *The facilitator gave us a form, like a document. It already had information about where we could put our information so we could start our resumes. I filled it out and then I sent it to who was my teacher last year...I sent it to her and she reviewed it, she helped me fix it, and then I kept it there for a while. Then this year, I used it to actually apply for my job, which I work in a supermarket now.*

All the youths interviewed spoke of benefitting from activities that had a connection with their interests and their needs. Namely, they spoke positively about all the activities that had a direct connection with their particular real-life situations and that were dynamic or experiential in nature. In contrast, they found that lectures, workshops, or activities where they only received information were not productive and disengaged them from participating in the program. Youths mentioned that they come to the program after school, when they are already tired, and have spent most of the day listening to teachers. This makes it difficult for them to participate and be interested in activities in which they feel inactive.

> *You come very tired from the high school, them... they try to teach us about some college stuff. I came to play soccer, that's what we do afterwards.*

A second youth agreed on this topic and claimed,

> *in the session... we were talking about College, but I don't remember what was about. I don't like that the classes are not dynamic, so I forget about those things.*

In short, interviews demonstrated a participant preference toward hands-on or experiential

learning and toward the recreational activities offered by the programs. This preference extended to the outcomes participants reported, having learned and benefited more from experiences that helped equip them for academic planning, attaining admission to college, and learning the practical skills to enter the job force.

Capacity building: Improved capacity to support learning at home

I think I am also learning how to teach my son and how to interact with him, how to connect. During the sessions, I also have to participate, I tried to use the strategies by myself. It's not that the parents at the program drop the children and that's it. No, we are..., we are learning how to help them by ourselves and how to be part of their lives.
- Parent in the Mott Haven Network

The networks' programs helped build parent capacity to support their children's learning, thus contributing to their children's positive educational outcomes. "Building capacity" refers to an effort across networks to develop with the participants, the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed to address the more pressing issues that Mexican parents and youth face. This approach to programming promotes long-term outcomes, because participants use and apply the knowledge constructed to find solutions to a broad range of problems. For example, building literacy skills with parents allows them to communicate better with the school, to guide their children through homework, to find a job, and to advocate for themselves.

Across networks, Mexican families reported five major challenges. First, they experienced language barriers when needing to communicate with their children's schools and in wanting to be active in monitoring their children's academic performance. Families reported not being multilingual in English and some not Spanish-speaking either (speaking other indigenous languages), yet being required to interact in contexts where speaking English yields realities for access. Second, and because of the language barriers, parents mentioned struggling to advocate for themselves and their children in spaces such as school. Third, parents reported experiencing social isolation and lack of support in their communities. Fourth, parents reported a lack of time or economic resources to learn how to better support their children. Finally, though most of the families have been in the U.S. for extended periods of time, they do not feel equipped with the tools or the information they need to navigate New York City services or to participate in community activities.

Along with the challenges experienced by Mexican families participating in the networks, the networks themselves identified additional areas of work such as gaining a clear understanding of child development and preparing toddlers to successfully transition to kindergarten. For adolescents, the networks identified the additional challenges of navigating higher education, selecting courses of study, and the college application process. In networks' efforts to address these needs our evaluation found prominent outcomes for participants in the areas of language and literacy, connecting knowledge of child development to parenting practices, and fostering strong parent-child bonds.

Parents build language and literacy skills

The networks established formal and informal programs to build parents' own literacy skills. Parents noted that these programs were greatly needed and that the programs helped them overcome language and communication barriers allowing them to get a better job, to attend and understand school meetings, to

advocate for their children at school and monitor their academic progress. To address these needs, networks engaged in the dual-generation literacy approach described in the Program Implementation section of this report, providing ESL and Spanish language programs and supports geared toward strengthening language and literacy skills among parents in the communities served. Interviews and program data show that these programs helped improve participant literacy (both in English and Spanish), and helped parents become more comfortable helping their children with their schoolwork and engaging with their children's schools.

Parents in the dual-generation literacy programs benefitted from the lessons being taught to their children by learning alongside them. Two Port Richmond parents who participated in interventions that used a dual-generation strategy explained how working with their children on literacy both in the program and at home helped with their own English learning and literacy:

> I learned to read more in English. We came to the sessions, we sit together, the teacher, my son and me. Then, I observed the teacher, I learned how to help my children do their homework, and at the same time I learned English.

> I learn English because the sessions are in English, and the teacher is reading in English. Then, when the teachers are talking, I try to listen to how she pronounces the words. Also, while my kids are writing, the teacher explains to me what they are doing and she asks me whether I understand or not. I understand some things, others I don't. But I try. Mainly because we don't know if we are going to have the program in the future, and I will be the one who will teach my sons.

Another parent in the program explained that in addition to learning from the teacher she also learned by helping her child with homework, testing her own language skills and putting them to work:

> I learned about the pronunciation. Also, I learned about how to support and guide our children when they are doing their homework...If my daughter tells me a word and it is not pronounced correctly, I correct her. Sometimes she disagrees with my corrections. So, what we do is - because the program only works three days during the week and we cannot ask the teacher. We search in the iPad for the word pronunciation. Then, we are sure that we are pronouncing the word correctly. You know, what I was doing...I was telling her how to pronounce certain words as I understood them, but my pronunciation was incorrect; I was making a mistake. I was confusing her and she was learning those words incorrectly. Then I usually ask and check with the teacher for some word pronunciations. Then, she corrects me... and I realize that I was teaching my daughter in a wrong way.

Another parent also commented, "When the teacher is working with my daughter I try to focus on how she teaches her. When I don't understand, she gives us an opportunity to ask." Parents from Mott Haven Network also highlighted gains not only in the reading and writing, but also in pronunciation.

> The teacher helped my daughter and she even helped me a lot. She helped me with my pronunciation, the pronunciation of the vowels and some letters. She taught me about the silent vowels; that is where I usually get confused. I am not sure about how to

pronounce some vowels. Then, she helped us both to be better… It helped me with my pronunciation, I am not that good with understanding or speaking in English. But now I understand more. I do not confuse certain words with others anymore… I usually feel afraid to speak in English, but now I am trying. I tell the teacher, if you speak to me slowly, I will be able to respond.

Using the dual-generation approach supported parents in English language development and literacy and by equipping them with a set of pedagogical strategies to adopt at home to support their child's academic achievement and literacy growth. Parents implemented the strategies during the days that children did not attend program sessions. The dual-generation approach and parent participation in ELS courses allowed for capacity. An English language assessment conducted at the YMCA and El Centro ESL programs in the Port Richmond Network indicated that program participants made meaningful progress in their English language development. Parents who participated in the programs also reported that these language skills improved their capacity to effectively help their children with their school work and engage with their children's school.

Servicing parents with an indigenous language background (who do not speak Spanish) presented an added challenge for the networks, who sometime opted to support Spanish-language acquisition for these parents who could later acquire English. A parent from the East Harlem Network explained how learning Spanish through the program offered a step toward school access:

…when I arrived, I only spoke Mixteco, I couldn't talk Spanish or English. I … I didn't know how to write because I never finished elementary school. The people here, one of the teachers speaks Mixteco, she helped me to learn Spanish. I am learning. The program coordinator supported me a lot, she was going with me to the appointments at the school, because I couldn't talk. I didn't know how to apply to get my child in the school, how to write the forms.

A teacher from the East Harlem Network provided an account of how a non-Spanish-speaking parent was serviced:

Sometimes especially with the people that we work with, most of them are indigenous you know? They don't speak the language. It's very hard for them to actually understand Spanish and even it's really hard for them to actually play with a child because, one: They haven't played themselves. Two: It's like, "Why would I play with them?" They don't find the meaning. Like, the positive or benefit of playing.

We get them to try it and tell them, "I understand that for you this doesn't make any sense but try it. See the child's reaction." We actually did it with the mom. She knows a little bit of Spanish. The child at the time was about 10 months. This child, super serious. Never smiled so we engaged mom through a song and instead of us singing it mom was also singing it, with us of course.

You should have seen the kid. Smiling, mom felt the connection with the child. She noticed that it was important for her emotionally, per se. Yeah, we give them the space that we need. There's times where parents don't want to be involved in anything. Well

we understand. We try to be understandable and we just give them the space that they
need. We stay with the child. Mommy can go to have some coffee.

The networks' focus on language and literacy as part of capacity building aligns with existing research regarding the effects of adult learning. For adult learners with children, adult education programs can benefit both (Chase-Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Domina & Roksa, 2012), which in turn positively correlates with their children's academic outcomes (Crosnoe & Kalil, 2010). This is crucial, as the experience of program participants highlights that Mexican immigrant mothers who pursue additional schooling for themselves increase their engagement with their children's' schools (Crosnoe & Kalil, 2010).

Parents build knowledge on early literacy skills and child development to support their children's learning

Parents across the East Harlem, Mott Haven, and Port Richmond Networks gained new knowledge and skills that enabled them to support their children's healthy development and educational trajectories. A pressing need in some of the networks relates to the lack of knowledge that first-time mothers have about parenting, early literacy skills, and child development. As families immigrate to the U.S. from Mexico, mothers are oftentimes confronted with having to parent by themselves with constrained access to resources and support. Program staff indicated that this could partially explain low school and literacy readiness among children served. In response, programs working with young children engaged youth and parents on a range of topics related to supporting early learning and educational outcomes, most notably, early-literacy skills, general pedagogical skills, and parenting skills.[24]

In general, our findings indicate that almost all mothers who were interviewed agreed on the usefulness of seeing professionals modeling language, literacy, and social activities with their children. Parents in the PCHP program in the Mott Haven Network showed measured changes their parenting behaviors. Similarly, parents in the Mott Haven, East Harlem, and Port Richmond Networks all noted their use of key strategies acquired via the network programs. Home visitors and tutors engaged participants to implement, by themselves, some of the strategies observed during the sessions. They also reported spending more time with their children. Positive outcomes were reflected in increments in the amount of times per week that mothers read to their children, and the amount of times they used educational toys to engage their children in learning about colors in early mathematical notions. For example, a mother at the Mott Haven Network commented:

> *First the teacher does it and I observe her. Then, we read the book with my daughter. We*
> *take turns, I read or the teacher does. Then the teacher asks her what color does she*
> *identify. Or what things are present in the story and it might be that I read something to*
> *my child or the teacher. Sometimes we take turns. And after we finish reading to her, we*

---

[24] The East Harlem Network targeted three areas of knowledge: secure attachment, early literacy skills, and self-regulation. These three areas aimed to build capacity with parents to support their children on being more prepared for entering school. East Harlem used workshops, hands on activities paring children with mothers, and case studies about their own children (this is done in order to analyze child behaviors and to get mothers to brainstorm how to address the situation). Mothers from the Mott Haven Network repeatedly claimed during the interviews that they advanced on learning about the following topics: early-literacy skills, early math skills (e.g., recognizing shapes and colors and number sense), pedagogical strategies to use with infants, and parenting strategies (e.g. topics such as secure attachment, behavior control, building child-parent relationships and communication).The Port Richmond Network curriculum, which was aligned with school curricula, worked exclusively with school-aged youth and focused on general literacy supports.

ask her, what she understood from the reading or the teacher might ask her to make
some drawings to illustrate the reading.

Later in the interview the same mother commented, "Now I read to my daughter more frequently. Before the program, I only read to her once in awhile". This illustrates how mothers start implementing the strategies modeled by the Home Visitor, suggesting a mechanism to the long-term effects of the intervention. The tutors at both networks explain how modeling teaches parents pedagogical strategies to use with their children. In addition to the outcomes of modeling, interviews with program participants and staff revealed that, through the lessons and workshops, mothers gained skills and knowledge to (1) foster early literacy skills in their children and (2) promote positive child development that prepares young children for school settings. These two sets of knowledge oftentimes went together and, as noted by several parents during their interviews, parents regularly used skills gained through the workshops that became part of their regular interactions with their children.

Building knowledge on fostering children's early literacy skills

As discussed above, a dual-generation literacy approach was implemented to engage young children in early learning activities as well as build parents' capacity to support their children's learning. Through their participation in the network, parents learned specific literacy skills to support their children's engagement with books and reading. In discussing the programs in which they participated, parents highlighted key things they learned. A Port Richmond Network mother shared:

Before coming to the program, I never paid attention to reading to my children. Even
when I did it. I just read the book. I also did it in Spanish, because at that time I didn't
know any English. After, I learned that I need it to read and make noises, ask
questions...and other things.

Mothers began to recognize that supporting their children in learning how to read goes further than reading and includes asking questions, using gestures, and changing one's voice, asking for the main idea, etc. A mother from the Mott Haven Network shared how she used these techniques with her daughter, explaining:

My daughter loves a book...it's called "Where's Spot?" ...then, the book is about a dog
who wakes up and hides under the bed...I will read it to my daughter and before passing
the page I will ask her, "where do you think Spot is at now?" I will ask her where Spot is
going to hide next. Then, you pull out some objects, like under the bed or under the
table, to find out where the dog was hidden. Then, she will discover that the dog was not
where she predicted, sometimes he was in a closet, other times you will hide other
animals...like pigs... Afterwards, I will ask her... It is this Spot? She loved that book. And I
talk with most of the mothers in the program. They all think the books are great.

When prompted by the interviewer to share something that she learned, the parent revealed that one of the key things that she learned was that:

...reading is not only about reading, it's also about asking questions, making voices,
inventing stories and... yes, it's about asking questions, like in the book I mentioned. For
example, I will ask her; where is the dog? Is this a dog? If not, what animal is it?...She also

will discover that sometimes she did not guess about the place, sometimes she just believed that the dog will be at the same place –under the bed. She also learned the name of new animals and the noises they made. I will make the noises to illustrate to her.

Similarly, in reflecting on what she learned from lessons in which a dual-generation approach was used, another mother from the Mott Haven Network shared:

The teacher taught me, you have to read to him using expressions, with intonations and … for example, I read a book, and I will tell him, look how beautiful is something, this is high, this is small. I will use those expressions to relate the story… There was a book called "Run, Dog Run!" I will tell my son look what the dog is doing. I will make noises and gestures.

The skills used by these parents (and other parents interviewed) reflect the strategies used by program staff using the dual-generation approach to learning, indicating that the implementation of these strategies effectively supported the development and use of home literacy by parents as their children also made learning gains. As parents gain mastery of these skills, their increased capacity to support their children's literacy development will help them continue to support their children's educational outcomes beyond their time in the program. Thus, there is a sustainability to gains made directly through program services.

As noted above, network programs also helped build the capacity of parents to support early literacy skills at home, teaching parents ways to engage with their children around literacy. Even in cases in which mothers do not read in English or Spanish, the tutors teach them to make up stories based on the book drawings and to use gestures and noises to represent them. Research suggests that engaging in reading and storytelling traditions supports children in their development of skills such as attention to detail, dramatic pauses, memorization, new vocabulary, facial affect, and rhythm (Cummins, 1986; Anzaldúa, 1987; Darder, 1991; García & Baker, 1995; Gutiérrez, 2002). Marjorie Faulstich Orellana (2003) found that bilingual children who are engaged in these types of linguistic experiences gain multiple social tools, cross-cultural awareness, and literacy skills. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that these strategies improve children's literacy and social skills.

Building knowledge about child development in support of learning

The support of literacy skills went beyond literacy activities, extending to how learning in general was supported at home. Program staff at the Mott Haven, East Harlem, and Port Richmond Networks focused on young children whose mothers needed support to help them prepare their infants for school settings (e.g., behavior management, creating study habits, developing early literacy skills) and helping their children perform well in school. Central to this was teaching parents strategies to interact with their children around educational activities and creating structure around school activities like homework. In touting the benefits of their respective programs, parents across all the networks shared how, because of the dual-generation approach, they have learned to structure time to read with, teach, or play with their children.

A mother from the Mott Haven network stated:

This program is very useful, I learned how to interact with my daughter. I learned to set a time in my schedule for her. I have to spend everyday some time with her, playing and teaching her something.

Another parent from the Mott Haven Network similarly explained:

I really learned how to read a book to my daughter and how it will help her to learn how to read. I learned how to sit with her and teach her about colors and figures. I learned to be close to her and dedicate time to her.

A parent from the East Harlem network shared:

I participated in the school programs, but they never taught me anything, they did not teach me how to do things with my children. This program is very useful because I have to interact with my son, I also have to set a time and be disciplined on spending everyday some time with him, playing and teaching him something.

And a parent from the Port Richmond Network noted:

Yes, last week, I started reading with my two sons for one or two hours. I read with one in the morning and with the other in the afternoon.

Parents directly related the changes in their behaviors to the use of the dual-generation approach and modeling. In the following excerpt, a Mott Haven mother explains how the intervention supported her and her daughter in building parenting and literacy skills.

They visit me twice during the week for a half hour. Then, for a half hour we read books or sometimes when they bring some educational toys, we play with them. We learn together about figures, colors, shapes...everything is very useful for the education of my daughter. Then, I try to do the same with my daughter for the days that the tutor is not coming.

Overall, participants testify to feeling more empowered to support their children in building early literacy skills. Parents articulated before participating in the program they lack the knowledge or expertise in supporting their child's development. Participants also described how through their participation in the program they changed their study habits and the ways they relate to their children. Many parents noted a growing concern about study habits at home. For instance, a mother at the Port Richmond Network mentioned that she cared much more about reading and spending time with her children. She also reflected on the importance of developing literacy and how it could impact her child's academic performance in the future, motivating her to change. She explains her shift:

Before, my children were watching TV while we were doing homework, so they did not focus while doing the school homework…. Now, I help them to focus. I clear the table, and I sit with them. I help them with their reading. I do the same things they do here in the program. I understood that if I don't help them they will do bad in the school. Then, I ask them to tell me what the story or the reading was about… just the same as the

volunteers do with them…. I ask them: tell me, what was the theme of the reading? I ask them to repeat the story in their words. I ask them what did you understand?... Tell me about the beginning and the end.

Also, demonstrating this shift, a Mott Haven parent shared:

You know, I used to tell my sons, read that book… I never explained or asked anything to them. Same when he was playing with the toys. It was only to distract them, so I could do my errands. But when I learned about reading and about how to teach them mathematics. I realized that …yes, sometimes I think that because it is easy for me, they will understand. But it's not like that. Or that they already know the same things that we do, but they do not. With letters, and all that. Knowing about it is what has helped me.

The parents interviewed strongly valued learning how to interact and build relationships with their children. A Mott Haven Network parent stated:

I think I am also learning how to teach my son and how to interact with him, how to connect. During the sessions, I also have to participate, I tried to use the strategies by myself. It's not that the parents at the program drop the children and that's it. No, we are…, we are learning how to help them by ourselves and how to be part of their lives.

Another mother from the Port Richmond Network explained how the program opened her eyes to the importance of helping her children with their schoolwork in order to foster long term educational and career success:

I learned I help them with the homework, but I didn't care that much about it before I started the program. However, now that they are growing I care more about them, I need them to be more engaged in school. I tell them… you don't have to be like us; we never had education and we have to accept the jobs people offer us. I want them to have a good job and work in better careers.

The last part of the quote exemplifies the power of these programs. These programs tapped into parents' drive to help their children succeed. Research studies conducted with Mexican and Chicano families shows that even when they experience the lowest educational outcomes compared to other groups in the US, they maintain consistently high aspirations for their children's future (Delgado-Gaitan 1992, 1994; Gándara 1995). Other studies have shown that when these groups are empowered through knowledge and skills, they are more likely to bridge the gap between their current occupational status and their children's future academic attainment (Gándara, 1995).

Parents participating in the network programs articulated the same--an expectation that their children will succeed at school and be able to obtain a "good job" and a fervent desire to help them on that path. Moreover, parents felt that the knowledge they gained through these programs opened a clear pathway forward for their children. As such, when this mother stated, "Now that they are growing I care more about them; I need them to be more engaged in school. I tell them... you don't have to be like us; we never had education and we have to accept the jobs people offer us. I want them to have a good job and work in better careers" she expressed the feeling of all parents that were interviewed of having aspirations to

create a better future for their children by working with their children.

Community Building

With everything that I've learned, I feel that I am more likely to participate in events and become a leader of fathers and mothers in my community

-Port Richmond Network Parent

This program has allowed me to find my voice as a mother.

-Port Richmond Network Parent

Beyond their educational and employment goals, the networks were able to build a community, forging relationships between participants the program, as well as between program participants and their larger community.

Building relationships and sharing resources and experiences

The networks helped parents build relationships with program staff and fellow community members. During the interviews, both parents and older youth reported feeling isolated, stressed, and not part of their communities before entering their network's programs. Some parents explained that this was due to being undocumented immigrants. Program coordinators and program staff agreed that many participants experienced social isolation, which can have negative effects in the areas the networks were created to support. Additionally, Mexican communities experience being unwelcomed and intimidated by institutions. The problem of not having strong community support was noticed by all staff members at the different networks. A home visitor at East Harlem indicated:

I think that the program as a whole, it works, because I think, I can say the socialization groups help a lot. Because there are a lot of our parents, a lot of our clients are socially isolated, so by coming here they connect to the community. They make friends, which is very important. The home visits, the home visitor, is also very important because that person is able to track the child's development and make sure the child isn't falling behind, and it gives the clients someone that they can trust. And someone that they can, that can help them with issues that they might have, which is also very important.

Similarly, a Port Richmond network teacher mentioned during our interview the challenges that families face in not feeling included in the community:

For as much as we want them to understand that everything's going to be okay, they think they are alone facing their problems. Like one mom told me I remember, "You can tell me whatever you want to make me feel better, but I am scared." Then, we try to make them feel welcome. I tell all my families, "This is your home".

Participating in network programming helped parents build a sense of community and created a relationship between the network staff and their program participants. Participants saw benefits in their emotional and social well-being as a result of the increased sense of community. A parent just beginning to participate in the Mott Haven Network expressed seeing an initial benefit:

We don't have friends and I still get lost when I take the train. My daughter started the program yesterday, she is very happy… she was sad, It's good because we are all day at the house, so she gets some time to do something different.

Another Mott Haven network parent shared how participating in the program helped decrease feelings of isolation:

A home visitor came to visit me in my home. She told me how important it is to socialize. I was very stressed. I would get really depressed. So, I came to talk to other people to help me realize that I am not alone. I am not the only one. I am not the only one going through bad moments. I don't feel that alone. I felt so alone. I don't have much family here. I started coming to the program. I started to feel important. By talking to someone I did not feel like I was alone or thinking about all my problems. When I was in the apartment, I rarely came out. And, some days I wanted to just run away. But now I feel more optimistic.

An analysis of the interviews indicates that youth experience social isolation in a different way than parents. During the interviews youths expressed that even though they are part of the school community, they rarely feel included. While documenting the needs of youth, both the Bushwick and Port Richmond Networks found that Mexican youths tended to receive less guidance on aspects such as emotional intelligence, selecting a profession, choosing a college, or understanding how to navigate the educational system. Stanton-Salazar (2001) shows that peer and other social contacts provide members of the community with instrumental and emotional support to navigate institutions. Yosso (2005) also found that drawing on social contacts and community resources helped immigrant youth attain a college scholarship. Yosso found that these contacts and resources helped students by preparing them to navigate the education system and by reassuring the students that they are not alone in the process of pursuing higher education.

An older youth at the Bushwick network expressed this sense of isolation when she said, "We never have a space to talk or we only talk about school work." He further explains,

The first couple days in the program, we actually did this activity where they put a tape on the floor. Then, we say yes or no. She would ask us questions like are we going to college, then we go up. If we know what we're going to study. I felt like I wasn't alone when I didn't know what to study for or what colleges to look for. Some people already had decided what they want to do, like what college they want to go to, what they want to study, what they want to become. There's other kids that didn't really see a college after high school. It opened up my eyes to see, "I'm not alone. I'm not the only one that thinks this."

In addition to recognizing that they are not alone in the college and career process, Mexican youths who participated in the program also highlighted the benefits of spending time with other youths from their country who are in the same school but in a higher grade. Sharing their experiences put in perspective the importance of applying to college, but also the importance of speaking about their personal issues and challenges. Another youth in the Bushwick Network explained:

Last year, I was one of the sophomores and mostly they were juniors, the people. Now they're seniors and I'm a junior, so we have a more connecting bond. I feel like that helped us more because we could talk and make jokes. It was all because of that program because we never had class with each other at the school. We never have a space to talk or we only talk about school work. Not about us, never about us. In the program, we can talk about our outside lives. We could talk about what we're doing and what we want to do with our lives, like our plans to go to college, you know.

Parents and youth agreed that one positive outcome from participating in the program is the development of a sense of community. Studies with immigrant families from Mexico have shown they value familial capital. According to Delgado Bernal (2002), this form of cultural wealth leverages individuals' commitment their community and extends the concept of family to include fellow community members. Literature consistently indicates that building relationships adds protective factors for adults and youth that can help them overcome challenges. (Brewster & Bowen, 2004; Cooper, Denner, & Lopez, 1999; Aviles, Guerrero, Howarth, & Thomas, 1999; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Sarason, Sarason, & Pierce, 1990; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

All participants profit from the community they have built through participating in the network programs. Most of the parents at the different networks met every week or two for activities such as arts and crafts, cooking, storytelling, and what they call the *convivo*, or a get-together. As a result, parents and youth felt included and important. A youth from the Bushwick network commented:

I feel like, when I first started here, I had a group of friends. Now, because I only knew my friends. They were in my grade and they were in my class. With the program, now I know seniors, I know the new kids that are coming in. It helped me open up more. Now, with my little group, I have more, other people that I can talk to.

A second youth expressed in the interview:

I like that I make new friends ... I think it was last year, there was a guy that came here. He was playing drums and he was singing. We were able to dance, kind of. It relaxed us. Instead of worrying about school we just had a little day for ourselves.

By the same token, parents felt supported, which in turn encouraged them to participate in working with other community members. As a parent from the Jackson Heights Network shared, parents within the network sought help from fellow parents:

Other parents come to us asking for help, as they did not know how to deal with issues such as their sons wouldn't complete the homework, they will arrive home late, they are going out with friends that seem dangerous. We have a community of parents, there are a lot of Mexican parents who really needed help in guiding how to relate with youth and how to deal with these type of situations.

As a result of the active engagement in the community, parents and youth feel it is important to give back to their members. In some networks, they came back as volunteers. Most importantly, prior members of

the program gave information and shared experiences and knowledge with their community. Youth and parents stated that some of the positive outcomes from participating in the program were related to their motivation to "give back." They reported feeling like part of a community and feeling responsible for supporting others, as this East Harlem parent explains:

> I participated in the program. After, the program coordinator asked me if I wanted to help with the workshops. So, then she called me because she knows I love crafts and here they do events like the gala. So, I began volunteering by making paper crafts and since then I became more involved here and the activities they organize.

As mentioned before, parents and youth who had participated in the program for extended periods of time usually became volunteers. In doing so, they acknowledged what it felt like to be new in the community and wanted to support other community through that experience. A youth from the Bushwick site mentioned:

> I volunteer for the program. I go with the program coordinator to the high schools, we go there to help students with their college applications and to help them with their communication skills. I also participated in a workshop about it. I know how it is when you are alone and nobody helps you.

A parent of the East Harlem network who became part of the program staff commented:

> I was part of the program three years ago, they helped me with my English. I felt I could learn something. The program coordinator helped me to finish with my GED. Then, now I work in the program with the mothers, teaching them about child development.

Community building and giving back can help support the long-term health of the networks, enabling them to reach more people and, in turn, situating them as fixtures in their communities. Ethnographic research with Mexican immigrant communities confirms that when families support each other, they can build social capital, obtain educational and social services supports in their community, and overcome the adversities they might face (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001).

Building navigational capital

Alongside building relationships and community, many of the strategies implemented through the networks helped participants build the skills needed to interact with and maneuver through social institutions, what is knowns as "navigational capital" (Yosso, 2005). Networks put in place numerous programs to support the development of this type of capital, from immigration consultations to field trips. A program participant from the Bushwick Network explains how the program helped build her "navigational capital" stating, "This program is good because it helps us solve our problems and doubts about the city and the state." Accessing public institutions (libraries, community centers, museums, schools, governmental institutions, etc.) provides educational and recreational resources and opportunities for Mexican families. The same parent mentioned later in the interview, "The program shows us how to participate in the community, like going to the library or other places…for instance, using the New York City ID. We are very attentive to those things as people who do not have a legal status in the city. It's very

interesting because it gives us the possibility to participate in different activities."

Navigational capital is an important benefit of the networks. However, there were limitations to how the networks provided opportunities for building navigational capital; for example, information received was sometimes unrelated to the needs of parents, or the time necessary for them to grasp the information was not provided. These limitations will be further discussed in the Program Limitations section of this report.

Responsiveness to undocumented communities

All networks served participants who were undocumented and sought to provide services to meet their needs. Workshops on DACA and DAPA were ubiquitous across the networks, as were immigration consultations and legal services. A parent from the Bushwick network said:

> *The program coordinator also helped me by connecting me with a lawyer. She connected me also with other lawyers whom provided me information about DAPA and DACA. My daughter has DACA. Right now, I am in a very difficult situation, some personal situation, and she is helping me with it. She is helping me to find an apartment and she connected me with a psychologist to talk. I am in a very difficult time these days.*

While NYU project teams never asked participants about their immigration status, several participants reported hesitation in accessing any services fearing that program staff would report them with immigration authorities. This fear was noted by program staff, explaining that families struggle with their immigration status as they feel insecure and also afraid of interacting with formal institutions. A parent coordinator from the Jackson Heights site summarized a family's needs:

> *There is a lot of needs in our school, from my work with the school I know there is a problem with immigrants, with parents that are not legal in this country, they are undocumented. The school has partnership with organizations such as Make the Road New York, they help the parents.*

Two staff members explained that an individual or family's immigration status can result in a distrust of available services or a reluctance to access these services:

> *Staff member 1: A lot of parents who are undocumented they don't necessarily trust a lot of organizations very easily. They don't give their info, and they're not as willing to go somewhere where we might recommend.*

> *Staff member 2: There's a real fear of from the undocumented population even if it's not a young adult who's undocumented, but if a family or people that they're living with are undocumented there's a real fear of accessing any services.*

Interviews with program participants revealed that programs working with undocumented people were helped by building a safe environment, providing information about DACA/DAPA, referring participants to legal services, providing anti-fraud education, and providing workshops not just to parents, but also to youth for their own edification and to relay information to their parents.

Networks were understandably protective of their undocumented participants. As a network leader shared:

> We work with a lot of undocumented families. I'm very careful when we do the Know Your Rights forms not to have people here that are ... One time a reporter from the Mott Haven Herald wanted to just walk in and I was like you weren't invited and people were asking very sensitive questions and sharing their stories around immigration and they were arrested. We say no phones, no cameras, you can't be recording.

In establishing trusting relationships, parents came to workshops and consultations about immigration. There they learned about their rights and were assisted with their DACA and DAPA applications. Networks also helped them engage with local institutions, connecting them with the Consulate General of Mexico in New York and helping them secure identification documents through IDNYC.

Youth also valued the training on immigration issues, feeling more empowered to provide advice to their families, who can sometimes be afraid of talking about their legal status. A youth at the Bushwick site shared:

> We went to this conference. Not a conference but this group workshop. They were teaching us about what to do. It was more for immigration. Like, if you're an immigrant, what to do when you get stopped by a cop. I didn't know that we could not say anything and then they can't check us unless they have the actual proof why they want to check us. I didn't know that and then I told my mom. It helped her and it helped my grandma. She didn't know either. My grandma never knew. Now they know so now, if they ever got like stopped by a cop, they know what to do. I gave them papers about it and they were reading it. They didn't know anything about that. They can't be like, "Oh, I want to see your green card." They have to have proof, actual, to see it. They said that you don't have to take it out, but then my mom doesn't want to be carrying it around like, God forbid, if she lost it or something. It's good to have it there in any case. Yeah.

While it is difficult to observe the direct outcomes related to these types of programs, it is clear from program data that these types of services and supports are needed. For example, in the last year of the initiative, the Jackson Heights Network provided immigration services to over 1,400 people, 1,000 of whom were new to the network. They also filed over 500 DACA cases. Furthermore, the networks funded through the AAMC initiative served as vital points of contact for Mexican community members seeking immigration resources.

Program Limitations and Additional Challenges

> I don't know which comes first, you all can probably tell me better, funding or policy, chicken or the egg, but it really creates these rigid boxes that are barriers to innovative programs.
>
> -Network Leader

During the interviews, network stakeholders also shared their perceptions of some of the limitations of the programs. Network leaders, program staff, and program participants all expressed concern in some way about funding challenges, which limited resources available to participants. Network leaders and program staff also noted policy challenges, which limited the range of programs available in the networks.

Funding Challenges

One of the barriers I think, and this is true ... It always comes down to money. Our funding streams that allow this work to happen.

- Network Leader

While DBAF provided the initial funding for the first three years of the initiative, both the popularity of programs and levels of need in the community tested the networks' original budget plans, meaning that networks had to make changes to existing and proposed programs and fundraise. Additionally, individual partners provided in-kind support.

From the participant perspective, these challenges were experienced through the reduction or discontinuance of programs and services, and through wait lists for programs. When asked about how programs could improve, a common answer revolved around changes to program offerings, particularly if a program activity was discontinued or access to participation in a particular activity became more limited. When asked about these changes, some program staff interviewed cited inconsistencies in either staffing or funding as a possible reason. For example, a staff member from the East Harlem Network shared how funding constraints meant specific programs needed to be scaled back.

Right. These four, they used to come once a week, now is twice a week. We would love to offer a lot of, for example we would love ... Back then we used to have yoga. Parents and children loved yoga. We still have music and the reason why we have music is because one of the teachers is the one that's doing the music, but there's not enough funding to cover that and there's not enough funding to cover the yoga...There's not enough funding for parents to actually get involved more in the agencies. For example, a few years back we used to have a literacy programs for families who didn't understand English or Spanish. We had a Spanish literacy program and we had an English literacy program. We had computers. We had English. How to speak or learn English.

Network participants and staff also noted frequent cancellation of activities (sometimes without notice), a shortage of promised incentives such as running out of food before all children had a chance to eat, and a small range of youth activities. The lack of funds limited program offerings and, in some instances, program quality. As one network leader explained, "It was always a really difficult decision to have to weigh capacity in quality versus quantity." This limited engagement.

Sometimes when participants were admitted or met all other eligibility requirements, the limited program availability and staffing caused scheduling-related conflicts between the program and participants. Parents and youth sometimes had conflicting obligations that limited their ability to participate, as one youth participant notes:

Right now, since I was taking a college class on Wednesdays, they had to change me.
They put me in another program. Probably after, because I finished yesterday, probably
next week. Hopefully I could go Wednesdays instead of Thursdays.

Program staff and parents also mentioned waitlists for popular programs with relatively low enrollment caps, like the PCHP's home visitor program in the Mott Haven Network. As one parent from the network noted that she was on a waitlist for a year, but then "narrowly got in." Early on, networks sought to alleviate their waitlists by further expanding popular services. By its third-year Mott Haven was able to expand the size of their home visitor cohort. Similarly, Port Richmond, increased the size of the Promotores cohorts as well as the frequency with which they met. They also expanded their partnerships with their HUB to include more programs and services. Both the Jackson Heights and Bushwick Networks expanded their programs to new sites. The East Harlem Network, too, expanded its case management and outside referral work.

As engagement in particular programs grew, networks had to adjust. This often meant cutting back on other program offerings or reshaping programs within the network. As some programs grew in popularity, they decided to service more students, which meant reductions in other areas. Networks did (and continue to) find creative ways to keep programs running, but sometimes networks were forced to scale back programs. As a parent from the Mott Haven Network shared:

> **Interviewer**: How many times a week do the girls come?
> **Parent**: Two. It used to be three. And now two.
> **Interviewer**: When did it change to two?
> **Parent**: Just now that we entered, in September.
> **Interviewer**: And why?
> **Parent**: Because there is no more space.

It is important to keep in mind that these challenges were fundamentally related to positive programmatic interest and demand, with demand outpacing supply.

Connected with funding is the depth of need within the Mexican Communities in New York. While the networks spent a considerable amount of time planning their programs with a deep understanding of the communities they sought to serve, there were unanticipated needs that had to be addressed and required changes to the programming. Needs were recognized early in each many of the networks, and network staff attempted to reshape their programs in ways to address these needs.

As noted by staff members across the networks, the needs of families served went beyond educational needs, and at times, stretched network capacity. Reflecting on their program, leaders from the Bushwick Network noted:

> *That was a challenge for us, because there were just so many needs that I just wanted to develop a promise neighborhood for this program because there were just so many needs. Originally, we weren't planning on doing any case management. Then ended up taking a lot of new clients.*

Even when networks were prepared to handle needs, as in the case of the East Harlem Network with their case management approach, the extent and types of need required particular types of responses from the program that were not included in program plans. As a program leader from East Harlem shared:

> I think in the first year, we realized there were so many issues outside of the educational needs of a child. That parents were coming … I always try to serve everybody, provide case management when I'm at work. I realized that first it was, we didn't have the capacity but also maybe that was not the best way to approach the issue, so we started working on providing workshops.

The level of need informs the sustainability of similar programs. While networks were tasked with supporting educational and employment opportunities, they also needed to invest a considerable amount of research into social services supports. This means that programs are constantly making decisions on the margin. As the two quotes above highlight, networks weighed the social and program benefits of meeting participants' immediate needs through case management against other organizational objectives or providing educational and employment programs. Increased and sustained funding within these organizations may minimize the need to make these types of decisions. We discuss this further in the Sustainability section later in this report.

Policy Challenges

Several network leaders noted how the policy environment in which these networks functioned also proved challenging, particularly in the areas of providing adult native language literacy instruction, and setting up programs for disconnected youth.

Adult Language and Literacy Instruction

Networks sought to develop adult literacy programs for their participants with the understanding that increased literacy will give parents a key tool for engaging with local institutions, seeking employment, and supporting their children's learning. Given the low levels of native language literacy amongst the participants, networks developed or collaborated with programs that provided Spanish literacy development, with the understanding that this would aid in parents' English language development. But networks also noted limited support for these programs. As a leader from the Bushwick Network explained:

> I think that even if you are promoting BENL [Basic Education in the Native Language] and there's a precedent for that funding, and for those policies and taking advantage of government resources. DYCD [The New York City Department of Youth and Community Development] is already equipped to do those contracts...it's just a matter of policy buy-in for either the counsel or the administration that this is important.

Networks were able to develop some programs internally, as well as incorporate the Plaza Comunitarias Programs into their networks using their available funds. However, there was a sense that native language literacy programs were not a funding priority. For the ESL courses, consistency in participant attendance remained a key challenge for networks, finding it difficult to create ESL course schedules that could align with the availability of all the interested participants. Even still, for the parents who did participate, these

programs were perceived as helpful. A parent from the Jackson Heights Network discussed the computer-based ESL program in which she participated:

> *I love those classes because each individual works on a computer.[25] Then, first at all, you cannot cheat yourself, as you cannot trick the computer. If you don't make enough progress you will remain in a level, or you can even be in a lower level. It's very good. You are assigned to a specific level based on your individual English knowledge and proficiency, and then, you can make progressive advances, it goes more to your rhythm and capabilities. We also use several programs such as, ESL Fast. There is another one, but I don't remember the name. What I know is that the teacher uses three different programs, and he adapts each of them according to our needs and learning styles.*

> *For instance, if today is my first day in the program, the teacher will ask me about my English skills, if I tell him that I don't know that much, he will assign me to the beginner level, and I will start from the basics. But if I tell him that I know a bit of English, he will give me a test and he will know exactly which is my level and which will be my starting point. Then, I will start from what I already know, and then he frequently monitors me.*

> *We are not only in the computers; we also discuss in groups. You know, we do other activities, we work in group projects, and we share ideas. I really like that course.*

Programs for disengaged/disconnected older youth

Jackson Heights and Bushwick Networks were able to reach out to youth currently enrolled in educational programs but struggled to connect with disengaged youth. There are many factors that contribute to older youth being disengaged (or never engaged) with the US educational system, including low levels of educational attainment and interrupted formal education for immigrants arriving in the US after the age of 12 (Hirschman, 2001; Vernez & Abrahamse, 1996), something which researchers have noted can especially disengage undocumented immigrants (Abrego, 2006; Gonzales, 2011).

Both networks faced challenges related to recruiting disengaged and disconnected youth. For Jackson Heights, this challenge was reflected in inflexible citywide educational policies that stifled their ability to start their new school. In Bushwick, program staff noted the difficulty of enrolling youth in certain employment programs if they lacked proper documentation. While there is evidence to suggest that some of these youths were able to receive some support through these networks, it was also apparent that, should community-based organizations seek to engage with these youths and provide educational and employment services that open new opportunities for them, policymakers and program leaders should work together to develop pragmatic policies that allow programs like the ones developed by the Bushwick and Jackson Heights Networks to flourish.

---

[25] Several participants disliked the computer-based learning because they lacked the technical knowledge to use a computer or an iPad and preferred more interactions with teachers.

Conclusion

In targeting the AAMC goals and their own project-specific goals, networks increased the availability and access to high-quality education programs and services to the Mexican American and Mexican immigrant communities they served, providing the space for increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities. Initial data from the networks suggest that the networks have contributed in a meaningful way to improved academic performance and employment prospects amongst their participants.

In looking across the networks a general theory of change emerged. While programs adapted and changed over the course of the initiative, their overall theory of change remained the same. Program participants and staff identified five structural aspects of their networks: (1) expanded reach of services, (2) recruitment and access, (3) staffing and building trust, (4) participant engagement, and (5) quality programming. The theory of change was centered on the network structure and brought together service providers in a formal partnership. The expanded reach of services created by these networks brought high-quality programs into each of the communities (AAMC Goal 1). As a result, networks increased participant engagement (AAMC Goal 2), first through the added availability of resources, and then in concerted efforts of the networks through their staff and recruitment. Additionally, the quality of the programs and their purposeful two-generation approach supported continued engagement. In combination with the quality programming, the continued engagement fostered improvements in academic and employment prospects (AAMC Goal 3).

Networks employed some common strategies, though strategies did tend to vary based on the age group they sought to serve. That is, the strategies used to work with young learners and their families varied significantly from the strategies used to support older youth. The primary strategy used in those networks serving young children is a dual-generation approach to literacy comprised of literacy activities for parents and children and additional supports for parents. Networks serving older youth used a variety of in-school and out-of-school programs geared at preparing youth for college and career including academic programs, college visits, and internships. All the networks also provided additional supports for parents and families (as part of a two-generation/community school) strategy. This includes social supports through workshops and case management, and educational and employment supports.

Goal 1: Increase the availability and access to high-quality education programs and services

Through the creation of the network partnerships, the initiative increased the availability of and access to high-quality educational programs and services in each of the targeted communities. Educational programs included new early literacy programs, out-of-school time tutoring programs, and college and career programs in local high schools and community-based organizations. For example, in Mott Haven, the network introduced a new home visitation program. The East Harlem Network created programs for indigenous Mexican families, and the Bushwick network created a new high school college and career pathway program for local schools.

Networks provided increased legal and social services as well as referral networks that were accessed and utilized by community members. For example, in the third year of the initiative, the Jackson Heights Network helped 148 community members receive Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and

helped 421 community members renew their DACA status. Over the course of the initiative, the East Harlem Network provided intensive case management to approximately 450 residents and the Mott Haven Network assisted in over 650 referrals to outside services.

Goal 2: Increase student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities[26]

Due to both availability of new and needed services and the outreach efforts put forth in each of the networks, the organizations were all able to connect with a large number of people of Mexican descent in their local communities and were therefore able to meet their engagement goals.

Goal 3: Improve academic performance and employment prospects

In many of the networks it is too early to discern the full impact of programming. However, based on initial data, there is evidence to suggest the initiative helped improve academic performance and employment prospects (for older youth). For example, the Bushwick network reported that nearly all of the out-of-school older youth in the Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow (OBT) program had some successful outcomes. Their data show that participants average a 93% program completion rate and 75% High School Equivalency Attainment Rate. Moreover, 85% of the participants earned vocational credentials including the Microsoft Office Specialist Certification, National Retail Federation Certification in Customer Service, or the Certified Medical Administrative Assistant. In the Mott Haven Network, 60% of students showed improvement in English Language Arts (ELA) achievement; ELA grades improved, on average, by 0.3 points (Mott Haven).

Other data collected during the project suggests that through the initiative, the networks have laid a foundation for continued improvement. The network approaches built the capacity of parents to support their children's learning and educational trajectories by helping parents learn techniques to support their children's literacy development, providing them with tools and knowledge regarding the U.S. education system. The networks also built capacity by providing social and academic support directly to parents. The data showed that through these networks, participants connected with their neighborhood and community.

In short, the networks demonstrated a large level of success in meeting the AAMC initiative's goals. The design and implementation of the neighborhood networks contributed to increased availability and access to high-quality education programs and services and increased student and parent engagement in school and community-based learning activities (Goals 1 and 2). The quality of the programs helped support educational outcomes and employment opportunities within each network (Goal 3).

---

[26] Under the AAMC initiative, engagement was defined by the number of people who engaged with network. YDI developed a separate report on engagement discussing the specific approaches used by networks to develop and maintain engagement, utilizing a broader definition of engagement in the process.

FINDING 2: SUSTAINABILITY AND GENERALIZABILITY OF FUNDED PROJECTS

In looking at the generalizability and sustainability of the projects under the initiative, we first sought to identify the necessary conditions to sustain the programs and the broader initiative. Second, we sought to identify the processes through which each funded project has met the initiative's objectives and their own objectives, and the ways in which other (similar) organizations might be able to replicate these processes and objectives. We find that the network approach is essential to both the generalizability and sustainability of the projects, but that continuous and consistent funding sources are key for sustainability. We recommend for projects seeking to replicate the success of AAMC to consider adopting the theory of change and in particular consider the strong centering of the community served.

Sustainability

Given the outcomes of these networks over a short period of time, the question of sustainability arises. That is, to what extent can each network (or the collective of networks) continue to provide programs that are aligned with their stated program goals over time? These programs, in and of themselves, are not self-sustaining in their current format; each program required considerable resources to run effectively with several projects requiring additional grants or in-kind services from within their organizations to meet their program goals. As some programs seek to expand capacity, these additional funding sources are critical. As such, there is no reason to believe that any of the organizations involved in this initiative can operate without continued and sustained funding from outside sources. At the same time, network partners are likely experienced in identifying and accessing outside funding sources and, in some cases, already draw from multiple revenue streams. Given this experience, networks should be able to decrease their dependence on a single funding stream (e.g., DBAF) and diversify the financial support for their programs.

Without formal support from government agencies through grants and contracts or private, philanthropic organizations it would be difficult for these programs to maintain the same level of service currently offered. This makes funding and fundraising a key component of network sustainability.

Several of the networks were designed to minimize the need for additional funding, but others will continue to require capital outlay similar to or even greater than the funding support already provided by DBAF. This money may need to come from existing budget lines within each organization, or through continued fundraising.

In reviewing the implementation budgets, it is apparent that a significant portion of the grant funding provided by Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation went to salaries for coordinators and other staff positions, with the remainder of the money going to food and supplies for programs. Additionally, programs leveraged existing staff, in-kind money, and volunteers. While organizations may be able to absorb some of the costs of the networks, network sustainability plans conducted by YDI show that networks may need to cut some services and programs, focusing in on core programs.

The majority of organizations involved in the community-based neighborhood networks had experience

and success seeking out funding. DBAF has worked to connect networks with additional funders, and some networks have already begun to secure outside funding. In seeking out funding for these networks, the partner organizations have shown both a willingness and ability to cooperate and coordinate in developing programs and seeking funding. If additional fundraising is needed, this cooperation and coordination similarly needs to continue. Additionally, the community-based neighborhood networks may also seek to coordinate amongst themselves to identify and seek out additional funding opportunities.

Generalizability

Networks came together with a distinctive set of resources to create unique community based synergies; each network partner collaborated with their fellow partners to create their programming. This suggests that it would be difficult for another group of community-based organizations to come together to exactly replicate any of the networks in this initiative in other contexts. At the same time, there are generalizable approaches and strategies that were used across the networks. Given the shared general theory of change and program approaches and strategies, and the relationship to existing research literature on supporting immigrant communities, it is reasonable to assume that the lessons learned under this initiative can be used by other community-based organizations seeking to provide services to Mexican (and possibly other) immigrant communities.

The Theory of Change section earlier in this report describes the basic processes through which each funded project effectively increased the availability of and access to high-quality education programs and services in local communities, and increased student and parent engagement among community members of Mexican origin in school and community-based learning activities. At the center of this successful process was the creation of neighborhood networks through which complementary organizations brought together high-quality programs and local community connections in a way that expanded the reach of existing programs and services, and in some cases led to the creation of new program services.

Based on the success of the networks, other organizations seeking to replicate these processes and objectives should begin with the creation of a network. Community-based organizations seeking to replicate the successful expansion of services and engagement would benefit from the network structure and joining with complementary community-based programs. Cross-program collaboration, such as those put in place under the network structure, can be beneficial to both the programs and the program participants and may prove fundamental to achieving each network's long-term goals (Mulroy & Shay, 1998). Moreover, networks of community-based programs can fill in gaps in services (Wolch, 1996) and meet growing demands for services and support (Keyes et al., 1996), ultimately enabling them to address the complex array of problems faced by immigrant families. This network approach may also prove to be an effective strategy for supporting other vulnerable populations who face complex sets of challenges and have limited access to resources.

The Program Approaches and Strategies section of this report describes the means through which these networks improved academic performance and employment prospects for community members of Mexican origin in their network catchment. Apart from the Promotores program, networks did not build new programs from the ground up, but rather leveraged (and in some instances modified) existing, successful programs in new contexts or communities. This speaks to the further generalizability of home

visitor programs, college access programs, and career planning. Programs seeking to work on goals with youth other than education and employment should consider the importance of the dual-generation approach, which focuses on meeting the needs of both youth and families and providing supports that are related to general health and wellbeing of community members, regardless of specific program goals and objectives. A reading program that just focuses on teaching children reading, and does not offer support to parents so that they can better support their children's literacy, fails to address the complex interactions that go into learning to read.

Conclusion

Many of the network programs and partnerships that formed through this initiative are slated to continue beyond DBAF's support, indicating that the initiative had a meaningful and potentially lasting positive impact on how these communities are served. Of course, the nature of the many strategies utilized by the networks and the relationships between program components was more complex than what is presented in this report. As such, we suggest to programs wanting to replicate the success of the AAMC initiative to look first to the AAMC networks' theory of change and in particular to the creation of community-centered and synergistic networks of community-based organizations.

CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

Over the course of the three-year initiative, each network successfully expanded services in their local community and engaged with large numbers of community members. In the end, they reported a range of positive educational and employment outcomes and the networks, and the AAMC initiative overall, can be considered a success. Time will tell whether these networks are sustained beyond DBAF funding and whether the networks continue their collaborative relationships. Already in the last few months of the project, it was evident that some partnerships were beginning to dissolve (with networks of three becoming networks of two). However, lessons learned through the development of these networks should carry forward.

Two-Generation Approaches: In Focusing on Youth, Organizations Also Need to Support Family Members and Caretakers

AAMC networks relied heavily on a two-generational approach that aimed to provide services for both youth and their parents. This implementation model created a wraparound service environment around each child and their family, providing support for literacy development, strengthening of parent-child relationships, and ensuring that families were able to successfully access necessary services such as legal support. This approach was present in all of the networks, though its importance may have been underestimated at first.

> I think the two-generational approach is really helpful. That's probably the biggest lesson that we learned. Something we're implementing now in the program as well, because in order to bridge the education gap or really help children improve their academic performances, you have to work with the parents and help the parents to be able to feel like they understand the education system, but also, if they have their own education goals, for them to be able to achieve them, or to be able to achieve better employment opportunities, or immigration status, so I think working with both the parents and the children was probably the ... Initially, that was not supposed to be how the network was going to work, but I think we realized that that was what was needed.
>
> -East Harlem Staff Member

This lesson echoes much of what is already in the research literature, but it is important to point out to both funders and program leaders that these programs have the power to produce a benefit to communities greater than target programs for either youth or adults. This was made most apparent in the East Harlem, Mott Haven, and Port Richmond Networks, where the dual-generation approach to literacy and the social supports for parents built their capacity to support their children beyond their participation in the classroom. In those programs there was significant evidence that parents not only learned new literacy and parenting practices, but also implemented these practices at home. This suggests a potential long-term positive impact on these families and the community as a whole.

Education and the Community: Linking Educational Programs and Schools with Community-Based Organizations

Across all of the networks, community-based organizations worked with educational programs to develop and deliver high-quality programming. From the community-based organization perspective, the connection with educators provided technical knowledge around education (e.g., pedagogy, curriculum development) and skilled practitioners who could deliver educational content. From the educational perspective, the connection with community-based organizations provided wraparound services that are not ordinarily offered in educational spaces (e.g., adult education programs, legal services, housing services, etc.).

A System's Thinking Approach to Programming and Funding

In thinking about the coming together of the program partners and network structure, it should not be overlooked that much of the burgeoning success of these networks and their initial impact was due in no small part to how the initiative was developed and supported by the DBAF, capitalizing on what Fruchter, Cahill, and Wahl (1998) describe as a "Systems Approach to Technical Assistance." By requiring organizations to form networks within each community and encouraging them to develop programs to address a specific need, DBAF brought community-based organizations together in a way that benefitted both the community and the organizations comprising the networks.

Fruchter, Cahill, and Wahl explain that, "The coordination that occurs among representatives of social service and other agencies will transfer to the institutions themselves, and into policies and practices within and between institutions, resulting in a reduction in duplication of resources and smoother, more integrated services for the individuals who are being served." This coordination was evident in the network's collective theory of change: that the expanded reach of services obtained through this coordination would lead to more and better services in the local communities that ultimately met community members' needs.

In order to make an initiative like this a success, the right type of program partners need to come together, joining educational and employment specialists with organizations that have knowledge of and connections with the community. While many of the organizations indicated at their initial meetings that they had worked with their partner organizations, over time it became clear that the network structure helped break down organizational barriers and allowed organizations to learn from one another, ultimately resulting in sustained programs. This purposeful network structure might not have been possible without the financial support of DBAF. This initiative brought together a range of service providers, from small, community organizations to faith-based groups, to institutions of higher-education in service of a single set of goals. This mix proved beneficial in the formation of effective networks.

No one organization was able to both connect with the Mexican community and provide high-quality services; instead networks required the coming together of two distinct groups: insiders and outsiders. Insider groups were organizations that were already located within the geographic catchment and already serving the Mexican community within that catchment. They included local churches and community organizing and service groups. The insider groups varied with respect to size and organization, but all had

established ties within their respective communities (e.g., MASA, Project Hospitality, Little Sisters of the Assumption, Churches United for Fair Housing, Make the Road New York). The outsider groups were organizations that at the time were not currently serving the Mexican community in a directed fashion (i.e., they did not serve members of the Mexican community, or they may have been serving the members of the Mexican community, but they were not specifically targeting them for service) but had services that would be helpful to the community and/or were not already working in the geographic catchment. They included such groups as colleges and universities, local public schools (and other local governmental institutions), and social service providers (e.g., Parent-Child Home Program, Union Settlements, Opportunities for a Better Tomorrow, Internationals Network for Public Schools). These outsider groups were all well-established and had track records of providing successful education and employment programming.

Prompted by the initiative's funding opportunity, insider groups either joined with other insider groups, forming insider networks, or joined with outsider groups to create hybrid networks. The hybridization of these insider and outsider groups in a single organization meant that networks were able to develop new program offerings and expand their service reach in their community. Job preparation programs and educational resources previously unavailable to in the Mexican community were now in place. Over time, the outsider groups were able to tailor their supports, thus increasing their capacity to meet the community needs. For example, in providing additional educational service to a community, a local college was able to develop curricula for their teacher preparation program that helped pre-service teachers develop skills around working with culturally and linguistically diverse students and families. At the same time, they increased availability and service to the Mexican community and also increased capacity of inside groups already serving the community. For example, in one network, an organization working with the Mexican community partnered with an organization that conducted home-visits to support early literacy. The Mexican community received additional education services that were not previously offered, while the community-based organization developed the skills needed to create and sustain their own home-visitation programs.

It is likely the case, that when targeting a specific vulnerable population with a range of services, hybrid networks are able to connect the population to available high-level expertise and services better than any single provider.

REFERENCES

Abrego, L. J. (2006). "I can't go to college because I don't have papers": Incorporation patterns of Latino undocumented youth. Latino Studies, 4(3), 212-231.

Abrego, L. (2008). Legitimacy, social identity, and the mobilization of law: The effects of Assembly Bill 540 on undocumented students in California. Law & Social Inquiry, 33(3), 709-734.

Anderson-Butcher, D., Newsome, W. S., & Ferrari, T. M. (2003). Participation in boys and girls clubs and relationships to youth outcomes. Journal of Community Psychology, 31(1), 39-55.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987) Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza. San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books.

Artiles, A. J., Rueda, R., Salazar, J. J., & Higareda, I. (2002). English-language learner representation in special education in California urban school districts. Racial inequity in special education, 117-136.

Auerbach, S. (2004). Engaging Latino parents in supporting college pathways: Lessons from a college access program. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 3(2), 125-145.

Auerbach, S. (2006). "If the Student Is Good, Let Him Fly": Moral Support for College Among Latino Immigrant Parents. Journal of Latinos and Education, 5(4), 275-292.

August, D., Shanahan, T., & Escamilla, K. (2009). English language learners: Developing literacy in second-language learners—Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth. Journal of Literacy Research, 41(4), 432-452.

Aviles, R. M. D., Guerrero, M. P., Howarth, H. B., & Thomas, G. (1999). Perceptions of Chicano/Latino students who have dropped out of school. Journal of Counseling and Development: JCD, 77(4), 465.

Ayón, C. (2014). Service Needs among Latino Immigrant Families: Implications for Social Work Practice. Social work, 59(1), 13-23.

Baker, A. J., Piotrkowski, C. S., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1999). The home instruction program for preschool youngsters (HIPPY). The Future of Children, 116-133.

Bandura, A., Blanchard, E. B., & Ritter, B. (1969). Relative efficacy of desensitization and modeling approaches for inducing behavioral, affective, and attitudinal changes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 13(3), 173-199.

Bartlett, L., & García, O. (2011). Additive schooling in subtractive times: Bilingual education and Dominican immigrant youth in the Heights. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press

Bernal, D. D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. Qualitative inquiry, 8(1), 105-126.

Blok, H., Fukkink, R. G., Gebhardt, E. C., & Leseman, P. P. (2005). The relevance of delivery mode and other programme characteristics for the effectiveness of early childhood intervention. International Journal of Behavioral Development, 29(1), 35-47.

Boris, E. T., & Steuerle, C. E. (2006). Nonprofits & government: Collaboration & conflict. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press

Brewster, A. B., & Bowen, G. L. (2004). Teacher support and the school engagement of Latino middle and high school students at risk of school failure. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 21(1), 47-67.

Brooks-Gunn, J., Berlin, L. J., & Fuligni, A. S. (2000). Early childhood intervention programs: What about the family? In J. P. Shonkoff & S. J. Meisels (Eds.), Handbook of Early Childhood Intervention, (549-88). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, R. F., Bhutow, P. N., Sherrock, M. A., Henman, M., Boyle, F., Goldstein, D., & Tattersall, M. H. N. (2004). Education and role modeling for clinical decisions with female cancer patients. Health Expectations, 7(4), 303-316.

Bruno, J. E., & Isken, J. A. (1996). Inter-and Intra-school Site Student Transiency: Practical and Theoretical Implications for Instructional Continuity at Inner City Schools. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 29(4), 239-52.

Burgos, A. E., Schetzina, K. E., Dixon, L. B., & Mendoza, F. S. (2005). Importance of generational status in examining access to and utilization of health care services by Mexican American children. Pediatrics, 115(3), e322-e330.

Burkander, K. (2013). Mentoring. In J. Ainsworth (Ed.) Sociology of education: An a-to-z guide. (pp. 459-461). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cabrera, A. F., & La Nasa, S. M. (2000). Three critical tasks America's disadvantaged face on their path to college. New Directions for Institutional Research, 2000(107), 23-29.

Callahan, R. M. (2005). Tracking and high school English learners: Limiting opportunity to learn. American Educational Research Journal, 42(2), 305-328.

Callahan, R., Wilkinson, L., Muller, C., & Frisco, M. (2009). ESL placement and schools effects on immigrant achievement. Educational Policy, 23(2), 355-384.

Capps, R., & Fortuny, K. (2006). Immigration and child and family policy. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Carreón, G. P., Drake, C., & Barton, A. C. (2005). The importance of presence: Immigrant parents' school engagement experiences. American Educational Research Journal, 42(3), 465-498.

Chase-Lansdale, P. L., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2014). Two-generation programs in the twenty-first century. The Future of Children, 24(1), 13-39.

Chaudry, A., & Fortuny K. (2010). Children of immigrants: Economic well-being." Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2001). A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male immigrants in Canada. Demography, 38(3), 391-409.

Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. American Psychologist, 64(3), 170.

Cooper, C. R., Denner, J., & Lopez, E. M. (1999). Cultural brokers: Helping Latino children on pathways toward success. The Future of Children, 51-57.

Coppel, J., J. Dumont and I. Visco (2001), "Trends in Immigration and Economic Consequences", OECD Economics Department Working Papers, No. 284, OECD Publishing.

Cordero-Guzmán, H. R. (2005). Community-based organisations and migration in New York City. Journal of ethnic and migration studies, 31(5), 889-909.

Crosnoe, R. (2006). Mexican roots, American schools. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Crosnoe, R., & Kalil, A. (2010). Educational progress and parenting among Mexican immigrant mothers of young children. Journal of Marriage and Family, 72(4), 976-990.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. Harvard Educational Review, 56(1), 18-37.

Darder, A. (1991). Culture and power in the classroom: A critical foundation for bicultural education. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Delgado Bernal, D. (2002) Critical race theory, LatCrit theory and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: recognizing Students of Color as holders and creators of knowledge, Qualitative Inquiry, 8(1), 105–126.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1991). Involving parents in the schools: A process of empowerment. American Journal of Education, 100(1), 20-46.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1992). School matters in the Mexican-American home: Socializing children to education. American Educational Research Journal, 29(3), 495-513.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1994). Consejos: The power of cultural narratives. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 25(3), 298-316.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (2001). The power of community: Mobilizing for family and schooling. Boulder, CO:: Rowman & Littlefield.

Evans, G. W., Li, D., & Whipple, S. S. (2013). Cumulative risk and child development. Psychological Bulletin, 139(6), 1342–1396.

Fass, P. (1989). Outside in: Minorities and the transformation of American education. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Fass, P. (2007). Children of a new world: Society, culture and globalization. New York: New York University Press

Figueroa, R. (2005). Dificultades o desabilidades de aprendizaje?. Learning Disability Quarterly. 28(2), 163-167.

Fix, M. (2007). Securing the Future: US Immigrant Integration Policy. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Flores, G., Abreu, M., Olivar, M. A., & Kastner, B. (1998). Access barriers to health care for Latino children. Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, 152(11), 1119-1125.

Fruchter, N., Cahill, M., & Wahl, E. (1998). Building capacity: A review of technical assistance strategies. New York, NY: Institute for Education and Social Policy.

Gándara, P. (1995). Over the ivy walls: The educational mobility of low-income Chicanos. Albany, NY:: State University of New York Press.

Gándara, P. (2002). A study of high school puente: What we have learned about preparing Latino youth for postsecondary education. Educational Policy, 16(4), 474-495.

García, O., & Baker, C. (Eds.). (1995). Policy and practice in bilingual education: Extending the foundations. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

García, S. B., Wilkinson, C. Y., & Ortiz, A. A. (1995). Enhancing achievement for language minority students: Classroom, school, and family contexts. Education and Urban Society, 27(4), 441-462.

Gardner, M., Roth, J., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). Adolescents' participation in organized activities and developmental success 2 and 8 years after high school: do sponsorship, duration, and intensity matter?. Developmental Psychology, 44(3), 814.

Gasper, J., DeLuca, S., & Estacion, A. (2012). Switching schools revisiting the relationship between school mobility and high school dropout. American Educational Research Journal, 49(3), 487-519.

Glick, J. E., Bates, L., & Yabiku, S. T. (2009). Mother's age at arrival in the United States and early cognitive development. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24(4), 367-380.

Goldrick-Rab, S., Carter, D. F., & Wagner, R. W. (2007). What higher education has to say about the transition to college. Teachers College Record, 109(10), 2444-2481.

Gomby, D. S., Culross, P., & Behrman, R. (1999). Home visiting: Recent program evaluations — Analysis and recommendations. The Future of Children, 9, 4–26.

Gomby, D. S. (2007). The promise and limitations of home visiting: Implementing effective programs. Child Abuse & Neglect, 31(8), 793-799.

Gonzales, R. G. (2010). On the wrong side of the tracks: Understanding the effects of school structure and social capital in the educational pursuits of undocumented immigrant students. Peabody Journal of Education, 85(4), 469-485.

Gonzales, R. G. (2011). Learning to be illegal: Undocumented youth and shifting legal contexts in the transition to adulthood. American Sociological Review, 76(4), 602-619.

Grieco, E., E. Trevelyan, L. Larsen, Y. Acosta, C. Gambino, P. de la Cruz, T. Gryn, and N. Walters. (2012). The Size, Place of Birth, and Geographic Distribution of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 1960 to 2010. Population Division Working Paper No. 96. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.

Grindal, T., Bowne, J. B., Yoshikawa, H., Schindler, H. S., Duncan, G. J., Magnuson, K., & Shonkoff, J. P. (2016). The added impact of parenting education in early childhood education programs: A meta-analysis. Children and Youth Services Review, 70, 238-249.

Gutiérrez, R. (2002). Beyond essentialism: The complexity of language in teaching mathematics to Latina/o students. American Educational Research Journal, 39(4), 1047-1088.

Haberstroh, S., Gee, R., & Arredondo, R. (2008). Community-based interventions for addressing alcohol and tobacco dependence in Latino communities: Adapting consensually derived guidelines. Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly, 26(4), 464-479.

Hansen, D. M., Larson, R. W., & Dworkin, J. B. (2003). What adolescents learn in organized youth activities: A survey of self-reported developmental experiences. Journal of research on adolescence, 13(1), 25-55.

Hernandez, D. J., & Cervantes, W. D. (2011). Children in immigrant families: Ensuring opportunity for every child in America. New York, NY: Foundation for Child Development.

Hernandez, M. Y., & Organista, K. C. (2013). Entertainment–Education? A Fotonovela? A New Strategy to Improve Depression Literacy and Help-Seeking Behaviors in At-Risk Immigrant Latinas. American Journal of Community Psychology, 52(3-4), 224-235.

Hernandez, D. J., Takanishi, R., & Marotz, K. G. (2009). Life circumstances and public policies for young children in immigrant families. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24(4), 487-501.

Herrera, C., DuBois, D. L., & Grossman, J. B. (2013). The Role of Risk: Mentoring Experiences and Outcomes for Youth with Varying Risk Profiles. New York, NY: MDRC.

Hirschman, C. (2001). The educational enrollment of immigrant youth: A test of the segmented-assimilation hypothesis. Demography, 38(3), 317-336.

Hochschild, J. L. (1995). Facing up to the American dream: Race, class and the soul of the nation. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hofferth, S. L., & Jankuniene, Z. (2001). Life after School. Educational leadership, 58(7), 19-23.

Huston, A. C., Miller, C., Richburg-Hayes, L., Duncan, G. J., Eldred, C. A., Weisner, T. S., ... & Redcross, C. (2003). New Hope for Families and Children: Five-Year Results of a Program To Reduce Poverty and Reform Welfare. Summary Report. New York, NY: MDRC.

Izzo, C., Weiss, L., Shanahan, T., & Rodriguez-Brown, F. (2000). Parental self-efficacy and social support as predictors of parenting practices and children's socioemotional adjustment in Mexican immigrant families. Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community, 20(1-2), 197-213.

Jenkins, J. C. (1978). The demand for immigrant workers: Labor scarcity or social control?. International Migration Review, 514-535.

Jiobu, R. M. (1988). Ethnicity and Assimilation: Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Mexicans, Vietnamese, and Whites. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Kaminski, J. W., Valle, L. A., Filene, J. H., & Boyle, C. L. (2008). A meta-analytic review of components associated with parent training program effectiveness. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36(4), 567-589.

Kerbow, D. (1996). Patterns of urban student mobility and local school reform. Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 1(2), 147-169.

Keyes, L. C., Schwartz, A., Vidal, A. C., & Bratt, R. G. (1996). Networks and nonprofits: Opportunities and challenges in an era of federal devolution. Housing Policy Debate, 7(2), 201-229.

Kieffer, E. C., Caldwell, C. H., Welmerink, D. B., Welch, K. B., Sinco, B. R., & Guzmán, J. R. (2013). Effect of the healthy MOMs lifestyle intervention on reducing depressive symptoms among pregnant Latinas. American Journal of Community Psychology, 51, 76–89.

Kilburn, M. R., & Karoly, L. A. (2008). The Economics of Early Childhood Policy: What the Dismal Science Has to Say about Investing in Children. Occasional Paper. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

Koda, K. (2007). Reading and language learning: Crosslinguistic constraints on second language reading development. Language learning, 57(s1), 1-44.

Lareau, A. (1987). Social class differences in family-school relationships: The importance of cultural capital. Sociology of Education, 73-85.

Lareau, A., & Horvat, E. M. (1999). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. Sociology of Education, 37-53.

Lauer, P. A., Akiba, M., Wilkerson, S. B., Apthorp, H. S., Snow, D., & Martin-Glenn, M. L. (2006). Out-of-school-time programs: A meta-analysis of effects for at-risk students. Review of educational research, 76(2), 275-313.

Layzer, J. I., & St. Pierre, R. G. (1996). Early childhood programs: Adding a two-generation perspective. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates.

Lee, S. (2005). Up against whiteness: Races, school, and immigrant youth. New York; Teachers College Press.

London, M. (2010). Understanding social advocacy: An integrative model of motivation, strategy, and persistence in support of corporate social responsibility and social entrepreneurship. Journal of Management Development, 29(3), 224-245.

Louie, V. (2007). Who makes the transition to college? Why we should care, what we know, and what we need to do. Teachers College Record, 109(10), 2222-2251.

Lukes, M. (2014). Pushouts, shutouts, and holdouts: educational experiences of Latino immigrant young adults in New York City. Urban Education, 49(7), 806-834.

Martinez-Cosio, M. (2010). Parents' Roles in Mediating and Buffering the Implementation of an Urban School Reform. Education and Urban Society, 42(3), 283-306.

McGuigan, W. M., Katzev, A. R., & Pratt, C. C. (2003). Multi-level determinants of retention in a home-visiting child abuse prevention program. Child Abuse & Neglect, 27(4), 363-380.

Milner, H. R. (2013). Analyzing poverty, learning, and teaching through a critical race theory lens. Education in Research, 37(1), 1–53.

Mulroy, E. A., & Shay, S. (1998). Motivation and reward in nonprofit interorganizational collaboration in low-income neighborhoods. Administration in Social Work, 22(4), 1-17.

New York City Department of City Planning (2013) The newest New Yorkers: Characteristics of the city's foreign-born population, 2013 edition. (NYC DCP #13-10). New York, NY: The City of New York

Newland, K., Tanaka, H., & Barker, L. (2007). Bridging Divides: The Role of Ethnic Community-Based Organizations in Refugee Integration. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Nievar, M. A., Van Egeren, L. A., & Pollard, S. (2010). A meta-analysis of home visiting programs: Moderators of improvements in maternal behavior. Infant Mental Health Journal, 31(5), 499-520.

Noguera, P. (2003). City schools and the American dream: Reclaiming the promise of American education. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Olneck, M. R. (2006). Assimilation and American national identity. In R. Ueda, (Ed)., A companion to American immigration (pp. 202–224). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Olsen, Laurie. (1997). Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools. New York, NY: The New Press.

Orellana, M. F. (2003). Responsibilities of children in Latino immigrant homes. New Directions for Student Leadership, 2003(100), 25-39.

Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project.

Ortega, A. N., Fang, H., Perez, V. H., Rizzo, J. A., Carter-Pokras, O., Wallace, S. P., & Gelberg, L. (2007). Health care access, use of services, and experiences among undocumented Mexicans and other Latinos. Archives of Internal Medicine, 167(21), 2354-2360.

O'Toole, W. N. (1979). Effects of practice and some methodological considerations in training counseling interviewing skills. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 26(5), 419-426.

Paris, R., & Dubus, N. (2005). Staying connected while nurturing an infant: A challenge of new motherhood. Family Relations, 54(1), 72-83.

Pérez, L. M., & Martinez, J. (2008). Community health workers: Social justice and policy advocates for community health and well-being. American Journal of Public Health, 98, 11–14.

Perez, P. A., & McDonough, P. M. (2008). Understanding Latina and Latino college choice: A social capital and chain migration analysis. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 7(3), 249-265.

Pettit, G. S., Bates, J. E., Dodge, K. A., & Meece, D. W. (1999). The impact of after-school peer contact on early adolescent externalizing problems is moderated by parental monitoring, perceived neighborhood safety, and prior adjustment. Child development, 70(3), 768-778.

Pew Hispanic Center. (2013). A Nation of immigrants: A portrait of the 40 million, including 11 million unauthorized. Washington, DC: Author

Phillips, M., Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G. J., Klebanov, P., & Crane, J. (1998). Family background, parenting practices, and the black-white test score gap. In C. Jencks & M. Phillips (Eds.), The black-white test score gap (pp. 102-145). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Pierce, K. M., Hamm, J. V., & Vandell, D. L. (1999). Experiences in after-school programs and children's adjustment in first-grade classrooms. Child development, 70(3), 756-767.

Planas, N., & Civil, M. (2013). Language-as-resource and language-as-political: tensions in the bilingual mathematics classroom. Mathematics Education Research Journal, 25(3), 361-378.

Portwood, S. G., Ayers, P. M., Kinnison, K. E., Waris, R. G., & Wise, D. L. (2005). YouthFriends: Outcomes from a school-based mentoring program. The Journal of Primary Prevention, 26(2), 129-188.

Posner, J. K., & Vandell, D. L. (1994). Low-income children's after-school care: Are there beneficial effects of after-school programs?. Child development, 65(2), 440-456.

Posner, J. K., & Vandell, D. L. (1999). After-school activities and the development of low-income urban children: a longitudinal study. Developmental psychology, 35(3), 868.

Radcliffe, R., & Bos, B. (2011). Mentoring approaches to create a college-going culture for at-risk secondary level students. American Secondary Education, 86-107.

Raphael, S., & Smolensky, E. (2009). Immigration and poverty in the United States. The American Economic Review, 99(2), 41-44.

Rodriguez, L. (2014). The time is now. New York, NY: Peter Lang

Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003). Stress within a bicultural context for adolescents of Mexican descent. Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 9(2), 171.

Roffman, J. G., Pagano, M. E., & Hirsch, B. J. (2001). Youth functioning and experiences in inner-city after-school programs among age, gender, and race groups. Journal of Child and family Studies, 10(1), 85-100.

Rotheram-Borus, M. J., Swendeman, D., & Chorpita, B. F. (2012). Disruptive innovations for designing and diffusing evidence-based interventions. American Psychologist, 67, 463–476.

Rothstein, R. (2004). Class and schools. New York, NY: Teachers College.

Rothstein, R. (2013). Why children from lower socioeconomic classes on average have lower academic achievement than middle-class children. In In P.L. Carter, & K.G. Welner (Eds.), Closing the opportunity gap: What America must do to give every child an even chance (pp.61-74). New York, NY: Oxford.

Sarason, I. G., Sarason, B. R., & Pierce, G. R. (1990). Social support: The search for theory. Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 9(1), 133-147.

Selsky, J. & Parker, B. (2005). Cross-Sector Partnerships to Address Social Issues: Challenges to Theory and Practice. Journal of Management, 31(6), 849-873.

Slade, A. (2002). Keeping the baby in mind: A critical factor in perinatal mental health. Zero to three, 22(6), 10-16.

Smith R. C. 2006. Mexican New York: Transnational lives of new immigrants. Berkeley, CA: Univ. Calif. Press.

Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2001). Manufacturing hope and despair: The school and kin support networks of US-Mexican youth. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Stanton-Salazar, R. D., & Spina, S. U. (2003). Informal mentors and role models in the lives of urban Mexican-origin adolescents. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 34(3), 231-254.

St. Pierre, R. G., Layzer, J. I., & Barnes, H. V. (1995). Two-generation programs: Design, cost, and short-term effectiveness. The Future of Children, 76-93.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). Children of immigration. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2009). Educating Latino Immigrant Students in the Twenty-First Century: Principles for the Obama Administration. Harvard Educational Review, 79(2), 327-340.

Suárez-Orozco, C. M. Suárez-Orozco M. & Todorova, I. (2008). Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Gaytán, F. X., Bang, H. J., Pakes, J., O'connor, E., & Rhodes, J. (2010). Academic trajectories of newcomer immigrant youth. Developmental psychology, 46(3), 602.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Yoshikawa, H., & Tseng, V. (2015). Intersecting Inequalities: Research to Reduce Inequality for Immigrant-Origin Children and Youth. William T. Grant Foundation.

Sweet, M. A., & Appelbaum, M. I. (2004). Is home visiting an effective strategy? A meta-analytic review of home visiting programs for families with young children. Child Development, 75(5), 1435-1456.

Takaki, R. (1989). Strangers from a different shore. New York, NY: Penguin.

Torrez, N. (2004). Developing parent information frameworks that support college preparation for Latino students. The High School Journal, 87(3), 54-62.

Treschan, L. (2010). Latino youth in New York City: School, work, and income trends for New York's largest group of young people. New York, NY: Community Service Society.

Trist, E. 1983. Referent Organizations and the Development of Inter-Organizational Domains. Human Relations, 36(3), 269-284.

Tyack, D. B. (2003). Seeking common ground: Public schools in a diverse society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Valdés, G. (1996). Con respeto: Bridging the distances between culturally diverse families and schools: An ethnographic portrait. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Valdés, G. (2001). Learning and not learning English: Latino students in American schools. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). Subtractive schooling: US-Mexican youth and the politics of caring. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Vernez, G., & Abrahamse, A. (1996). How Immigrants Fare in US Education. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Wolch, J. R. (1996). Community-based human service delivery. Housing Policy Debate, 7(4), 649-671.

Yoshikawa, H. (1994). Prevention as cumulative protection: effects of early family support and education on chronic delinquency and its risks. Psychological Bulletin, 115(1), 28.

Yoshikawa, H. (2011). Immigrants raising citizens: Undocumented parents and their children. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Yoshikawa, H., Kholoptseva, J., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2013). The role of public policies and community-based organizations in the developmental consequences of parent undocumented status. Social Policy Report, 27(3), 1-17.

Yoshikawa, H., Weiland, C., Ulvestad, K., Perreira, K. M., & Crosnoe, R. (2014). Improving access of low-income immigrant families to health and human services. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. Race Ethnicity and Education, 8(1), 69-91.

Zalaquett, C. P., & Lopez, A. D. (2006). Learning from the stories of successful undergraduate Latina/Latino students: The importance of mentoring. Mentoring & Tutoring, 14(3), 337-353.

APPENDIX A: PROJECT DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This three-year project used both qualitative and quantitative methods. The project consisted of three parts: (1) examining theories of change across the networks, (2) describing the process and implementation of the networks, and (3) capturing key initiative outcomes in order to provide a maximum amount of formative and summative feedback to both the individual site project managers, as well as to the Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation around the foundation's three stated objectives in the networks' respective communities. This appendix details the methodology for collecting and analyzing the data that led to the findings conveyed in the body of this report.

Data collection

In first six months of the project, the project activities focused on identifying each of the funded network's theory of change—that is, the processes and mechanisms through which they hoped to achieve their goals. Metro Center evaluators used these theories of change to identify specific outcomes and methodologies for the process and implementation and outcome stages of the project, and to provide a basis for developing cross-case comparisons between the funded networks and determining project sustainability and generalizability.

After reviewing all of the network proposals, Metro Center and the Youth Development Institute (YDI) arranged initial meetings with key personnel from each project to give each network a chance to define their logic model and to give Metro Center and YDI a chance to ask any clarifying questions about each network's proposal and expected outcomes and metrics. Metro Center and YDI used structured activities to flesh out their program models and theories of change not stated explicitly in the project proposals. Following these initial meetings, researchers conducted site visits as well as conducted formal and informal interviews with program staff and participants. Additionally, Metro Center distributed surveys to the networks and worked with network staff to identify program participants who might be willing to take part in interviews about their experiences within their respective networks. Metro Center also collected program documents and copies of work generated through network meetings with YDI.[27] These program documents included program data, attendance data, and (when available) program outcome data.

The primary instrument used in the qualitative portion of the AAMC program study was the formal semi-structured interview. Interviewees were staff and participants at the five AAMC networks. Different interview protocols were used for the different levels and types of program staff, for parents who participated or whose children participated, and for youth participants. All of the protocols were designed to evaluate the program's theory of change, its process, implementation, and its outcomes. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed for the more natural conversation needed to capture the authentic experiences of those interviewed while still ensuring the questions designed to target the project goals were addressed. In total, Metro Center conducted formal interviews with 58 program participants, and 36 program staff members and stakeholders providing services through the networks. These

---

[27] Metro Center, YDI, and the Jaime Lucero Mexican Studies Institute also participated in planning meetings and strategy meetings with the networks in which network staff shared program outcomes, and as a group, we discussed possible ways to measure these program outcomes. Additionally, formative feedback was provided to the networks, YDI, and DBAF.

interviews focused primarily on individuals who were involved in core programs or who had participated in multiple program offerings in their respective networks.[28] Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish, depending on the preference of the interview participant. Interviews conducted in Spanish were facilitated and translated by Spanish-speaking interviewers. Surveys were provided in both English and Spanish. In instances where there were low levels of literacy, the surveys were proctored.

Each network collected their own data relative to their program goals. These program data included interviews, surveys, and other key program outcomes (e.g., assessments, student grades, attendance). Metro Center and YDI met with the Network leaders to provide support around this data collection and to give advice on how networks could align their data collection with the initiative goals and reporting requirements. Network reports containing these data were shared with Metro Center and incorporated into our analysis.

Metro Center also collected data directly from programs to describe the overall initiative. In order to describe the development and implementation of the five community-based neighborhood networks, over the course of the initiative we conducted field observations, interviews, and surveys.

Field Observations

Field observations were used to observe large program activities as well as group settings. During that time, we recorded in our notes key interactions and activities as well as spoke with program staff and participants (informal interviews) to learn more about the network program.

Interviews

We used semi-structured interviews to discuss with the participants (parents and youth) and staff members four program aspects: (1) program access, (2) program implementation, (3) effective strategies or program activities, and (4) challenges.

The interviews with program participants (parents and older youth) and program staff were in-depth, semi-structured interviews, lasting up to an hour. In interviewing program participants we inquired with parents and youth about their experiences in the program and the benefits of participating in the sessions. Participants shared their overall impressions of the network, staff, and programs as well as benefits they received through their participation in the program. In interviewing program staff, we asked about key aspects of the program (e.g., program activities and goals) as well as reflect on the experiences of program participants. These interviews were conducted in English or Spanish depending on the comfortability of the interviewee. Network leaders chose interview dates and all interviewees volunteered for participation.

In addition to conducting interviews with participants and program staff, we also interviewed network leaders, with each leader participating in multiple hour-long interviews throughout the course of the initiative. These interviews focused on the network theory of change, key programs, and the experiences of

---

[28] Beginning in Year 2 of the project, Metro Center reached out the networks semi-annually to recruit program participants who might be willing to participate in interviews and surveys. This outreach continued through the remainder of the project. The overall survey response was too low to use in this report. Metro Center staff went to several programs to conduct surveys in-person, but the limited level of literacy meant they had to be proctored and the responses may not have been valid.

program staff and participants. Additionally, network leaders took part in initiative meetings where they shared key program outcomes and challenges and discussed their own data collection.

Surveys

We implemented surveys to participants and program staff. Parents were asked their general demographics, the types of services received, the ways in which the program supported them or their children, and the support quality offered by the program staff and the program activities in which they were enrolled. Staff members were asked about general demographics, their job title, their qualifications (e.g., certification), their role in the program, the amount of hours they work, the program implementation conditions, and the challenges faced throughout the implementation.

Surveys were provided in both English and Spanish. In instances where there were low-levels of literacy, the surveys were proctored. Surveys were also given to networks for distribution. Due to the limited survey response, data from the surveys was used only to confirm findings and not generate any new findings.

We collected at least seven participant interviews from each site and at least 15 total interviews (participant and staff) from each site. These provided a sufficient saturation of responses for each network (Namey, 2016). [29] In total over 90 people participated in an in-depth interview about their experiences in the initiative.

Table 12: Program Participants

	Program Participants			Staff (including network leaders)
	Parents	Older Youth (ages 16-21)	Total Program Participants	
Interviews	46	12	58	36
Surveys	28	9	59	--

Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed and those that were in Spanish were translated to English. Using specialized software we assigned codes to the transcripts. The matrix code we used consisted of emergent and prior categories that described the program features that parent, adolescents, and staff highlighted as relevant for the program success. After coding, researchers met to discuss disparities and to articulate emergent codes.

An analysis of the transcripts was conducted in order to identify across networks which program factors (e.g., implementation strategies, type of support, etc.) participants and staff members highlighted as relevant for the program success. We also coded for program outcomes (e.g., literacy outcomes,

---

[29] Namey, E., Guest, G., McKenna, K., & Chen, M. (2016). Evaluating bang for the buck: A cost-effectiveness comparison between individual interviews and focus groups based on thematic saturation levels. American Journal of Evaluation, 37(3), 425-440.

engagement, access, etc.) and greater AAMC initiative outcomes (e.g., building a community network, expanded reach, etc.).

To validate the findings we triangulated the information from the different data sources (program data, interviews, surveys, and observations). This triangulation allowed us to develop a portrait of each program as well as the overall initiative.

APPENDIX B: EXTENDED PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Table 13. Port Richmond

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached[30] [31] [32]	337	>700	>700	>1737
Unduplicated Individuals Served	NR[33]	436	105	541
Families Served	25	85	68	178
Unduplicated Families Served	25	85	32	142
Promotores Students	51	116	28	195
Promotores Mothers	25	30	16	71
Key Programs and Activities[34] [35] [36]				
Large-scale community events	280	>800	>500	>1380
Families participating at HUB Afterschool centers at Make the Road and El Centro	32	62	68	162
HUB events: (morning reading, after-school, and standalone literacy events)	>280	101	NR	>382
Individuals Referred to Outside Svc	NR	279	179	458
Summer Program	12	12	16	40
Pre-K	24	NR	NR	24
Before/Afterschool HW Help	32	224*	56	312
Literacy Classes	NR	52	75	127
Parent ESL Class	NR	15	12	27
Book distribution (# people)	NR	130	145	275
Employment	4	NR	NR	4
Parent Empowerment	NR	13	16	29
Weekly Hours of programming	NR	127	NR	

*Breakfast reading club totals included

---

[30] Annual Report, Year 1. Sum of totals from narratives of attendance for Promotores, Major Activities, Hub Literacy activities, Day of the Dead celebration, Holiday Book Reading, and Cinco de Mayo reading circles.
[31] Annual Report, Year 2. "People Reached."
[32] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached."
[33] "NR" = Not reported in the Annual report for that year and category.
[34] Annual Report, Year 1. "HUB Literacy Activities" and "People Reached."
[35] Year 2, Annual Report. Sum of Day of the Dead celebration, holiday celebration, Healthy Family Festival, Daffodil Festival, Cinco de Mayo Festival reading circles and book distribution attendance.
[36] Annual Report, Year 3. Sum of Cinco de Mayo Festival and Literacy Hub events.

Table 14. Port Richmond, weekly hours of programming[37]

	Project Hospitality	Wagner	Make the Road	El Centro	Total
Breakfast Club		26			26
Wagner literacy classes		46			46
After school programming	20	22	15	12	27
ESL	9				9
Parent empowerment			3		3
Summer activities	3				3
Hub activities (?)	3				3
Referrals (by type?)	10				10
Weekly Total	45	94	18	12	127

[37] Year 2 Totals, obtained from Year 3 Annual Report, Appendix B.

Table 15. East Harlem

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached[38] [39] [40] [41]	328	2323	740	3391
Unduplicated Individuals Served	NR	341	NR	341
Individuals Reached through Workshops	NR	651	135	786
Families Reached by Core Programs (with duplication)	821	NR	NR	821
Unduplicated Families Reached by Core Programs	147	NR	NR	147
Large-scale community events	NR	1672	NR	1672
Key Programs and Activities	NR	587	NR	587
Referrals	821	NR	NR	821
Case management[42] [43]	117	128	54 families	$\geq$ 299
Workshops	NR	NR	193	193
Number of total Families Receiving Workshops	109	NR	NR	109
Number of Families in Adult Literacy Workshops	10	125	NR	135
Special Education Workshops	2	NR	1	3
Immigration Workshops (Mobile Mexican Consulate)	2	2	2	6
Financial Literacy Workshops	NR	NR	16	16
Group Workshops	NR	135	379	514
Hours of programming	NR	212	186	>398

---

[38] Annual Report, Year 1. "Progress and Milestones."
[39] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached." (Year 1 totals were reported in Year 2 report.)
[40] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached."
[41] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached."
[42] The Year 1 Annual Report and Year 2 Annual Report give conflicting numbers for Year 1 (77 vs. 117). We erred on the side of the Year 2 Report on the assumption the number was likely updated after the Year 1 report was completed.
[43] The Year 3 Annual Report provided the number of families, not individuals, thus the numbers across all three years are not consistently measured.

Table 16. Mott Haven

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached[44][45][46][47][48][49][50]	310	662	1385	2357
Mexican Individuals Reached	310	130	788	918
Unduplicated Individuals Reached	NR	311	656	1277
Students- direct service[51][52]	92	91	246	429
Siblings	NR	32	NR	32
Adults- direct service[53]	NR	108	NR	108
Adults- indirect service	40	80	NR	120
Persons Reached by Key Programs and Activities[54][55]	324	1898	2275	4497
Served by Direct Programming	142	638	547	788
Unduplicated Individuals Served by Direct Programming	70	172	154	394
Large-scale community events	NR	702	1327	2029
Summer Literacy Program	16	35	16	67
Referrals to Outside Services	310	311	351	972
Families Reached[56][57][58][59]				
Home Visitor Program Families	16	16	25	57
Home Visitor Program Completers	16	16	100% on track to complete	32
Family Support Group Sessions	5	4	5	14
Families Referred to Outside Svcs.	52	280	223	892
Cases Managed	96	NR	40	136
Home Visits Conducted	736	736	736	2208
Academic Goals Met[60][61]	Year 1 (NR)	Year 2	Year 3	
English Language Proficiency	-	50% of students reported gains of 5 to 10 points in grades on report cards	80% improved or maintained	

[44] Annual Report, Year 1. "People reached."
[45] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached," sum of individuals reached plus referrals for that year.
[46] Annual Report, Year 3. "People reached," includes all Mexicans living in Mott Haven.
[47] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached." Total served unduplicated Mexican and Mexican-Hispanic.
[48] Annual Report, Year 2. "Common indicators of success."
[49] Annual Report, Year 3. "Appendix 1: People Served."
[50] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached."
[51] Annual Report, Year 1. "People reached," Pre-K, Summer Literacy, and PCHP totals summed.
[52] Annual Report, Year 3. "Appendix 1: People Served."
[53] Annual Report, Year 1. "People reached." Direct and indirect services not disaggregated in Year 1 report.
[54] Numbers may include duplicates and members outside the target population.
[55] Annual Report, Year 3. "Appendix 1: People Served."
[56] Annual Report, Year 1. "People reached."
[57] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached."
[58] Annual Report, Year 2. "Appendix A."
[59] Annual Report, Year 3. "Major Activities, Milestones, and Accomplishments."
[60] Annual Report, Year 2. "Common Indicators of Success."
[61] Annual Report, Year 3. "Progress Toward Activities and Associated Outcomes."

		90% improved	.3 gain in GPA	
Literacy	-			
ASQ	-	227	234	461
Number Completed Homework Helpers	-	52	NR	52
Number Completed Summer Literacy Program	-	35	186	221
Completed a year of playgroup	-	12	53	65
Services Provided[62] [63] [64]	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Daycare/Pre-K (Families)	21	24	28	73
Summer Pre-K	NR	27	40	67
Before/Afterschool HW Help	NR	170	246	416
Book distribution (# people)	208	208	367	783
Toys Distributed	176	176	367	719
Home visits	726	736	700	2162
Adult Literacy Workshops	14	14	26	54
Hours of Service[65] [66]	NR	761	4120	4881
Playgroup/Pre-K	-	48	62	110
Before/After-school/ Summer Literacy Program	-	18	347	365
Family Workshops	-	8	34	42
Case Mgmt and Referrals	-	92	2080	2272
Public/Community Events	-	45	46	91

Reached = participated in any event   Served = received a direct program service

---

[62] Annual Report, Year 1. "Major Activities, Milestones, and Accomplishments."
[63] Annual Report, Year 2. "People Reached," "Common Indicators of Success," and "Appendix A: Tables on People Reached and Common Indicators of Success."
[64] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached" and "Appendix 1: People Served."
[65] Annual Report, Year 2. "Appendix A. Hours not reported in Year 1."
[66] Annual Report, Year 3. "Appendix 2: Service Hours by Program"

Table 17. Bushwick

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached[67] [68] [69] [70]	1607	2471	1612	5283
Mexican Community Members	336	597	656	1589
Target Population Reached	111	237	268	616
Persons Reached by Key Programs and Activities[71] [72]				
Community Events^	58	69	108	235
GROW Programs	17	29	29	75
Anchor UP	12	18	31	61
Parent Workshops	10	20	46	76
ESOL/JSELL Class	10	16	19*	45
College-career readiness (OSY, YAIP, Digital Career Path, Certified Admin. Asst.)	26	33	33*	92
College field trips	NR	NR	17	17
Immigration Services	4	7	10*	21
Hours of programming**	Y1 (not reported)	Y2	Y3	Two-year Total
Anchor UP	-	16	13.5	29.5
GROW	-	53	60	113
AELP	-	540	540	1080
OSY	-	700	700	1400
YAIP	-	490	490	980
MAA	-	350	350	700
Coding	-	252	252	504
Immigration consultations	-	1050	1050	2100
Parent Workshops	-	12	32	44
Community Outreach	-	312	316	628
Academic Outcomes[73]	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	
Completion of GROW	-	77%	-	
Completion of Anchor UP	-	72%	-	
Completion of OSY	-	89%	-	

*Some Year 3 outcomes were projections at time of reporting.

^Numbers reported for participation by target population.

---

[67] Report on Year 1, "Bushwick Network Actual Numbers Year 1."
[68] Report on Year 2, "People Reached."
[69] Report on Year 3, "People Reached in the Final Year."
[70] "Program Outcomes for Target Populations."
[71] Report on Year 3, "Program Outcomes for Target Population."
[72] Report on Year 2, Unnamed Appendix B
[73] Annual Report, Year 2. "Common Indicators of Success." Y1 and Y3 not reported.

Table 18. Jackson Heights

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Individuals Reached[74][75][76][77][78]				
Total Individuals Served	1837	1936	1809	5582
Unique Individuals Served	596	1107	1453	1926
Target Population Served (Cumulative)	1520	1660	1926	1926
Program Participants	120	104	34	258
Key Programs and Activities				
Summer Literacy Program Participants	12	13	15	40
ESL Classes	160	180	308	648
Employment	4	24	5	33
Workforce Training	68	113	105	286
Immigration Services	446	1141	1423	3010
Individual DACA recipients	168	225	148	533
Participants in DACA Workshops	NR	760	569	1497
Total Hours of Service[79][80]	300	1614	1782	3476
College and Career Readiness Outcomes[81]	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	
Target Pop. Attendance Rates	89%	96%	94%	
Credit accumulation rate (on track)	75%	86%	93%	
Graduation Rate	50%	66%	76%	
College applications submitted	28	27	11	
College visits	4	3	11	

[74] Annual Report, Year 2. "People reached." (Table). Sum of 2014-2015 PAIHS "Total Enrolled" and all 2014-2015 MRNY Mexican participants (includes duplication).

[75] Annual Report, Year 3. "People reached." (Table). Sum of 2015-2016 CUNY Mexican enrollment, PAIHS Mexican enrollment and Mexican participants, and MRNY total Mexican participants in all categories (includes duplication).

[76] Annual Report, Year 2. "People Reached." (Table). Derived from sum of all "# new" participants.

[77] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached." (Table). Derived from sum of all "# new" participants.

[78] Annual Report, Year 3. "People Reached: Grand Total Over Three Years." (Table). Appears to account for duplicated individuals across services and years.

[79] Only CUNY tracked hours in Year 1.

[80] Annual Report Year 3 "Appendix B: Indicators of Success." Year 2 and 3 totals are lower-bound limits. Data provided by organization indicate the numbers were larger but indeterminately so.

[81] Annual Report Year 3 "Appendix B: Indicators of Success."