FAIR FUTURES OUTCOME STUDY REPORT

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December 2025

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Fair Futures is New York City's program for transition-age youth involved with the foster care system. The Fair Futures model provides 1:1 coaching and tutoring and a range of academic, career development, housing, and independent living supports to young people in foster care and those whose lives were touched by foster care from sixth grade through age 26. In our previous report, we described what Fair Futures is philosophically and programmatically. In this follow-up report, we describe whether Fair Futures participants were more likely to stay in school and graduate than foster youth who did not participate.

Our evaluation found that Fair Futures was successfully implemented – it reached a substantial share of eligible youth and maintained fidelity to its developmental framework. We also found that Fair Futures participants had school persistence and graduation rates, especially among earlier high school cohorts, that were higher than other, comparable youth.

CORE CHALLENGE

Fair Futures is not a single intervention; its impact depends on when young people entered foster care, their stage in school, and when the program reached them. Because the timing of program participation is so diverse, it is hard to summarize the Fair Futures impact with a single summary statistic.

Rather than ask whether Fair Futures "worked," our study asks whether Fair Futures was "successful," a question that better fits program implementation in the real world, where diverse and multiple forces shape outcomes, and success depends on program reach, student persistence, and alignment with developmental science. It is an approach that differs somewhat from typical program evaluations that estimate the effect of an intervention on a relatively uniform population. Fair Futures tests an at-scale, population-wide approach that applies holistic, multifaceted yet tailored interventions across diverse population groups.

PROGRAM CONTEXT

Fair Futures launched city-wide, aiming to serve all eligible foster youth in New York City. The program's design reflects what is known about adolescence and effective practice: youth need developmentally tailored supports that evolve as they move through school and the transition to adulthood.

Because Fair Futures began at scale, exposure varied widely. A ninth-grader in 2017 could only have received senior-year services in 2020, whereas a ninth-grader in 2020 could receive continuous support through high school. These differences make cohort comparisons complex. Graduation rates also vary naturally by grade level—ninth-grade graduation baselines are low, whereas twelfth-graders form a self-selected group more likely to persist until graduation because they have already persisted long enough to reach their senior year. We also had to contend with the effects of COVID on school attendance and graduation. These are structural features that shape what success looks like.

IMPLEMENTATION SUCCESS

By 2024, more than half of all eligible youth had received Fair Futures services. Implementation fidelity was strong: staff provided differentiated coaching consistent with each youth's developmental trajectory. Fair Futures disrupted existing service routines and established new, durable relationships between young people and caring adults.

SCHOOL PERSISTENCE AND GRADUATION

Across multiple analytic approaches, Fair Futures participants generally exhibited stronger persistence in school and higher graduation rates than other, comparable youth. Among ninth-grade cohorts, graduation rate differences were especially notable.

The freshman class of 2016—a group with no Fair Futures exposure—graduated at 43 percent. The next three cohorts (2017–2019), representing the rising 10th through 12th grades at the time of the program launch, who were eligible for and received services, graduated at 57 percent on average, compared with 42 percent among similar youth without Fair Futures contact. These differences remain after adjusting for selection effects, though not all outcome variance can be attributed to Fair Futures alone.

School persistence—the year-to-year continuation in school—was also stronger for the Fair Futures group, suggesting that the program's middle school model and coaching model helped young people stay engaged through graduation.

LIMITATIONS

This was an observational study, not a randomized controlled trial. While the two-stage analytic models we used addressed selection effects related to who receives services, they cannot eliminate all potential bias. Graduation outcomes may also reflect concurrent education and youth-development initiatives in New York City.

Furthermore, Fair Futures' effects vary by subgroup: gains are more evident among ninth-graders than among twelfth-graders, whose baseline probability of graduation is already higher. As with most large, at-scale human-service interventions, the challenge is disentangling program influence from broader contextual change.

INTERPRETATION

Within these limits, the evaluation supports a clear conclusion: Fair Futures has been successful. It reached a substantial share of eligible youth, maintained fidelity to its developmental framework, and supported school persistence and graduation among a population of teenagers with historically low graduation rates.

Implementation success is, by definition, an optimization process—allocating services to those most likely to benefit. Real-world effectiveness depends on aligning need with available capacity, rather than random assignment. On those terms, Fair Futures achieved its short-term objectives.

FORWARD-LOOKING QUESTIONS

1. **Sustainability**: What is required for ACS and its partners to maintain program delivery over time and continue to focus on quality improvement and learn from the experiences of participants and staff?

2. **Equity of Access**: How can capacity expand so that all eligible youth receive coaching or one of the other Fair Futures services?

3. **Impact Differentiation**: Why do some Fair Futures participants graduate while others do not, and how can program design evolve to better serve those foster youth who did not participate and did not graduate?

Answering these questions will determine whether early success translates into lasting impact. Additionally, we are currently in the process of utilizing shelter data to analyze the impact of Fair Futures on young adult homelessness. These results are forthcoming.

CONCLUSION

Fair Futures demonstrated that New York City could stand up and sustain a complex, developmentally grounded support system for youth in foster care. The program reached large numbers of young people, maintained coherence with evidence-based principles, and was associated with higher school persistence and graduation rates relative to comparison groups.

While not all gains can be causally attributed to the program, the evidence is consistent and encouraging. The challenge ahead is to build on this success—raising graduation rates among those served, expanding reach to those still outside the program's reach, and ensuring the system's capacity keeps pace with its ambition.

In short, Fair Futures has proven feasible, effective in implementation, and promising in outcomes—the foundation for continued progress.

Fair Futures Outcome Study Report

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Fair Futures offers a distinct approach to supporting young people transitioning to adulthood by prioritizing holistic and individualized care. Rather than relying on fragmented services, Fair Futures emphasizes purposeful, goal-oriented, and responsive interactions between service providers and youth placed in foster care. The Fair Futures model provides 1:1 coaching and tutoring and a range of academic, career development, housing, and independent living supports to young people in foster care and those whose lives were touched by foster care from sixth grade through age 26. Through comprehensive support delivered by Middle School Specialists, Coaches, Housing and Career/Employment Specialists, College Specialists, and Tutors, Fair Futures aims to empower young people in foster care to achieve developmental milestones across academic, housing, and career domains, ultimately leading to successful transitions into adulthood.

At its core, our evaluation seeks to determine whether investing in youth in foster care results in more successful transitions into adulthood. To structure our understanding of "successful transition," we propose a human capital framework for analyzing Fair Futures' outcomes. We recognize that the journey to adulthood is unique for each individual and that the assets they possess are crucial. The outcome evaluation seeks to determine if Fair Futures, through strategic public and private investment, can elevate the long-term prospects of vulnerable adolescents by strengthening their human capital. Specifically, this report focuses on whether this holistic approach increases their chances of educational success, measured by attendance, school persistence, and graduation.

METHODOLOGY

To start, we focused on showing efforts on the ground that Fair Futures put in place to respond to the needs of young people. The evaluation team used Care4 program encounter data to build the evidence to answer the question "Is there a program large enough to generate Fair Futures' impact?" and to describe the extent to which Fair Futures reached and engaged the intended groups. We specifically examined utilization of Fair Futures services over time, the likelihood of the program-eligible population receiving these services, and how the likelihood varied by youth demographics and placement experience. We also analyzed the duration of Fair Futures engagement. The intent is to tie the time series program data to the outcome findings. More details on young people's involvement in individual program core components – Middle School Specialist Services, Coaching Services, and Targeted Services can be found in Appendix A.

For the outcome analysis, we developed a robust quasi-experimental design to establish a comparison group and analyzed the program's effects across several critical educational outcomes. Fair Futures was implemented across all 25 private foster care agencies in NYC with the goal of reaching all youth placed with these agencies. However, because actual program participation is voluntary, the implementation of Fair Futures allows for participants and non-participants within the same foster care agencies. Given this non-random nature, we analyzed the educational outcomes of youth in foster care by comparing those who were exposed to Fair Futures and served by the program with those who were not after controlling for the likelihood of participating in Fair Futures. To conduct the outcome analysis, we utilized data linked across the child welfare administrative system (CONNECTIONS), the Fair Futures program database (Care4), and educational records (NYC DOE Data). More details regarding the study sample and approach for each analysis are explained in the relevant sections.

The subsequent sections of the report cover service utilization by foster youth and the key educational outcomes.

IMPLEMENTATION MONITORING

To demonstrate that Fair Futures helped foster youth graduate from high school, there has to be evidence that Fair Futures reached a substantial segment of the eligible population. Moreover, there must be evidence that implementation followed the Fair Futures design. For answers to these questions, we relied on two sources of data: the program data from Care4 and survey data we collected from staff. From the first source, we know whether Fair Futures reached eligible foster youth. In combination with the survey data we collected, we were able to study program fidelity.

Fair Futures Utilization

We analyzed Fair Futures program data to describe the extent to which the program reached and engaged its intended groups. Our analysis answers three questions:

- Of children in care on any given day, how many were enrolled in Fair Futures on that day?
- What is the likelihood that youth who became eligible for Fair Futures were enrolled in Fair Futures?
- When youth are enrolled in Fair Futures, how long do they remain enrolled?

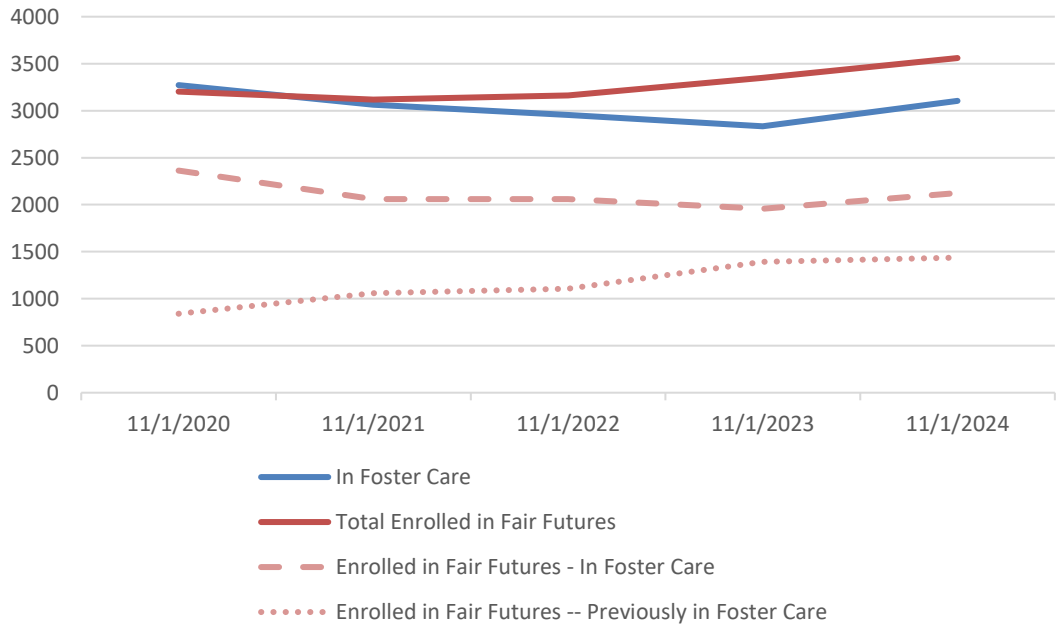
The population we used to answer the first question includes youth who became eligible for Fair Futures between November 1, 2020 (the launch of the Care4 database that is used to track program participation) and the end of 2024. To be eligible, the youth need to meet the following criteria: 1) they reached 11 years of age by December 31, 2024, and 2) they were in

care on November 1, 2020, or entered care between November 1, 2020, and December 31, 2024.

For this population, Figure 1 shows the count of youth who were in care on November 1st of each year from 2020 through 2024 who were eligible for Fair Futures (the blue line) and the count of those youth who were enrolled in Fair Futures on that day (the solid red line). Fair Futures' success in expanding program capacity to serve youth is reflected in the increase in the red line over time, from 3,203 on November 1, 2020, to 3,560 on November 1, 2024.

Figure 1 also breaks down the total number of youth enrolled in Fair Futures on a given day into two groups: youth who were in foster care and also enrolled in Fair Futures on that day (the dashed pink line) and youth who were enrolled in Fair Futures but had previously exited foster care (the dotted pink line). The percentage of youth in care who were enrolled in Fair Futures on any given day (the gap between the dashed pink line and the blue line) has held steady at approximately 70% across all 5 years. We observe that the increased participation of Fair Futures has been concentrated among the youth who had already exited foster care. This group increased from 840 on November 1, 2020, to 1,437 on November 1, 2024.

Figure 1. Fair Futures Utilization Over Time



To learn whether youth who became eligible for Fair Futures enrolled in Fair Futures, we focused on the population of youth (of any age) who entered care for the first time on or after January 1, 2014, and turned 11 by December 31, 2024. Starting with that entry cohort of youth, we further

limited our view to those who were in foster care on November 1, 2020, or entered care for the first time after that date.

Table 1 presents the enrollment analysis. Overall, 64% of eligible youth were enrolled in Fair Futures during our window of observation. Breaking that percentage down by age, we observed that a higher percentage of youth who became eligible for Fair Futures when they were 18 or older enrolled in the program (86%) than youth who were younger when they became eligible (62% of youth in both younger age groups). Looking at likelihood by race, we see that 66% of Black youth were enrolled, as were 62% of Hispanic youth. The percentage for White youth was a little bit lower at 54%. Females were somewhat more likely than males to be enrolled (66% compared to 61%). We also recorded the youths' placement type on the day they became eligible for Fair Futures. Youth who were placed in foster homes when they became eligible for Fair Futures were most likely to enroll (82%), followed by youth placed in kinship homes (72%). Only 48% of youth placed in residential care when they became eligible for Fair Futures enrolled during our observation window.

Table 1. Likelihood of Fair Futures Enrollment for Eligible Youth, by Youth Demographics

	No FF	FF	Total	No FF (%)	FF (%)	Total (%)
Total	1,601	2,801	4,402	36%	64%	100%
Age at FF Eligibility						
11 to 13 years	733	1,198	1,931	38%	62%	100%
14 to 17 years	831	1,383	2,214	38%	62%	100%
18+ years	37	220	257	14%	86%	100%
Race/Ethnicity						
Black	732	1,412	2,144	34%	66%	100%
Hispanic	707	1,172	1,879	38%	62%	100%
Other*	76	117	193	39%	61%	100%
White	86	100	186	46%	54%	100%
Gender						
Female	812	1,567	2,379	34%	66%	100%
Male	789	1,234	2,023	39%	61%	100%
Placement Type at Eligibility						
Foster Care	142	664	806	18%	82%	100%
Kinship Care	473	1,230	1,703	28%	72%	100%
Residential Care	984	901	1,885	52%	48%	100%
Other	2	6	8	25%	75%	100%

*NOTE: Other includes young people whose race/ethnicity was other than Black, Hispanic, or White. Young people whose race/ethnicity was not recorded are also included.

Table 2 adds the element of time to help us understand whether the likelihood of enrollment in Fair Futures changed after November 1, 2020. To reveal the dynamics at play, we break the Fair Futures eligible youth into groups based on when they became eligible for Fair Futures and their foster care status at that time. We begin with the youth who were in care on November 1, 2020, and were 11 or older on that date. Then we observe the youth who became eligible for Fair Futures over the next several years through December 31, 2024, dividing them into two groups for each year: (1) those who were already in foster care but aged into eligibility for Fair Futures (i.e., turned 11) during that year and (2) those who entered care during the year for the first time and were already 11 or older. Although all these youth are considered new "clients" by Fair Futures, their differential foster care experience (having been in care for some time vs. coming to care for the first time) may lead to varied engagement with the program. For each group, we record how much time passed between the date the youth became eligible for Fair Futures and the date they were enrolled in the program.[1]

Youth who were in foster care and were age-eligible for Fair Futures on November 1, 2020, had the highest likelihood of enrollment among all groups of eligible youth. Approximately 82% of the 1,203 youth were enrolled in Fair Futures within one year of that date, 86% within two years, and 88% within three years.

For youth who became eligible in each year, we observed that over time, the overall likelihood of Fair Futures enrollment within a year of eligibility increased from 2021 to 2023 (47% to 55%). For those who became eligible in 2021, a total of 62% were enrolled in Fair Futures within 3 years of eligibility, but the likelihood of enrollment was lower for those youth who were already in foster care when they became eligible (58%) compared to those who aged into eligibility (63%). However, that pattern reversed for youth who became eligible in 2022 and 2023.

[1] Gray highlighting in the table indicates censoring, meaning that the time frame indicated in that cell has not yet been observed in our data, which extend through December 31, 2024. For example, for youth who became eligible for Fair Futures during 2023, we can observe whether they were enrolled in Fair Futures within the first year after they became eligible (that is, by December 31, 2024), but we would need data extending through December 31, 2025, to observe Fair Futures enrollment during the second year for that group.

Table 2. Cumulative Likelihood of Fair Futures Enrollment for Eligible Youth, by Time from Eligibility to Initial Enrollment

		Time from Eligibility to Fair Futures Enrollment -- Cumulative Percent			
Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	1,203	82%	86%	88%	88%
2021*	847	47%	59%	62%	62%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	123	40%	56%	58%	58%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	724	49%	59%	63%	63%
2022	789	48%	59%	60%	60%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	66	56%	76%	76%	76%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	723	47%	57%	58%	58%
2023	856	55%	60%	60%	60%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	46	59%	66%	66%	66%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	810	54%	58%	58%	58%
2024	707	48%	53%	53%	53%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	17	39%	52%	52%	52%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	690	48%	53%	53%	53%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who become eligible because it includes youth who became eligible during November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their cumulative percentages could not be fully observed during our observation window.

For youth enrolled in Fair Futures, one way to assess their engagement in the program is to measure the length of time they were enrolled in a Fair Futures program. (Some youth are enrolled in a single service, while other youth are enrolled in multiple services—for example, a middle school service followed by a coaching service.) For youth involved in multiple services, we measured the total duration of all Fair Futures involvement.

Table 3 breaks out the program participants into groups that are similar to those used in the likelihood analysis—the in-care population and new admissions. Among youth who were in foster care and were age-eligible for Fair Futures on November 1, 2020 and subsequently enrolled in Fair Futures, close to half (46%) of them had some level of program engagement for more than three years. A small proportion of the Fair Futures participants (less than 5%) engaged with the program for a very short period of time (less than 3 months). This is a trend observed across all groups. Around 95% of the participants from 2021, 2022, and 2023 eligible population were involved in Fair Futures for more than 3 months, with a larger proportion of them engaging for longer than a year. This suggests that the engagement with Fair Futures is more than a “light touch” intervention.

Table 3. Distribution of Fair Futures Involvement by Duration of Participation

Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	Duration of Fair Futures Enrollment: Less than 3 months	3 mos to 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	More than 3 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	1,062	3%	17%	20%	15%	46%
2021*	530	4%	17%	22%	32%	25%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	71	1%	25%	30%	27%	17%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	459	5%	16%	20%	33%	27%
2022	471	5%	18%	40%	36%	1%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	50	4%	20%	46%	30%	0%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	421	5%	18%	39%	37%	1%
2023	452	5%	38%	56%	1%	0%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	24	0%	54%	46%	0%	0%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	428	5%	37%	57%	1%	0%
2024	286	15%	81%	3%	0%	0%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	6	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	280	15%	81%	4%	0%	0%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Fair Futures because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

OUTCOME ANALYSIS

Research Questions

To understand whether Fair Futures influenced the life course trajectories of foster youth, we focus on high school graduation as a key milestone in the transition to adulthood. We start by examining school persistence. Persistence refers to continuous enrollment and progression from one grade to the next or from one school year to the next and provides a more nuanced understanding of student pathways to graduation. It is the fundamental building block of graduation because it captures consistent attendance, breaks in attendance, and reengagement. High school graduation is the outcome achieved through sustained school persistence, provided the other educational requirements are met.

The school persistence analysis is based on monthly attendance data, which tracks whether a student is present each month when school is in session. For this analysis, a student was

flagged as having discontinued school (failing to persist in school) if their monthly attendance records showed no presence for three consecutive months between September and May. This operational definition serves as a strong indicator of student disengagement from the academic environment and focuses on severe and sustained disengagement (consecutive absences for a minimum of 1/3 of the school days during a school year).[2] This is different from the chronic absenteeism measure defined by the NYC DOE, in which students are considered chronically absent if they miss 10% or more of the school days in a school year.

For the high school graduation outcome, in addition to the traditional high school diplomas, the analysis includes high school equivalency credentials, which represent an important alternative pathway to educational attainment. Tracking them acknowledges that learning and credentialing can occur outside the traditional four-year high school model. This approach captures a more inclusive number of individuals who have achieved a high school level of education.

In this report, we aim to answer the following questions:

- Does participation in Fair Futures increase the likelihood of school persistence for youth in foster care?
- Does participation in Fair Futures increase the likelihood of successful high school graduation for youth in foster care?

File Construction

To facilitate a comprehensive evaluation of the education outcomes, we constructed a sample that includes all children and youth who experienced their initial admission to the foster care system on or after January 1, 2014.[3] Children in care on January 1, 2014, are not included in the study sample. We then developed monthly person-period records for each youth, starting on their 11th birthday and continuing until either their 18th or 21st birthday (dependent on the specific outcome) or the data files' censor date, whichever occurs earlier. Within each monthly person-period record, we tracked key indicators relevant to the youth's foster care experience, Fair Futures encounters, and outcomes of interest. This included whether the youth had any prior foster care experience before their 11th birthday and whether the youth was in foster care during any given month. To assess participation in Fair Futures, we included variables indicating whether the youth received Fair Futures services (specifically from a coach, middle school specialist, tutor, or targeted service specialist) during that particular month. In the analyses, students are classified as treated if they received any Fair Futures services during any observed person-period. Furthermore, we incorporated education data to capture school

[2] The school persistence measure that focuses on severe and sustained disengagement does not distinguish between formal dropouts and unofficial departures. By law, youth cannot formally drop out of school until they have completed the school year in which they turned 17.

[3] Children who had not reached the age of 10 by December 31, 2024 are not included in the file.

persistence and graduation status within the same person-period. This file structure was intentionally designed to accommodate the complexities of youth development and intervention effects by allowing for time dependency, path dependency, and state dependency. Moreover, it integrates child-level demographics and context-level covariates such as foster care agency and school and acknowledges that baseline persistence and graduation rates will fluctuate across developmental changes.

Study Sample

School Persistence

For studying school persistence, the sample was drawn from the period between December 2019 through May 2024. Table 4 presents the number of unique students by grade level. When a student is promoted to a higher grade, that student appears in multiple grade-level counts in Table 4. The persistence in school is first analyzed across all grades and then examined separately for middle school and high school students to capture differential effects by school level.

Table 4. Number of Unique Students by Grade Use to Study School Persistence

Grade	The number of students
6th Grade	3,016
7th Grade	2,991
8th Grade	2,932
9th Grade	3,158
10th Grade	2,542
11th Grade	1,683
12th Grade	1,092

High School Graduation

Persistence in school and graduation are different sides of the same coin. To graduate, students have to advance. Students who persist to higher grades are inherently different from those who do not, introducing a common statistical issue known as survival bias. To account for this issue, we organized the data by school year and grade level. For the ninth graders, we focused on the 2018, 2019, and 2020 school years. For the 10th graders, we shifted the school year forward by 1 year. We then followed that process for the 11th and 12th graders.

Among the general sample from 2014, some young people are too young to graduate within the study timeframe. Therefore, a subset of the population was selected specifically for the

graduation analysis. Table 5 presents four analytic cohorts, defined by their starting grade levels and academic year. *Start Year* refers to the academic year of the starting grade levels. These four groups substantially overlap, as students naturally move up to higher grades over time. For example, the majority of the 582 students in 10th grade in 2019 were among the 648 students in 9th grade in 2018. The difference between the two accounts for 9th-grade retentions and school non-persistence, with the smaller portion consisting of 10th-grade repeats and transfer-ins.

Table 5. Four Graduation Cohorts

	Start Grade=9				Start Grade=10				Start Grade=11				Start Grade=12			
Start Year	FF	No FF	All	FF pct	FF	No FF	All	FF pct	FF	No FF	All	FF pct	FF	No FF	All	FF pct
2018	196	452	648	30%												
2019	280	397	677	41%	185	397	582	32%								
2020	303	364	667	45%	239	338	577	41%	134	226	360	37%				
2021					311	318	629	49%	216	217	433	50%	159	191	350	45%
2022									234	249	483	48%	204	204	408	50%
2023													202	208	410	49%

Statistical Approach

A simple comparison between participants and non-participants is fraught with selection effects. To work around the baseline equivalence problem, we adopted a quasi-experimental design suited to this particular problem. When continuous outcome variables are the focus, the two-stage least squares (2SLS) estimation using instrumental variables is frequently used to address endogenous selection bias. However, for non-linear outcomes models (e.g., such as high school graduation), a two-stage residual inclusion (2SRI) adjustment is more appropriate and preferred (Terza, Basu, and Rathouz, 2008). Similar to 2SLS, the 2SRI approach relies on key assumptions, including relevance (the instrument must be strongly correlated with the endogenous treatment variable) and exogeneity (the instrument must not be correlated with the error term of the second-stage equation). The 2SRI approach is similar to 2SLS in the first stage, where the endogenous treatment variable is modeled using an instrumental variable. However, unlike 2SLS, the second stage of 2SRI does not substitute the predicted treatment variable. Instead, it includes the residuals from the first stage as an additional covariate in the second stage. This method was initially proposed by Hausman (1978) as a test for endogeneity. 2SRI borrows and extends this logic to nonlinear models. The analysis compares participants and non-participants within the same agencies using an agency random effects model.

OUTCOME FINDINGS

Persistence

We define persistence as a student's continued attendance and progression from one semester to the next. School persistence breaks when a student stops attending school for three consecutive months, excluding the summer vacation period. As such, school persistence is captured by attendance discontinuation. We first analyzed school persistence across all grades, then conducted separate analyses for the middle school students and high school students.

Table 6 shows the results from the 2SRI model for overall persistence across all grades. In the first stage, the treatment variable—Fair Futures participation—is modeled using placement status as the instrumental variable. *Placed* refers to whether a youth was in foster care placement during the particular person period. The strong, statistically significant association between the instrumental variable and treatment variable suggests that *Placed* is a valid and relevant instrument.

In the second-stage estimation in Table 6, the residuals (*Residual*) from the first stage are included as a covariate along with the original endogenous treatment variable. We are primarily interested in the direction of the coefficients in Table 6. Positive estimates indicate an increased likelihood of attendance discontinuation, whereas negative estimates indicate a decreased likelihood of attendance discontinuation. After accounting for the selection bias using the residuals, the negative coefficient associated with the treatment variable (-1.308) suggests that participation in Fair Futures is associated with a significant decrease in the likelihood of school discontinuation (i.e., persistence is more likely) compared to similar students who did not receive program support.

The effect of race/ethnicity on school persistence is not statistically significant. Students are more likely to persist (less likely to discontinue) in school during the Winter semester compared to the Spring semester, and those placed in kinship care are also less likely to discontinue school. Grades 7 and 8 exhibit a likelihood of discontinuation that is comparable to Grade 6. However, the likelihood of discontinuation increases substantially in Grades 9 and 10. This likelihood rises modestly in Grade 11 before returning to a level similar to Grade 6 in Grade 12. *Spell_low* refers to students who are in their first two attendance spells. Students in subsequent attendance spells (*Spell_high--third or later spells*) exhibit a higher likelihood of school discontinuation compared to those in *Spell_low*. Students whose foster care experience occurred after the start of the grade are less likely to persist in school compared to those whose foster care experience began before the start of the grade (*Prior FC*).

The positive coefficient of the residual (0.107) in the second stage indicates that students who are more likely to participate in Fair Futures due to unobserved factors are also more likely to discontinue school. This suggests the presence of a selection bias. Without accounting for selection bias, the estimates from a regular regression model would be misleading because the program participants are intrinsically more likely to discontinue. This bias likely reflects the fact

that Fair Futures serves a group of young people with a higher baseline risk that cannot be fully captured by the observed covariates. However, the 2SRI approach disentangles the effect of the program from this selection bias.

Table 6. Impact of Fair Futures Participation on School Discontinuation for All Grades (6th-12th)

	All Grades					
	First-Stage			Second-Stage		
Parameter	Coefficient	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coefficient	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-3.359	0.392	.0001	-4.158	0.215	.0001
Race/ethnicity						
White	Reference					
Black	0.326	0.039	.0001	0.183	0.145	0.128
Hispanic	0.414	0.039	.0001	0.285	0.146	0.028
Other	-0.221	0.052	.0001	-0.366	0.212	0.814
School semester						
Spring	Reference					
Fall	-0.022	0.017	0.190	0.064	0.061	0.288
Winter	-0.081	0.016	.0001	-0.839	0.072	.0001
Prior discontinuation						
Spell_low						
Spell_high	0.089	0.041	0.030	2.604	0.063	.0001
Grade						
6th Grade	Reference					
7th Grade	0.579	0.030	.0001	-0.036	0.152	0.810
8th Grade	0.908	0.029	.0001	-0.071	0.145	0.625
9th Grade	0.829	0.029	.0001	0.573	0.128	.0001
10th Grade	0.983	0.030	.0001	0.497	0.133	0.000
11th Grade	1.165	0.033	.0001	0.258	0.146	0.078
12th Grade	1.371	0.037	.0001	0.024	0.175	0.889
Care type						
Group Care	Reference					
Foster Care	-0.106	0.021	.0001	0.089	0.082	0.278
Kinship Care	0.249	0.016	.0001	-0.427	0.069	.0001
Gender						
Female	Reference					
Male	-0.037	0.014	0.008	0.100	0.054	0.067
Prior FC	0.451	0.016	.0001	-0.681	0.075	.0001
Placed	2.525	0.397	.0001			
Residual				0.107	0.021	.0001
Treatment				*-1.308*	*0.162*	*.0001*

Note: S.E. refers to the standard error. Pr refers to statistical significance. A positive coefficient implies a higher likelihood of discontinuation, which may be interpreted as less inclined to persist. A negative coefficient implies a lower likelihood of discontinuation, which may be interpreted as more likely to stay in school (persist).

We are also interested in whether the impact of Fair Futures on persistence differs between middle school (6th through 8th grades) and high school students (9th through 12th grades). Table 7 focuses on students in grades 6, 7, and 8, while Table 8 focuses on grades 10, 11, and 12. Our analysis using 2SRI models yielded consistent findings: Fair Futures has a statistically significant positive impact on school persistence (reduction in attendance discontinuation) for both middle school and high school students. The program's effects are similar in middle school and high school students (-1.441 for middle school and -1.412 for high school). These findings indicate that the impact of Fair Futures on persistence is similar across both groups and is not concentrated in any particular group.

Table 7. Impact of Fair Futures Participation on School Discontinuation for Middle School Students

	Middle School					
	First Stage			Second Stage		
Parameter	Coefficient	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coefficient	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-3.811	0.459	.0001	-4.131	0.377	.0001
Race/ethnicity						
White	Reference					
Black	0.124	0.064	0.054	0.172	0.314	0.585
Hispanic	0.312	0.065	.0001	-0.031	0.318	0.922
Other	-0.142	0.089	0.110	-1.600	0.593	0.007
Semester						
Spring	Reference					
Fall	-0.102	0.029	0.000	0.263	0.122	0.032
Winter	-0.132	0.026	.0001	-1.251	0.174	.0001
Prior discontinuation						
Spell_low						
Spell_high	-0.066	0.149	0.658	3.258	0.195	.0001
Grade						
6th Grade	Reference					
7th Grade	0.754	0.033	.0001	-0.080	0.153	0.603
8th Grade	1.175	0.033	.0001	-0.166	0.151	0.273
Placement type						
Group Care	Reference					
Foster Care	-0.371	0.034	.0001	-0.127	0.171	0.455
Kinship Care	0.002	0.026	0.943	-0.699	0.139	.0001
Gender						
Female	Reference					
Male	-0.010	0.023	0.648	0.214	0.114	0.060
Prior FC	1.037	0.027	.0001	-0.441	0.135	0.001
Placed	3.126	0.463	.0001			
Residual				0.030	0.031	0.335
Treatment				*-1.441*	*0.303*	*.0001*

Note: S.E. refers to the standard error. Pr refers to statistical significance. A positive coefficient implies a higher likelihood of discontinuation, which may be interpreted as less inclined to persist. A negative coefficient implies a lower likelihood of discontinuation, which may be interpreted as more likely to stay in school (persist).

Table 8. Impact of Fair Futures Participation on School Discontinuation for High School Students

	High School					
	First Stage			Second Stage		
Parameter	Coefficient	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coefficient	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-2.415	0.387	.0001	-3.573	0.215	.0001
Race/ethnicity						
White	Reference					
Black	0.453	0.049	.0001	0.170	0.163	0.299
Hispanic	0.469	0.049	.0001	0.366	0.164	0.026
Other	-0.223	0.065	0.001	-0.165	0.231	0.475
Semester						
Spring	Reference					
Fall	0.013	0.021	0.537	0.010	0.070	0.890
Winter	-0.054	0.021	0.009	-0.741	0.080	.0001
Prior discontinuation						
Spell_low	Reference					
Spell_high	0.099	0.041	0.017	2.561	0.066	.0001
Grade						
9th Grade	Reference					
10th Grade	0.128	0.021	.0001	-0.073	0.070	0.299
11th Grade	0.282	0.024	.0001	-0.316	0.093	0.001
12th Grade	0.467	0.029	.0001	-0.558	0.133	.0001
Placement type						
Group Care	Reference					
Foster Care	0.084	0.027	0.002	0.157	0.094	0.093
Kinship Care	0.421	0.020	.0001	-0.315	0.080	.0001
Gender						
Female						
Male	-0.060	0.018	0.001	0.073	0.062	0.241
Prior FC	0.008	0.021	0.706	-0.813	0.091	.0001
Placed	2.113	0.392	.0001			
Residual				0.153	0.031	.0001
Treatment				*-1.412*	*0.213*	*.0001*

Note: S.E. refers to the standard error. Pr refers to statistical significance. A positive coefficient implies a higher likelihood of discontinuation, which may be interpreted as less inclined to persist. A negative coefficient implies a lower likelihood of discontinuation, which may be interpreted as more likely to stay in school (persist).

The analysis of the likelihood of returning to school after school discontinuation did not find a statistically significant effect of Fair Futures participation, and the results are presented in Appendix B.

Graduation

Table 9 presents the percentage of students within specific cohorts who earned a high school diploma or high school equivalency. A cohort is defined by the school year students entered a certain grade (e.g., students who entered 9th grade in school year 2017). Each cohort was divided into a treatment group (receiving Fair Futures support) or a comparison group (not served by Fair Futures).

For students who entered 9th grade in the 2017, 2018, and 2019 school years, those who received Fair Futures support at some point consistently achieved a much higher graduation rate at 57 percent on average (difference of 28%, 16%, and 8%, respectively) than their peers in the comparison group. In contrast, the graduation rate for the 2016 ninth graders, a group of students without Fair Futures exposure, was 43 percent. This positive pattern was also generally observed among 10th- and 11th-grade students, except for the 10th-grade cohort from the 2020 school year.

Regarding students who entered 12th grade in the 2020, 2021, and 2022 school years, the overall graduation rate for these cohorts was already high, around 80%. While the treatment group for the 12th-grader 2020 cohort showed a 5% higher graduation rate compared to its comparison group, the graduation rate differences between the treatment group and comparison group for 12th-grade cohorts from other school years are small.

Table 9. High School Graduation Rate by Cohort and Treatment and Comparison Group

	Start Grade=9				Start Grade=10				Start Grade=11				Start Grade=12			
Start Year	Tx	Grad	Ctrl	Grad	Tx	Grad	Ctrl	Grad	Tx	Grad	Ctrl	Grad	Tx	Grad	Ctrl	Grad
2017	196	66%	452	38%												
2018	280	58%	397	42%	185	74%	397	51%								
2019	303	54%	364	46%	239	65%	338	52%	134	77%	226	65%				
2020					311	56%	318	59%	216	71%	217	69%	159	86%	191	81%
2021									234	67%	249	63%	204	80%	204	83%
2022													202	79%	208	81%

The above descriptive findings provide a valuable overview and insights into graduation patterns and reveal some positive signals. While these observations are informative, they also raise important questions about the drivers of graduation success and the specific influence of the Fair Futures program. Because there are competing hypotheses about what might be at play, to further investigate the influence of Fair Futures, we employed a more rigorous modeling approach.

Table 10 presents the impact of Fair Futures on students who received services from Fair Futures (treated). The *treatment* variable captures students who have been exposed to Fair

Futures at any point before graduation. Regardless of their implementation types and timing, these students are considered participants. Before conducting the 2SRI analysis, the first analysis is a treatment-on-the-treated (TOT) analysis. This analysis compares the outcomes of students who received the Fair Futures intervention with those who did not, but without the use of an instrumental variable that addresses the selection bias. Because Fair Futures was implemented city-wide across all 25 agencies, there is no clear equivalent comparison group. Importantly, the implementation of Fair Futures and voluntary participation allows for participants and non-participants within the same private foster care agencies. The analysis compares participants and non-participants within the same agencies using an agency random effects model that accounts for graduation rate differences that reflect the unique populations served by different agencies.

Our analysis indicates that Fair Futures participants were more likely to graduate from high school than foster youth who did not participate. This was especially true for 9th and 10th graders. For 11th graders, the graduation rate for Fair Futures participants was higher than for non-participants, but the differences were not as large. For the 12th-grade cohorts, the program participation is associated with a slightly lower likelihood of graduation. This diminished impact on higher grades reflects two key factors. First, students in higher grades had less exposure to Fair Futures. Second, students who persist into higher grades are inherently different from those in lower grades because they have already navigated and overcome academic and non-academic challenges. Young people who reach the 12th grade of high school have already demonstrated their persistence.

Table 10. Impacts of Fair Futures on Graduation using TOT Analysis

	Start Grade=9			Start Grade=10			Start Grade=11			Start Grade=12		
Effect	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-0.232	0.432	0.596	0.084	0.402	0.837	0.921	0.658	0.174	1.845	0.926	0.058
Race/ethnicity												
White	Reference											
Black	-0.601	0.255	0.018	-0.420	0.255	0.100	-0.908	0.361	0.012	-0.755	0.460	0.101
Hispanic	-0.634	0.257	0.014	-0.277	0.259	0.284	-0.695	0.365	0.057	-0.590	0.465	0.205
Other	0.081	0.327	0.805	0.157	0.337	0.641	-0.249	0.443	0.574	-0.155	0.567	0.785
Placement type												
GC	Reference											
FC	0.377	0.131	0.004	0.357	0.138	0.010	0.261	0.173	0.132	0.437	0.219	0.046
KC	1.096	0.112	<.0001	1.027	0.122	.0001	1.102	0.153	<.0001	1.189	0.193	.0001
Gender												
Female	Reference											
Male	-0.322	0.096	0.001	-0.348	0.102	0.001	-0.465	0.127	0.000	-0.538	0.159	0.001
Prior	0.311	0.104	0.003	0.319	0.110	0.004	0.374	0.141	0.008	0.004	0.175	0.980
Placed	0.278	0.373	0.463	0.232	0.339	0.501	0.670	0.584	0.263	1.577	0.851	0.076
Treatment	*0.627*	*0.110*	*.0001*	*0.350*	*0.118*	*0.003*	*0.052*	*0.155*	*0.738*	*-0.610*	*0.188*	*0.001*

Note: S.E. refers to the standard error. Pr refers to statistical significance. A positive coefficient implies a higher likelihood of graduation. A negative coefficient implies a lower likelihood of graduation.

For the reasons mentioned above, we used a similar 2SRI model to further investigate graduation rate differences. In the first-stage model presented in Table 11, as before, placement status is used as an instrumental variable to model the likelihood of receiving Fair Futures. *Placed* refers to whether a student was in foster care during the most recent person period. The strong association between Fair Futures participation and the *Placed* variable suggests that *Placed* is a relevant instrument.

Table 11. First-Stage Estimates for High School Graduation

	Start Grade=9			Start Grade=10			Start Grade=11			Start Grade=12		
Effect	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-1.661	0.409	0.000	-1.784	0.318	.0001	-1.299	0.389	0.003	-0.948	0.611	0.134
Race/ethnicity												
White	Reference											
Black	0.642	0.313	0.040	0.682	0.310	0.028	0.492	0.379	0.194	0.466	0.406	0.251
Hispanic	0.659	0.315	0.037	0.732	0.313	0.019	0.714	0.382	0.062	0.458	0.410	0.264
Other	0.640	0.382	0.094	0.438	0.392	0.265	-0.009	0.468	0.984	-0.082	0.503	0.870
Placement type												
GC	Reference											
FC	0.220	0.150	0.142	0.267	0.160	0.095	0.112	0.202	0.578	0.050	0.222	0.824
KC	0.515	0.123	.0001	0.566	0.132	.0001	0.333	0.161	0.039	0.057	0.172	0.740
Gender												
Female	Reference											
Male	-0.401	0.107	0.000	-0.318	0.114	0.006	-0.375	0.142	0.008	-0.303	0.154	0.050
Prior	-0.356	0.114	0.002	-0.313	0.122	0.011	-0.553	0.150	0.000	-0.660	0.162	.0001
Placed	*2.069*	*0.285*	*.0001*	*2.323*	*0.124*	*.0001*	*2.892*	*0.171*	*.0001*	*3.477*	*0.513*	*.0001*

Note: S.E. refers to the standard error. Pr refers to statistical significance. A positive coefficient implies a higher likelihood of graduation. A negative coefficient implies a lower likelihood of graduation.

In the second-stage estimation, the residuals from the first stage are included as a covariate in the second stage estimation along with the original endogenous treatment variable. By incorporating the residuals, the model accounts for selection effects and estimates consistently both the treatment effect and the effect of the selection itself. Table 12 presents the second-stage estimation results. Fair Futures participants in the 9th and 10th grade had a higher graduation rate than non-participants, though the difference for 10th graders was only slightly larger. For 11th and 12th graders, Fair Futures participation did not raise graduation rates, a finding that is similar to what was reported in Table 10.

Table 12. Second-Stage Estimates for High School Graduation

	Start Grade=9			Start Grade=10			Start Grade=11			Start Grade=12		
	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-0.908	0.398	0.031	-0.012	0.375	0.974	2.274	0.522	0.000	2.931	0.663	0.000
Race/ethnicity												
White	Reference											
Black	-0.738	0.259	0.004	-0.462	0.259	0.074	-0.858	0.363	0.018	-0.792	0.463	0.087
Hispanic	-0.776	0.261	0.003	-0.325	0.262	0.215	-0.626	0.369	0.090	-0.629	0.467	0.179
Other	-0.068	0.330	0.836	0.131	0.337	0.699	-0.269	0.445	0.545	-0.161	0.567	0.776
Placement type												
GC	Reference											
FC	0.287	0.134	0.033	0.330	0.140	0.019	0.284	0.174	0.104	0.436	0.219	0.046
KC	0.936	0.121	.0001	0.977	0.129	.0001	1.168	0.157	.0001	1.172	0.193	.0001
Gender												
Female	Reference											
Male	-0.201	0.103	0.051	-0.319	0.105	0.002	-0.526	0.131	.0001	-0.513	0.161	0.002
Prior	0.424	0.110	0.000	0.350	0.115	0.002	0.259	0.149	0.083	0.054	0.186	0.773
Residuals	-0.290	0.087	0.001	-0.084	0.076	0.272	0.142	0.061	0.021	-0.076	0.088	0.389
Treatment	*2.180*	*0.475*	*.0001*	*0.823*	*0.429*	*0.056*	*-0.805*	*0.410*	*0.050*	*-0.145*	*0.517*	*0.779*

The finding suggests that Fair Futures is especially helpful during the transition into high school when the risk of leaving school is greatest. For 11th and 12th graders, a group of students who stayed in school past the 9th and 10th grade when the risk of leaving school is highest, the benefits of Fair Futures participation are harder to isolate. All told, the findings highlight the critical window of opportunity during the years when foster youth are starting high school.

CONCLUSIONS

Fair Futures reaches a substantial proportion of eligible youth. However, the success in its reach is not uniform across all subgroups. While the likelihood of enrollment is particularly high for youth becoming eligible at older ages and those in foster home placements, there is a notable gap in reaching youth in residential care. This highlights an area for a more tailored and targeted outreach strategy. A one-size-fits-all approach to engagement may miss critical segments of the intended beneficiary group. Addressing the unique barriers faced by youth in residential care settings will be important for maximizing the program's reach.

Beyond initial program enrollment, Fair Futures successfully engages the majority of its participants for extended periods. This demonstrates that Fair Futures is not merely a light-touch intervention but provides consistent and meaningful support. This consistent engagement likely contributes to the higher graduation rates reported for program participants.

More so than non-participants, Fair Futures participants stay in school and graduate. This is particularly true for students in earlier high school grades (9th and 10th). The strong correlation between early intervention through Fair Futures and improved long-term educational outcomes suggests that engaging youth at critical junctures through Fair Futures is highly beneficial for

long-term academic trajectories. As students move on to later grades, the program effect diminishes because the students have already demonstrated the persistence needed to finish school. Reaching foster youth when the transition to high school reinforces the importance of early outreach and intervention.

LIMITATIONS

Although the data found within the Care4, ACS, and DOE datasets are substantial, there are facets of a young person's experiences that are not captured. In addition, the unmeasured features of programs and schools raise the chance that the program effects we identified are not as strong as we found. Our approach to the analysis was meant to overcome these limitations, but it is important to remain somewhat circumspect.

We also acknowledge that from the time Fair Futures was implemented to the present, the time required to observe important outcomes, such as graduation, is limited. Again, we addressed these concerns with our approach to the analysis, but we think careful interpretation is prudent.

Nevertheless, we believe, based on how well Fair Futures reached the eligible population, that Fair Futures offers a plausible explanation for why the Fair Futures participants did as well as they did when compared to the young people who didn't participate.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Though the initial findings are important, it is important to bear in mind that sustained success is the best answer to the question: Did Fair Futures make a difference in the lives of foster youth? The findings suggest that sustained success is possible. At the same time, the findings point to the challenges ahead.

Outreach, Enrollment, and Program Approach

The enrollment analysis shows significantly lower likelihood of enrollment among youth in residential care compared to other placement types, and indicates a gap that, if addressed, could expand the program's reach to a vulnerable sub-population. In particular, we would recommend that Fair Futures develop and implement specialized outreach strategies designed to address the unique needs of young people in residential care settings, with specific reference to young people facing developmental challenges. This could involve increasing on-site presence and direct engagement among youth in collaboration with residential care staff, tailored informational materials, and dedicated Fair Futures liaisons for these facilities.

Although differences are less pronounced among different racial and gender groups, gaps exist. To ensure equitable access and engagement across all demographic groups and the

program's overall mission, it would be helpful to explore further the variations in enrollment for males.

The findings also suggest that the transition into high school (9th grade) and soon thereafter (10th grade) are critical years. As such, it is important to strengthen the developmental approach reflected in the coaching, tutoring, and specialized service offered with specific reference to the questions 9th and 10th graders are asking about the value of staying in school. For foster youth in the later grades (11th and 12th), the reasons for leaving school may differ from those of younger students. What are those differences, and how might those differences be reflected in the developmental approach the Fair Futures initiative has adopted?

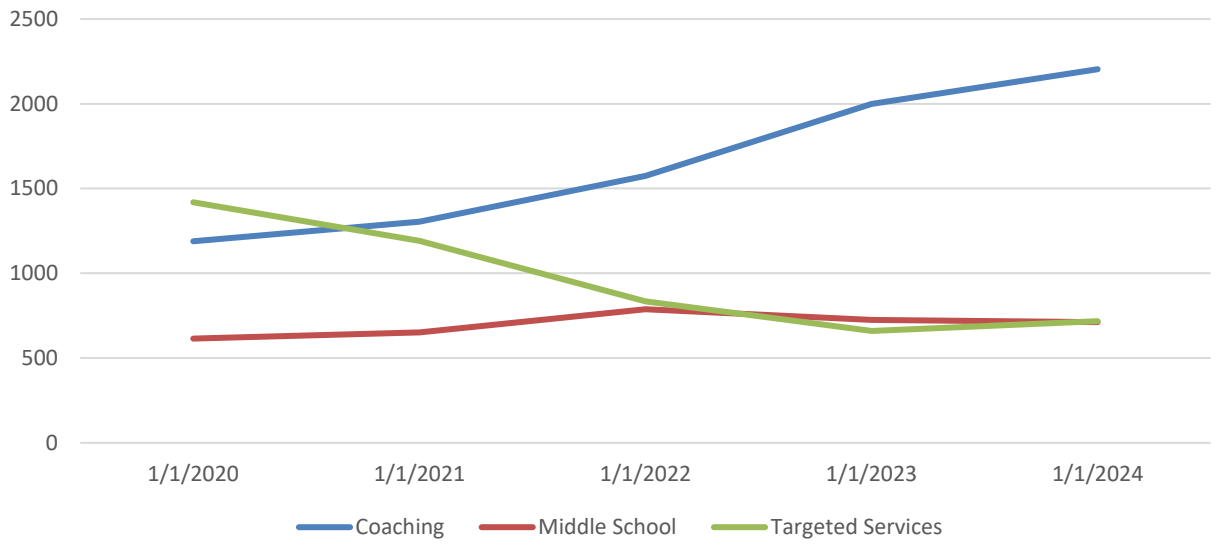
Persistence and Graduation

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that although graduation rates were higher for Fair Future participants than non-participants, there was still a large proportion of Fair Futures' participants who did not graduate. On the flip side, even though more than half of the 9th-grade non-participants did not graduate, roughly 42 percent of them did graduate. To sustain its early success, Fair Futures has to better serve *participants* who remain unlikely to graduate and reach the *non-participants* who are unlikely to finish school. These are issues of both service targeting and refinement. Who are the Fair Futures participants who do not graduate; who are the foster youth who do not participate? Answers to both questions will inform how Fair Futures approaches coaching, tutoring, and specialized services to achieve sustained improvement in educational outcomes for foster youth.

Appendix A: Fair Futures Utilization by Program Components

The figure below shows the number of youth who had a Fair Futures case open over time, from November 1, 2020, to November 1, 2024, by program component (coaching, middle school services, or targeted services).

Figure A1. Fair Futures Utilization Over Time, by Case Type



The following tables show the likelihood of enrollment in different program components, including the Middle School model, Coaching model, and Targeted Services for youth who are eligible for those program components by youth demographics such as age, race/ethnicity, gender, and placement type at eligibility.

Table A1. Likelihood of Middle School Model Enrollment, by Youth Demographics

	No MS	MS	Total	No MS (%)	MS (%)	Total (%)
Total	906	1,025	1,931	47%	53%	100%
Age at Eligibility						
11 to 13 years	906	1,025	1,931	47%	53%	100%
Race/Ethnicity						
Black	444	515	959	46%	54%	100%
Hispanic	380	436	816	47%	53%	100%
Other	35	34	69	51%	49%	100%
White	47	40	87	54%	46%	100%
Gender						
Female	480	528	1,008	48%	52%	100%
Male	426	497	923	46%	54%	100%

Placement at Eligibility						
Foster Care	126	262	388	32%	68%	100%
Kinship Care	386	551	937	41%	59%	100%
Residential Care	394	212	606	65%	35%	100%
Other	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%

Table A2. Likelihood of Coaching Model Enrollment, by Youth Demographics

	No COACH	COACH	Total	No COACH (%)	COACH (%)	Total (%)
Total	1,138	1,333	2,471	46%	54%	100%
Age at Eligibility						
14 to 17 years	1,056	1,158	2,214	48%	52%	100%
18+ years	82	175	257	32%	68%	100%
Race/Ethnicity						
Black	501	684	1,185	42%	58%	100%
Hispanic	511	552	1,063	48%	52%	100%
Other	63	61	124	51%	49%	100%
White	63	36	99	64%	36%	100%
Gender						
Female	587	784	1,371	43%	57%	100%
Male	551	549	1,100	50%	50%	100%
Placement at Eligibility						
Foster Care	94	324	418	22%	78%	100%
Kinship Care	285	481	766	37%	63%	100%
Residential Care	756	523	1,279	59%	41%	100%
Other	3	5	8	38%	63%	100%

Table A3. Likelihood of Targeted Services Participation, by Youth Demographics

	No TS	TS	Total	No TS (%)	TS (%)	Total (%)
Total	1,791	680	2,471	72%	28%	100%
Age at Eligibility						
14 to 17 years	1657	557	2,214	75%	25%	100%
18+ years	134	123	257	52%	48%	100%
Race/Ethnicity						
Black	853	332	1,185	72%	28%	100%
Hispanic	780	283	1,063	73%	27%	100%
Other	90	34	124	73%	27%	100%
White	68	31	99	69%	31%	100%

Gender						
Female	963	408	1,371	70%	30%	100%
Male	828	272	1,100	75%	25%	100%
Placement Type at Eligibility						
Foster Care	217	201	418	52%	48%	100%
Kinship Care	509	257	766	66%	34%	100%
Residential Care	1058	221	1,279	83%	17%	100%
Other	7	1	8	88%	13%	100%

The following tables present the cumulative likelihood of enrollment in different program components, including the Middle School model, Coaching model, and Targeted Services for youth who are age eligible for those program components by duration between when they became eligible and initial enrollment. Eligibility for the middle school program starts at age 11; coaching and targeted services age eligibility starts at age 14.

Table A4. Cumulative Likelihood of Middle School Model Enrollment for Eligible Youth, by Time from Eligibility to Initial Enrollment

		Time from Eligibility to Fair Futures Enrollment -- Cumulative Percent			
Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	412	68%	71%	72%	A72%
2021*	427	44%	57%	60%	60%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	123	40%	56%	57%	57%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	304	37%	43%	44%	44%
2022	401	54%	66%	66%	66%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	66	55%	74%	74%	74%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	335	49%	56%	56%	56%
2023	391	45%	52%	52%	52%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	46	39%	52%	52%	52%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	345	42%	47%	47%	47%
2024	300	40%	40%	40%	40%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	17	35%	35%	35%	35%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	283	34%	34%	34%	34%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Coaching because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

Table A5. Cumulative Likelihood of Coaching Model Enrollment for Eligible Youth, by Time from Eligibility to Initial Enrollment

		Time from Eligibility to Coaching Enrollment -- Cumulative Percent			
Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	791	67%	70%	70%	71%
2021* New admit & eligible	420	46%	55%	57%	58%
2022 New admit & eligible	388	37%	46%	48%	48%
2023 New admit & eligible	465	43%	47%	47%	47%
2024 New admit & eligible	407	31%	31%	31%	31%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Coaching because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

Table A6. Cumulative Likelihood of Targeted Services Participation for Eligible Youth, by Time from Eligibility to Initial Enrollment

		Time from Eligibility to Coaching Enrollment -- Cumulative Percent			
Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	791	50%	50%	50%	50%
2021* New admit & eligible	420	19%	22%	23%	23%
2022 New admit & eligible	388	16%	17%	17%	17%
2023 New admit & eligible	465	15%	15%	15%	15%
2024 New admit & eligible	407	12%	12%	12%	12%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Coaching because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

Tables A7 to A9 present the length of time that youth were enrolled in the different program components.

Table A7. Distribution of Middle School Involvement by Duration of Participation

	Duration of Middle School Enrollment

Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	Less than 3 months	3 mos to 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	More than 3 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	296	1%	22%	25%	14%	38%
2021*	204	1%	21%	24%	33%	21%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	70	1%	24%	30%	27%	17%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	134	1%	19%	21%	36%	23%
2022	238	4%	18%	43%	34%	1%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	49	2%	20%	47%	31%	0%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	189	4%	17%	42%	35%	1%
2023	185	4%	43%	52%	1%	0%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	24	0%	54%	46%	0%	0%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	161	5%	41%	53%	1%	0%
2024	102	13%	83%	4%	0%	0%
In-Care & Aged into Eligibility	6	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Newly Admitted and Age-Eligible	96	14%	82%	4%	0%	0%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Middle School services because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

Table A8. Distribution of Coaching Involvement by Duration of Participation

		Duration of Coaching Enrollment				
Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	Less than 3 months	3 mos to 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	More than 3 years
In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	558	3%	12%	15%	16%	54%
2021*	244	5%	13%	20%	31%	32%
2022	185	5%	17%	37%	41%	1%
2023	218	6%	33%	60%	1%	0%
2024	128	19%	77%	4%	0%	0%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Coaching because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

Table A9. Distribution of Targeted Services Involvement by Duration of Participation

		Duration of Targeted Services Enrollment				
Year of Eligibility	Number of Youth	Less than 3 months	3 mos to 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	More than 3 years

In-Care and Age-Eligible on 11/1/2020	397	2%	10%	17%	15%	56%
2021*	97	1%	7%	16%	37%	38%
2022	66	2%	15%	32%	52%	0%
2023	72	0%	28%	72%	0%	0%
2024	48	8%	90%	2%	0%	0%

*NOTE 1: The year 2021 includes 14 months of youth who became eligible and participated in Targeted Services because it includes months of November and December 2020.

*NOTE 2: The rows and columns shaded in grey represent censored data because their duration could not be fully observed during our observation window.

Appendix B: Returning to School After Stopping for Three Months

The following table presents the estimation results from the first-stage and the second-stage models for the likelihood of returning to school after school discontinuation. The analysis did not find a statistically significant effect of Fair Futures participation on the likelihood of returning to school.

Table B1. Fair Futures Impact on Returning to School

	First Stage			Second Stage		
Effect	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|	Coef.	S.E.	Pr > |t|
Intercept	-3.234	0.481	.0001	5.316	0.915	.0001
Race/ethnicity						
White	Reference					
Black	0.280	0.390	0.473	-0.170	0.552	0.758
Hispanic	0.303	0.391	0.438	-0.067	0.553	0.904
Other	0.245	0.570	0.667	0.003	0.810	0.997
Prior discontinuation						
Spell_low	Reference					
Spell_high	0.322	0.144	0.026	-0.647	0.205	0.002
Grade						
6th & 7th Grade	Reference					
8th Grade	0.168	0.368	0.648	-0.597	0.927	0.520
9th Grade	0.774	0.289	0.008	-2.237	0.741	0.003
10th Grade	1.037	0.295	0.000	-2.316	0.750	0.002
11th Grade	0.969	0.331	0.003	-2.034	0.788	0.010
12th Grade	1.227	0.391	0.002	-2.140	0.847	0.012
Placement type						
Group Care	Reference					
Foster Care	0.162	0.201	0.419	0.393	0.311	0.205
Kinship Care	0.587	0.165	0.000	-0.050	0.251	0.841
Gender						
Female						
Male	-0.056	0.137	0.685	-0.337	0.199	0.091
Prior FC	0.164	0.192	0.393	-0.684	0.257	0.008
Placed	1.317	0.139	.0001			
Residual				-0.142	0.263	0.589
Treatment				-0.615	0.640	0.337