

ARTICLE

A Global Call for Two-Generation Approaches to Child Development and Caregivers' Livelihoods

Teresa Eckrich Sommer¹  | Emily Franchett² | Hirokazu Yoshikawa² | Joan Lombardi³

¹Institute for Policy Research,
Northwestern University, Evanston,
Illinois, USA

²New York University Steinhardt School
of Culture, Education, and Human
Development, New York City, New York,
USA

³Georgetown University, Washington,
District of Columbia, USA

Correspondence

Teresa Eckrich Sommer, Institute for
Policy Research, Northwestern University,
2040 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208,
USA.

Email: t-sommer@northwestern.edu

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Abstract

Interest in two-generation approaches to improve the developmental outcomes of children and their caregivers and the economic well-being of families has increased amid persistent child and family poverty worldwide. Grounded in a dual developmental science perspective and the theory of linked lives, these approaches maximize developmental potential by addressing the interrelated educational, economic, and developmental needs of children and their caregivers. They offer coordinated, aligned, and simultaneous services for at least two generations in the same family. In this article, we propose that from a global perspective, two-generation approaches that harness synergies among children and their caregivers are likely to be more effective than single-generation approaches in alleviating poverty and improving human development. We identify five models in different geographic regions of the world that promote the development of young children (0–6 years), the education and livelihood of their caregivers, and the well-being of both, which we group by type of program: quality child care, early childhood development+nonformal education for parents, and cash transfers+parenting. We close with a call for more research on two-generation programs and policies globally.

KEY WORDS

early child development, family well-being, human development, multi-generation, two-generation, whole family

Converging global trends and crises necessitate interconnected policies and programs that support children and their caregivers. The COVID-19 pandemic's effects on health, learning, and economic stability exposed gaps in policies and services supporting caregivers and young children, highlighting the interplay among children's early development, parents' education and income, and families' well-being (Benner & Mistry, 2020; McCoy et al., 2021; Yoshikawa et al., 2020). In this article, we use a dual developmental science framework and the theory of linked lives to advocate two-generation approaches over single-generation approaches (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Sabol et al., 2021; Sameroff, 2010).

Two-generation approaches are sometimes referred to as whole-family or multi-generation approaches to signal an emphasis on families and the interconnected strengths and needs of two or more generations in the same family. Our focus is not on parenting programs, but rather on interventions designed to simultaneously improve early childhood development (ECD) and the livelihood and income of children's caregivers. While parenting programs may feature a range of caregiver-focused strategies to enhance children's development, including improved skills, knowledge, well-being, and caregiver-child relationships, we do not consider them two-generation programs unless they focus explicitly on

Abbreviations: ECD, early childhood development; ESL, English as a Second Language; HDCT, Human Development Cash Transfer; NGO, nongovernmental organization; RCT, randomized controlled trial.

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caregivers' livelihood, earnings, and income, in addition to children's development.

Typically, two-generation interventions target parents and children, although other caregivers (e.g., grandparents) may also be included; few models intentionally and intensively serve more than two generations in one family. By our definition, these approaches offer services during different developmental periods: children in early childhood (0–6 years) and their caregivers in adulthood. Interventions often include child care, education, employment services, and supports to promote the physical and emotional well-being of children and caregivers and the quality of their relationships. Services may be tailored to specific caregiver groups (e.g., fathers; Jeong et al., 2023) or to addressing the distinctive developmental needs of adolescent and young adult parents (Wuermler et al., 2021).

What can we learn from two-generation approaches to inform global child and family policy and practice? In this article, we focus on program models from three illustrative categories: (1) high-quality child care (hereafter termed *quality child care*), (2) ECD for children + nonformal education for parents, and (3) cash transfers + parenting programs. These models address the developmental, economic, and educational needs of children and caregivers, and their outcomes have been studied rigorously. We conclude by discussing the strengths and limitations of these empirical designs, and propose directions for global two-generation practice and research.

INTRODUCTION TO A GLOBAL TWO-GENERATION APPROACH

A global two-generation approach *intentionally* and *simultaneously* links services that foster the early development and well-being of children, with interventions that promote the education, income, livelihood, and well-being of caregivers. Two-generation approaches align and coordinate programming while capitalizing on bidirectional gains emerging from cross-generation learning and development (Chase-Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Sabol et al., 2021). Caregivers may include mothers, fathers, grandparents, and other family and community members who regularly support children's well-being and development. Child-focused services often involve quality child care, early education, and learning supports, while caregiver-focused services involve education, employment/labor force participation, or cash transfers and income support. Two-generation approaches may also include services promoting the physical and emotional well-being of children and caregivers and the quality of their relationships.

A dual developmental science framework (Sabol et al., 2021) and the theory of linked lives (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Elder, 1998; Sameroff, 2010) underpin

the argument for two-generation approaches over single-generation approaches. Two-generation programs focus on developmental mastery across a range of areas that promote success in life for both generations, such as academic/language and other life and job skills, well-being and mental health, and caregiver-child relationships. The dual developmental science framework merges theory and research on the single-generation development of children and adults with dynamic theories of interdependence across generations and time (Sabol et al., 2021). It focuses on the interconnected life course of children and their caregivers, and on how the well-being of young children and their caregivers is deeply connected based on relational and bidirectional theories of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Elder, 1998; Sameroff, 2010). For instance, parents may enhance their capabilities through education, which can lead to increased household financial resources, which may support investments in children's home learning environments or improvements in parental well-being that promote children's development (Yeung et al., 2002). As children thrive, parents may be further motivated to advance their education and income, creating mutually reinforcing benefits over time (Chase-Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Sabol et al., 2021).

A call to action: Converging trends and crises

Although individuals experienced the COVID-19 pandemic unevenly within and across countries, for most, the virus and its effects heightened the need to consider families' economic and educational advancement as well as parents' mental health *in tandem* with child care and early education. Data from many countries show substantial increases in families' material hardship and psychological distress (Kola et al., 2021; McCoy et al., 2021; Racine et al., 2021; RAPID, 2023). A recent report by UNICEF highlights how children's and caregivers' mental health affects future learning, education, and economic well-being (Keeley, 2021). Psychological well-being is necessary for building human capital and livelihood, and therefore a critical component of two-generation strategies (Bossuroy et al., 2022; Ridley et al., 2020). (For the sociodemographic characteristics of the studies reviewed herein, see [Tables S1](#) and [S2](#).)

Parents' education and income are also strongly associated with positive outcomes in children's learning, development, and well-being (Jeong et al., 2017; Mindlin et al., 2009). Integrating social protection policies like cash transfers and other poverty-reduction programs for caregivers with programming to support the health and nutrition, mental health, and education of children is urgent. The nurturing care framework (World Health Organization et al., 2018) provides a strong basis for why and how to invest in the nurturing care of children globally, including calls to integrate supportive services,

empowered communities, and enabling policies (World Health Organization & United Nations Children's Fund, 2023). However, efforts to focus explicitly on the education and employment of parents alongside interventions for children have received less attention. In response, we call for a holistic approach to address the interdependent outcomes of children, parents, and families. This approach highlights the importance of comprehensive, multisector programming that coordinates services across child care, education, livelihood, and well-being to support two or more generations concurrently.

Two-generation programs may also promote gender-transformative strategies. For example, a dual focus on quality child care and caregivers' economic empowerment is likely to improve education and job access for women (Del Boca, 2015). Economic and social empowerment of female caregivers can lead to improved ECD outcomes (Ewerling et al., 2020). Two-generation approaches may also increase fathers' involvement in their children's development by explicitly addressing their dual role as providers and parents (Jeong et al., 2023). Increasing the involvement of both fathers and mothers in children's early development through two-generation interventions can help challenge gender stereotypes and improve gender equity (Comrie-Thomson et al., 2015; Jeong et al., 2023).

ILLUSTRATIVE TWO-GENERATION PROGRAM MODELS ACROSS THE GLOBE

Model identification and categorization

To illuminate two-generation approaches globally, we conducted a scoping review (a systematic and iterative approach to identify and synthesize an existing or emerging body of literature on a given topic) to identify programs that met the following criteria: addressed the developmental, economic, and educational needs of children and caregivers; represented a range of geographies; and involved rigorous studies of developmental outcomes across two or more generations, including nonparental caregivers. Given the limited amount of research on two-generation programming in low- and middle-income countries, we also prioritized examples in these countries that represented a range of distinctive program models and for which there was ample information detailing program and study design. We focused on three categories of two-generation programs: (1) high-quality child care, (2) ECD+parental nonformal education, and (3) cash transfers+parenting. Table 1 summarizes the types; implementers, partners, and funding; distinctive goals; core services; families reached; research design; and impact on children, parents, or families for each model.

High-quality child care

By providing nurturing care for children while parents work, high-quality child care by design promotes children's development *and* supports parents' livelihoods (Burchinal et al., 2022; Devercelli & Beaton-Day, 2020). Specifically, quality child care offers safety, early learning, socialization, and improved child development and nutrition (Ajayi et al., 2022; Bernal & Fernández, 2013; Bernal & Ramírez, 2019; Hojman & López Bóo, 2022) while also supporting employment and income and generating resources for parents and families (Ajayi et al., 2022; Attanasio, de Barros, et al., 2022; Hojman & López Bóo, 2022). For mothers, it may facilitate workforce re-entry after childbirth as well as employment opportunities (Devercelli & Beaton-Day, 2020; Halim et al., 2023; Revenga & Dooley, 2020), and it may promote parents' psychological well-being (Ajayi et al., 2022), which benefits children (Rogers et al., 2020).

Two child care models, in Brazil and Vietnam, illustrate the transformative potential of quality child care programs (see Table 1). Rio de Janeiro's city government expanded access to free, center-based child care for families with low incomes, offering a nurturing environment and regular meals, and supporting the workforce participation of caregivers. In a randomized controlled trial, researchers identified benefits to children's cognitive development and physical growth, household income, some parenting practices, and relatives' employment (Attanasio, de Barros, et al., 2022). In Vietnam, a non-governmental organization called OneSky collaborated with the government to improve informal child care quality in industrial zones, locations where many migrant worker mothers live and work. In a quasi-experimental study, researchers found enhanced pride and job satisfaction among child care providers, and improvements in child care quality, which were in turn associated with gains in children's development (see Table 1; Hentschel, Tran, et al., 2023).

The Brazil study demonstrates how expanding access to child care can meet diverse needs of both generations. Coordinating services across sectors can further enhance these aims; for example, medical and dental professionals visited centers to support children's health and nutrition (Attanasio, de Barros, et al., 2022). At 4- and 7-year follow-up testing, impacts on children's height for age and weight for age were comparable to the results of single-generation nutrition interventions (Attanasio, de Barros, et al., 2022; Bhutta et al., 2008). Although the Brazil study showed that the program positively affected children's cognitive development and the OneSky study found ties between child care quality and ECD, not all child-care access programs have yielded positive results (Kottelenberg & Lehrer, 2013). However, the OneSky study situates the importance of inputs to promote child care *quality*, while ensuring access and affordability

TABLE 1 Summary of illustrative two-generation models.

	Brazil	Vietnam	United States	Colombia	Madagascar
Type of model	Child care	Child care	ECD+nonformal education for parents	Cash transfer+parenting	Cash transfer+parenting
Model	Public child care in Rio de Janeiro ^a	OneSky Vietnam ^b	Community Action Project of Tulsa, Oklahoma's (CAP Tulsa) Two-Generation ESL Program ^c	Home visiting+Familias en Acción ^d	Parenting Groups+Human Development Cash Transfer ^e
Implementers, partners, funding	Delivered through municipal government of Rio de Janeiro's education system, funded by national government; local collaboration with government health professionals to deliver health and dental services for children	International NGO collaborating with government of Vietnam's education and training system at national and provincial levels, funded by international donors	Local NGO in partnership with city public school system, funded locally and federally	Government of Colombia's social welfare system in partnership with a research team, funded federally and through international donors	Collaboration among the government of Madagascar's social protection system, an international NGO, and the World Bank, funded nationally and through international donors
Distinctive goals	Expanding access to free public child care centers to families with low incomes for children aged 0–3 years	Improving informal child care quality for children aged 0–5 years through additional training for providers, with mentor visits and online resources	Adding ESL services for parents to center-based early childhood education for children aged 3–4 years (Head Start)	Adding home visiting services for parents of young children aged 12–24 months to conditional cash transfers linked to education and health service use	Adding group meetings for parents of young children aged 0–5 years to unconditional cash transfers
Services					
Child-focused	Center-based care using government curriculum and nutritional services	High-quality, nurturing care environment	High-quality, full-day ECD	Parents coached to provide psychosocial stimulation through activities using low-cost, homemade toys; children received biweekly micronutrient supplements	Parents coached to provide healthy, nutritious meals and stimulating interactions with children; two intervention groups also received support in (i) goal-planning or (ii) self-affirmation activities
Parent-focused	Free child care during working hours on weekdays	Low-cost, accessible child care for long work shifts	Free ESL classes with free child care, financial incentives, coaching, and family support services	Cash payment to improve economic well-being	Cash payment to improve economic well-being
Families served	Families with young children primarily from neighborhoods with low incomes in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Migrant workers and their young children from households with low incomes in four Vietnamese provinces	Immigrant parents of young children from households with low incomes served by countywide ECD program in Tulsa, Oklahoma, United States	Families with young children from households with low incomes in 96 towns in Colombia	Families with young children from households with low incomes in 309 villages in Madagascar

TABLE 1 (Continued)

	Brazil	Vietnam	United States	Colombia	Madagascar
Research design	Two-arm RCT (N=4350 children and parents)	Quasi-experimental (N=418 providers; N=1646 children and N=1217 parents)	Two-arm RCT (N=197 children and parents)	Four-arm cluster-RCT (N=1419 children and parents)	Four-arm cluster-RCT (N=4806 children and parents)
Baseline sample characteristics ^f					
Child	52% boys; 11% Black, 52% mixed race, 34% White	Mean age: 2.5 years; 51% boys; 7% stunted (low height for age)	Mean age: 4 years; 57% boys; 87% Latinx	Mean age: 18 months; 50% boys; 14% stunted	Mean age: 46 months; 44% boys
Parent and family	Mean age: 29 years; mean household size: 5	Parent: Mean age: 32 years; 75% mothers Child care provider: Mean age: 39 years; all female; 90% married	Mean age: 33 years; 98% mothers; 93% married or partnered; 89% Latinx; mean household size: 5	Mean age: 28 years; all mothers; 69% married; mean household size: 5	Mean age: 45 years; 79% female household heads; mean household size: 7
Impact on children's outcomes	<i>Short-term [6–11 months after lottery assignment]:</i> Winning lottery to attend program led to increased child care attendance <i>Medium-term [4 years after lottery assignment]:</i> Increased child care attendance; improved cognitive development; improved height- and weight-for-age <i>Longer-term [7 years after lottery assignment]:</i> Improved height- and weight-for-age <i>No impacts:</i> Children's behavior	<i>Medium-term [at 18–19 months exposure]:</i> Quality of care associated with improvements in fine motor skills, visual perception, receptive language, and early learning composite score <i>No impacts:</i> Gross motor skills, expressive language	<i>Short-term [at 2 years exposure]:</i> No added impacts on children's outcomes above and beyond benefits of high-quality ECD <i>No impacts:</i> Vocabulary and English proficiency, letter-word skills, memory	<i>Short-term [at 18 months exposure]:</i> Improved cognitive development and receptive language <i>No impacts:</i> Expressive language, motor skills, hemoglobin levels, height, weight	<i>Short-term [at 18 months exposure]:</i> Improved sociocognitive development, language learning, and social skills <i>No impacts:</i> Motor skills
Impact on parents' well-being and parent-child interactions	<i>Short-term [6–11 months after lottery assignment]:</i> Decreased parental stress <i>Medium-term [4 years after lottery assignment]:</i> Increased parental practice of reading to child; decreased parents' negative attitudes toward children	<i>Note:</i> Outcomes were measured for child care providers, but not for parents <i>Short-term [at 1–5 months exposure]:</i> Improved child care quality; improved provider knowledge of child development; improved provider pride and job satisfaction <i>Medium-term [at 18–19 months exposure]:</i> Improved child care quality; improved provider pride and job satisfaction <i>No impacts:</i> Provider stress	<i>Short-term [at 2 years exposure]:</i> Higher parent self-esteem	<i>Short-term [at 18 months exposure]:</i> Improved stimulation in home <i>No impacts:</i> Maternal depression	<i>Short-term [at 18 months exposure]:</i> Increased positive parenting behaviors; improved parent-child interactions

(Continues)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

	Brazil	Vietnam	United States	Colombia	Madagascar
Impact on parents' and families' economic and education outcomes	<p><i>Medium-term [4 years after lottery assignment]:</i> Increased household income; increased adolescent sibling and grandparent employment</p> <p><i>Long-term [7 years after lottery assignment]:</i> Increased grandparent employment</p> <p><i>No impacts:</i> Parental employment (though already at high level at program start)</p>	No parent/family economic and education outcomes measured	<p><i>Short-term [at 2 years exposure]:</i> Improved English language skills; increased engagement with child's teacher; lower levels of child language brokering; reduced material hardship</p>	No parent/family economic and education outcomes measured	<p><i>Short-term [at 18 months exposure]:</i> Increased frequency of meals and diverse meal preparation; reduced food insecurity</p> <p><i>No impacts:</i> Dietary diversity</p>

Abbreviations: ECD, early childhood development; ESL, English as a second language; NGO, nongovernmental organization; RCT, randomized controlled trial.

^aAttanasio, de Barros, et al. (2022).

^bHentschel, Tran, et al. (2023).

^cSommer et al. (2018); Sommer et al. (2023); Tighe et al. (2023).

^dAndrew et al. (2018); Attanasio et al. (2013); Attanasio et al. (2014).

^eDatta et al. (2023).

^fInformation, where reported, summarized the following baseline sample characteristics: for children: mean age, child gender, racial and ethnic diversity, and stunting; for parents/household: mean age, caregiver relationship to child, marital status, racial and ethnic diversity, and household size.

^gFindings represent midline results; endline results were pending as of December 2023.

(Britto et al., 2011; Burchinal et al., 2022; Hentschel, Tran, et al., 2023). In a qualitative study that explored stakeholders' perceptions of the quality of child care with OneSky-trained providers, researchers identified elements of structural and process quality, including effective interactions between child-care providers and children; providers' experience and training; safe, clean, and stimulating environments; low provider–child ratios; and a focus on holistic child development (Hentschel, Rehmani, et al., 2023).

ECD + parental nonformal education

Robust evidence shows that ECD programs benefit children's cognitive skills, executive functioning, socioemotional learning, and behavior outcomes (Holla et al., 2021). ECD programs, whether center- or home-based, typically promote young children's learning and development and may encompass other supportive services for children and caregivers, such as mental health, nutrition, and parenting components. ECD programs emphasizing family economic mobility include formal and nonformal adult education services. Here, we focus on programs using nonformal education, which aim to enhance the education, skills, and livelihood of adults (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012) because formal education systems are often less accessible to adults in low- to middle-income countries. In the United States, two-generation models with formal and informal education services have re-emerged over the last decade with some record of success for caregivers and children (Chase-Lansdale et al., 2019; Mosle & Sims, 2021; Sommer et al., 2023).

One compelling example is the Community Action Project of Tulsa, Oklahoma (CAP Tulsa) Two-Generation English as a Second Language (ESL) Program (see Table 1; Sommer et al., 2018). For immigrant parents, English language proficiency may be an essential tool for education, employment, and access to services, all of which can influence their children's development (Yoshikawa, 2011). In a randomized controlled trial, after 2 years, parents in CAP Tulsa's program reported higher levels of English writing skills and self-esteem and less language brokering and material hardship than parents who were not part of the program. Parents' enrollment in the program did not interfere with gains their children were making in the ECD program (Sommer et al., 2023; Tighe et al., 2023). In the past, educational and workforce training programs for mothers with low incomes have increased stress, which family stress theory suggests can adversely affect children (Granger & Cytron, 1999; Zaslow et al., 2002). Parenting and psychological stress neither increased nor decreased for participants in this program, suggesting that two-generation education programs tailored to parents' and children's needs and interests can improve parents' education and

well-being without harming their children's development (Sabol et al., 2023).

These outcomes may be explained in part by the quality and intensity of services for both generations and by the fact that the program was coordinated with a trusted agency (Tighe et al., 2023). Children were placed in ECD centers of previously demonstrated quality (Gormley et al., 2008) with full-day programming and wraparound support services. Although the program was coordinated by the ECD center, it was delivered through the local public school system. Parents received an ESL curriculum contextualized to their children's educational environment, furthering their understanding of their children's learning. Parents met their goal of learning English to better support their children, while children learned the same language skills in their classrooms; parents (and children) could share and build from these experiences at home and as classroom volunteers. Cross-generational learning synergies may help explain the positive impacts.

Cash transfers + parenting

Cash transfer programs targeting the most vulnerable families provide direct cash assistance for the basic needs of caregivers and their children. Growing evidence suggests that the effect of cash transfers on human development outcomes can be enhanced when they are coordinated with supportive ECD services and that, simultaneously, ECD programs may benefit from national delivery platforms that identify and reach socially and economically vulnerable households. Services may include education, nutrition, and parenting programs to promote children's development (Arriagada et al., 2018; de Hoop et al., 2018) and can enhance outcomes for families beyond the impact of cash alone (Datta et al., 2023).

Two cash transfer+parenting programs highlight the promise of these models from a two-generation framework. Colombia's government partnered with researchers to add a parenting component to Familias en Acción (Families in Action), a social protection program aiding families with low incomes who had young children through conditional cash transfers. Parenting supports included trained volunteers, *madres líderes* (mother leaders), who conducted home visits to coach parents in psychosocial stimulation (interactive activities tailored to the child's developmental stage, like singing, talking, and play, that promote learning and development; Britto et al., 2017) and delivered micronutrient supplementation. In a randomized controlled trial, researchers identified short-term improvements in home stimulation and children's cognitive and language development (Andrew et al., 2018; Attanasio et al., 2014).

In Madagascar, the nongovernmental organization ideas42 and the World Bank collaborated with the government to implement a cash transfer+parenting

program building on the Human Development Cash Transfer (HDCT), a child-focused cash transfer service for families living in extreme poverty. Parenting interventions were layered into HDCT services to provide coaching from trained mother leaders to improve parenting and nutrition-related behaviors. In a randomized controlled trial, researchers found benefits to child and parent outcomes (see Table 1; Datta et al., 2023).

Both models show how parenting and cash transfer programs can be integrated into government platforms at scale to target a range of human development outcomes, including food security and nutrition. However, evidence suggests that monitoring program quality and support is crucial. Case examples demonstrated short-term positive effects on ECD outcomes (Attanasio et al., 2014; Datta et al., 2023). Yet a meta-analysis of three studies comparing cash transfer+parenting programs with cash transfer-only programs found small but statistically insignificant effects on children's cognitive outcomes, though with noted study heterogeneity (Little et al., 2021). Additionally, findings from Familias en Acción highlighted that deviations from intended implementation characteristics (e.g., supervision, dosage) likely contributed to null outcomes in the medium term (Andrew et al., 2018). Similarly, an evaluation of a cash transfer+parenting program in Brazil attributed null effects to low dosage and lack of supervision (Santos et al., 2022). Furthermore, a recent Colombian intervention that used a scalable model to improve a government parenting program's quality through structured curriculum, enhanced training and coaching, and augmented nutrition components identified gains in children's development and nutrition (Attanasio, Baker-Henningham, et al., 2022). Similar strategies and supports could enhance the benefits to families of cash transfer+parenting programs.

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND DIRECTIONS

In this article, we have suggested the potential benefits of two-generation programs that focus on improving the developmental outcomes of children and their caregivers and the economic well-being of families. All five program models we discussed successfully engaged children and caregivers concurrently and improved the developmental outcomes of children. Several models have been proven effective at scale, and most have been designed and funded at least in part by government agencies.

However, not all initiatives that meet our definition of two-generation programs have produced positive outcomes (Kottelenberg & Lehrer, 2013). Among our examples, what sets the successful programs apart is some combination of (1) a willingness by organizers to involve

other services, such as nutrition and physical health, beyond children's development and parents' income and livelihood; (2) a focus on the quality and intensity of services for both generations; and (3) tailoring the interventions to the sociocultural context and the self-defined interests and needs of a specific population. Beyond our examples, research suggests that engaging parents and communities in program design, delivery, governance, and advocacy helps ensure that programs align with their values, expectations, and practices. Likewise, a participatory approach may enhance program uptake, engagement, and retention, all of which are necessary for sustainable scale-up (Britto et al., 2022).

Our examples and categories are illustrative, not exhaustive, and researchers have not explored the full range of developmental stages experienced by children and adults. For example, children's huge developmental changes between the prenatal period and school entry necessitate modulated programming according to critical developmental stages; similarly, adolescent and young adult parents have specific developmental needs that distinguish them from older parents (Wuermli et al., 2021).

In summary, addressing the interests and needs of at least two generations in one family should be a core component of coordinated ECD policies globally. Current ECD policies emphasize coordination across sectors (Vargas-Barón et al., 2022) but not necessarily across generations. At the same time, two-generation approaches cannot meet all family needs and must be reinforced by relevant policies. For example, the child care models we highlighted are most likely to succeed in policy environments that support improved employment for adults, and income at the micro level (e.g., education and job training, placement) and macro level (e.g., supply of jobs, job quality, and job benefits). Employment alone does not necessarily increase household income.

Likewise, two-generation evaluation research should focus on desired outcomes for children, caregivers, and other household members, as well as for the household unit. In a review of nearly 500 ECD-related interventions from 2005 to 2019, only 22% reported mother-specific outcomes beyond parenting practices (Evans et al., 2021), signaling missed opportunities in evaluating whole-family impacts. Of our examples, only the OneSky evaluation did not include outcomes for families' economic, social protection, or psychosocial well-being, which we recommend for future child care research. However, the OneSky study was distinctive in examining outcomes for child care providers' well-being, which may also be essential, particularly since the *chicare* workforce is largely female and providers may be parents themselves (Orland et al., 2022; Putcha et al., 2020). Research designs should allow for a deeper understanding of the independent effects of specific program elements. The models we studied combined varied programmatic elements and we do not know which elements drove effects. Measuring

mechanisms and conducting qualitative and mixed-methods studies with program participants would likely help explain impacts.

We conclude by calling for further testing combinations of adult-centered and child-centered services designed to improve caregivers' livelihood, earnings, and income while enhancing children's development. Collectively, theory and preliminary empirical data suggest that a two-generation approach is promising for improving the developmental outcomes of children and their caregivers, and the economic well-being of families across the globe—yet more whole-family evidence is needed in the short and long term.

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ORCID

Teresa Eckrich Sommer  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4185-0146>

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

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