# Who Gets a Family? The Consequences of Family and Congregate Care Allocation for Child Outcomes

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#### **Abstract**

Hundreds of thousands of children grow up in the US foster care system every year and are at high risk of experiencing negative outcomes such as incarceration and homelessness. This paper documents how the placement of foster children into families rather than congregate care improves their outcomes using the exits of other children from families as an instrument for their placement setting. Policies that change which children are matched to families can achieve a large percentage of the gains from policies that add families to the foster care system due to heterogeneity in treatment effects.

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Every year, child protective service agencies in the US spend \$30 billion to protect the well-being of children and end up placing over 200,000 children into foster care (Children's Bureau, 2016; Child Trends, 2016). Foster children in the US are very disadvantaged: 1/3 of 17 year olds in foster care will end up homeless and 1/5 will end up incarcerated. Moreover, these children make up a large proportion of the incarcerated young adult population: a 1997 survey found that 1/5 of US inmates under age 30 spent some time in foster care (?). The evidence on the effect of entering foster care is mixed with studies finding increased chances of criminal behavior and reduced earnings (Doyle, 2007b, 2008) while more recent studies have found positive effects on test scores for young girls (Bald, Chyn, Hastings and Machelett, 2022) and on education and maltreatment outcomes (Gross and Baron, 2022). These mixed results suggest the following questions: How can foster care be improved? What explains differences in foster care effects?

One promising area identified by policymakers and researchers is the placement settings of children. Children can be placed with substitute care families or in larger congregate care settings with professional caretakers. Families are thought to be more beneficial due to a strong belief that children do better growing up in loving homes.<sup>2</sup> Placing more children with families may improve their outcomes, but foster families are scarce and hard to recruit, requiring extensive training and monthly subsidies.<sup>3</sup> If children benefit from families differently, then an alternative approach to improving outcomes consists of reallocating children to families to maximize the effectiveness of family placements. It is an empirical question whether reallocating family and congregate care placement settings can achieve similar gains to placing more children with families.

This paper studies how the allocation of families to children affect their outcomes at the individual and aggregate level. I identify a Local Average Treatment Effect (LATE) that shows that the marginal placement with a family improves an outcome index that includes incarceration and homelessness at age 21 by more than one standard deviation relative to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Author's calculations from the 2011 and 2014 National Youth in Transition Database used in this paper. See Section 1.2 for more details on the data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The largest child welfare reform in recent years in California, the Continuum of Care Reform (CCR), places foster care placements as the center of its agenda. The CCR website states: "The Continuum of Care Reform draws together a series of existing and new reforms to our child welfare services program designed out of an understanding [foster children] do best when they are cared for in committed nurturing family homes." (California Department of Social Services, 2021). Academic research on family vs. institutional settings provides a similar perspective (Barth, 2002; Nelson III, Zeanah, Fox, Marshall, T. and Guthrie, 2007; Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Foster families in California can be paid up to \$1,000 a month for a foster child and it takes parents 3 to 6 months to become approved to be foster families (California Department of Social Services, 2021).

placement in congregate care. I extrapolate these estimates to non-compliers and allow for heterogeneity in treatment effects using a generalized Roy (1951) model. I examine how two types of policies differ in affecting children's outcomes. The first policy adds families to the foster care system allowing more children to be placed with families. The second policy changes which children are placed with families without adding families. Policies that reallocate children can only affect outcomes if children experience heterogeneous treatment effects. I find evidence for this heterogeneity in treatment effects. For instance, I find that boys benefit from families more than girls but are placed with them less often. Overall, I find that adding families to foster care improves children's well-being but well-tailored policies that change the set of children matched to families can achieve similar gains.

My analysis uses administrative foster care data on placements in 2010-2015 linked to outcomes obtained from surveys of children at age 21. To identify the effect of placement setting on outcomes I utilize the exits of other children from foster families as an instrumental variable (IV) for whether a child is placed with a foster family or in congregate care. Exits of other foster children vary due to the timing of a child's reunification with their birth family or their emancipation when they age out of foster care. This instrument is similar to instruments in other papers that use exogenous market condition shifters to alter placements in a matching market context (Agarwal, Hodgson and Somaini, 2020). The main identifying assumption underlying my empirical strategy is that exits of other children are uncorrelated with factors that predict entries of children that are more likely to be placed or more likely to have good outcomes. I investigate whether this assumption is likely to be valid through a series of tests including a randomization test which confirms that the instrument appears quasi-randomly assigned to a rich set of observable child characteristics. I also provide evidence that suggests that the other assumptions required of an IV in a heterogeneous treatment effect setting, such as monotonicity, are satisfied (Imbens and Angrist, 1994).

The IV results show that foster families cause better outcomes than congregate care settings for foster children at age 21. On an outcome index that combines employment, enrollment, incarceration, homelessness and substance abuse, foster children gain between 0.97 and 0.99 standard deviations improvement from being placed with families relative to congregate care settings. The estimates I obtain for incarceration outcomes are similar to those found in the literature using propensity score matching techniques (Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez, 2008). I undertake a variety of robustness exercises including but not limited to examining robustness to non-random non-response bias and survey attrition and

find similar results. I also complement the IV results with OLS results that use a rich set of child-level observable controls that have high predictive power on children's placements. The findings are similar but show smaller effects, potentially reflecting treatment effect heterogeneity, measurement error or noisier IV estimates.

To study how different policies affect foster children's outcomes in this setting and incorporate heterogeneous treatment effects I build and estimate a generalized Roy (1951) model of child placement into families and congregate care. In this model, children are placed with families if they are among the most preferred children. Markets are geographic and time specific and families have homogeneous preferences over their characteristics. This modeling setup adapts methods from the centralized matching market literature (e.g. Agarwal (2015); Agarwal, Hodgson and Somaini (2020)) to the decentralized foster care setting where families play a large role in determining placements. The model then predicts outcomes for children based on observable and unobservable characteristics following Heckman (1979), Kline and Walters (2016) and Walters (2018).<sup>4</sup> I estimate the model under parametric assumptions and control function techniques that follow the literature (Heckman, 1979; Kline and Walters, 2016). I find significant preferences for girls, younger children, and non-black children. I find that boys have larger treatment effects than girls, consistent with studies that find boys are more responsive to childhood interventions (Kling, Ludwig and Katz, 2005; Bertrand and Pan, 2013; Autor, Figlio, Karbownik, Roth and Wasserman, 2019). I also compute different model-based treatment effects and find evidence that treated children benefit less than non-treated children in general, and show that the model based LATE estimate and IV based LATE estimate are similar.

I use the model to compare policies that increase the availability of families to policies that reallocate children to families. These policies could be achieved in practice by changing the average subsidy rate and the relative subsidy rates of different children.<sup>5</sup> I compare a policy that adds a percentage of families to each foster care market to policies that increase the rate of placement of boys while decreasing the rate of placement of girls, and that optimize allocations based on observables and unobservables informed by the outcome model estimates. More families benefit children, but I also find that a large share of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>This modeling exercise in this paper is related to papers that connect IV and model based treatment effect estimates (Vytlacil, 2002; Kline and Walters, 2019) and other applications of the Roy (1951) model in matching market contexts such as Walters (2018) who looks at an application to enrollment in charter schools and Abdulkadiroğlu, Pathak, Schellenberg and Walters (2020) who looks at an application to enrollment in New York City High Schools to understand if parents value school effectiveness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Doyle (2007a) shows that kin families change their care in response to foster care stipends.

these benefits can be achieved by reallocating children to families. Allocating children to families based on observable demographics can achieve over 2/3 of the aggregate gains that come from adding 50% more families to the foster care system on the outcomes I study.

This paper is related to several literatures. First, this paper is related to a broad literature studying how interventions for disadvantaged children can causally affect their outcomes (Almond, Doyle, Kowalski and Williams, 2010; Heckman, Pinto and Savelyev, 2013; Chetty, Hendren, Kline and Saez, 2014; Aizer, Eli, Ferrie and Lleras-Muney, 2016; Hoynes, Schanzenbach and Almond, 2016; Isen, Rossin-Slater and Walker, 2017; Chyn, 2018; Currie, Mueller-Smith and Rossin-Slater, 2019). This paper contributes to this literature by focusing on the comparison between institutionalization and family settings for older disadvantaged children. I show that institutionalization has a large negative impact on outcomes and that the allocation of children to families and institutions has important consequences for aggregate outcomes. Moreover, the literature on childhood interventions has mostly shown that high impact interventions mostly occur early in life (Cunha, Heckman, Lochner and Masterov, 2006; Cunha and Heckman, 2007). The results in this paper provide a counterexample of an effective intervention later in a disadvantaged child's life.

The results in this paper are also relevant to the literature that studies how a child's family circumstances affect their outcomes (Sacerdote, 2007; Fagereng, Mogstad and Rønning, 2021). While most of the studies in this literature measure treatment effects on children's later outcomes by parental characteristics such as parental wealth or education by studying adoptive parents, the results in this paper isolate causal effects of family settings relative to institutionalized settings by studying foster care. Close to one hundred thousand children in the US grow up in institutions every year.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, this paper is closely related to a smaller literature that examines how placement settings affect foster children's outcomes. While there is a large literature comparing kin and non-kin family placements<sup>7</sup> there is less work studying families and congregate care. Existing work is limited and uses propensity score matching methods or focuses on cognitive outcomes of young children outside of the US (Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez, 2008; Nelson III, Zeanah, Fox, Marshall, T. and Guthrie, 2007). I provide new evidence that combines an instrumental variable method with new outcomes such as homelessness and a focus on teenage foster children in the US, a population at severe risk of poor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Author's calculation from the AFCARS data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Berrick, Barth and Needell (1994); Berrick (1997); Ehrle and Geen (2002); Font (2014); Andersen and Fallesen (2015); Hayduk (2017)

outcomes. Perhaps the most novel contribution I make to this literature is in studying heterogeneous treatment effects of placement settings and their consequences for foster care policy design.<sup>8</sup>

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 1 provides a description of foster care and the data used in the analysis. Section 2 describes the instrumental variable strategy and results. Section 3 describes the model setup. Section 4 describes the model estimation and results. Section 5 discusses the policy counterfactuals. Section 6 concludes.

# 1 Setting and Data

#### 1.1 Overview of Foster Care and Foster Care Placement in the U.S.

Child protective services are administered at the county-level in the U.S. County officials receive reports of abuse or neglect. Social workers investigate over 4 million reports of abuse and neglect every year and determine whether a child should be removed from their current birth family or guardian (Children's Bureau, 2016). Children can be placed in three different placement options. The first is kin foster family placement which consists of placement with a relative. The second is non-kin foster family placement which consists of placement with a family or adult that volunteer their time and house. The third is congregate care. Congregate care settings provide 24-hour care and are staffed with adults that care for children in a professional role. Some examples include residential treatment facilities and maternity homes. Among children of all ages, non-kin placements are the most common compromising 46% of placements with the second most common being kin placements at 32%(Children's Bureau, 2020). 10

When social workers are making placement decisions, they generally view congregate care as an option of last resort (Barth, 2002; Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez, 2008). Congregate care settings are known to be restrictive. Sixto Cancel, a former foster youth,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Robinson-Cortes (2019) also studies policy design in a structural model of foster care but focuses on different outcomes such as placement stability and different policies, including relaxing geographic constraints in placements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Foster families receive basic training and go through an approval process that varies by state. While caring for children they are given a stipend that ranges between \$500 and \$1000 a month mainly funded by State and Federal AFDC-FC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children? Foster Care). This stipend depends on the age of the child and other child characteristics. (WeHaveKids.com, 2020)(https://wehavekids.com/adoption-fostering/What-does-being-a-foster-parent-really-pay). See also Figure A10 and Table A47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Children ages 12 and younger are placed more often in non-kin or kin family placements compared to the children studied in this paper.

says in a New York Times guest essay:

"My next stop was to be a group home. My younger brother lived in a group home for five years. I saw how workers there restrained him, took away his visiting 'privileges' when he misbehaved and how he ate cafeteria food for every meal. I refused to go. I knew that no matter how difficult it had been for me to join foster families of total strangers, an institutional context would be worse." (Cancel, 2021)

Children exit foster care in three main ways. The first, and most common, is reunification with their parent or primary caretaker. When their child enters foster care, birth parents work with social workers on a plan for eventual reunification. For example, if a child is removed from their birth parents because the parents are abusing drugs, the social worker may ask the parents to undergo drug rehabilitation before the child reunites with them. The second is adoption, often their foster parents. The third is emancipation which occurs when a child is too old and loses eligibility for foster care funding.

## 1.2 Main Data and Sample

I link two datasets from the National Data Archive on Child Abuse and Neglect (NDACAN) for my analysis. The first is the Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS) 6-month foster care file and the second is the National Youth in Transition Database (NYTD) outcomes file.

The AFCARS data is part of a federally mandated data collection system maintained to provide case specific information on all children covered by the protections of Title IV-B/E of the Social Security Act. This dataset covers all counties and states in the US, and all children in foster care for whom child welfare agencies have responsibility for care. The AFCARS data used in this paper contains placement data for every foster child in the US every 6 months between 2010 and 2015. The data includes the placement type (kin, non-kin, group home, institution), demographics (age, sex, and race) and reasons for removal for each child, including whether the child entered because their parents are in jail, they were abused, neglected, or had a behavioral problem.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Some of the removal reasons are known to be noisy indicators of services provided, but are still useful proxies that can predict family placement and subsequent outcomes. To address this, Appendix Table A12 reproduces the main results including only demographic child controls. Waldfogel (2000) discusses the benefits of the new AFCARS data and how it should assist in understanding important issues in child welfare and foster care through data.

The NYTD data contains results of a survey administered to eligible children at the ages of 17, 19 and 21. This paper uses two NYTD cohorts, those 17 in 2011 and those 17 in 2014. Children are eligible for the NYTD survey if they turn 17 while in foster care or are in foster care within 45 days of their 17th birthday.<sup>12</sup> The survey asks about outcomes such as incarceration, homelessness, and substance abuse in the past two years. Appendix A.2 contains more information on the outcome variables in this survey. The survey response rate is 60%.<sup>13</sup> My analyses account for the possibility of non-random non-response bias and attrition in the survey.

I define the main placement setting variable as an indicator variable for whether a child is initially placed with a non-kin family, where a zero represents placement in a congregate care. Since I cannot always observe the exact first placement in foster care, I approximate this with the most recent placement in the initial AFCARS reporting period following a child's entry. If a child has multiple entries, I take only their latest entry. My empirical strategy does not exogenously vary placement in kin homes, so I only focus on children placed in non-kin family homes or congregate care. To maximize power, I create an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The NYTD survey user guide further states: "All youth who turn 17 in foster care or who enter foster care within 45 days of their 17th birthday in a baseline year are in the baseline population. All youth in the baseline population are required to be contacted and asked to complete the NYTD Outcomes Survey. Demographic data for all baseline youth is recorded in the Wave 1 File, regardless of whether they respond to the survey." (p. 5 of the NYTD user guide)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>This is the response rate for children eligible to take the survey at age 21. A child is eligible for the survey at age 21 if they respond to the survey at age 17, and, in states that "sample" children (in the words of the NYTD survey), must be randomly sampled by a state if the state elects to randomly sample from this subpopulation due to resource constraints. Table 1 shows that the outcome sample is much less than 60% of the eligible sample. This is because of this sampling scheme that is used. The 60% accounts for the children that satisfy both (1) and (2) and are randomly sampled by the state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>There are other ways one can measure a child's placement experience in foster care. I choose initial placement as as the primary measure for two reasons. First, the instrumental variable relies on market conditions when a foster child enters the system to exogenously shift their placements, and thus should have the most power for initial placements. Second, foster care placements are quite "sticky": a child initially placed in a non-kin family will spend over 80% of their time in a non-kin family, a child initially placed in a congregate care will spend 11% of their time in a non-kin familys. Robustness of this analysis to this choice of endogenous variable is assessed in the Table A34 where I repeat the main analysis using endogenous variables of the percentage of time in a non-kin placement and months in a non-kin placement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Recent reports (such as <a href="https://www.propublica.org/article/they-took-us-away-from-each-other-lost-inside-americas-shadow-foster-system">https://www.propublica.org/article/they-took-us-away-from-each-other-lost-inside-americas-shadow-foster-system</a>) describe "shadow foster care" where family friends agree to care for children before they formally enter the foster system. The AFCARS data does not record informal foster care exits and entries so these children may be missing from this analysis. One note on this is that it's likely the results in this paper lower bound the benefits of being placed in families by leaving these children out, since children placed informally with family friends and never entering formally likely have good outcomes.?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>I further drop children from the sample with initial placements in supervised independent living settings, trial home visits and runaway children. These placements make up 0.05%, 2.1% and 5.3% of the set of children asked to take the NYTD survey at age 17 and having an entry in the AFCARS 6 month file between

index of my outcome variables. I follow Kling, Liebman and Katz (2007) in creating an index that combines whether a child is enrolled or employed, has been incarcerated at ages 20 or 21, has been homeless at ages 20 or 21, and has had a substance abuse referral at ages 20 or 21. The main results also break the results out into individual outcomes with the caveats of inference under multiple hypothesis testing. AFCARS only identifies counties with at least 1,000 cases in a year and so all counties in the sample that have less than 1,000 cases in a year are dropped. This leads to a loss of less than 10% of children in the outcome sample.

My analysis is conducted at the child entry level in the AFCARS data with outcomes measured at age 21 in the NYTD data. Each observation in the main analysis is a unique *child-entry and outcome at 21* pair. I use age 21 to focus on the longest term effects available. Because the survey is administered at age 17, I only consider entries of children that occur at age 14 or older to remove selection bias that might occur from considering children that enter at a younger age. I show that the results are robust to this age cutoff choice. Additional details related to sample definition are contained in Appendix A.2.

I consider three different samples in my reduced form analysis to test the robustness of the assumptions of my empirical strategy. The first sample is all foster children entering between ages 14 and 17 in the US between 2010 and 2015 ("old children sample"). The second is all children in the old children sample who are eligible for the NYTD survey ("eligible sample"). The final sample is all children in the eligible sample who complete at least one question of the NYTD survey that goes into the outcome index at age 21 ("outcome sample"). Each corresponding sample is a strict subsample of the other sample.<sup>19</sup>

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics of the three samples and Table A1 provides descriptive statistics of the broader universe of foster children in the AFCARS dataset. Half of the children in the outcome sample are placed with non-kin families. This proportion

<sup>2010-2015.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The summary index is defined to be the equally weighted average of z-scores of its components, where the sign of each component is set up so that more beneficial outcomes have higher scores (i.e. it is increasing in enrollment/employment, decreasing in incarceration). The z-scores are calculated by subtracting the control group mean and dividing by the control group standard deviation. I also compute versions of the index so that they are mean 0 and SD 1 in the whole child population, which may be easier to interpret. The main results for this version of the index are in Table A41 and are qualitatively very similar to the results in Table 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>A child is enrolled or employed if they are either employed full time (35+ hours per week), part time (1 to 34 hours per week), or enrolled in and attending high school, GED classes, or postsecondary vocational training or college. These are all at the time of the survey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Outcome is a subsample of the eligibility sample which is a subsample of the old children sample.

is higher than the corresponding proportion in both the eligible sample and old children sample. The difference with the eligible sample highlights the potential importance of correcting for response bias and attrition in the survey.<sup>20</sup> I address this potential bias directly in the analysis.<sup>21</sup> This table also shows the mean (1.01) and standard deviation (2.08) of the index.

# 2 Placement Instrument and Regression Analysis

# 2.1 Research Design: Children Exiting Non-Kin Families as a Placement Instrument

This section describes the research design used to identify the effect of being placed in a non-kin family vs. congregate care on a child's outcomes. Suppose the researcher's goal is to estimate the effect of placement type  $Place_i$  on criminal behavior  $Y_i$ . One potential strategy that has been used in the literature is to assume that a set of observable features  $X_i$  for each child i are sufficient for controlling for all factors that jointly determine placement into a family and a child's criminal behavior  $Y_i$  (Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez, 2008). I take a different approach and perform an instrumental variable (IV) analysis that allows for unobservables correlated with the outcomes and placement status.

My empirical strategy takes advantage of the fact that some non-kin foster families foster more than one child (Cherry and Orme, 2013) and the fact that there is a shortage of families in foster care (Doyle and Peters, 2007). In over 95% of the counties that I study, some older children are placed in congregate care. This paper proposes that one shifter of family scarcity that is exogenous to a child's potential outcomes is the exits of other foster children from non-kin foster families. If children exit placements of families

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>The difference with the old children sample is mainly driven by age differences between the samples. The old children sample is far more balanced on the age distribution, while most children in the outcome and eligible samples enter at age 16. Another notable comparison between the samples is that there are substantially fewer boys in the outcome sample than in the eligible sample or old children sample. This is likely because boys are more likely to be incarcerated or homeless and are harder to survey between ages 20 and 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>One concern is that many foster children are disabled and so may not be able to take the survey. I looked at the correlation between a child?s disability status in AFCARS and their response to the NYTD survey. I found a coefficient in the regression of -0.01219 and a standard error of 0.01837, suggesting we cannot reject that the null hypothesis that response at age 17 and child?s reason for entry being related to disability are not correlated.

that continue to foster,<sup>22</sup>, and there is a scarcity of families, then those families can care for entering foster children, leading to an open non-kin family slot.<sup>23</sup> If these exits satisfy certain assumptions then they can serve as an IV to measure a Local Average Treatment Effect (LATE) of placement into a non-kin foster family relative to congregate care (Imbens and Angrist, 1994).<sup>24</sup> Section A.3 gives some more institutional details on the foster care placement process relevant to the empirical strategy.

In order to measure these types of exits, for every county-month-year (c,t), I count the number of exits from non-kin placements that end with a child being emancipated or reunified with their birth family  $Exits_{c,t}$ . I do not include adoptions and guardianship, nor do I include changes in placements for children, since they are less likely to represent true slots opening up in foster families. I include exits of children of all ages.<sup>25</sup> To account for average county differences and US-wide seasonal changes in foster care policy that may affect exit behavior, I residualize the exits variable on county and month-year fixed effects.

One consideration in constructing the instrument is county size. I consider two options for dealing with county size in this paper. The first and one presented throughout the main text is to use the unadjusted measure of exits and use the fixed effects and controls to account for any necessary covariate adjustments. The second is to to implement a version that normalizes the  $Exits_{c,t}$  measure by an estimate of the overall stock of non-kin families in the county in an aim to more precisely measure the percent of slots open in a county. A major drawback of this second version is that there is missing data for many counties in the outcome data due to lack of AFCARS data on entries around that time, leading to a reduction in about half of the data points in the main regression (and a correspondingly large reduction in the F-statistic). Table A3 has results of the main results with this alternative measure of the instrument. Table A2 also explores alternative constructions including normalizations by the log of county population and a log transformation of exits. The results suggest that using the unadjusted measure of exits has the most power and so I focus on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>The literature has identified a set of foster mothers called the "Vital Few" (Cherry and Orme, 2013) that foster multiple children over their lives. Appendix A.1 provides more details on these families.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Related ideas are explored in Wulczyn and Halloran (2017) in which the constraints of beds in congregate care are assumed to affect both entries and exits into congregate care in foster care.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>A similar research design is used by Freedman (2016) to study healthcare utilization in the Neonatal Intensive Care Unit using the availability of beds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Table A19 looks at the first stage and average treatment effects for the outcome index with two alternative instrument measures that only look at exits for older children. The results show that the F-statistics are smaller and the average treatment effects are larger.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>This estimate is formed by looking at the total number of non-kin placements for the county for a single reporting period in 2008. More details can be found in the notes in Table A3.

that throughout the paper.

This instrument is utilized in a two-stage least squares (2SLS) framework:

$$Y_i = \beta \cdot Place_i + X_i \gamma + \delta_{c(i)} + \delta_{t(i)} + \epsilon_i \tag{1}$$

$$Place_{i} = \alpha \cdot Exits_{c(i),t(i)} + X_{i}\Gamma + \Delta_{c(i)} + \Delta_{t(i)} + \nu_{i}$$
 (2)

where i is a child index, c(i) is the county that child i enters into, c(i) is the month-year (ex: December 2013) that child i enters. This framework includes child controls  $X_i$ , county fixed effects  $\delta_{c(i)}$ ,  $\Delta_{c(i)}$  and month-year fixed effects  $\delta_{t(i)}$ ,  $\Delta_{t(i)}$ . The endogenous variable is the placement variable  $Place_i$  which is 1 if child i is initially placed in a non-kin foster family and a 0 if child i is initially placed in congregate care. The first stage is estimated through a linear probability model. When the outcome is a binary variable, such as homelessness or incarceration, I estimate a linear probability model in the second stage. g(i) is the LATE and the parameter of interest in this setup. Standard errors are clustered at the county level throughout.

While the standard LATE interpretation for this treatment effect holds in terms of estimating a treatment effect for complier children, another important remark to make on the treatment effect parameter estimated in this research design is that it may depend on the families that are willing to accept complier children into their homes, what I call the "complier families". If these families provide different caregiving experiences and are better or worse at improving outcomes than average foster families, this may be a further reason that the LATE estimated here differs from the average treatment effect. I investigate characteristics of these types of families along with child compliers in Section 2.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Some children can be placed outside of their county of measurement in the AFCARS data. The county on record is the county responsible for the children's initial placement. This could introduce some measurement error in the endogenous placement variable, leading to smaller OLS results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>One potential concern is that exits measured in the same month as a child's entry may represent an exit of that child. To address this I compute the percent of placements in the samples I use that last 30 days or less. They are 3.98%, 3.97% and 2.99% respectively for the old children, eligible and outcome samples. To further address this concern Tables A13 and A14 implement a lagged version of the instrument, lagging exits in a county by 1 month. The results are qualitatively similar and suggest the lagged instrument is a less powerful version of the same-month instrument.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>I explore whether the results change when considering the whole placement experience of children. Due to the nature of placements, initial placements are quite predictive of full placement experiences and Table A34 shows the results are robust to this consideration.

# 2.2 Identifying Variation of the Instrument

The identifying variation for the instrument comes from idiosyncratic variation in exits within counties. In principle, this variation can come from families finishing court-mandated rehabilitation or other subjective case plan action items that allow for reunification as determined by social workers and judges, <sup>30</sup> or children reaching their birthday and being emancipated. I show in Table A4 that reunification-based exits provide the main source of identification. Note that because I control for general month-year fixed effects, this variation cannot come from nationwide changes in foster care policy. I also show that this variation is not driven mechanically by the general size of the foster care market in that county for that month by including a specification that controls for total entries in Table A2.

Figures A2, A3 and A5 in the Appendix provide visualizations of the raw variation in the instrument. The unit of measurement is total non-kin exits in the month to make the visualizations interpretable. Figure A2 plots the variation in residual non-kin exits after controlling for county and month by year fixed effects within four counties. Residual exits vary between 20 exits under predicted by the fixed effects and 20 exits over predicted by the fixed effects for these counties. The average standard deviation of the residualized instrument  $\tilde{Exits}_{c,t}$  across counties weighted by county size is 7.75 exits. For comparison, the average standard deviation of the residualized number of entries across counties weighted by county size is 8.27 entries. Figure A3 plots exits against non-kin placements at the county-by-month-year level for four counties in my data. There is a strong positive correlation between exits and placements in a month within each county. Figure A5 shows the raw non-kin exits variation over time for the four largest counties in the outcome sample.

# 2.3 First Stage

Figure 1 plots a regression spline model of the first stage and a weighted density of the instrument in an aggregated county-month-year form. This figure shows a strong relationship between the (residualized) instrument and placement at the county-month level. Table 2 gives the corresponding coefficients for this county-month-year regression. The weighted F-statistic is 40.7. The 0.0033 coefficient in column (1) of Table 2 can be interpreted as saying that if there are 10 extra non-kin exits than predicted the percent of entering foster

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>More information on how families can expect to be reunified with a child placed in foster care can be found here: https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubPDFs/reunification.pdf (accessed August 3, 2021).

children that is matched with non-kin families increases by 3.3 percentage points.

Estimates of the coefficient  $\alpha$  corresponding to the disaggregated first stage equation (2) are provided in Appendix Table A2. This Table also provides alternative ways to account for county size in the first stage. Table A2 shows that non-kin exits in the same county and month as a child entry is strongly correlated with the placement of that child in a non-kin foster family with large F-statistics. The preferred specification in Panel B gives an F-statistic of 43.0.<sup>31</sup> Overall, the first stage of the instrument is strong and is well over the standard thresholds cited in the literature for weak instruments including Stock and Yogo (2005) and Olea and Pflueger (2013).

## 2.4 Instrument Validity

The main identifying assumption underlying my empirical strategy is that non-kin exits affects a child's outcomes only by changing the probability of placement with a family. In particular, non-kin exits must be uncorrelated with unobservable characteristics of entering children that affect those children's future outcomes, conditional on county and month-year fixed effects. While my specifications account for secular trends such as county-wide foster care policy and a rich set of child-level observables it is possible there are still county-specific trends in exits that are correlated with unobservables. For example, more exits may signify "good times" for a county if they are correlated with local economic conditions, and entering children may be more acceptable to families and more likely to have good outcomes.<sup>32</sup>

To assess whether exits proxy for important child characteristics I test whether exits appear quasi-randomly assigned to observable characteristics of children, conditional on the fixed effects. This test regresses the instrument on these observables (and county and month-year fixed effects) and tests the null hypothesis that all the coefficients on the child

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>This strong correlation is robust across changes in the instrument specification, and the samples in which the instrument is defined. I include specifications that use other methods to account for county size differences including controlling for the total entries of children in the same month, and that using the log of one plus the raw exits. Of these instrument specifications in the outcome and eligible samples, the only one that does not have a strong first stage is log non-kin exits. Table A2 shows though that this is due to county representation since the old children sample has a strong first stage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Another potential concern is reverse causality: the children we observe exiting in the instrument are caused by the children entering and being placed with non-kin families. One way to address this concern is implementing a lagged version of the instrument where we ensure that children chronologically exiting before another child enters are only measured. Tables A13 and A14 show that when we lag the exit children back one month the instrument is weaker but the main treatment effects are identified are qualitatively very similar. The weaker instrument might be due to the fact that enforcing a full 1 month lag is too conservative.

observables are 0. The results for three different samples are contained in Table 3. The table also contrasts this test with regressions of the endogenous placement variable on the same observables. This table shows the p-values for the F-test testing the null hypothesis that all coefficients in the regression are zero are above 0.05. The F-statistics are orders of magnitude smaller than the corresponding F-statistics in the placement regressions in columns (4) - (6). Moreover, the coefficient sizes in columns (1) - (3) are very small compared to the coefficient sizes in columns (4) - (6) suggesting that there is very little correlation with any of the child observables. As a complementary and higher power test for the outcome sample I regress the outcome index on the child demographics and entry reasons in Table 3 and then regress this predicted outcome index on the instrument. Table A5 has the results for this exercise and show that there is not a statistically significant correlation between the predicted outcome index and the instrument, and it is smaller than the statistically significant correlation between the outcome and the instrument. Figures A6, A7, and A8 show this results visually. To further assess the identifying assumption using these child observables I show that adding child demographics and entry reasons do not change the main results in Section 2.6 below.

These child observables may not serve as perfect proxies for the unobservables that may threaten my strategy and so I provide complementary evidence by examining the correlation between exits and outcomes for children before age 17. Table 5 shows that the instrument is not strongly correlated with earlier outcomes which suggests it is unlikely that exits correlate with a children's ex-ante likelihood of experiencing good or bad outcomes.

Another way to assess whether exit shocks signify an underlying shock to the types of children entering is to examine the correlation between kin placements and exits. The logic of this test is as follows: if the unobservable characteristics of children entering when there is an exit shock are such that they are children that are easier to care for in general, then these children should be more likely to be accepted by kin families. Table 6 shows that kin placement is not correlated with the instrument. The economic magnitude of the coefficient is small and it is not statistically significant.<sup>33</sup> Similar to this test, Table A4 performs a placebo test and shows that congregate care exits do not predict family placement. These results suggest non-kin exits only affect placement through non-kin placement changes.

The final test I perform with respect to conditional independence is to test whether more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>This test also shows that more non-kin exits does not imply more kin placements which implies the composition of the sample changes.

exits signify "good times" in a county or state. I include tests that correlate the instrument with state month x year unemployment levels and county annual unemployment levels from the BLS, and also control for unemployment levels in the main treatment effects. Table A6 shows the correlation between the instrument and Table A7 shows how the main treatment effect estimates change when adding these controls along with specifications including state x month x year fixed effects. The results show no significant correlations between exits and the two measures of unemployment, and treatment effects including unemployment controls are qualitatively very similar to the main results in Section 2.6. Adding state x month x year fixed effects increases the standard errors substantially but the point estimates are of a similar magnitude.

While non-kin exits may be independent of child characteristics, non-kin exits may create other changes in the foster care system that also affect a child's later outcomes unrelated to being placed with a family. While it is not possible to fully alleviate this concern I provide a few tests to rule out major alternative mechansims. One possibility is that non-kin exits led to less "stress" on the foster care system, allowing social workers to provide more attention and resources to foster children. Table A9 shows that exits are uncorrelated with the services children receive. A related concern is that non-kin availability affects initial placement stability in foster care. For example, non-kin exits may shift children into temporary initial placements. Table A34 shows that the 83.8% of placements observed for a child while in foster care that is initially placed with a non-kin family are with a non-kin family, and 86.9% of placements observed for a child initially placed in congregate care are in congregate care. This table shows that placements are very "sticky" and it's very unlikely that children initially placed in congregate care exit from those placements (and vice versa for family placements). Another possibility is that non-kin exits lead to different types of family placements. In particular, non-kin exits may open up slots in non-kin families and allow children to be in smaller non-kin family placements.<sup>34</sup> Non-kin exits may also allow children to be placed closer to their home or school district, which could improve outcomes. Table A10 shows that children placed when there are more exits end up in larger families, working against the intuition that these effects would be driven by smaller families. Table A11 shows that the instrument is not statistically significantly correlated with whether a child is placed out of the state. Thus while we cannot test for all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Smaller families may lead to better outcomes for children in the theoretical literature (Becker and Lewis, 1973) though the empirical literature has generally found null effects (Black, Devereux and Salvanes, 2005; Angrist, Lavy and Schlosser, 2010).

possible alternative mechanisms that could violate the exclusion restriction, this evidence rules out some major mechanisms suggests that exits only affect a child's future outcomes through their placement. Moreover, even if the exclusion restriction is violated, the reduced form estimates presented throughout still provide a valid estimate of the effect of available non-kin family slots on child outcomes.

The final assumption required for the validity of the instrument with heterogeneous treatment effects is monotonicity. I follow the literature by computing the first stage in various subsamples in the data (Bhuller, Dahl, Løken and Mogstad, 2020; Dobbie, Goldin and Yang, 2018). Appendix Tables A20 - A27 include first stage coefficients, standard errors and cluster robust F-statistics for 32 different subsamples of the outcome sample based off child demographics and entry reasons.<sup>35</sup> In all subsamples except for 2, the estimated coefficient is positive. The negative coefficients in the 2 differing subsamples are not estimated to be statistically significant.

## 2.5 Interpreting the LATE

As discussed in Section 2.1 the IV research design identifies a LATE for complier children. The interpretation of the treatment effect may also depend on the types of families that are willing to accept these complier children into their homes, the "complier families". This section examines characteristics of both the complier children and complier families.

Table A29 describes complier children following the method described in Bald et al. (2022) which follows Abadie (2003) and Dahl et al. (2014). Around 38% of children are compliers. They appear mostly representative except on race and a few entry reasons. White children are underrepresented and hispanic children are overrepresented. Children with behavioral problems are significantly underrepresented in the complier group as well.

Table A28 describes the type of family placements that are most correlated with the instrument. Table A28 shows that the instrument increases placements with Black caretakers and caretakers of an other race (non White, non Hispanic and non Black), caretakers where the primary caretaker is age 50 or less, and caretakers that are single parents or have an undetermined or missing family status.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>When the sample sizes are too small, less than 250, for a subgroup, they are left out of this exercise.

# 2.6 Effects of Non-Kin Foster Family Placement vs. Congregate Care on Child Outcomes

Table 7 contains the LATE estimates of the effect of family placement for older foster children on outcomes measured at age 21. It also compares the LATE estimates to the OLS estimates. Columns (1) to (4) include OLS and IV estimates of family placement on the outcome index. They also include specifications with and without demographic and entry reason controls. Columns (5) and (6) compare OLS and IV estimates of the effects on current employment or enrollment with controls, columns (7) and (8) compare OLS and IV estimates of the effects on incarceration between ages 20-21, columns (9) and (10) compare OLS and IV estimates of the effects on homelessness between ages 20-21, and columns (11) and (12) compare OLS and IV estimates of the effects on substance abuse referrals between ages 20-21.

Columns (3) and (4) show that the IV estimate represents a statistically significant and substantially large effect of marginal placements on economic and social outcomes for children. Initial placement with a non-kin family relative to a congregate care improves outcomes by 0.97 or 0.99 standard deviations of the index for complier children. When the index is broken out into individual indices in columns (6), (8), (10) and (12), a statistically significant effect is identified for both homelessness and substance abuse. The LATE on initial non-kin family versus congregate care for incarceration is marginally statistically significant (p = 0.069) and for employment or enrollment is not statistically significant.

As an additional piece of evidence supporting my main identifying assumptions I include IV results with and without child demographics and entry reason controls for the outcome index. The coefficient barely moves providing further evidence supporting the assumptions of the empirical strategy, as adding a large set of child-level controls does not alter the coefficient substantially.<sup>36</sup>

One way to interpret the magnitudes for each outcome is to use the regression model to get a predicted probability of the outcome of an average child when placed in congregate care vs. a non-kin foster family. For homelessness, this method predicts that if half of the children are placed in non-kin foster families then placement in congregate care almost

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>I only look at comparisons with and without controls for the outcome index since they represent the results with the highest power.

quadruples the chance a child ends up homeless.<sup>37</sup> Similar calculations give that congregate care triples the chance that a child ends up incarcerated and increases the chances that a child ends up with a substance abuse referral by more than 10 times. The results on incarceration are similar to those in Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez (2008) who find that the risk of delinquency associated with congregate care is 2.5 times that associated with other foster care settings, though obtained with a different method and in a different sample.<sup>38</sup>

The OLS results in Table 7 that use a rich set of controls for children demographics and entry reasons show qualitatively similar results: positive effects on the outcome index and statistically significant and positive effects from each of the outcomes in the index. These results provide a complement to the IV research design which does not require a selection on observables assumption but has a much noisier treatment effect parameter estimate.

Table 7 shows that the estimated LATE is larger than OLS. In Appendix Section A.4 I explore the causes of the LATE and OLS difference. In summary, I find evidence that heterogeneous treatment effects and measurement error could explain these differences. Furthermore, the model results in Section 4 are also consistent with treatment effect heterogeneity which drives the LATE to be larger than the OLS which is based on the average treatment effect on the treated (ATT) and a selection bias. A final point in this regard is to note that the standard errors on the LATE estimate are large enough and the 95% confidence bands almost cover the OLS estimate, suggesting while we can reject with confidence a 0 point estimate, there is a lack of precision in the exact point estimate.

#### 2.7 Other Reduced Form Results

Appendix A.5 contains more reduced form results aimed at understanding why families make marginal children better off than congregate care including understanding the po-

$$\bar{y} = (0.5)(\bar{y}(1)) + (0.5)(\bar{y}(0))$$
$$\bar{y}(1) - \bar{y}(0) = \beta_{IV}$$

to solve for the two unknowns where  $\bar{y}$  is the overall mean,  $\bar{y}(1)$  is the predicted outcome for children receiving treatment and  $\bar{y}(0)$  is the predicted outcome for children receiving the control. For simplicity I assume the complier mean and the population mean are the same for this exercise.

<sup>38</sup>The differences between the propensity score results from Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez (2008) and the OLS results in Table 7 are quite large. However, the raw differences in incarceration rates by placement type for children in my sample are similar to Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez (2008) suggesting that the difference is because they undertake a proportional hazards survival analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Mathematically the method uses two equations:

tential for connections to an adult (Table A32), public welfare take-up (Table A32) and adoption or guardianship (Table A33) to all influence outcomes. Placement leads to large increases in a child having a connection with an adult, a decrease in social service takeup and an increase in the probability of being adopted.

Appendix A.6 makes an explicit comparison of the reduced form results to the results in Doyle (2008) which studies the relationship between foster care and incarceration outcomes. Doyle (2008) finds that removal from family into foster care increases the probability of incarceration for complier children in Cook County. Doyle (2008) cannot differentiate effects by foster care placement type and the placement rate for these children into congregate care is very high. Appendix A.6 shows that under certain assumptions family placement settings can explain over 80 percent of the increase in the probability of incarceration that occurs when a child is removed from their birth family or guardian and placed in foster care in Cook County.

## 2.8 Selection into the Initial Survey, Non-Response Bias and Attrition

Table 1 showed differences in the placement rate of children who respond to the survey and children who are eligible to take the survey. Selection of children eligible for the initial survey, non-response bias and non-random attrition for children surveyed could bias the estimates in Table 7. Intuitively, one might expect that children that end up homeless or incarcerated are probably less likely to respond to the survey. If children are more likely to be homeless or incarcerated when placed in congregate care, then this would bias the results downward and the estimates would be lower bounds. I provide some evidence in the data that is consistent with this intuition. I also provide results that account for correlation between the instrument and selection into the initial survey and attrition, and provide conservative bounds on the OLS and intent-to-treat effects that account for attrition.

There are three possible sources of addressable bias that come from the survey methodology. The first is the selection of children into being asked to take the survey at age 17 (which is required to be surveyed at age 21). The second is the selection of children into responding to the initial survey at age 17 (also required to be surveyed at age 21). The third is the selection and sampling of children into responding to the age 21 survey, on which the main results of this paper are based on.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Note that technically meeting eligibility criteria for the survey and being asked to take the survey could be split into two separate sources of bias. There is no way to observe these distinct subsamples of children. Furthermore the NYTD user guide states that "All youth who turn 17 in foster care or who enter foster care

I assess non-random non-response bias on observables for all three sources of potential bias following Sacerdote (2007) and the method developed by Wooldridge (1999) by using inverse propensity score weighting that models the probability of responding to the survey as a logistic regression on observable characteristics. Table A37 looks at inverse propensity score weighted versions of the IV estimate. This panel shows that the IV estimates are larger if weighted on child observables predicting whether the child is initially surveyed, whether the child responds to the initial survey at age 17, and whether the child responds to the survey at age 21. These results are consistent with the intuition that the selection and non-response effects here likely make the main results a lower bound on the true effects.

One might be more concerned about attrition from surveys at age 17 to age 21 since children's outcomes between those years seem likely to affect whether they respond to the survey, and if outcomes are correlated with placement this could bias the main results. To dig more into the possible implications of this attrition I assess whether response rates at age 21 are correlated with treatment. Panel B of Table A38 shows there is not a statistically significant difference in response rate by the value of the exits instrument, the assignment to treatment in the proposed natural experiment. The p-values are 0.308 when considering all children eligible for the survey at age 21 (column (2)) and 0.616 when considering all children eligible for the survey in states that do not randomly sample children to survey at age 21 from those eligible (column (4)). For completeness I also compute Lee (2009) bounds in each sample on the OLS and ITT effects. The Lee (2009) bounds in both samples for the OLS and ITT effects are positive. Thus, I find that the instrument is not correlated with age 21 attrition and the Lee (2009) bounds give the same qualitative results.

#### 2.9 Other Robustness

One further worry is that initial placements are not a good proxy for the overall placement setting experience of a child in foster care. Table A34 looks at the robustness of the results to how the endogenous variable is measured showing the choice of initial placement is not consequential for the main conclusions. Another worry is that the age cutoff of 14 in defining the sample is arbitrary and could be driving the results. Table A39 presents results using different age cutoffs and shows similar results. Finally, one may worry about

within 45 days of their 17th birthday in a baseline year are in the baseline population. All youth in the baseline population are required to be contacted and asked to complete the NYTD Outcomes Survey. Demographic data for all baseline youth is recorded in the Wave 1 File, regardless of whether they respond to the survey." suggesting that all eligible for the survey are asked to take it.

the general robustness of the results to the exact definition of the instrument, the outcome index, and small changes in the sample considered. Table A40 looks at robustness of the results to alternative instrument definitions, outcome index definitions and dropping outlier observations. All results are qualitatively similar.

# 2.10 Motivating a Model: Heterogenous Treatment Effects and Child Placement

One question is how the benefits of family placement differ across children. When family placements are scarce changing the types of children often placed with families can be an effective policy lever. Table A42 shows treatment effects for compliers in different subsamples of foster children by sex, age of entry and race. There is clear evidence of treatment effect heterogeneity, especially across sex and age of entry. Family placements may be altered by policy due to reimbursement rates for children (Doyle, 2007a) or directives given to social workers on which children to prioritize to match. Table A43 shows clear evidence of systematic patterns in the types of children placed in families. Notably, boys are placed in families less often and older children are also placed in families often. I use these results as motivation for a model exercise to examine the quantitative implications of altering placements in an equilibrium matching market for foster children and available foster families.

# 3 A Model of Foster Care Placement and Child Outcomes

Having established the importance of family placement settings for complier children with the IV approach, I now build a model of foster care placement and child outcomes to study counterfactual policies that could improve foster child outcomes. So far the methods do not provide a way to predict which children will be placed under different policies, do not describe which allocations of children to families are feasible, and can only predict counterfactual outcomes for compliers. The model addresses these limitations when simulating policy counterfactuals.

#### 3.1 Market Definition

I model the placement of foster children into foster families and congregate care as occurring in distinct markets delineated by location and time. Each market (c,t) is a countymonth-year tuple (ex: Los Angeles County, December, 2011). In each market there is a set of foster children entering  $I_{c,t}$  that must be placed and a set of available families  $J_{c,t}$ . I assume that the set of entering children is exogenous, and placed in a one-shot style. I discuss dynamics below in Section 3.5. Each child  $i \in I_{c,t}$  can either be placed with one of the available families, in which case their placement is denoted  $Place_i = 1$ , or in a congregate care placement, in which case their placement is denoted  $Place_i = 0$ . Family availability  $|J_{c,t}|$  is allowed to be endogenous, possible related to the types of children in the market (c,t).

# **3.2** Foster Family Preferences

Families are assumed to have preferences over child characteristics. Table A43 shows clear patterns in the types of children more likely to be placed with families: girls are predicted to be more likely, black children are predicted to be less likely, and older children are predicted to be less likely. To capture these patterns, I assume that family preferences are homogeneous and vertical over child characteristics (Lancaster, 1966; Berry and Pakes, 2007). I model the utility of a family  $j \in J_{c,t}$  for child  $i \in I_{c,t}$  in market (c,t) as

$$u(X_i) = X_i \alpha + \xi_i \tag{3}$$

where  $X_i$  contains observable characteristics of children (i.e. demographics) and  $\xi_i \sim N(0,1)$  is an unobservable taste shock for child i common to all foster families.<sup>41</sup> The econometrician does not observe  $\xi_i$  but families observe  $\xi_i$ . Equation (3) describes how families "rank" children based on their characteristics.<sup>42</sup> I assume that all children are ac-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>This choice is made due to the institutional details of foster care. Social workers and other stakeholders involved treat foster children's placement on a case-by-case basis due to the time constraints they face in placing children. Social workers are constrained by the law to find a placement for a child within a reasonable time frame of that child entering. In California, for example, this time frame is 24 or 48 hours.

 $<sup>^{41}</sup>$ I leave out stipends and payments from  $X_i$  since these are notoriously poorly measured in the AFCARS data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Allowing for heterogeneous preferences complicates the analysis since I can no longer use the simple cutoff structure used below to estimate preferences with a probit model and simulate counterfactual matchings (Agarwal, 2015; Agarwal and Somaini, 2020). A more complicated approach is required. However, incorporating heterogeneous preferences especially to incorporate race-matching effects would be an attractive

ceptable to families in every foster care market conditional on a family entering. However, family entries are allowed to depend on the average utility of foster children in a market.<sup>43</sup>

## 3.3 Market Equilibrium

This paper follows the empirical literature on two-sided matching markets (e.g. Agarwal (2015)) in assuming that a market equilibrium in market t consists of a stable match between available families and entering foster children. I assume that children do not have preferences. He cause children have no preferences, and families have identical vertical preferences, stability in this case is equivalent to assigning children in each market to maximize family utility.

The equilibrium condition implies that

$$Place_i = 1 \Leftrightarrow u_i \ge \bar{u}_{c(i),t(i)}$$
 (4)

where  $\bar{u}_{c(i),t(i)}$  is a market threshold utility for market (c,t) containing child i's entry that is based on the number of available families  $|J_{c,t}|$ . I allow for the possibility of endogenous family entry by allowing that  $|J_{c(i),t(i)}|$  may be correlated with  $\xi_i$  which implies that  $\bar{u}_{c(i),t(i)}$  may be correlated with  $\xi_i$ . This type of correlation could be present if, for example, children have higher average values of  $\xi_i$  across different markets which attracts more foster families. To address this issue I utilize the exits instrument. I assume that the exits instrument  $Exits_{c(i),t(i)}$  is independent of  $\xi_i$  conditional on county and month-year fixed effects and also affects the threshold utility  $\bar{u}_{c(i),t(i)}$  in (4). Evidence consistent with this independence assumption includes the randomization test done in Section 2.4. I assume that the conditional expectation of the threshold utility is linear in the exits instrument:

$$\mathbb{E}[\bar{u}_{c,t}|Exits_{c,t}] = \lambda Exits_{c,t} + \eta_c + \eta_t \tag{5}$$

avenue for future iterations on this model.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>I cannot identify both the number of families in each market and the outside option. However, the model does allow for families to consider outside options before entering the foster care market since I allow for arbitrarily endogenous entry of families into each market.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Note that social workers are part of the matching process and may have preferences or objectives that affect the matching (Robinson-Cortes, 2019). I abstract from this issue and discuss the implications of this assumption more below in Section 3.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Formally the model implies that if there are  $\#fams_{c,t} = |J_{c,t}|$  families in market (c,t),  $\bar{u}_{c,t}$  is the  $\#fams_{c,t}$  highest value of the set of values  $\{u_i\}_{i\in I_{c,t}}$  in market (c,t). The cutoff structure used here is similar to Gandhi (2019) who also models a decentralized assignment market and relies on hospitals selecting patients with a high enough profit.

where  $\eta_c$  and  $\eta_m$  are county c and month-by-year t fixed effects. The relationship between  $\bar{u}_{c,t}$  and  $Exits_{c,t}$  can be microfounded by assuming that  $Exits_{c,t}$  affects the number of available families  $|J_{c,t}|$  in each market t. The first stage in the instrumental variable analysis in Section 2.3 suggests this is true. Then, the model implies a direct relationship between  $|J_{c,t}|$  and  $\bar{u}_{c,t}$ . Intuitively, as more exits occur, more families are added to each market which then lowers the cutoff utility required for a child to be matched. Instead of relying on strict functional form assumptions imposed by the model, I approximate this relationship using (5) which can capture this same monotonic relationship when  $\lambda < 0$ .

#### 3.4 Foster Child Outcomes

I follow Heckman (1979), Kline and Walters (2016) and Walters (2018) and model the mean potential outcomes of children as depending on the observables and unobservable child taste shock:

$$\mathbb{E}[Y_i(1)|X_i, \xi_i, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}] = X_i\beta_1 + \gamma_1\xi_i,$$

$$\mathbb{E}[Y_i(0)|X_i, \xi_i, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}] = X_i\beta_0 + \gamma_0\xi_i.$$
(6)

This model of outcomes includes the common assumption of separability between the observables and unobservables in determining outcomes (conditional on treatment) (Brinch, Mogstad and Wiswall, 2017).<sup>46</sup> Here  $\beta_0$  and  $\beta_1$  allow for children with different characteristics  $X_{it}$  to vary in their average potential outcomes, and to vary in the average impact of the treatment of being placed with a family relative to congregate care.  $\gamma_0$  and  $\gamma_1$  allow for unobservable selection on levels and unobservable selection on gains by families over children (Roy, 1951).

#### 3.5 Model Discussion

This model emphasizes a few important aspects of the foster care market. The first is that families are scarce which implies that only some children can be placed with families. The second is that child characteristics affect placements and outcomes, allowing for average outcomes to depend on which children are allocated to families. Importantly, I do not restrict the relationship between the allocation and outcomes. In this way, it is possible that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>An important implication of this assumption is that selection on unobservables "works the same way" for all subgroups of the observables (Kline and Walters, 2016).

family preferences are not "aligned" with children's outcomes, and families prefer children that benefit the least from a family placement relative to congregate care placement.

#### 3.5.1 Limitations

The model abstracts from a few important features of the foster care market.

**Dynamics and Timing**: The model treats all children entering in the same month as being placed at the same time. This approximates a reality in which children are allocated dynamically based on their entry time. My assumption on the market structure discretizes this dynamic process into monthly time blocks. This may introduce measurement error but provides a tractable way to use the available data to model placement. Another potential issue is that social workers may be able to change children's placements over a longer time horizon. There are two reasons this should not greatly affect the results here. First, children placed with families initially spend more than 80% of their time with families (author calculation in AFCARS). Second, the enormous case loads many social workers face with entering children suggest that the ability to actively seek new placements after entry is not feasible.

**Social Worker Discretion**: Social workers play no role in the placement of children in this model.<sup>47</sup> Because social workers make offers to families of foster children, it is possible that their preferences affect the allocation. For example, an alternative interpretation of how children are assigned in the model is that social workers forecast children's outcomes and assign children to maximize average outcomes. The results from my main counterfactuals that change the allocation of children to families are not affected by this interpretation, but this would affect the interpretation of how the observed allocation is reached and the appropriate policy instruments required to implement new allocations.

There are institutional reasons to believe that social workers have limited scope for determining child placements. Under child welfare laws, social workers are generally expected to make the best possible effort to find a child "the least restrictive home possible", and in my talks with social workers, they emphasized more heavily how family preferences influence placement.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the model approximates the reality that social workers are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>There are no social worker identifiers in the AFCARS data as it is currently circulated, so it is difficult to separate out the role of social worker and family preferences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>The following statement is contained in the 2011 California Code Welfare and Institutions Code accessed

solely meant to facilitate family placements for all foster children.

Note that this assumption may seem at odds with recently used empirical strategies that use social worker assignment to predict whether a child is placed removed from their birth family and put into foster care (Bald et al., 2022; Gross and Baron, 2022). First, it is important to note that the decision margin is different. Removal from the birth family and choosing whether to place a child in a family or congregate care when in foster care are different though related decisions. If removal from a birth family is more of a judgement call foster care placement type is more of a directive then this is consistent with the logic throughout. Second, this is directly addressed by some papers that use social workers since if a social worker affects placement type while in foster care as well as removal from foster care it changes the interpretation of the treatment effects identified in those studies. Doyle (2007b) states that "These investigators [social workers] do not supervise the case once a child enters foster care. Foster care stays are overseen by a separate division within IL DCFS that works with private child welfare agencies to recruit and supervise foster families." (p. 1588). Bald et al. (2022) also directly show that social worker tendency to remove children from their families into foster care is not correlated with the foster care placement type.

Institutional Policy: Similar to social worker discretion, institutional policy plays no role in the placement of children in the model. There may be instances where children of certain types are required by institutional policy to be placed outside of non-kin families (e.g. sex offenders or children with severe medical needs) and this may add some friction to achieving the counterfactual allocations examined in this paper and interpreting the preference parameters as solely capturing family preferences. While this is a potential limitation, as discussed above, most social workers I talked with said that most children are not placed in families due to family preferences and scarcity of families and not due to institutional policy. They mostly told me that if a suitable family is available and willing to take a child, they will be placed in that family. While exceptions to this rule may make the counterfactuals slightly less realistic, the evidence suggests that the overall exercise is still informative and realistic, especially for the types of marginal policies examined in this paper.

at https://law.justia.com/codes/california/2011/wic/division-9/16000-16014/16000: "It is further the intent of the Legislature to reaffirm its commitment to children who are in out-of-home placement to live in the least restrictive, most familylike setting and to live as close to the child's family as possible pursuant to subdivision (c) of Section 16501.1."

# 4 Model Estimation, Identification and Results

#### 4.1 Estimation

The model is fit in two steps. Equations (4) and (5) imply that selection into placement can be written as

$$Place_i = \mathbf{1}\{X_i\alpha + \xi_i \ge \lambda Exits_{c(i),t(i)} + \eta_{c(i)} + \eta_{t(i)}\}. \tag{7}$$

Under the parametric assumptions, I estimate the preference parameters  $\alpha$  and the threshold utility shifter  $\lambda$  in (7) using a probit model.<sup>49</sup> I estimate the parameters in this equation using all children entering between ages 14-17 in all markets (c,t) that have a child that has a valid outcome index in the survey.

Using the law of iterated expectations (6) becomes

$$\mathbb{E}[Y_{i}|X_{i}, Place_{i}, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}] = X_{i}\beta_{0} + \gamma_{0}\mathbb{E}[\xi_{i}|X_{i}, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}, Place_{i}]$$

$$+ Place_{i} \cdot (X_{i}\beta_{1} + \gamma_{1}\mathbb{E}[\xi_{i}|X_{i}, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}, Place_{i}]])$$

$$+ \zeta_{c(i)} + \zeta_{t(i)}$$

$$(8)$$

I form control function estimates of  $\mathbb{E}[\xi_{it}|X_{it}, Exits_t, Place_i]$ ,  $\hat{\xi}_i(X_i, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}, Place_i)$ , using the allocation model parameters and the parametric assumption on  $\xi_i$ . Appendix A.7 describes the closed form for these control function estimates. Using the estimates  $\hat{\xi}_i(X_i, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}, Place_i)$  for each child I run a second step regression to obtain the outcome parameters:

$$Y_{i} = X_{i}\beta_{0} + \gamma_{0}\hat{\xi}_{i}(X_{i}, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}, Place_{i})$$

$$+ Place_{i} \cdot (X_{i}\beta_{1} + \gamma_{1}\hat{\xi}_{i}(X_{i}, Exits_{c(i),t(i)}, Place_{i})) + \omega_{i}.$$

$$(9)$$

I estimate the outcomes on all children that have a valid outcome index  $Y_i$  and for whom a valid estimate of  $\hat{\xi}_i$  can be formed.<sup>50</sup> Following Kline and Walters (2016) I normalize the covariate vector to have unconditional mean 0 so that the intercept coefficient in the coeffi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Agarwal and Somaini (2020) show how to estimate preferences when both sides of the market have vertical preferences. This model is a special case of the two sided vertical preference case with one side having trivial preferences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Note that due to the model definition some children will not have a valid  $\hat{\xi}_i$  estimate if the market they enter in has no variation in placement. This removes about 600 children from the original IV sample estimated on in Table 7.

cient vector  $\beta_1$  can be interpreted as the average treatment effect (ATE). To avoid overfitting and due to power issues I only include an intercept and the following demographics in  $X_i$ : sex, age, and race. To compute standard errors for the parameters estimated in the second step, I utilize a block bootstrap clustered at the county level, with 250 bootstrap replications.

#### 4.2 Identification of Model Parameters and Treatment Effects

The preference parameters are identified by looking at how often children of certain observables  $X_{it}$  surpass the modeled threshold  $\mathbb{E}[\bar{u}_{c,t}|Exits_{c,t},c,t]$ . The control function estimates depend on the instrument  $Exits_{c,t}$  and  $X_i$ . Intuitively, when  $Exits_{c,t}$  is high and a child is not placed with a family the estimation procedure infers that the child has a low  $\xi_i$ . When  $Exits_{c,t}$  is low and a child is placed with a family, the estimation procedure infers that the child has a high  $\xi_i$ . When  $X_i$  are such that a child is predicted to have low utility and they are placed with a family, then the model infers a high  $\xi_i$ . When  $X_i$  are such that a child is predicted to have high utility and they are not placed with a family, the model infers a low  $\xi_i$ .

The model allows me to extrapolate the LATE to different treatment effects of interest. Appendix A.8 derives the form for the model ATT, ATNT and LATE.

#### 4.3 Parameter Estimates

Table 8 gives parameter estimates for the the utility threshold shifter parameter  $\lambda$  and the preference parameters  $\alpha$  in equation (7). The coefficient on the exits instrument is statistically significant and is of the expected sign. Exits translate to lower utility thresholds so that more exits allow for children with lower  $u_i$  values to be placed. While not directly modeled, this could be due to exits increasing the amount of availability families  $|J_{c,t}|$ .

The preference parameters, while not directly quantitatively interpretable, show a few important patterns. First, girls are preferred to boys by families. Second, younger children are preferred to older children. Third, black children are the least preferred children on race by families. These patterns are consistent with the descriptive patterns in Table A43, work on the types of foster children placed in congregate care settings (Ryan, Marshall, Herz and Hernandez, 2008), and work on the types of children adopted (Baccara, Collard-Wexler, Felli and Yariv, 2014).

Table 9 provides the selection corrected estimates of parameters  $(\beta_0, \beta_1, \gamma_0, \gamma_1)$  estimated from (9). The outcome variable in this is the previously defined outcome index. The implied ATE is 1.423. While the ATE itself is not statistically significant at the 10% level (p=0.12) the counterfactuals run below in Section 5 do find statistically significant results from adding families. I compare the model LATE and IV LATE below.

The model estimates that there is negative selection on levels in column (1) and negative selection on gains in column (2). The standard errors are quite large and do not permit a statistically precise conclusion. On observables, boys have a statistically significant higher treatment effect on the outcome index than girls (p = 0.05) consistent with some of the literature on gender differences in child interventions (Kling, Ludwig and Katz, 2005; Bertrand and Pan, 2013; Autor, Figlio, Karbownik, Roth and Wasserman, 2019).<sup>51</sup> All other observables do not have statistically precise results. While the model cannot identify statistically significant relationships for each individual observable or unobservable the counterfactuals in Section 5 do find statistically precise results from changing how the matching occurs on collectively on different subsets of the observables and unobservables.

One concern about the heterogeneous treatment effects by sex already examined and the counterfactuals that follow in Section 5 is that the outcomes that are selected for the index are outcomes for which boys are more at risk, and if a wider more representative set of social and economic outcomes were included a different answer may be reached in the main counterfactuals. While it is impossible to fully alleviate this concern since there will always be unobserved outcomes for which treatment effects may differ by sex, I perform a few exercises to check this. First, Table A44 breaks out treatment effects in the outcome index by sex along with two other informative outcomes not included in the outcome index, including whether the child gives birth or fathers a child between the ages of 19 to 21. This table shows that across all these outcomes, even outcomes where girls are more at risk, the treatment effects for boys are substantially larger. It also shows that other than for the outcome of incarceration, boys and girls generally have close to equal average outcomes. Second, Table A45 breaks out treatment effects for boys and girls using different versions of the outcome index. These outcome indices play around with different versions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>These results differ from the recent findings in Bald et al. (2022) which has similar results to the Perry Preschool program (Heckman et al., 2013). Some reasons these results could differ is due to the outcomes measured (outcomes related to incarceration, homelessness vs. test scores), the age of the children, the population of children (already abused children vs. children with a report of abuse). As I show in later robustness checks, including outcomes that girls are more at risk for and excluding outcomes boys are more at risk for does not fundamentally change these conclusions (Table A44 and Table A45).

where I add the "Giving birth" outcome and remove incarceration (the most imbalanced outcome on sex). The results show that across all these specifications the evidence remains qualitatively the same. Notably in the Columns (7) and (8), the index used shows that girls have worse outcomes on average in that index than boys, but the treatment effects of boys are still larger.

#### **4.4** Treatment Effect Estimates

Table 10 shows the model estimated treatment effects. Column (1) compares the model LATE and the IV for the subsample of children used to estimate the model. While the coefficient estimates are quantitatively different, the 90% confidence intervals contain 0 and suggest that I cannot reject that the model and IV estimated LATEs are different.<sup>52</sup>

The model estimate ATT in column (3) is smaller than the model estimated ATNT in column (4). However the 90% confidence interval for the difference between these estimates contains 0. While I do not have enough power to statistically distinguish the ATT and ATNT, the counterfactuals in Section 5 suggest that, on average, the children that are matched benefit less than children that are not matched, and that policies that change which children are matched, either by design or randomly, would improve child outcomes. These results stem from the differences in the ATT and ATNT measured here.

Finally, the ATT and LATE difference provides one more piece of evidence for understanding the difference between the LATE and OLS in Table 7. The ATT is smaller than the LATE further suggesting that the smaller OLS could be due to treatment effect heterogeneity and a smaller ATT.

# 5 Counterfactuals on Family and Congregate Care Allocation

This section studies counterfactuals aimed at improving children's outcomes through family allocation. Motivated by policy discussion on increasing the availability of families and systematic patterns in the types of children placed in families, the counterfactuals can be generally put into two themes. The first is increasing the availability of families and reducing scarcity. The second is changing the types of children placed in families holding fixed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Part of the reason for this seems to be that the model estimated LATE has a large standard error.

scarcity.

For these counterfactual exercises, I consider all children 14-17 years old entering in the markets defined for the probit estimation in (7). First, I establish a baseline average outcome for children on the outcome index in the observed equilibrium allocation. The first row in column (1) in Table 11 gives these children's average outcomes.

All counterfactual matchings must satisfy two constraints. The first is the matching constraint that  $Place_i \in \{0,1\}$ . The second is that, if the number of families in a market (c,t) is not changed,  $\#fams_{c,t}$ , then total placement cannot exceed this family capacity:  $\sum_{i \in I_{c,t}} Place_i \leq \#fams_{c,t}$ . In the counterfactuals I will assume that subsidies make families willing to care for children in any proposed allocation. The subsidies required to implement a certain allocation are an important consideration for this type of policy but their exact computation is outside of the scope of this paper. In all counterfactuals I bootstrap simulate 250 versions of the counterfactual comparing it to the baseline with both a 90% confidence interval and counting the proportion of simulations in which the counterfactual outcome leads to worse outcomes than the baseline.

A prominent policy discussed in foster care is the addition of more families to the system with the intent of placing more children with families. To predict the effect of such a policy requires predicting the marginal child that is placed with a family and their resulting outcome. The model predicts that when a family is added to market (c,t) the  $\#fams_{c,t}+1$  highest ranked  $u_i$  among all  $u_i$  in market (c,t) will now be placed. Counterfactual outcomes for these children can be predicted by the model. To simulate the effects of a policy that adds families, I consider changing  $\#fams_{c,t}$  in each market while holding fixed  $u_i$ . Figure 2 presents results from different percentage increases in the number of families in each market. There are large improvements in children's outcomes as more families are added. Table 11 row 1 column (1) shows that if  $\#fams_{c,t}$  increases by 50% in each market (c,t), this leads to a gain in average outcomes for children of 24%. This is a large gain and a large increase in the number of families. In 5.6% of the bootstrap simulations the addi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Fractional matchings can be allowed but will not be optimal since children will have strictly different treatment effects due to the unobservables.

 $<sup>^{54}</sup>$ To justify this assumption, suppose there is a foster care subsidy  $s_i$  paid for each child. If utility is strictly increasing in  $s_i$  (Doyle, 2007a) then there exists some stipend vector s that can support any matching of children with  $\sum_{i \in I_{c,t}} Place_i = \#fams_{c,t}$ . Estimating these elasticities and the supporting stipends requires its own exogenous variation in stipend and a separate empirical strategy and data, and is out of the scope of this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>It seems more appropriate to consider proportional changes in the number of families in each market, as opposed to discrete changes since the market sizes vary by quite a large amount (1 family in LA is very different from 1 family in a very small county).

tion of families leads to a decrease in average outcomes suggesting a marginal statistically significant improvement in outcomes.<sup>56</sup>

Next, I consider policies that hold fixed the number of families but change the allocation of children to families. First, I consider a random allocation that satisfies the matching constraints. This counterfactual gives a sense of how, in general, family preferences affect children's outcomes in foster care. Table 11 row 3 column (1) shows that average outcomes increase to 1.065, or an 11.2% improvement in outcomes. Column (2) shows that the 90% confidence interval does not contain 0 and only 3.6% of bootstrap simulations has the random matching having a lower average outcome than the baseline giving a statistically significant improvement in outcomes. The current allocation of children leads to lower child outcomes than a random allocation of children. The model interprets this as coming from family preferences: the characteristics that families prefer are characteristics that make treatment effects smaller.

I now turn to counterfactuals in which social workers and policymakers can purposefully change the allocation of children to families to improve child outcomes. I first consider a simple scenario in which social workers observe the model estimates and notice that boys get higher treatment effects than girls and that girls are placed twice as often as boys. The social workers prioritize the placement of boys so that they place boys twice as often as girls.<sup>57</sup> In the model this is simulated by changing the  $\alpha_{boy}$  preference parameter and resimulating the equilibrium until the percentage of boys placed is twice as much as the percentage of girls placed.

How do outcomes change when boys are prioritized in this way? Table 11 row 4 column (2) shows that average outcomes increase to 1.064, or an 11.1% increase in outcomes. Column (2) shows that the 90% confidence interval does not contain 0 and 2% of bootstrap simulations has this policy performing worse than the baseline outcome. Thus, a simple policy that reprioritizes boys can achieve statistically significant and large gains for average

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>An important limitation of this counterfactual is that, while marginal children differ in their benefits, I assume that marginal families provide the same treatment effects. One way to address this issue is to augment the model by allowing treatment effects to depend on placement rates in a county and extrapolate treatment effects at higher placement rates using this cross-sectional variation across counties. Results are in Figure A9 which also explains the methodology more. The model detects that inframarginal families are less beneficial but still estimates a large gain to additional families: 50% of families leads to an 18.3% increase in outcomes for children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>As alluded to, this could be achieved by raising the subsidies paid to boys. The technical legality of this approach is out of the scope of this paper but there is precedent for pricing on demographic characteristics as subsidies can currently depend on age (Figure A10). Regardless, it does seem like a formidable barrier for implementing this policy.

outcomes. This could be achieved by raising the subsidy for boys relative to girls. This type of subsidy differentiation is already present on age. Because girls are placed less often with families, their average outcomes are lowered from 1.30 to 0.99, a 27% decline. This compares to an increase in average outcomes for boys from 0.65 to 1.13, a 55% increase.

I generalize a policy that prioritizes boys to one that prioritizes children with high treatment effects on all observables included in the model. To simulate this type of policy, I look at the children with the highest predicted treatment effects on observables assuming that  $\xi_i$  is unobserved to social workers and is at the prior mean  $\xi_i=0$ . The treatment effect prediction for child i is  $X_i(\hat{\beta}_1-\hat{\beta}_0)$ . I assume social workers place the children with the highest predicted treatment effects with families up to the constraint that the number of families in the market remains at the observed equilibrium level. Table 11 row 5 column (1) shows that if social workers have access to the child demographics, they could increase average outcomes up to 1.126 in a feasible allocation, which represents an approximate 17.3% improvement in average outcomes. Column (2) shows the 90% confidence interval does not contain 0 and column (3) shows that less than 1% of bootstrap simulations give that optimizing the allocation on observables leads to a lower average outcome than the baseline outcome. Thus, allocations that optimize on the observables have a statistically significant increase in outcomes for children. This allocation achieves approximately 72% of the gain that occurs from adding 50% more families.

It is possible, however, that social workers observe a proxy for the unobservable taste shock  $\xi_i$ . I approximate this case by assuming that social workers can predict treatment effects as  $X_i(\hat{\beta}_1 - \hat{\beta}_0) + (\hat{\gamma}_1 - \hat{\gamma}_0)\hat{\xi}_i$  and reallocating children so that the highest ranked children on predicted treatment effects are matched. Table 11 row 6 column (1) shows that if social workers see both  $X_i$  and  $\xi_i$  then they can allocate children to increase outcomes to 1.156, which represents an approximate 20.3% increase in average outcomes. Column (2) shows the 90% confidence interval does not contain 0. None of the bootstrap simulations that optimize on both observables and unobservables lead to worse average outcomes for children than the baseline by definition of how I compute predicted outcomes. I find substantial gains from optimizing the allocation on both the observable and unobservable characteristics of children. This allocation achieves approximately 84% of the gain that occurs from adding 50% more families.

Table 10 shows that the selection on unobservable terms are noisy. For this reason, I do a version of the same counterfactuals using the child demographics and fixed effects to model the relationship between selection and treatment effects in Table A46. The results

are qualitatively similar.

An important point worth making is that the conclusions made in these counterfactuals depend on the outcomes in the index examined. In particular, one concern previously mentioned is that the outcomes may be biased in favor of finding large treatment effects for boys as opposed to girls, and in general the counterfactual efficacy of a policy in this model will depend on the outcomes examined. Section 4.3 discusses more on the specific boy vs girl comparison and shows that alternate indices that attempt to bias outcomes more in favor of outcomes girls likely have larger treatment effects on do not materially change the conclusions. Nonetheless, these results should be seen as an exercise in examining the potential for optimizing the allocation of foster children to families and congregate care to improve aggregate outcomes.

# 6 Conclusion

Foster care is an important social service in the US affecting hundreds of thousands of abused and neglected children every year. This paper performs a reduced form analysis of family and congregate care placement settings that builds on the existing literature using instrumental variables. These reduced form results show that complier children have large positive benefits from being placed with families.

The paper then builds on these reduced form results with a model of foster care placement and child outcomes. Counterfactuals using the model show that placing more children with non-kin families could substantially improve children's later outcomes. However, the results also show that better aggregate outcomes for foster children, for the outcomes included in this paper, can be can be achieved without more families by changing the allocation of children to families. This could be achieved by altering the existing subsidies paid to families for different children.

In this setting the allocation of child interventions is consequential for aggregate outcomes. Further work could look in other contexts where child interventions are effective but costly or scarce to examine whether socially desirable gains could be made by exploiting heterogeneous treatment effects. These gains may not be pareto efficient but they could be beneficial on average.

Future studies that look at how placement settings can improve foster children's outcomes might be able to enrich the outcome model used here by incorporating heterogeneity on the family side, as it has been shown in the literature that different types of families lead to different outcomes (Sacerdote, 2007; Fagereng, Mogstad and Rønning, 2021). The paper here posits that preferences of families drive the allocation but other mechanisms could exist.

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# 7 Figures and Tables

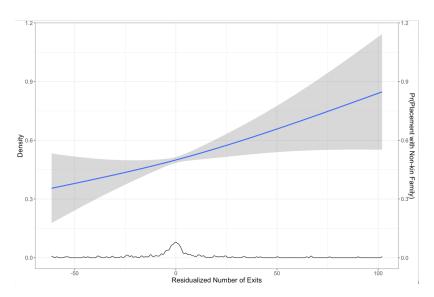


Figure 1: First Stage Variation

*Notes*: This figure shows the first-stage of non-kin family placement (vs. congregate care placement) on exits from non-kin families on the aggregated county-month-year sample (4,129 total observations). The x-axis plots the residualized number of exits, residualized on county and month by year fixed effects. The y-axis on the right gives the probability of placement in a non-kin family. A generalized additive model with penalized regression splines is plotted along with 95% confidence bands. The density plot with y-axis on the left is a weighted density of the residualized number of exits, where weights are given by the number of children in the corresponding county.

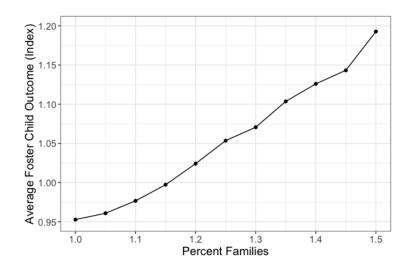


Figure 2: Child Outcomes from Adding Families

*Notes*: This figure shows average foster child outcomes on the outcome index simulated using the model. The x-axis measures the percent of families in each market t where 1.0 measure the current rate of families (100% capacity).

Table 1: Summary Statistics: Sample Means

	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Initial placement with non-kin family	0.500	0.432	0.379
Sex: male	0.420	0.507	0.524
Race: black	0.300	0.324	0.321
Race: white	0.443	0.426	0.418
Race/ethnicity: hispanic	0.206	0.200	0.198
Age at entry: 14	0.120	0.0980	0.215
Age at entry: 15	0.284	0.247	0.268
Age at entry: 16	0.532	0.556	0.295
Age at entry: 17	0.0630	0.0986	0.222
Economic and social outcome index	1.01  (SD =  2.08)	-	-
Currently employed or enrolled	0.687	-	-
Incarceration ages 20-21	0.225	-	-
Homeless ages 20-21	0.321	-	-
Substance abuse referral ages 20-21	0.127	-	-
Number observations	5,113	18,461	209,075

*Notes:* This table provides means of variables across three different samples. The sample definitions are provided in the main text. The outcome sample is defined as children that have a valid outcome index in the survey at age 21, are placed in congregate care or non-kin family home for their first placement, and have their latest entry between ages 14 and 17. The eligible sample is defined as all children that were eligible for the survey at age 17, are placed in congregate care or non-kin family for their initial placement in the observed foster care spell, and have their latest entry between ages 14 and 17. The difference in the number of observations of the outcome and eligible sample does not reflect true attrition, since children surveyed at age 21 must have responded at age 17. The old children sample is all foster children that are placed in congregate care or non-kin family home for their first placement and entering between ages 14 and 17.

Table 2: First Stage Coefficients and F-Statistics

	% Children	n Placed in Non-Kin Families
	(1)	(2)
Non-kin exits month	0.0033	0.0031
Non-kiii exits iiiolitii	(0.0008)	(0.0005)
Cluster robust F-statistic	16.2	40.7
Weighted	N	Y
County, month x year fes	Y	Y
Mean dep var	0.500	0.514
Number observations	4,129	4,129

*Notes*: This table shows OLS regressions of the endogenous variable of percent of children placed in non-kin families on the raw instrument, number of exits, across county-month-year cells (each observation is a county-month-year). Column (2) further weights these regression results by the number of total children in the corresponding county. Standard errors are clustered at the county level. Table A2 has more comprehensive results at the child-level for the outcome, eligible and old children sample, and with different instrument specifications.

Table 3: Instrument and Endogenous Variable Correlation with Observables

=							
	Instr	ument: Non-l Month	Kin Exits	Endogenous Variable: Initial Placement with Non-Kin Family			
	Outcome	Eligible	Old Children	Outcome	Eligible	Old Children	
	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Sex: male	-0.320	-0.210	-0.173	-0.114***	-0.129***	-0.114***	
	(0.259)	(0.167)	(0.110)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.004)	
Race: white	$-0.800^*$	0.394	-2.083	-0.038	-0.042**	-0.013*	
	(0.466)	(0.324)	(2.306)	(0.034)	(0.018)	(0.007)	
Race: black	-0.558	0.472	-2.241	-0.071**	-0.053***	-0.020***	
Tuee. Suen	(0.500)	(0.341)	(2.638)	(0.035)	(0.018)	(0.007)	
Race: hispanic	-0.753	0.289	-2.032	-0.021	-0.020	0.013*	
race. inspanie	(0.480)	(0.322)	(2.051)	(0.034)	(0.018)	(0.007)	
Age: 15	-0.794	-0.374	-0.022	-0.014	-0.037**	-0.028***	
1190. 13	(0.791)	(0.236)	(0.051)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.003)	
Age: 16	-1.006	-0.077	-0.064	-0.018	-0.045***	-0.039***	
1150. 10	(0.781)	(0.285)	(0.052)	(0.030)	(0.016)	(0.004)	
Age: 17	-0.083	-0.455	$-0.141^*$	-0.039	-0.064***	-0.049***	
rige. 17	(0.579)	(0.309)	(0.077)	(0.038)	(0.016)	(0.006)	
Physical abuse	0.044	0.468	0.240	0.107***	0.076***	0.093***	
i nysicai abuse	(0.430)	(0.602)	(0.207)	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.009)	
Sexual abuse	1.058	0.074	-0.018	0.038	0.034**	0.064***	
Sexual abuse	(0.735)	(0.472)	(0.236)	(0.027)	(0.016)		
Naclast	1.007	0.564	0.471	0.132***	0.109***	(0.008) 0.112***	
Neglect	(0.724)	(0.603)	(0.385)				
Parent alcohol abuse			, ,	(0.020)	(0.013) 0.086***	(0.011) 0.072***	
Parent alconol abuse	0.614	-0.028	-0.432*	0.022			
Daniel dura abour	(0.669)	(0.361)	(0.252)	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.008)	
Parent drug abuse	-0.397	-0.535**	-0.440*	0.083***	0.076***	0.081***	
CUILL L. L. L. L.	(0.384)	(0.229)	(0.255)	(0.029)	(0.013)	(0.010)	
Child alcohol abuse	-0.596	0.055	-0.548*	-0.092*	-0.043*	-0.036***	
CL 11.1	(0.640)	(0.374)	(0.321)	(0.047)	(0.024)	(0.009)	
Child drug abuse	0.675	0.138	-0.116	-0.061*	-0.085***	-0.095***	
Charles 1 are	(0.581)	(0.414)	(0.329)	(0.036)	(0.015)	(0.009)	
Child disability	-0.240	-0.183	-0.490	-0.048	-0.068***	-0.069***	
	(0.715)	(0.384)	(0.364)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.015)	
Child behavior problem	-0.886	$-0.815^*$	-0.708*	-0.265***	-0.242***	-0.253***	
	(0.735)	(0.449)	(0.407)	(0.025)	(0.016)	(0.014)	
Parent(s) died	-1.669	-1.209*	-0.148	0.063	0.115***	0.159***	
	(1.293)	(0.629)	(0.169)	(0.061)	(0.037)	(0.013)	
Parent(s) jail	-0.996	-0.173	0.001	0.025	0.053**	0.063***	
	(0.787)	(0.265)	(0.136)	(0.039)	(0.021)	(0.007)	
Inability to cope	0.176	-0.254	0.077	0.049**	0.067***	0.074***	
	(0.349)	(0.267)	(0.174)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.007)	
Abandonment	-0.005	0.154	-0.041	0.037	0.031*	0.037***	
	(0.352)	(0.281)	(0.147)	(0.029)	(0.016)	(0.008)	
Relinquished	0.600	0.964	0.247	0.127***	0.079***	0.081***	
	(0.688)	(0.604)	(0.285)	(0.040)	(0.021)	(0.017)	
Housing problem	-0.391	-0.021	-0.231	0.084***	0.059***	0.063***	
	(0.753)	(0.318)	(0.422)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.008)	
Number observations (children)	5,113	18,461	208,808	5,113	18,461	209,075	
Mean outcome variable	30.2	27.5	25.9	0.5	0.432	0.379	
R <sup>2</sup>	0.977	0.971	0.959	0.440	0.331	0.296	
	0.700	1.079	1.313	21.86	46.97	106	
F-statistic (p-value)	(0.842)	(0.363)	(0.151)	(<0.001)	(<0.001)	(<0.001)	
	10.0441	(0.505)	(0.131)	( < 0.001)	( \ 0.001)	( \ 0.001)	

Notes: Columns (1)-(3) report OLS regression results from regressing the instrument on all child demographics and entry reasons. Columns (4)-(6) report OLS regression results from regressing the endogenous variable, initial placement in a non-kin family, on all child demographics and entry reasons. F-statistics are for statistical tests where the null hypothesis is that all coefficients on observables are 0. See Table 1 and the text of the paper for descriptions of the different samples. The instrument is not defined for some very small counties in the old children sample, explaining the discrepancy between the number of observations in columns (3) and (6). Standard errors are clustered at the county level. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 4: Instrument and Correlation with Predicted Outcome Index and Outcome Index

	Predicted Outcome Index on All RHS Variables in Table 3	Outcome Index
	(1)	(2)
Instrument: Non-Kin	0.00172	0.00586
Exits Month	(0.00128)	(0.00136)
<i>p</i> -values	<i>p</i> -value: 0.179	<i>p</i> -value: <0.01
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113
County, month x year fes	Y	Y

Notes: Columns (1)-(2) report OLS regression results from regression two different outcome variables demographics and entry reasons on the Outcome sample. See Table 1 and the text of the paper for descriptions of the different samples. The first outcome variable in column (1) is a predicted outcome index for each child using all child demographic and entry reason exogenous variables in a linear regression. The second outcome variable is the direct outcome index variable itself. The table also computes p-values on the coefficient on the instrument for both outcome variables. Standard errors are clustered at the county level and computed by block bootstrap in column (1) using 100 bootstrap replications.

Table 5: Instrument Correlation with Earlier and Later Child Outcomes

	Outcome Index Age 17		Outcome Index Age 19		Outcome Index Age 2	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Non-kin exits month	0.0016	-0.0018	0.0067	0.0028	0.0058	0.0041
INOH-KIII EXILS IIIOHUI	(0.0016)	(0.0017)	(0.0017)	(0.0018)	(0.0020)	(0.0024)
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Number observations (children)	2,996	2,996	2,138	2138	2,996	2,996

*Notes*: This table implements OLS regressions of outcomes at age 17 and before, outcomes at age 19, and outcomes at age 21 on the instrument. To minimize the issue that outcomes at age 17 could be caused by placements at earlier ages, I focus on children removed at age 16 or 17. This is what causes the smaller sample than the outcome sample. I include specifications with and without demographic and entry reason controls. All specifications have county and month-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table 6: Instrument Correlation with Non-Kin and Kin Placement

-	Placem	ent with Non-	-Kin Family	Placement with Kin Family			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
	Outcome	Eligible	Old Children	Outcome	Eligible	Old Children	
	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	
Instrument:	0.0015	0.0009	0.0008	0.0003	0.0001	-0.0001	
	(0.0003)	(0.0001)	( 0.0001)	(0.0004)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	
Mean outcome variable	0.420	0.368	0.313	0.160	0.147	0.175	
Number observations (children)	6,088	21,638	252,960	6,088	21,638	252,960	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Child demographic, entry controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

*Notes:* Columns (1)-(3) give coefficient estimates on the instrument for a regression of placement with non-kin family on the instrument, demographic and entry reason controls and county and month-year fixed effects. Columns (4)-(6) do the same with a regression of placement with kin family. The samples in all columns are the same as in Table 3 but also include foster children whose initial placement is with a kin family. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table 7: Impact of Non-kin Family Placement on Outcomes of Foster Children

	Economic and Social Outcome Index		Employment or Enrollment Incarce		rceration Ho		Homelessness		Substance Abuse			
	Ol	LS	Γ	V	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Initial non-kin	0.886	0.646	1.989	2.021	0.0941	0.0823	-0.115	-0.261	-0.078	-0.351	-0.048	-0.249
family placement	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.473)	(0.675)	(0.016)	(0.175)	(0.014)	(0.135)	(0.016)	(0.159)	(0.011)	(0.103)
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry controls	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Number observations (children)		5,1	13		5,1	113	5,0	)39	5,0	)36	5,0	)11
Mean of outcome		1.0	01		0.6	587	0.2	227	0.3	321	0.1	28
Sd of outcome		2.0	08		0.4	164	0.4	119	0.4	167	0.3	334
First stage F-stat		41	1.7		43	3.0	34	1.3	34	1.8	37	7.2

Notes: This table presents OLS and IV results for  $\beta$ , the coefficient on initial non-kin family placement, in equation (1) for different outcome variables and with different specifications. Columns (1)-(4) present results with the economic and social outcome index, described in Section 2.3 which includes variables on employment, enrollment, incarceration, homelessness and substance abuse referrals. They include OLS results with and without the set of demographic and entry reason controls, and IV results with and without the set of demographic and entry reason controls. Columns (5)-(6) present OLS and IV results for an indicator variable for whether a child is employed or enrolled at age 21 (at the time of the survey). These only include specifications with full controls. Columns (7)-(8) present OLS and IV results for an indicator variable for whether a child has experienced incarceration in the past two years since the survey, surveyed at age 21. These only include specifications with full controls. Column (9)-(10) present OLS and IV results for an indicator variable for whether a child has experienced homelessness in the past two years since the survey, surveyed at age 21. These only include specifications with full controls. Columns (11)-(12) present OLS and IV results for an indicator variable for whether a child has had a substance abuse referral in the past two years, surveyed at age 21. The set of controls include demographics with age of entry categories, sex (male or female), and race (white, black, hispanic, other). The set of controls also includes a set of 15 indicator variables indicating the reasons a child was removed from their family. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table 8: Placement Equation Parameter Estimates for Preferences and Instrument

	Placement with Non-Kin Family
	(1)
λ	
Non-kin exits	-0.0052
	(0.0006)
$\alpha$	
Sex: Male	-0.627
	(0.060)
Age: 15 (ref: 14)	-0.167
	(0.036)
Age: 16	-0.251
	(0.054)
Age: 17	-0.352
	(0.086)
Race: white (ref: other)	-0.130
	(0.053)
Race: black	-0.220
	(0.059)
Race: hispanic	-0.077
	(0.054)
County fes	Y
Month-Year fes	Y
Observations	38,543
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.1364

*Notes*: This table shows results from the probit regression estimated in equation (7). I estimate the parameters in this equation using all children entering between ages 14-17 in all markets that have a child that has a valid outcome index in the survey. "ref" in the table means the reference (omitted) category. The model includes fixed effects for counties and month-by-year with standard errors clustered at the county level.

Table 9: Selection Corrected Model Outcome Estimates

	Selection Co	rrected Model Estimates
	Constant Effect	Interaction with Treatment
	(1)	(2)
ATE	1.423	
AIL	(0.912)	-
Unobservable selection	-0.199	-0.338
$(\gamma_0, \gamma_1)$	(0.561)	(0.231)
Male	-0.477	0.352
Maic	(0.206)	(0.180)
Ago 15 (rof: 14)	-0.299	0.143
Age 15 (ref: 14)	(0.202)	(0.197)
A a 2 16	-0.324	0.228
Age 16	(0.214)	(0.199)
A a 17	-0.295	0.118
Age 17	(0.283)	(0.324)
Dogo white (ref. other)	0.003	0.060
Race white (ref: other)	(0.241)	(0.273)
Race black	0.105	-0.132
Race Diack	(0.241)	(0.289)
Dogo hisponia	0.146	0.109
Race hispanic	(0.246)	(0.281)
Number children		4,499

Notes: This table presents estimates of the parameters in (9) using the outcome index defined in the text. Column (1) provides estimates of the estimated ATE, and  $\beta_0$  and  $\gamma_0$ . Column (2) provides estimates of  $\beta_1$  and  $\gamma_1$ . The sample of estimation is all children in the outcome sample for whom a valid control function estimate  $\hat{\xi}_{it}$  can be formed due to sufficient variation in placement in their market. "ref" in the table means the reference (omitted) category. Standard errors for all parameters are computed using a block bootstrap where the blocks are counties with 250 bootstrap replications.

Table 10: Model and IV Treatment Effects

	Treatment Effect				
	LATE	ATE	ATT	ATNT	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Model	1.380	1.423	1.135	1.656	
Wiodei	(0.914)	(0.912)	(0.925)	(0.930)	
IV	1.879				
1 V	(0.505)	-	-	-	
90% confidence intervals	[-0.572, 4.26]				
$\beta_{IV} - \beta_{model}$	[-0.372, 4.20]	-	-	-	
ATNT - ATT	-	-	[-1.068	, 0.030]	
Number observations (children)		4,499			

*Notes*: This table computes model and IV derived treatment effects and confidence intervals for differences for those treatment effects. The IV LATE is the standard LATE computed from 2SLS while the model LATE, ATT and ATNT are derived in Appendix A.8. Standard errors are shown in parenthesis and are computed using a block bootstrap where the blocks are counties with 250 bootstrap replications.

Table 11: Counterfactuals on Scarcity and Allocation

Counterfactual	Mean Outcome (Index)	Mean Outcome - Baseline Mean Outcome 90% Confidence Interval	Proportion less than baseline
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Baseline	0.953	-	-
Add 50% families	1.193	[-0.003 0.452]	0.056
Random matching	1.065	[0.009, 0.237]	0.036
Place twice as many boys as girls	1.064	[0.023, 0.202]	0.020
Optimal matching on observables	1.126	[0.059, 0.333]	0.008
Optimal matching on observables and unobservables	1.156	[0.062, 0.399]	0

*Notes*: This table computes counterfactual outcomes for children in county-month-years that have a child in the survey data and have non-trivial variation in placement. Column (1) gives the mean outcome on the outcome index defined in the text. Column (2) gives 90% confidence intervals for the difference between the counterfactual mean and the baseline mean using block bootstrap where counties are blocks and I use 250 bootstrap replications. Column (3) gives the proportion of simulations of these 250 bootstrap replications where the counterfactual mean is less than the baseline using the same bootstrap technique. The details of each counterfactual are provided in the text.

## A Online Appendix

## A.1 Institutional Details Appendix

This paper uses exits of children from non-kin foster families as an instrumental variable for other children's placement with a non-kin family. Cherry and Orme (2013) document that in foster care there are two types of foster parents. There is a set of "vital few" foster mothers: foster mothers that account for a small proportion of foster parents in the system, and provide a disproportionate amount of care for children. Their analysis finds that 21% of foster mothers cared for 73% of foster children. In their sample, these foster parents fostered on average 104 children over almost 16 years of care. They adopt only 1.6 children on average. Other foster parents foster less but are more likely to adopt, caring for 11 children on average and adopting 0.8 children. It is thus conceivable that the availability of these foster parents that foster over many years could drastically impact a foster child's chances of being placed with a foster family, and that foster children's exits could affect availability of these foster parents. Foster parents that serially foster may differ in important ways from other families, and these differences may be correlated with differences in treatment effects at the family level. Cherry and Orme (2013) show that these serial fosterers are less likely to work outside the home and have more time to foster, along with more professional support for fostering.

## A.2 Data Appendix

Important outcome variables in the NYTD survey:

- Incarceration: A youth is considered to have been incarcerated if the youth was confined in a jail, prison, correctional facility, or juvenile or community detention facility in connection with allegedly committing a crime (misdemeanor or felony).
  - For a 17-year-old youth in the baseline population, the data element relates to a youth's lifetime experience.
  - For a 19- or 21-year-old youth in the followup population, the data element relates to the youth's experience in the past two years.
- Homeless: A youth is considered to have experienced homelessness if the youth had
  no regular or adequate place to live. This definition includes situations where the
  youth is living in a car or on the street, or staying in a homeless or other temporary
  shelter.
  - For a 17-year-old youth in the baseline population, the data element relates to a youth's lifetime experience.
  - For a 19- or 21-year-old youth in the followup population, the data element relates to the youth's experience in the past two years.

- Substance abuse: A youth has received a substance abuse referral if the youth was referred for an alcohol or drug abuse assessment or counseling. This definition includes either a self-referral or referral by a social worker, school staff, physician, mental health worker, foster parent, or other adult. Alcohol or drug abuse assessment is a process designed to determine if someone has a problem with alcohol or drug use.
  - For a 17-year-old youth in the baseline population, the data element relates to a youth's lifetime experience.
  - For a 19- or 21-year-old youth in the followup population, the data element relates to the youth's experience in the past two years.
- Current enrollment and attendance: "Yes" means the youth is enrolled in and attending high school, GED classes, or postsecondary vocational training or college, as of the date of the outcome data collection. A youth is still considered enrolled in and attending school if the youth would otherwise be enrolled in and attending a school that is currently out of session.
- Current full time employment: A youth is employed full-time if employed at least 35 hours per week, in one or multiple jobs, as of the date of the outcome data collection.
- Current part time employment: A youth is employed part-time if employed between one and 34 hours per week, in one or multiple jobs, as of the date of the outcome data collection.
- Employment or enrollment (created variable): An indicator variable if current enrollment and attendance is 1 or current full time employment is 1 or current part time employment is 1.

Children with outcomes in the NYTD data at age 21 may have multiple entries and exits into and out of foster care before age 21. If a child has multiple entries, I take only their latest entry. In my main sample I only consider children whose latest entry occurred at age 14 or older. This makes the sample more representative of "older" foster children and removes children that enter very young but linger in foster care for a long time. Those children may be substantially different on unobservables than other older children in the sample. Robustness of the main results to different age cutoffs (ages 12, 13, and 15) are included in the Appendix and show that the choice of the cutoff is immaterial to the main results. Finally, because the instrumental variable strategy used in the analysis in this paper requires knowing a child's county of removal, children without an identified county of removal are dropped. Some small counties are not included in AFCARS because of privacy concerns (too few children are removed from their families).

NDACAN states the following in regards to how surveys are filled out:

Under NYTD rules, states have the discretion to choose the methods used to administer the Outcomes Survey to youth (e.g., in person, online, or over the

phone) provided that the survey is administered to the person directly. No one can answer for the youth, nor can data from other sources be used to answer questions. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary on the part of the youth.

Since the NYTD states that *The eligible baseline population consists of all youth in foster care at any point during the 45-day period beginning on their 17th birthday.* so placement changes for children in non-kin family homes or congregate care should not affect survey eligibility. Note that this eligibility criteria could exclude children who are in foster care for less than 45 days. To get a sense of how restrictive this condition is I looked in the AFCARS 6 month file at the percent of children exiting who had a stay of 45 days or less. It is 13.5%.

I supplement the main AFCARS and NYTD data with NYTD services data which provides information on the services provided to foster children such as academic support, career preparation services and room and board financial assistance, and also measures their education at different points in time.

#### A.3 Foster Care Placement Process

This section describes more about how the foster care placement process works as described to me by Santa Clara foster care officials. Children enter into foster care through a court process and are assigned a social worker that is responsible for placing them in one of the 3 major placement types: non-kin family, kin family or congregate care. The decision of whether a child enters foster care is related mainly to the direct harm or danger they are in in their current living situation and not the availability of certain placements. When children enter into foster care they must be placed somewhere. If there are no families they are generally placed in congregate care homes or other institutional settings. There are examples where children even sleep in social worker's offices (https://www.latimes.com/archives/laxpm-2005-may-07-me-foster7-story.html). This paper treats congregate care placements as an infinite capacity placement that social workers generally try to avoid. See the discussion on Limitations in the model for more evidence on how the laws guide social workers to prioritize placing children in families. Social workers may be able to convince families to take extra children when there are not technically slots available, but there are legal limits to how many children a family can take and also legal limits related to housing size and the number of bedrooms that constrain this type of behavior (https://adoption.org/childrenfostering-need-room).

#### A.4 LATE and OLS

Table 7 shows that the estimated LATE is larger than OLS. Angrist and Pischke (2008) show that the OLS estimator is an average treatment effect on the treated and a selection

bias term while the LATE is the average treatment effect on compliers.<sup>58</sup> Thus the discrepancy between the OLS and LATE in Table 7 could come from a difference between the ATT and LATE, or a negative selection bias.

Section 2.5 provides a discussion on how treatment effect heterogeneity, complier children, and complier families may affect the interpretation of the LATE and the LATE-OLS discrepancy.

An alternative but not mutually exclusive reason for the LATE-OLS discrepancy is measurement error in placements causing attenuation in OLS. Placements are reported every 6 months and children may change placements between the time of entry and the report time. To test for this possibility I look at OLS estimates in the subsample of children whose entries occur in the same month as the reporting period. Table A31 shows that the OLS estimate increases by almost 50% and can explain about 29% of the difference between OLS and IV difference.

#### **A.5** Other Reduced Form Results: Mechanisms

Why do families make children better off relative to congregate care? One potential pathway suggested in the literature is a meaningful sense of connection to an adult or family. This has been hypothesized to be an important component of a foster child's successful transition to adulthood (Freundlich and Avery, 2006).<sup>59</sup> However, achieving these connections can be challenging in practice, and little causal evidence has been found to suggest that foster children more easily develop these support systems and connections through family placements.

Table A32 Panel A columns (1) and (2) includes IV and OLS estimates of placement with a family on connections with an adult at age 21.<sup>60</sup> The IV estimate suggests a statistically significant 49 percentage point increase in the probability of developing a connection, or 57 percent on the mean outcome of 0.896. While methods to more formally test whether connection to an adult is an important mediator of the economic and social outcomes con-

$$OLS = \mathbb{E}[Y_i|P_i = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y_i|P_i = 0] = \mathbb{E}[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)|P_i = 1] + \mathbb{E}[Y_i(0)|P_i = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y_i(0)|P_i = 0]$$
  
 
$$LATE = \mathbb{E}[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)|P_i(1) > P_i(0)]$$

The OLS estimate measures an average treatment effect on the treated (ATT)  $\mathbb{E}[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)|P_i = 1]$  and a selection bias  $\mathbb{E}[Y_i(0)|P_i = 1] - \mathbb{E}[Y_i(0)|P_i = 0]$  whereas the LATE measures an average treatment effect on compliers  $P_i(1) > P_i(0)$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Consider using the potential outcome framework for outcomes  $Y_i(1)$  and  $Y_i(0)$ . Letting  $P_i(E_i)$  be the placement treatment variable and  $E_i$  be a binary version of the instrument, following Angrist and Pischke (2008) one can write OLS and LATE as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Biehal (2014) also studies what belonging means in substitute foster families.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>The wording of the question involves that the adult is someone "who he or she can go to for advice or guidance when there is a decision to make or a problem solve, or for companionship when celebrating personal achievements. The adult must be easily accessible to the youth, either by telephone or in person. This can include, but is not limited to adult relatives, parents or foster parents." (NYTD Outcomes Codebook p. 37).

sidered above are not appropriate in this setting (Dippel, Gold, Heblich and Pinto, 2020), the evidence is consistent with this connection to adult being correlated with these outcomes and potentially being an important mediator.<sup>61</sup>

The other results in Panel A of Table A32 show that the IV estimates do not estimate precise strong effects for other outcomes such as having children or receiving payments. The IV estimates do suggest that placement with a family leads to a large decrease in the probability of participating in an apprenticeship or on-the-job training during age 20. This could be consistent with families shifting children into more enrollment as opposed to employment to invest in human capital to increase lifetime earnings, but I lack the power to precisely test this hypothesis.

One important question about how children achieve better outcomes through placement with families is whether they rely on social services to achieve these gains. If so, this might dampen the overall monetary benefit of family placement, as this benefit comes with a social cost of welfare take-up. Panel B of Table A32 hows OLS and IV estimates of the effect of family placement on take-up of social services. It includes a measure of total public aid, which sums the social security, food stamps, housing vouchers and other cash welfare measures. The IV estimate suggests that placement in families leads children to take-up less public aid, with the results seeming especially strong (and marginally statistically significant) for food stamps and housing vouchers. The point estimate for educational aid take-up is negative though with wide confidence intervals.

Another set of results in this subsection look at potential mechanisms and mediators in intermediate outcomes in foster care including placement stability and permanency. These are closely studied in the literature (Becker, Jordan and Larsen, 2007; Koh and Testa, 2008; Andersen and Fallesen, 2015) but focus more on the differences in achieving stability and permanency in kin and non-kin placements. These outcomes are of first order importance to foster care policy makers as short-term markers of how well the foster care system is working. I contribute to this literature by looking at differences contributed by congregate care and foster family placements. These could also be important mediators for the effects on social and economic outcomes estimated.

Table A33 shows IV and OLS estimates of adoption and guardianship by age 18 and the total number of placements after entry. Because these outcomes are observed in the AFCARS data, I examine the results in all three analysis samples, but the preferred specifications in columns (5) and (6) use the larger older children sample. The IV and OLS estimates in columns (5) and (6) both suggest that adoption and guardianship is shifted by a large and statistically significant percentage. The number of placement estimates are consistent but the IV is less precise and cannot reject 0 effects or even positive effects. These results show that placement with a foster family significantly boosts the probability of adoption or guardianship and they are consistent with placement increasing placement stability, though there is less precision for this result.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Interestingly the OLS coefficient estimates a precise 0 on connection to an adult for children. This is quite drastic and different, but consistent with the treatment effect heterogeneity found elsewhere, where family effects are amplified for the complier population.

The final set of results in this section examine whether changes in outcomes of children by placement status are detectable by age 19 or if they require waiting until age 21 to be detected. Table 5 shows strong correlations between the instrument and the outcome index at age 19. These results suggest family placement improves the outcomes of older foster children by age 19.

### A.6 Comparison to Doyle (2008)

This section makes an explicit comparison to the literature looking at the causal effects of entry into foster care on subsequent outcomes. This paper provides one way to think about heterogeneity in the treatment of entry into foster care and shows that there can be substantial heterogeneity in foster care impacts on subsequent outcomes through placement types. Quantitatively, I compare the estimates in this paper to those found in the literature and perform some back-of-the-envelope calculations.

Doyle (2008) estimates the causal effect of foster care placement for children of average age 11 on incarceration at ages 18 or older in Cook County. He finds that placement into foster care causes a 22.5 percentage point increase in the probability of incarceration (Table 4, Panel C, Column 4) on a mean of 0.066 (Table 4, Panel C, Column 1). This paper shows that it is possible that placement into foster care *and* placement in congregate care could be an important part of these negative effects, which are also found for other outcomes in Doyle (2007b).<sup>62</sup>

This paper estimates that the effect of placement with a family relative to congregate care for children in foster care causes a 24.9 percentage point decrease in the probability of incarceration. Moreover, between 2005 and 2015, the placement rate of children into families (kin and non-kin) in Cook County for children entering between ages 14 and 17 is 0.264. For simplicity I assume that treatment effects are the same for kin families as for non-kin families relative to congregate care.

Now suppose that the causal effect of placement into foster care estimated in Doyle (2008) can be written as

$$\beta_{overall} = \beta_0 + \beta_{family} F + e \tag{10}$$

where e is some random noise, so that the treatment effect is now a random coefficient that also depends on family placement. Using this setup and the numbers above, the expected treatment effect as a function of average family placement in Cook County can be written as

$$\mathbb{E}[\beta_{overall}] = 0.291 - 0.249\mathbb{E}[F]. \tag{11}$$

Equation (11) gives a rough and simple way to understand the implications of family placement for the overall effect of foster care. If all children were placed in families in Cook County, this method would estimate that the probability increase in incarceration would be reduced to 4.2 percentage points, and that if no children were placed with families,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>However, some recent studies have found positive effects on children. These include (Bald et al., 2022; Gross and Baron, 2022).

the probability increase would jump up to 29.1 percentage points. This suggests a large role for family placements and placement types in understanding the overall effects of foster care. However, this example shows that even with full placement policy, there is an expected increase in incarceration. This result might suggest future research on studying how foster care shapes child outcomes through channels other than family placement or institutionalization, such as the trauma of being separated from a birth family.

### A.7 Control Function Method

The condition for a child being placed with a family  $Place_{it} = 1$  is:

$$u_{it} \ge \lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)} \tag{12}$$

which can be rewritten as

$$\xi_{it} \ge -X_{it}\alpha + (\lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}) \tag{13}$$

Because  $\xi_{it} \sim N(0,1)$  one can use properties of the truncated normal distribution which state that if a variable  $z \sim N(0,1)$  then

$$\mathbb{E}[z|z>a] = \frac{\phi(a)}{1 - \Phi(a)} \tag{14}$$

where  $\phi(\cdot)$  is the standard normal pdf and  $\Phi(\cdot)$  is the standard normal cdf.

Applying (14) to this case

$$\mathbb{E}[\xi_{it}|X_{it}, Place_{it} = 1, Exits_t, c(t), m(t)] = \frac{\phi(-X_{it}\alpha + (\lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}))}{1 - \Phi(-X_{it}\alpha + (\lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}))}$$
(15)

and I form plug in estimates of this by replacing parameters by those estimated in the first stage.

The computation is similar if  $Place_{it} = 0$  using the fact that

$$\mathbb{E}[z|z < a] = \frac{-\phi(a)}{\Phi(a)} \tag{16}$$

#### **A.8** Treatment Effect Method

To compute the LATE one needs to characterize the distribution of  $X_{it}$  for compliers and the  $\xi_{it}$  of compliers. Suppose the instrument is transformed into a binary version  $Z_t = \mathbf{1}\{Exits_t \geq Exits_{c(t)}\}$  where  $Exits_{c(t)}$  is the mean exits in county c(t). Let  $\bar{u}_t(Z_t)$  be a function of the binary instrument and let  $\bar{v}_t = -\bar{u}_t$ . Then a complier satisfies

$$-\bar{v}_t(0) \ge u_{it} \ge -\bar{v}_t(1)$$

or

$$-(\eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}) \ge X_{it}\alpha + \xi_{it} \ge -(\lambda + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})$$

or

$$-(X_{it}\alpha + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}) \ge \xi_{it} \ge -(X_{it}\alpha + \lambda + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})$$

Thus the mean outcome for a complier child when placed is predicted to be

$$\mathbb{E}[Y_{it}(1)|X_{it}, -(X_{it}\alpha + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}) \ge \xi_{it} \ge -(X_{it}\alpha + \lambda + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})]$$

$$= X_{it}\beta_1 + \gamma_1 \mathbb{E}[\xi_{it}| - (X_{it}\alpha + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}) \ge \xi_{it} \ge -(X_{it}\alpha + \lambda + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})]$$

and similar for predicting the mean potential outcome when a complier is not placed.

To get the treatment effect I compute this  $\hat{\mu}_i^c(1)(X_{it}) - \hat{\mu}_i^c(0)(X_{it})$  for each individual i. Then I compute the probability of being a complier conditional on observables as

$$p_i^c = Pr\left(-\left(X_{it}\alpha + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}\right) \ge \xi_{it} \ge -\left(X_{it}\alpha + \lambda + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)}\right)\right)$$

using the normal distribution assumption.

Finally I take a weighted average of these treatment effects, weighting by the probability each child i is a complier to get the implied LATE

$$L\hat{ATE} = \sum_{i} (\frac{p_i^c}{\sum_{j} p_j^c}) (\hat{\mu}_i^c(1)(X_{it}) - \hat{\mu}_i^c(0)(X_{it}))$$

To compute the ATT and ATNT similar methods are used. In particular, to compute the ATT I use the fact that a treated child satisfies

$$u_{it} > -\bar{v}_t$$

or

$$X_{it}\alpha + \xi_{it} \ge -(\lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})$$

or

$$\xi_{it} \ge -(X_{it}\alpha + \lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})$$

and then get the probability of each child i being treated according to the model.

To compute the ATNT I use the fact that a non-treated child satisfies

$$u_{it} \leq -\bar{v}_t$$

or

$$\xi_{it} \le -(X_{it}\alpha + \lambda Exits_t + \eta_{c(t)} + \eta_{m(t)})$$

and then get the probability of each child i not being treated according to the model.

## A.9 Appendix Figures and Tables

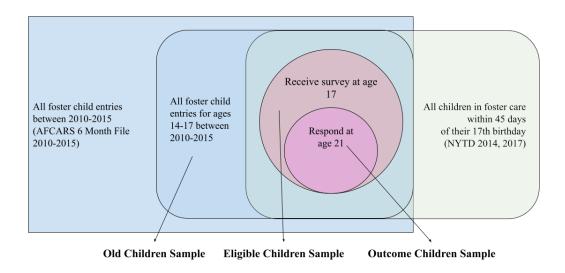


Figure A1: Diagram of Sample Definitions

*Notes*: This figure provides a diagram of the different sample definitions for children in the paper based on the main data sources (AFCARS and NYTD).

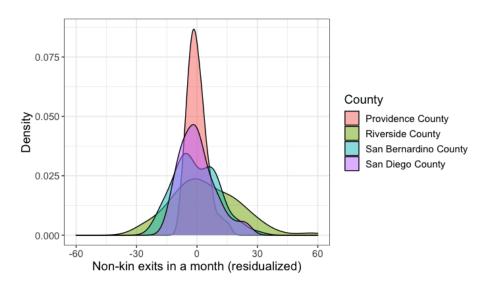


Figure A2: Raw Residualized Instrument Variation

*Notes*: This figure plots the residual of the exits instrument  $Exits_m$  on county and month-by-year fixed effects defined in the text across 4 different counties. Each observation contributing to the density plot for each county is a month-year.

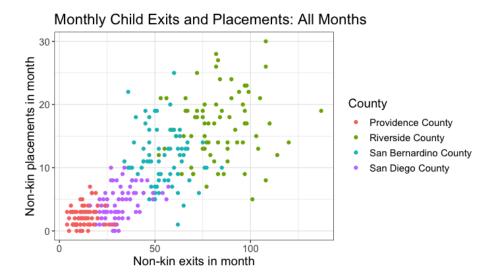


Figure A3: Raw Correlations for IV

*Notes*: These figures plot the instrument  $\operatorname{Exits}_t$  at the county-month-year level against total non-kin placements at the same level for four counties in the data.

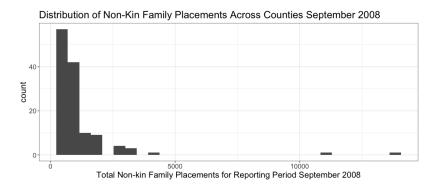


Figure A4: Distribution of County-Level Non-Kin Family Placements in Reporting Period September 2008

*Notes*: This figure shows a histogram of the number of non-kin family placements in a county for the reporting period of September 2008.

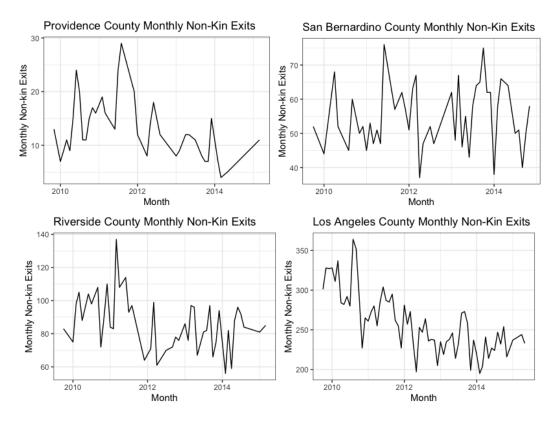


Figure A5: Raw Variation of the Instrument Across the 4 Largest Counties in the Outcome Sample

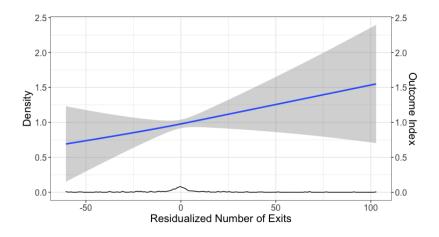


Figure A6: Reduced Form Variation

*Notes*: This figure shows the reduced form of the outcome index on exits from non-kin families on the aggregated county-month-year sample (4,129 total observations). The x-axis plots the residualized number of exits, residualized on county and month by year fixed effects. The y-axis on the right gives the outcome index. A generalized additive model with penalized regression splines is plotted along with 95% confidence bands. The density plot with y-axis on the left is a weighted density of the residualized number of exits, where weights are given by the number of children in the corresponding county.

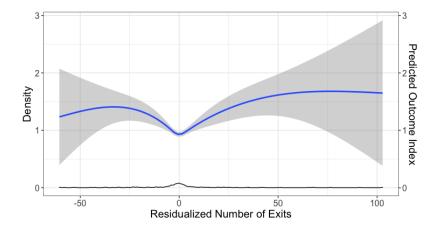


Figure A7: Predicted Outcome Index Variation

*Notes*: This figure shows the reduced form of the predicted outcome index on exits from non-kin families on the aggregated county-month-year sample (4,129 total observations). The x-axis plots the residualized number of exits, residualized on county and month by year fixed effects. The y-axis on the right gives the predicted outcome index, predicted on all child demographic and entry reasons. A generalized additive model with penalized regression splines is plotted along with 95% confidence bands. The density plot with y-axis on the left is a weighted density of the residualized number of exits divided by log population, where weights are given by the number of children in the corresponding county.

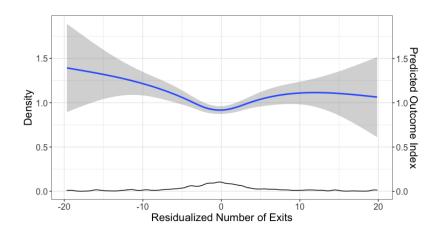


Figure A8: Predicted Outcome Index Variation: Zoomed

*Notes*: This Figure is a zoomed in version of the above figure. This figure shows the reduced form of the predicted outcome index on exits from non-kin families on the aggregated county-month-year sample (4,129 total observations). The x-axis plots the residualized number of exits, residualized on county and month by year fixed effects. The y-axis on the right gives the predicted outcome index, predicted on all child demographic and entry reasons. A generalized additive model with penalized regression splines is plotted along with 95% confidence bands. The density plot with y-axis on the left is a weighted density of the residualized number of exits divided by log population, where weights are given by the number of children in the corresponding county.

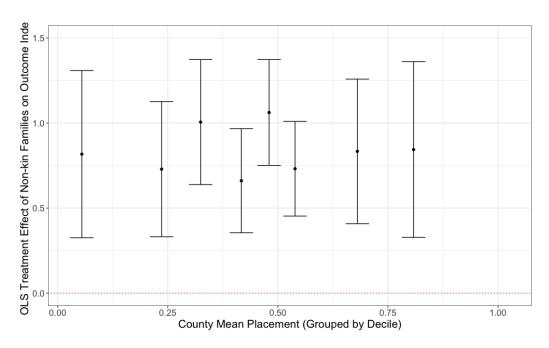


Figure A9: OLS Treatment Effects of Non-Kin Families by Mean Placement Rate in County

*Notes*: This Figure shows OLS-based treatment effects for different groupings of countys. OLS treatment effects are based on the same method described in Table 7 using the outcome index. This exercise groups county's into deciles based on the average amount of children placed in non-kin families in that county and computes OLS-based treatment effects within those groups, and then plots the treatment effects and 95% confidence bands inn this figure here. Two of the deciles are missing due to incomplete data in those counties.

Foster Family Agency (FFA) A	ge Based Rates				
Age	0-4	5-8	9-11	12-14	15-20
Certified Home Rate	\$ <mark>1087</mark>	\$ <mark>1159</mark>	\$ <mark>1212</mark>	\$ <mark>1260</mark>	\$ <mark>1311</mark>
Total Rate	\$ <mark>2403</mark>	\$2475	\$2528	\$2576	\$ <mark>2627</mark>

Figure A10: Foster Family Agency Home Rates: Los Angeles County January 2023 *Notes*: Source: http://policy.dcfs.lacounty.gov/content/AFDC\_FC\_GRI\_FC\_Rates.htm

Table A1: Summary Statistics on the Broader Foster Child Population from AFCARS 2010-2015

	All Foster Children Entries 2010-2015	All NYTD Children with Entries 2010-2015	All NYTD Children Entering Age 14 or Older 2010-2015
T '.' 1 1	(1)	(2)	(3)
Initial placement with non-kin family	0.462	0.348	0.335
Initial placement with kin family	0.332	0.135	0.134
Sex: male	0.514	0.493	0.494
Race: black	0.267	0.320	0.319
Race: white	0.431	0.415	0.416
Race/ethnicity: hispanic	0.219	0.213	0.213
Age at entry: 0-5	0.489	0	0
Age at entry: 6-11	0.237	0	0
Age at entry: 12-17	0.274	1	1
Entry reason: neglect	0.596	0.399	0.390
Entry reason: child behavioral problem	0.117	0.420	0.431
Entry reason: parents drug or alcohol abuse	0.352	0.161	0.158
Entry reason: parents died	0.0081	0.0131	0.0129
Entry reason: parents jail	0.075	0.0363	0.0356
Number observations	1,413,551	25,699	23,753
TD1 1 1 1 1 1 1	C ' 1 1	.1 11.00 . 1	0.1 (1) 1

Notes: This table provides means of variables across three different samples. Column (1) gives sample means for all entering children that have a non-missing entry date and a non-missing reason for entry in the AFCARS 6 month file dataset from 2010-2015. This sample differs from the "Old Children Sample" in that it does not filter by entry age (it includes child entries of all ages) and it also includes children placed with kin families. The data is cleaned so that an observation is a unique child and their latest entry into foster care in the 2010-2015 dataset. Column (2) gives sample means for all entering children in the AFCARS 6 month file dataset from 2010-2015 that have a non-missing entry date and non-missing reason for entry, and are also in the baseline population for the NYTD survey. This differs from the "Eligible Sample" in two ways: it includes children with kin placements, and it does not restrict to children that enter at age 14 or later. Due to using the AFCARS 6 month file from 2010-2015, all children are older than 12 that are in the NYTD. The data is cleaned so that an observation is a unique child and their latest entry into foster care in the 2010-2015 dataset. Column (3) gives sample means for all entering children in the AFCARS 6 month file dataset from 2010-2015 that have a non-missing entry date and non-missing reason for entry, are in the baseline population for the NYTD survey, and also entered at age 14 or later. The data is cleaned so that an observation is a unique child and their latest entry into foster care in the 2010-2015 dataset.

Table A2: First Stage

	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Eligible Weighted	Old Children Sample	Old Children Weighted
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A:					
Instrument: Non-kin exits					
First stage coefficient and s.e.	0.00206	0.00128	0.00091	0.00083	0.00088
č	(0.00032)	(0.00019)	(0.00018)	(0.00025)	(0.00015)
Cluster robust F-statistic	41.7	43.5	23.7	10.7	33.2
Panel B:					
<i>Instrument: Non-kin exits / log(county pop)</i>					
First stage coefficient and a	0.0319	0.0195	0.0146	0.0125	0.0137
First stage coefficient and s.e.	(0.0049)	(0.0032)	(0.0029)	(0.0042)	(0.0026)
Cluster robust F-statistic	43.0	36.8	25.1	9.0	27.8
Panel C:					
Instrument: Non-kin exits w/ total					
entry control					
	0.00203	0.00137	0.00100	0.00103	0.00099
First stage coefficient and s.e.	(0.00032)	(0.00020)	(0.00020)	(0.00020)	(0.00016)
Cluster robust F-statistic	41.6	47.6	26.3	25.6	39.9
Panel D:					
<i>Instrument:</i> log(1+ non-kin exits)					
	0.0234	0.0064	0.0465	0.0202	0.0314
First stage coefficient and s.e.	(0.0142)	(0.0084)	(0.0171)	(0.0035)	(0.0119)
Cluster robust F-statistic	2.7	0.6	7.4	33.2	7.0
County, month x year fixed effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weighted by county representation			••		••
in outcome sample	N	N	Y	N	Y
Number observations (children)	5,113	18,461	18,461	209,075	209,075
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Notes: This table reports OLS first stage coefficients and cluster robust F-statistics where standard errors and F-statistics are computed with county-clustered robust standard errors. Column (1) shows results in the outcome sample, column (2) shows results in the eligible sample, column (3) shows results in the eligible sample where observations are weighted by county representation in the outcome sample (observation weight = percent of observations in outcome sample with same county as observation), column (3) shows results in the old children sample and column (4) shows results in the old children sample where observations are weighted by county representation in the outcome sample. Panel A presents specifications with the raw instrument and no county normalization. These coefficients can be interpreted as the probability increase in placement with a family for one more exit of a child from a non-kin family in the same county-month-year in which the child exits through reunification or emancipation. Panel B presents specifications with instrument divided by log county population. Panel C presents specifications where the instrument is divided by log county population with an additional covariate of total entries in that same county-month-year. Panel D presents specifications where the instrument is log(1+exits) where exits is defined as in Panel A. Population numbers for a county are fixed in all regressions and taken from https://www.census.gov/geographies/reference-files/2020/demo/popest/2020-fips.html.

Table A3: First Stage and Main Treatment Effects with County Size Normalized by Stock of Non-Kin Families in 2008

	First Stage Outcome: Initial Placement with Non-Kin Family			IV		
			Outcome: Outcome Inc			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
Non-kin exits / total non-kin placements in single reporting period in 2008	3.39 (1.71)	2.99 (1.38)				
Initial Placement with Non-Kin Family			4.38 (2.62)	4.86 (2.99)		
Number observations (children)	2,497	2,497	2,497	2,497		
First stage: F-statistic	2.79	4.69	-	-		
Child demographic, entry controls	N	Y	N	Y		
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y		

Notes: This table shows first stage and IV regression results from utilizing a different form for the instrument compared to the main tables of interest (Tables 7 and 2). The difference is that the instrument, non-kin exits in a county-month-year is now normalized by the total number of non-kin family placements in that county in the reporting period of September 2008 (before any initial placements occur in the outcome sample). The distribution of this variable can be found in Figure A3. Child demographic and entry reason controls are added where specified following 7. County and month-year fixed effects are included throughout. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A5: Instrument Correlation with Predicted Outcome Index and Outcome Index

	Predicted Outcome Index on All RHS Variables in Table 3	Outcome Index
	(1)	(2)
Instrument: Non-Kin	0.00172	0.00586
Exits Month	(0.00128)	(0.00136)
<i>p</i> -values	<i>p</i> -value: 0.179	<i>p</i> -value: <0.01
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113
County, month x year fes	Y	Y

Notes: Columns (1)-(2) report OLS regression results from regression two different outcome variables demographics and entry reasons on the Outcome sample. See Table 1 and the text of the paper for descriptions of the different samples. The first outcome variable in column (1) is a predicted outcome index for each child using all child demographic and entry reason exogenous variables in a linear regression. The second outcome variable is the direct outcome index variable itself. The table also computes p-values on the coefficient on the instrument for both outcome variables. Standard errors are clustered at the county level and computed by block bootstrap in column (1) using 100 bootstrap replications.

Table A4: First Stage from Reunification, Emancipation, and Congregate Care Exits

		Dependent Var: Placement with Non-Kin Family							
	Ou	tcome Sam	ple	El	igible Sam	ple	Old Children Sample Weighted		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Non-kin exits from	0.0025			0.0015			0.0009		
reunification	(0.0004)			(0.0003)			(0.0002)		
Non-kin exits from		0.0015			0.0013			0.0019	
emancipation		(0.0012)			(0.0007)			(0.0003)	
Exits from group			-0.0002			-0.0001			-0.00017
homes			(0.0009)			(0.0002)			(0.00012)
Child demographics and entry		v			Y			Y	
reason controls		1			1			1	
County and month-by-year fes		Y			Y			Y	
Weighted by county representation		N			N			Y	
in outcome sample		IN			IN			1	
Number observations (children)		5,113			18,461			209,075	

*Notes*: This table reports OLS regression coefficients from three regression specifications on three samples. The first specification regresses the placement variable on non-kin exits due to reunification normalized by log population. The second specification regresses on non-kin exits due to emancipation from foster care. The third specification regresses on exits from congregate care. These are run on the outcome sample, the eligible sample, and the old children sample. The old children sample is further weighted by county representation in the outcome sample. All three specifications include demographic and entry reason controls and and county and month-by-year fixed effects. All standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A6: Correlation between Non-Kin Exits in a Month and County and State Unemployment Rates - Child-Level Regressions

		Instrument: Non-Kin Exits Month					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample	
County Annual	2.38	1.29	1.10				
Unemployment	(1.41)	(1.40)	(1.21)				
State Month-Year				2.43	2.05	1.66	
Unemployment				(1.87)	(1.88)	(1.52)	
Number observations (children)	4,910	17,649	178,546	5,113	18,461	186,395	
Child demographic, entry controls	N	N	N	N	N	N	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

*Notes*: This table shows OLS regressions of the primary instrument, the number of non-kin exits from the county in a month-year (at the level of the individual child) to make this comparable to other regressions. State monthly unemployment and county annual unemployment rates come from the BLS. Sample sizes in these regressions are smaller than in other tables due to missing unemployment data for county x month x year cells. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A7: Main Treatment Effects with Unemployment and State-Month-Year Fixed Effects

	Outcome Index		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Initial Placement with	2.176	1.918	1.632
Non-Kin Family	(0.878)	(0.737)	(1.416)
Number observations (children)	4,910	5,113	5,113
Child demographic, entry controls	Y	Y	Y
County annual unemployment control	Y	N	N
State month-year unemployment control	N	Y	N
County, state x month x year fes	N	N	Y
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y
First Stage F-stat	20.8	26.8	10.5
Instrument	Non-kii	n exits in a	a month

*Notes*: This table presents IV results for  $\beta$ , the coefficient on initial non-kin family placement, in equation (1) for different specifications that build on the specification in Column (4) in Table 7 addressing further county and state variation. Column (1) of this table adds county annual unemployment as a control variable to the IV regression. Column (2) adds state month-year unemployment as a control variable. Column (3) includes state x month x year fixed effects. The main set of controls used and described in Table 7 are used throughout the specifications here. The sample size in column (1) is smaller than in Table 7 due to missing unemployment data for some county x month x year cells. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A8: Correlation between Foster Care Entries in a Month and County and State Unemployment Rates - County-Month-Year-Level Regressions

			Total Child Er	ntries in Month		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample
County Annual	0.3296	-0.6431	0.8995			
Unemployment	(2.3685)	(3.5164)	(2.1353)			
State Month-Year				2.553	1.436	1.338
Unemployment				(2.357)	(3.000)	(2.090)
Number observations (children)	4,051	11,323	49,742	4,242	11,895	52,095
Child demographic, entry controls	N	N	N	N	N	N
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
County weights	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This table shows OLS regressions of the number of total foster child entries (all ages) into a county in a month-year **at the level of county-month-year unit** on county annual unemployment rates and state month-year unemployment rates across the three main samples analyzed in this paper. State monthly unemployment and county annual unemployment rates come from the BLS. All regressions weight by the number of children in the respective sample in each county. There are less counties in the county annual regressions because of missing or unmatchable county unemployment data from the BLS. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A9: Correlations between Instrument and Services Received at Entry

	Coefficient on instrument	p-value	Outcome mean	Number observations (children)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Special education services	-2.83e-04	0.101	0.188	28,589	
•	(1.73e-04)	0.101	0.100	20,507	
Independent living needs	-1.36e-03	0.093	0.487	28,589	
assessment	(8.09e-04)	0.075	0.107	20,507	
Academic support services	-1.31e-03	0.11	0.501	28,589	
	(8.24e-04)	0.11	0.501	20,507	
Career services	-1.81e-03	0.174	0.295	28,589	
Career services	(1.33e-03)	0.174	0.273	20,307	
Employment vocational services	-1.94e-03	0.195	0.144	28,589	
Employment vocational services	(1.50e-03)	0.173	0.177	20,507	
Financial management services	-1.79e-03	0.130	0.283	28,589	
i manetar management services	(1.18e-03)	0.130	0.263	26,369	
Housing education and management	-1.76e-03	0.225	0.329	28,589	
Housing education and management	(1.45e-03)	0.223	0.329	20,507	
Health education	-1.72e-03	0.064	0.364	28,589	
Health Education	(9.29e-04)	0.004	0.304	26,369	
Mentor services	-2.01e-03	0.077	0.168	28,589	
Wellor services	(1.14e-03)	0.077	0.106	26,369	
Educational financial assistance	3.00e-03	0.116	0.0050	28.589	
Educational infancial assistance	(1.91e-03)	0.110	0.0858	28.369	
Other financial assistance	-2.856e-03	0.158	0.167	28,589	
Other infancial assistance	(2.03e-03)	0.136	0.107	20,309	
Instrument	non-kin exits				
County, month x year fes	Y				
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y				

*Notes*: Each row of this table is associated with a separate regression of a different service outcome on a child entry. Each of these regressions includes demographic, entry reason controls, and county and month by year fixed effects. The sample for each regression is all children entering between 14 and 17 years old receiving any services as defined in the NYTD services database.

Table A10: Correlations between Instrument and Number of Children in Family Placement

	Number Children in	Indicator for More Than
	Family Placement	1 Child in Family Placement
	(1)	(2)
Non-kin exits	0.0086	0.0030
Non-kin exits	(0.003)	(0.0013)
County, month x year fes	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reasons	Y	Y
Children placed with families only	Y	Y
Mean outcome	2.25	0.553
Number observations (children)	2,071	2,071

*Notes:* This table provides regression results from regressions of whether a child is placed out of state on the non-kin exits instrument. Column (1) performs this regression on the outcome sample, column (2) on the eligible sample and column (3) on the old children sample. Discrepancies in sample sizes with other tables using these samples (e.g. Table 7) are due to some children having a missing value for whether they are placed out of state. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A11: Correlations between Instrument and Placement Out of State

	Child placed out of state on entry			
	Outcome Sample Eligible Sample Old Children S			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
Non lyin avita in a month	-3.1e-04	-5.8e-05	1.1e-07	
Non-kin exits in a month	(2.0e-04)	(9.0e-05)	(3.7e-05)	
Number observations (children)	5,111	18,446	208,755	
Child entry, demographic controls	Y	Y	Y	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	
p-value on regression coefficient	0.0674	0.522	0.997	

Notes: Column (1) provides the coefficient estimate on the instrument for a regression of number of children estimated in a child's initial placement for children from the outcome sample placed with a family who also have a valid measure of number of children in placement. A family has a valid number of children in their placement if, after accounting for the sequential arrival and exit of foster children in the AFCARS data, they have 8 or less children in their care. A family is identified by a unique sequence of county, family structure, age of primary caretaker, age of secondary caretaker, race of primary caretaker and secondary caretaker. Column (2) provides the coefficient estimate on the instrument for a regression of an indicator of having more than 1 child in a placement. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A12: OLS and IV with Demographic Controls Only

	Economic and Social Outcome Inde		
	OLS	IV	
	(1)	(2)	
Taikini alanamantanith a ana lain famila	0.790	1.879	
Initial placement with a non-kin family	(0.065)	(0.505)	
County, month x year fes	Y		
Child demographic controls only	Y		
Number children	5,113		

*Notes*: This table shows OLS and IV results for the outcome index in the outcome sample in which the only controls are child demographic controls. No removal reason controls are used. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A13: First Stage: Lagged Exits

	Placement with Non-kin Family				
	(1)	(2)			
Non-kin exits lagged	0.00183	0.00153			
by 1 month	(0.00063)	(0.00057)			
F-statistic	8.57	7.28			
Number observations (children)	5,047	5,047			
Child demographic, entry controls	N	Y			
County, month x year fes	Y	Y			

*Notes*: This table implements OLS regressions of the main independent variable, initial placement with a non-kin family, on county-month level non-kin exits measured 1 month *before* the child is placed (with a non-kin family or congregate care) in the same county the child is placed in. Column (1) does not include the standard demographic and entry controls while column (2) includes the standard demographic and entry controls. The lower number of observations in the lagged specification for the outcome sample is due to a lack of data on exits in the month before the first placement in the outcome sample (compared to other first stage tables with no lag implemented). Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A14: Main Treatment Effects Measured with Lagged Instrument

	Outcome Index			
	(1)	(2)		
Initial non-kin	1.546	1.657		
family placement	(0.750)	(0.958)		
Instrument	Non-kin exits lagged			
mstrument	by 1 month			
Number observations (children)	5,047	5,047		
Child demographic,	N	Y		
entry controls	14	1		
County, month x year fes	Y	Y		

Notes: This table reproduces columns (3) and (4) in Table 7 utilizing the lagged non-kin exits variable as the instrument. Column (2) includes demographic and entry reason controls in these regressions. The set of controls include demographics with age of entry categories, sex (male or female), and race (white, black, hispanic, other). The set of controls also includes a set of 15 indicator variables indicating the reasons a child was removed from their family. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A15: Correlation between Non-Kin Placement and Exits in the Month After Placement

	Placement with Non-kin Family			
	(1)	(2)		
Non-kin exits month	0.00295	0.00229		
forward by 1 month	(0.00038)	(0.00034)		
F-statistic	61.3	44.8		
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113		
Child demographic, entry controls	N	Y		
County, month x year fes	Y	Y		

*Notes*: This table implements OLS regressions of the main independent variable, initial placement with a non-kin family, on county-month level non-kin exits measured 1 month *after* the child is placed (with a non-kin family or congregate care) in the same county the child is placed in. Column (1) does not include the standard demographic and entry controls while column (2) includes the standard demographic and entry controls. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

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Table A16: Placebo Instruments: Congregate Care Exits in Same Month and 1 Month Before

	Placement with Non-Kin Family							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample		
Congregate core evits in some month	0.00084	0.00019	-0.000005					
Congregate care exits in same month	(0.0006)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)					
				0.00065	-0.00011	-0.000017		
Congregate care exits 1 month before				(0.0006)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)		
F-statistic	2.32	0.218	0.00041	1.31	0.166	0.00434		
Number observations (children)	5,113	18,461	209,075	5,047	18,461	209,075		
Child demographic,	V	V	V	V	V	V		
entry controls	Ĭ	Ĭ	ĭ	Ĭ	ĭ	ĭ		
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		

*Notes*: This table shows OLS regressions of the endogenous variable, initial placement with a non-kin family, on congregate care exits occurring in the same month in the same county where the placement is occurring, and congregate care exits 1 month before in the same county where the placement is occurring. It shows results for these regressions across the 3 main samples considered in the paper (see the text for more details and description). The lower number of observations in the lagged specification for the outcome sample is due to a lack of data on exits in the month before the first placement in the outcome sample. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level throughout.

Table A17: Instrument and Endogenous Variable Correlation with Observables - Including Total Removals

	Outcome Sample	Eligible Sample	Old Children Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Sex: male	-0.339	-0.211	-0.173
	(0.260)	(0.167)	(0.110)
Race: hispanic	-0.224	-0.171	0.222
	(0.274)	(0.131)	(0.608)
Race: other	0.520	-0.451	2.264
	(0.472)	(0.349)	(2.654)
Race: white	-0.319	-0.068	0.169
	(0.384)	(0.108)	(0.347)
Age: 15	-0.801	-0.381	-0.026
	(0.776)	(0.238)	(0.052)
Age: 16	-1.070	-0.090	-0.070
	(0.777)	(0.282)	(0.051)
Age: 17	-0.045	-0.503	$-0.154^{*}$
	(0.565)	(0.326)	(0.080)
Physical abuse	0.047	0.470	0.242
<b>,</b>	(0.429)	(0.604)	(0.209)
Sexual abuse	1.034	0.084	-0.009
	(0.714)	(0.478)	(0.238)
Neglect	1.082	0.560	0.467
	(0.729)	(0.602)	(0.383)
Parent alcohol abuse	0.549	-0.033	-0.435*
arem areamar acuse	(0.655)	(0.364)	(0.253)
Parent drug abuse	-0.242	-0.540**	-0.446*
t arent drug abase	(0.381)	(0.231)	(0.256)
Child alcohol abuse	-0.641	0.054	-0.548*
Cilila dicollor douse	(0.679)	(0.375)	(0.322)
Child drug abuse	0.563	0.148	-0.112
Cilila drug abase	(0.540)	(0.415)	(0.330)
Child disability	-0.256	-0.182	-0.496
Cilia disability	(0.660)	(0.386)	(0.366)
Child behavior problem	-0.855	$-0.822^*$	-0.714*
Cinia benavior problem	(0.717)	(0.452)	(0.408)
Parent(s) died	-1.751	-1.204*	-0.142
arent(s) trea	(1.325)	(0.626)	(0.166)
Parent(s) jail	-1.028	-0.171	-0.003
r archi(s) Jan	(0.781)	(0.267)	(0.138)
Inability to cope	0.176	-0.263	0.068
mability to cope	(0.336)	(0.269)	(0.173)
Abandonment	-0.001	0.152	-0.043
Abandonment	(0.348)		
Relinquished	0.625	(0.280)	(0.147) 0.236
Kemiquished		0.950	
(Yi	(0.680)	(0.600)	(0.281)
Housing problem	-0.239	-0.021	-0.230 (0.423)
Total Factor Core P1	(0.748)	(0.317)	(0.423)
Total Foster Care Removals	-0.006	0.095	0.085
	(0.105)	(0.081)	(0.076)
Number observations (children)	5,226	18,457	208,994
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.977	0.971	0.959
F-statistic (p-value)	0.70 (0.850)	1.11 (0.330)	1.38 (0.110)
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y

Notes: Columns  $\overline{(1)}$ -(3) report OLS regression results from regressing the instrument, on all child demographics and entry reasons. F-statistics are for statistical tests where the null hypothesis is that all coefficients on observables are 0. See Table 1 and the text of the paper for descriptions of the different samples. The instrument is not defined for some very small counties in the old children sample, explaining the discrepancy between the number of observations in columns (3) and (6). Standard errors are clustered at the county level. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01 \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A18: Impact of Non-kin Family Placement on Outcomes - With Total Removals Control

	Outcome Index	Incarceration	Homeless	Substance Abuse	Employment and Enrollment			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)			
Initial Placement with	1.945	-0.246	-0.376	-0.252	0.0829			
Non-Kin Family	(0.685)	(0.136)	(0.165)	(0.103)	(0.176)			
Number observations (children)	5,112	5,038	5,035	5,010	5,112			
Child demographic, entry control	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Total removal from foster care control	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
First Stage F-Stat	41.82	34.16	34.20	38.06	41.82			
Instrument	Non-kin exits in a month							

*Notes*: This table presents IV results for  $\beta$ , the coefficient on initial non-kin family placement, in equation (1) for different outcome variables and with different specifications. It recreates the IV results with controls in Table 7 while adding total removal from foster care controls. Total removal from foster care is defined as: the number of times the child was removed from home, including the current removal. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A19: IV Treatment Effects: Instrument based on Different Ages of Exiting Children

	Outcome Index						
		Non-kin exits of	Non-kin exits of				
Instrument:	Non-kin exits month	10 year olds or older	14 year olds or older				
		month	month				
	(1)	(2)	(3)				
Initial placement with	2.021	2.608	3.450				
non-kin family	(0.675)	(0.850)	(0.863)				
Numbers observations (children)	5,113	5,113	5,113				
First-stage F-statistic	41.74	25.82	20.38				
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y				
Child entry, demographic controls	Y	Y	Y				

*Notes*: This table shows IV results for the main outcome index defined in Table 7 for different instrument specifications. Column (1) reproduces results in Table 7. Column (2) modifies the instrument to only measure non-kin exits when the foster child exiting is exiting at an age of 10 years of age or older. Column (3) modifies the instrument to only measure non-kin exits when the foster child existing is exiting at an age of 14 years of age or older. All regressions include county and month x year fixed effects, and the list of child demographic and entry controls listed in Table 7. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A20: Heterogeneous Effects: Gender and Race

	First Stage	Reduced Form	IV	OLS	First Stage Eligible Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Subgroup: Female					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0028 (0.0006)	0.0032 (0.0019)	1.143 (0.637)	0.682 (0.079)	0.0018 (0.0004)
Cluster robust F-statistic Number of children Instrument	23.56	2,967 Non-kin exi	-	-	24.42
Subgroup: Male					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0025 (0.0006)	0.0098 (0.0022)	3.901 (1.119)	0.943 (0.124)	0.00173 (0.00035)
Cluster robust F-statistic Number of children Instrument	20.14	2,146 Non-kin exi	-	-	24.88
Subgroup: Black Coefficient and s.e. Cluster robust F-statistic Number of children Instrument	0.0016 (0.0007) 5.04	0.0039 (0.0042) - 1,532 Non-kin exi	2.461 (3.119)	0.731 (0.121)	0.00133 (0.00043) 9.66
Subgroup: Hispanic Coefficient and s.e. Cluster robust F-statistic Number of children Instrument	0.0034 (0.0008) 17.72	0.0105 (0.0027) - 1,051 Non-kin exi	3.092 (0.872)	1.127 (0.151)	0.0028 (0.0003) 89.18
Subgroup: White Coefficient and s.e. Cluster robust F-statistic Number of children Instrument	0.0030 (0.00091) 11.11	0.0018 (0.0047) - 2,265 Non-kin exi	0.584 (1.566)	0.979 (0.12)	0.00153 (0.00078) 3.82

Table A21: Heterogeneous Effects: Age

	First Stage	Reduced Form	IV	OLS	First Stage Eligible Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Subgroup: Age 14					
Coefficient and s.e.	-0.0006 (0.0014)	0.0013 (0.0054)	-	0.773 (0.178)	-0.0017 (0.0015)
Cluster robust F-statistic	0.21	-	-	-	1.24
Number of children		615			1,809
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Age 15					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0041	0.0058	1.429	0.959	0.0028
	(0.00083)	(0.0032)	(0.738)	(0.131)	(0.00039)
Cluster robust F-statistic	23.95	-	-	-	54.21
Number of children		1,454			4,560
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Age 16					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0022	0.0037	1.671	0.949	0.0018
	(0.00045)	(0.0018)	(0.877)	(0.098)	(0.00021)
Cluster robust F-statistic	24.96	-	-	-	70.48
Number of children		2,722			10,272
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Age 17					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0041	0.0575	-	1.140	0.0015
	(0.0031)	(0.0120)	-	(0.592)	(0.0013)
Cluster robust F-statistic	1.76	-	-	-	1.28
Number of children		322			1,820
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		

Table A22: Heterogeneous Effects: Physical and Sexual Abuse

	First Stage (1)	Reduced Form (2)	IV (3)	OLS (4)	First Stage Eligible Sample (5)
Subgroup: No Physical Abuse					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0032 (0.0003)	0.0051 (0.0015)	1.610 (0.469)	0.930 (0.071)	0.0019 (0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	100.75	-	-	-	62.861
Number of children		4,550			16,666
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Physical Abuse					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0017	0.0089	5.160	0.664	0.0012
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0012)	(0.0037)	(3.166)	(0.231)	(0.0005)
Cluster robust F-statistic	2.23	-	-	-	5.44
Number of children		563			1,795
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: No Sexual Abuse					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030	0.0057	1.913	0.921	0.0019
Coefficient and s.c.	(0.00036)	(0.0014)	(0.477)	(0.070)	(0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	68.04	-	-	-	75.44
Number of children		4,670			17,241
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Sexual Abuse					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0018	-0.0096		0.156	0.0025
Coefficient and s.c.	(0.0027)	(0.0062)	-	(0.251)	(0.0009)
Cluster robust F-statistic	0.44	-	-	-	7.96
Number of children		443			1,220
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		

Table A23: Heterogeneous Effects: Neglect and Inability to Cope

	First Stage	Reduced Form	IV	OLS	First Stage Eligible Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Subgroup: No Neglect					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0033 (0.0006)	0.0092 (0.0022)	2.837 (0.681)	0.891 (0.095)	0.0022 (0.0003)
Cluster robust F-statistic	46.70	-	-	-	67.24
Number of children		3,109			11,688
Instrument		Non-kin ex	its		·
Subgroup: Neglect					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0016	-0.0002	-0.147	0.736	0.00036
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.00046)	(0.0021)	(1.320)	(0.113)	(0.00030)
Cluster robust F-statistic	12.11	-	-	-	1.39
Number of children		2,004			6,773
Instrument		Non-kin ex	its		
Subgroup: No Inability to Cope					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030	0.0092	3.075	0.840	0.0020
	(0.00036)	(0.0015)	(0.590)	(0.088)	(0.00034)
Cluster robust F-statistic	69.35	-	-	-	36.08
Number of children		3,964	•.		14,681
Instrument		Non-kin ex	its		
Subgroup: Inability to Cope					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0023	-0.00014	-0.0618	0.931	0.0019
	(0.00062)	(0.0029)	(1.2601)	(0.145)	(0.0004)
Cluster robust F-statistic	14.20	-	-	-	17.90
Number of children		1,149			
Instrument		Non-kin ex	its		

Table A24: Heterogeneous Effects: Alcohol Abuse, Drug Abuse Parent

	First Stage	Reduced Form	IV	OLS	First Stage Eligible Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Subgroup: No Alcohol Abuse Parent					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030 (0.0003)	0.0061 (0.0014)	2.039 (0.488)	0.889 (0.067)	0.0019 (0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	68.82	-	-	-	76.38
Number of children		4,919			17,776
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Alcohol Abuse Parent					
Coefficient and s.e.	-	-	-	-	-
Cluster robust F-statistic	-	-	-	-	-
Number of children		-			-
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: No Drug Abuse Parent					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030 (0.0003)	0.0057 (0.0015)	1.906 (0.528)	0.937 (0.068)	0.0020 (0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	78.73	-	-	-	95.49
Number of children		4,672			16,607
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Drug Abuse Parent					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0038	-0.0065		0.389	0.0006
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0029)	(0.0188)	-	(0.411)	(0.001)
Cluster robust F-statistic	1.70	-	-	-	0.36
Number of children		441			1,854
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		

Table A25: Heterogeneous Effects: Alcohol Abuse, Drug Abuse Child

	First Stage (1)	Reduced Form (2)	IV (3)	OLS (4)	First Stage Eligible Sample (5)
Subgroup: No Alcohol Abuse Child	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(3)
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030 (0.0003)	0.0060 (0.0014)	1.997 (0.472)	0.875 (0.068)	0.0020 (0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	77.41	-	-	-	74.54
Number of children		5,016			18,045
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Alcohol Abuse Child	-	_	_	_	-
Coefficient and s.e.	-	-	-	-	-
Cluster robust F-statistic	-	-	-	-	-
Number of children		-			
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: No Drug Abuse Child					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030	0.0059	1.942	0.853	0.0019
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0003)	(0.0013)	(0.438)	(0.071)	(0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	76.18	-	-	-	65.01
Number of children		4,899			17,358
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Drug Abuse Child					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.019	0.075	4.035	0.916	0.0041
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0081)	(0.058)	(1.868)	(1.011)	(0.0012)
Cluster robust F-statistic	5.24	-	-	-	11.10
Number of children		214			1,103
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		

Table A26: Heterogeneous Effects: Child Disability, Behavioral Problem

	First Stage	Reduced Form	IV	OLS	First Stage Eligible Sample
0.1 N. CHILD: 131.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Subgroup: No Child Disability	0.0020	0.0066	2.205	0.025	0.0010
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0030	0.0066	2.205	0.925	0.0019
	(0.0003)	(0.0014)	(0.497)	(0.068)	(0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	75.89	-	-	-	77.69
Number of children		4,905			17,660
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Child Disability					
Coefficient and s.e.	-0.017	0.0392		0.133	-0.0062
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0156)	(0.0839)	-	(0.486)	(0.0025)
Cluster robust F-statistic	1.216	-	-	-	6.051
Number of children		208			801
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: No Child Behavior Problem					
	0.0022	0.0030	1.346	0.795	0.0014
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0004)	(0.0017)	(0.740)	(0.082)	(0.00028)
Cluster robust F-statistic	36.98	- 1	- 1	- 1	23.42
Number of children		3,039			9,886
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		
Subgroup: Child Behavior Problem					
	0.0012	0.0052		0.628	0.00049
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0008)	(0.0030)	-	(0.133)	(0.00029)
Cluster robust F-statistic	2.55		_		2.87
Number of children		2.074			8,575
Instrument		Non-kin exi	ts		-,

Table A27: Heterogeneous Effects: Relinquishment, Abandonment, Housing Problems

	First Stage	Reduced Form	IV	OLS	First Stage Eligible Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Subgroup: No Abandonment	0.0022	0.0061	4.210	0.007	0.0010
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0032 (0.0004)	0.0061 (0.0014)	4.210	0.887 (0.073)	0.0019 (0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	71.02	(0.0014)	(0.445)	(0.073)	72.34
Number of children	71.02	4,57	-	-	16,556
Instrument		Non-kin			10,330
instrument		Tion kin	CARLS		
Subgroup: Abandonment					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0024	0.015		0.508	0.0042
	(0.0038)	(0.0138)	-	(0.243)	(0.0018)
Cluster robust F-statistic	0.40	-	-	-	5.37
Number of children		534			1,905
Instrument		Non-kin	exits		
Subgroup: No Relinquishment					
Coefficient and s.e.	0.0029	0.0059 (0.0014)	2.028	0.888	0.0019
	(0.0004)	0.0057 (0.0011)	(0.4714)	(0.000224505)	(0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	66.971	-	_	-	70.55
Number of children		4,98			18,049
Instrument		Non-kin	exits		
Subgroup: Relinquishment					
Coefficient and s.e.					
Cluster robust F-statistic		-	-	-	
Number of children		126			
Instrument		Non-kin	exits		
Subgroup: No Housing Problems					
0 1	0.0028	0.0057	1.995	0.889	0.0021
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.0003)	(0.0013)	(0.501)	(0.070)	(0.0002)
Cluster robust F-statistic	73.63	-	-	-	99.19
Number of children		4,86	51		17,482
Instrument		Non-kin	exits		
Subgroup: Housing Problems					
	0.0144	0.0365	2.536	2.234	-0.0032
Coefficient and s.e.	(0.00248)	(0.0190)	(1.063)	(0.923)	(0.001)
Cluster robust F-statistic	33.56	-	-	-	10.99
Number of children		252			979
Instrument		Non-kin	exits		

Table A28: Instrument and Family Type

	Initial Black Primary Caretaker	Initial White Primary Caretaker	Initial Other Race Primary Caretaker	Initial Hispanic Primary Caretaker	Initial Primary Caretaker Age 50+	Initial Primary Caretaker Less than Age 50	Initial Couple	Initial Other Family Structure
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Non-kin Exits Month	0.001 (0.0003)	0.0001 (0.0003)	0.001 (0.0003)	0.0002 (0.0003)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.0005)	0.0001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.0004)
Number observations (children)	4,813	4,813	4,813	4,948	4,841	4,841	5,054	5,054
Mean of dependent variable	0.301	0.566	0.133	0.126	0.505	0.495	0.605	0.395
Child entry, demographic controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This table shows OLS regressions of different non-kin family types on the main instrument, non-kin exits in a county-month-year. Column (1) regresses whether a child is placed with a family that has a Black primary caretaker on the instrument (group home and institutional placements are coded as a 0). Column (2) regresses whether a child is placed with a family that has a White primary caretaker on the instrument. Column (3) regresses whether a child is placed with a family that has a non-Black or non-White primary caretaker on the instrument. Column (4) regresses whether a child is placed with a Hispanic primary caretaker on the instrument. Column (5) regresses whether a child is placed with a primary caretaker that is 50 years or older on the instrument. Column (6) regresses whether a child is placed with a primary caretaker that is placed with caretakers that are a married couple or an unmarried couple on the instrument. Column (8) regresses whether a child is placed with caretaker that is a single male, single female, or unable to determine. All regressions include child entry and demographic controls used in the main regressions specifications and county and month-year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A29: Characteristics of Compliers in the Outcome Sample

	Out	tcome Sample
	(1)	(2)
	$Pr(X_i = 1)$	$Pr(X_i = 1 complier)$
Sex: female	0.580	0.565
Sex: male	0.420	0.378
Race: black	0.300	0.245
Race: hispanic	0.206	0.269
Race: white	0.443	0.021
Age: 15	0.284	0.352
Age: 16	0.532	0.597
Entry reason: physical abuse	0.110	0.032
Entry reason: sexual abuse	0.087	0.138
Entry reason: neglect	0.392	0.209
Entry reason: child behavioral problem	0.406	0.234
Entry reason: inability to cope	0.225	0.168
Total Share of Compliers	0.384	

Notes: This table computes the share of compliers and complier characteristics in the outcome sample following the methodology of Bald et al. (2022).

Table A30: Complier Adjusted OLS Results

	OLS	OLS Weighted	OLS Housing Problem Subsample	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Outcome: Economic and Social Outcome Index				
Non-kin family placement	0.886	0.903	2.234	1.989
Non-kin family pracement	(0.067)	(0.126)	(0.923)	(0.473)
Outcome: Incarceration				
Non-lain formillo also and	-0.189	-0.187	-0.278	-0.345
Non-kin family placement	(0.013)	(0.135)	(0.137)	(0.093)
Outcome: Homeless				
Non-lin formillo alconomi	-0.087	-0.095	-0.396	-0.273
Non-kin family placement	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.167)	(0.110)
Outcome: Substance Abuse				
Non-lein family, mla compant	-0.068	-0.074	-0.528	-0.223
Non-kin family placement	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.141)	(0.069)
Outcome: Employment or Enrollment				
• •	0.108	0.107	0.015	0.119
Non-kin family placement	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.144)	(0.123)
County, month-year fixed effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	N	N	N	N
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113	252	5,113

Notes: This table presents various OLS specifications and IV results across the outcome index and the outcomes that make up the outcome index. Column (1) presents OLS results. Column (2) presents OLS results where the sample is weighted according to first stage coefficient of the housing subsample following Dahl, Kostol and Mogstad (2014) and Bhuller, Dahl, Løken and Mogstad (2020). Column (3) presents OLS results only looking at the subsample of children that enter at least partly due to inadequate housing or homelessness. Column (4) presents IV results. All specifications include county and month by year fixed effects, but do NOT include demographic or entry reason controls, following closely the procedure in Bhuller, Dahl, Løken and Mogstad (2020). Standard errors are clustered at the county level throughout.

Table A31: Measurement Error: OLS Results on More Precise Subsample

		Economic and Soc	cial Outcor	ne Index
	OLS	OLS Precise	IV	IV Precise
	OLS	Measurement Subsample	1 V	Measurement Subsample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Initial non-kin	0.886	1.281	2.016	3.521
family placement	(0.0673)	(0.234)	(0.513)	(6.736)
Number observations (children)	5,113	752	5,113	752
County, month-year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child entry, demographics	N	N	N	N
% IV - OLS difference explained		29	.3%	

Notes: This table presents results from OLS and IV regressions of the outcome index on an indicator for a child's initial placement being with a non-kin family estimated in different subsamples. All regressions include county and month-by-year fixed effects but do not include child-level controls. Column (1) gives OLS results for the full outcome sample. Column (2) gives OLS results for children that enter foster care in the same month as the reporting period for the data, or the precise measurement subsample. Column (3) gives IV results for the full outcome sample. Column (4) gives IC results for children that enter foster care in the same month as the reporting period for the data. Standard errors are clustered at the county level throughout.

Table A32: Connection to Adult, Public Welfare Outcomes and Other Economic and Social Outcomes

Panel A: Other Economic and Social Outcomes												
		ction to lult	Had C	hildren	Paymen	Financial ts: Family, pport, Legal	Inte	nticeship, rnship, ob Training				
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)				
Initial non-kin	-0.006	0.473	-0.046	0.081	-0.002	-0.276	0.026	-0.558	-			
family placement	(0.012)	(0.144)	(0.015)	(0.173)	(0.011)	(0.166)	(0.016)	(0.234)				
Child demographic, entry controls	,		, ,		Y		,					
County, month x year fes					Y							
Mean outcome	0.8	396	0.2	275	0.	.115	0.	315				
Number children	5,0	)97	5,0	063	5.	,052	5.	099				
Panel B: Social Services												
runei B. Sociai Services	Total Pu	ıblic Aid	Social	Security	Educat	ional Aid	Food	Stamps		ising chers		Cash
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Initial non-kin	-0.168	-1.108	-0.063	-0.022	0.091	-0.006	-0.056	-0.550	-0.017	-0.354	-0.029	-0.240
family placement	(0.034)	(0.442)	(0.012)	(0.149)	(0.014)	(0.225)	(0.020)	(0.315)	(0.010)	(0.173)	(0.011)	(0.150)
Child demographic, entry controls						`	Y					
County, month x year fes						`	Y					
Mean outcome		592 0.831)	0.1	103	0.	.203	0.	315	0.0	752	0.0	989
Number children	4.1	122	5.0	)64	5.	.048	4.	241	4,2	228	4.2	228

Number children 4,122 5,064 5,048 4,241 4,228 4,228

Notes: This table presents OLS and IV results from other economic and social outcomes and public welfare use outcomes. The other economic and social outcomes contained in the NYTD data include whether the child has a connection to an adult they feel comfortable going to for advice, they have mothered or fathered children in the past 2 years, they receive financial payments from a family, child support or other legal source. The public welfare use source includes an index of total public aid which adds together indicators for social security, food stamps, housing vouchers and other cash welfare. These are also broken out separately, with the addition of an outcome on whether the child receives financial aid. Each IV result uses the standard instrument of non-kin exits in a county-month-year used throughout the paper. All regressions include child demographic and entry reason controls, and county and month by year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A33: Intermediate Foster Care Outcomes

Panel A: IV	Outcom	ne Sample	Eligible	e Sample	Old Children Sa	ample (Weighted)
	Adopt or Guardian	Number Placements	Adopt or Guardian	Number Placements	Adopt or Guardian	Number Placements
	by 18	after Entry	by 18	after Entry	by 18	after Entry
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Initial non-kin family placement	0.0764	-3.161	-0.0740	-1.081	0.0809	-0.4614
Initial non-kin family placement	(0.1306)	(2.390)	(0.1474)	(1.705)	(0.0380)	(0.6400)
Instrument			Non-k	cin exits		
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mean outcome	0.045	4.46	0.043	4.42	0.025	2.46
Number observations (children)	3,619	4,454	13,840	15,731	143,409	151,372
Panel B: OLS						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Initial non-lein family also amont	0.0459	-0.734	0.0413	-0.747	0.0349	-0.439
Initial non-kin family placement	(0.011)	(0.169)	(0.0052)	(0.096)	(0.0094)	(0.076)
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mean outcome	0.045	4.46	0.0431	4.42	0.0250	2.46
Number observations (children)	3,619	4,454	13,840	15,731	143,409	151,372

Notes: This table presents OLS and IV regression results of adoption or guardianship indicator variables and number of placement numeric variables on the initial placement with non-kin indicator variable. It does this across the outcome, eligible and old children sample, where observations in the old children sample are weighted according to (obs weight = percent observations with same county in outcome sample) to ensure a stronger first stage. The samples for adoption and guardian by 18 models exclude children who do not exit by age 18. Smaller sample sizes for number placements are smaller because missing value in the number placements variable. Throughout models include child demographic and entry controls, and county and month by year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by county.

Table A34: Treatment Effects with Time in Foster Care as Endogenous Variables

	Economic and Social Outcome Index				
	IV	I	O	LS	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Months in non-kin family placement	0.0618		0.0230		
Months in non-kin family placement	(0.0193)		(0.002)		
Demont time in non-lein family placement		2.964		0.830	
Percent time in non-kin family placement		(1.107)		(0.0750)	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Child demographics, entry reason controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Sd endogenous variable	15.0	0.437	15.0	0.437	
Mean endogenous variable control	4.20	0.131	4.20	0.131	
Mean endogenous variable treatment	24.0	0.838	24.0	0.838	
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113	5,113	5,113	

Notes: This table reports treatment effects estimated by IV and OLS on two alternative endogenous variables for the economic and social outcome index. The models are identical to those in Table 7 except for the endogenous variables. Months in non-kin family placement is a numeric variable that counts the number of placements recorded after entry that are non-kin family placements and multiplies by 6 months (the length between reporting periods). Percent time in non-kin placements looks at the percentage of placements reported for the child after entry that are non-kin placements. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A35: Correlation between Instrument and Survey Eligibility and Initial Response

	_	NYTD and at Age 17	Response at Age 17
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Instrument: Non-kin exits	-0.00018	-0.000095	-0.00081
mstrument. Non-kin exits	(0.00007)	(0.00007)	(0.00024)
In at 17		0.13	
III at 17		(0.004)	
Number observations	209, 075	209, 075	18,482
(children)	209, 073	209, 073	10,402
Mean of outcome	0.088	-	0.63
(SD of independent			
variable) x	-0.118	-	-0.079
(coefficient) / (Mean of outcome)			
Child demographic,	N	N	N
entry controls	11	11	11
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This table presents coefficients in OLS regressions of survey eligibility for NYTD and initial response at age 17 for NYTD. The outcome in columns (1) and (2) is defined as whether a child shows up in the NYTD data as eligible for the survey. The sample this is estimated on is the old children sample used and defined throughout the paper. The outcome in column (3) is defined as whether a child responds to the initial NYTD survey (and is undefined for children not eligible for the NYTD survey). The instrument follows the standard definition throughout the paper. In at 17 is an indicator variable for whether a child is in the sample at age 17 or not. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A36: Correlation between Initial Non-kin Placement and Survey Eligibility and Initial Response

		Resp	onse at A	ge 17	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Initial Non Vin Family Placement	0.059				
Initial Non-Kin Family Placement	(0.009)				
Initial Placement with Age 40+		0.030			
Non-Kin Family		(0.014)			
Initial Placement with Non-Kin			0.0076		
Family that is a Couple			(0.011)		
Initial Placement with Black				0.0056	
Non-Kin Family				(0.015)	
Initial Placement with White					0.012
Non-Kin Family					(0.015)
Number observations (children)	18,482	6,827	6,827	6,827	6,827
Mean of outcome	0.63	-	-	-	-
(SD of independent					
variable) x (coefficient) /	0.047	-	-	-	-
(mean of outcome)					
Child demographic,	N	N	N	N	NT
entry controls	N	N	N	N	N
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Notes: This table presents OLS regression results for whether a child responds to the initial survey at age 17 regressed on the endogenous variable of initial non-kin family placement and other specific types of non-kin family placements that could occur as identified in the AFCARS data. Column (1) regresses response to the survey at age 17 on whether a child is placed with a non-kin family. Column (2) regresses response to the survey at age 17 on whether a child is placed with a non-kin family where the primary foster caretaker is 40 or higher, only including children that are placed in non-kin families and are eligible for the survey. Column (3) regresses response to the survey at age 17 on whether a child is placed with a non-kin family that has a family structure indicating it is a couple (e.g. 2 parent household), only including children that are placed in non-kin families and are eligible for the survey. Column (4) regresses response to the survey at age 17 on whether a child is placed with a non-kin family that has a black primary foster caretaker, only including children that are placed in non-kin families and are eligible for the survey. Column (5) regresses response to the survey at age 17 on whether a child is placed with a non-kin family that has a white primary foster caretaker, only including children that are placed in non-kin families and are eligible for the survey. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A37: Main treatment effects correcting for selection bias at different survey stages

		IV Outco	me Index		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Initial Non-Kin Family Placement	2.021	3.079	2.193	2.608	
mittal Non-Kill Pallity Flacement	(0.674)	(0.954)	(0.738)	(0.892)	
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113	5,113	5,113	
Inverse propensity score weighted on					
Initial Eligibility	N	Y	N	N	
Initial Response at age 17	N	N	Y	N	
Response at age 21	N	N	N	Y	
Instrument	Non-kin exits				
Child demographic,	Y	Y	Y	Y	
entry controls	1	1	1	1	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	

*Notes*: This table presents coefficients on IV regressions for the main outcome index on the endogenous variable of initial non-kin family placement, where observations are inverse propensity weighted using a child's entry reasons and demographics to reflect the probability of observing that child. Column (1) applies no inverse propensity weighting. Column (2) applies inverse propensity weighting based on the probability of a child's survey eligibility. Column (3) applies inverse propensity weighting based on the probability of a child's initial response to the survey. Column (4) applies inverse propensity weighting based on the probability of a child responding to the final age 21 survey.

Table A38: OLS and Intent-to-Treat Attrition

Panel A: Correcting for Non-Response Bias with Observables	Outcome	Index		
	Non Weighted	Weighted		
	(1)	(2)		
	2.021	2.608		
Initial non-kin family placement	(0.674)	(0.892)		
Instrument	Non-kin	exits		
Inverse propensity score weighted	N	Y		
County, month x year fes	Y	Y		
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y	Y		
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113		
	OLS	ITT	OLS	ITT
Panel B: Lee (2009) Attrition Bounds	Sample A	Sample A	Sample B	Sample B
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Initial non kin family placement	0.6459		0.7090	
Initial non-kin family placement	(0.0667)		(0.0747)	
Non-kin exits		0.1288		0.1511
Non-kin exits		(0.0710)		(0.0825)
Lee (2009) upper bound	1.2410	0.1288	1.2734	0.1511
Lee (2009) lower bound	0.6459	0.0146	0.7089	0.0382
Response rate treatment	0.621	0.556	0.630	0.560
Response rate control	0.521	0.575	0.516	0.575
p-value response rates differ	< 0.001	0.308	< 0.001	0.616
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113	3,877	3,877

*Notes*: This table contains two panels of results. Panel A undertakes the exercise in Sacerdote (2007) suggested by Wooldridge (1999) and corrects for non-response bias on observables by creating a propensity score for response to the survey at age 21 using a logistic regression model, and weighting observations according to 1/fitted prob response. All demographics and entry reason variables are used to create the weights. Panel B computes Lee (2009) bounds for OLS treatment effects and intent-to-treat effects from the reduced form. The outcome variable is the outcome index used throughout the paper. Columns (1) and (2) use Sample A: children that responded to the survey at age 17 and that were sampled by states that randomly sample children who respond at age 17 for the age 21 survey. These are the only children eligible to take the survey at age 21. Column (3) and (4) use Sample B: the subset of the outcome sample in states that do not randomly sample children who respond at age 17 for the age 21 survey, and compute response rates in those samples, too. Throughout standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A39: Robustness to Age Cutoff for Children Included in Sample

	Children Last Entry	Children Last Entry	Children Last Entry
Panel A: IV	•	•	•
	12 Years or Older	13 Years or Older	15 Years or Older
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Initial non-lein family placement	1.188	1.389	1.639
Initial non-kin family placement	(0.497)	(0.490)	(0.835)
Instrument		non-kin exits month	
First stage F-statistic	53.6	67.6	44.8
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y	Y	Y
Number observations (children)	5,699	5,545	4,498
Panel B: OLS			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Total and Lindson the allowant	0.627	0.629	0.658
Initial non-kin family placement	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.071)
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry reason controls	Y	Y	Y
Number observations (children)	5,699	5,545	4,498

*Notes*: This table includes OLS and IV estimates for regressions of the outcome index at age 21 used in Table 7 on an indicator for a child's initial placement in a non-kin family with various samples of children that vary by the age cutoff. Column (1) provides IV (Panel A) and OLS (Panel B) estimates for the sample of foster children that enter between ages 12 and 17. Column (2) provides IV and OLS estimates for the sample of foster children that enter between ages 13 and 17. Column (3) provides IV and OLS estimates for the sample of foster children that enter between ages 15 and 17. All models include demographic and child entry controls, and county and month-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A40: IV Specification and Index Robustness

Panel A: Specification Tests	Old Child Exits	Drop Outlier County x Month x Years	Drop Very Small Counties	Dropping Endpoints of Data
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
First stage coefficient on	0.0031	0.0028	0.0020	0.0020
instrument	(0.0007)	(0.0008)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
IV coefficient on	3.428	2.606	1.760	1.953
economic and social outcome index	(0.857)	(0.736)	(0.706)	(0.692)
Instrument	Non-kin exits month 14 years+		Non-kin exits month	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Number observations (children)	5,113	4,277	3,923	5,037

			Incarceration, Homelessness,	
			Substance Abuse, Employment,	
	Incarceration, Homelessness,	Employment,	Enrollment Alternate Index with	Economic and Social Outcome Index
Panel B: Outcome Indices	Substance Abuse Index	Enrollment Alternate Index	High School Education	with High School Education
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IV coefficient on	1.938	1.228	3.663	2.517
specified outcome	(0.602)	(0.618)	(1.033)	(0.829)
Instrument		Non-ki	n exits month	
Mean outcome	0.323	0.217	0.661	1.13
Sd outcome	1.94	1.63	3.09	2.44
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y
Child demographic, entry controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113	5,113	5,113

Notes: Panel A provides first stage and IV regressions on different subsamples and with different instruments. Column (1) of panel A uses 14 year old non-kin exits as the instrument; column (2) drops county-month-year level observations where the instrument value falls outside the 5th and 95th percentile of the county-specific instrument distribution; column (3) drops all counties with 4 or less children in the sample; column (4) drops children with observed entries in the same month as the first reporting period. Panel B provides IV regressions on different outcome indices. Column (1) uses an index that adds incarceration, homelessness and substance abuse; column (2) uses an index that adds part-time employment, full-time employment and enrollment status; column (3) uses an index that adds the indices in columns (1) and (2) and also adds in high school education; column (4) uses the original index used in the main results and adds high school education. In all regressions standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A41: Main Treatment Effects with Outcome Normalized to Mean 0 and Standard Deviation 1 on the Entire Sample

	Outcome Index		
	Normalize	d on Entire Sample	
	OLS	IV	
	(1)	(2)	
Non kin family placement	0.311	0.973	
Non-kin family placement	(0.032)	(0.325)	
Number observations (children)	5,113	5,113	
Mean of outcome index		0	
Standard deviation of outcome index		1	
County, month-year fes	Y	Y	
Child entry, demographics	Y	Y	

Notes: This table shows OLS and IV results of an outcome index that combines all the outcomes in Table 7 but does the normalization in a different way. Instead of normalizing each outcome variable to have mean 0 and sd 1 in the control (e.g. placement in congregate care) sample, it normalizes each outcome variable to have mean 0 and sd 1 in the entire outcome sample (across control and treatment, or placement in both congregate care and non-kin family placements). Both regressions include county and month x year fixed effects and the child entry and demographic controls used in Table 7. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

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Table A42: Heterogeneous IV Treatment Effects

	Outcome: Outcome Index							
	Subsample:	Subsample:	Subsample:	Subsample:	Subsample:	Subsample:	Subsample:	
	Female	Male	Age 14-15	Age 16-17	Black	Hispanic	White	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Initial Placement with	1.143	3.901	1.678	2.340	2.461	3.092	0.584	
Non-kin Family	(0.637)	(1.119)	(0.929)	(0.948)	(3.119)	(0.872)	(1.566)	
Number observations (children)	2967	2146	2069	3044	1532	1051	2265	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Child demographic and entry controls	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
First stage F-stat	23.56	20.14	22.32	30.13	5.04	17.72	11.11	
Mean of Index in Subsample	1.24	0.685	1.14	0.920	0.998	1.23	0.906	

Notes: These results show IV regressions of the main economic and social outcome index, described in Section 2.3 which includes variables on employment, enrollment, incarceration, homelessness and substance abuse referrals for different subsamples. Column (1)-(2) looks at these regressions for female and male children. Column (3)-(4) looks at these regressions for children whose entry into foster care is between ages 14-15, and ages 16-17. Column (5)-(7) look at these regressions for black, hispanic and white children. All regressions have county and month x year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the county-level.

Table A43: Descriptive Evidence on Foster Family Preferences

	Placement with	Non-Kin Foster Family
	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	0.545	0.527
	(0.004)	(0.006)
Sex: male	-0.195	-0.211
	(0.002)	(0.003)
Race: black	-0.050	-0.071
	(0.004)	(0.006)
Race: white	-0.00001	-0.042
	(0.004)	(0.006)
Race: hispanic	0.004	0.009
	(0.004)	(0.006)
Age: 15	-0.060	-0.065
	(0.003)	(0.004)
Age: 16	-0.084	-0.090
	(0.003)	(0.004)
Age: 17	-0.093	-0.099
	(0.003)	(0.004)
Observations	231,342	93,606
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.050	0.066

*Notes*: This table presents OLS regressions of an indicator variable for placement with non-kin foster family on entry (versus placement in congregate care). Column (1) includes all child entries for children with non-missing demographics entering between the ages of 14 and 17. Column (2) includes child entries in county-month-years where at least 10 children entered in the same county-month-year. The reference group for race is asian pacific islander and native american, and the reference group for age is entering at 14 years old. Standard errors clustered at the county level are given in parentheses.

Table A44: Treatment Effects for Boys and Girls

	Give B Father				Incarceration		Homelessness		s Substance Abuse		Employment or Enrollment	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Initial placement with	0.0356	-0.170	0.210	0.625	-0.157	-0.662	-0.183	-0.584	-0.120	-0.361	0.0971	0.310
non-kin family	(0.200)	(0.188)	(0.102)	(0.323)	(0.106)	(0.250)	(0.163)	(0.255)	(0.114)	(0.154)	(0.327)	(0.359)
Number observations (children)	2958	2106	2957	2141	2934	2105	2939	2097	2924	2087	2967	2146
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Instrument						non-kin ex	xits month					
Mean of outcome	0.352	0.167	0.900	0.891	0.146	0.341	0.320	0.327	0.111	0.151	0.697	0.672

Notes: This table shows treatment effects of placement with a non-kin family on a variety of outcomes using the instrumental variable on two different subsets of foster children, males and females. Odd columns provide results for females, and even columns provide results for males. Columns (1)-(2) use an outcome variable that is an indicator for whether the youth has given birth herself, or the youth has fathered any children who were born in the past 2 years. Columns (3)-(4) use an outcome variable that is an indicator for whether the youth "knows an adult who he or she can go to for advice or guidance when there is a decision to make or a problem solve, or for companionship when celebrating personal achievements". See Table 7 for definitions of the outcomes in Columns (5)-(12). No regression specifications include child entry or demographic controls. All specifications include county and month x year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A45: Outcome Indices and Treatment Effects by Sex

			Main Outo	come Index	Main Out	come Index	Main O	utcome Index	
	Main Outo	come Index	Adding i	in Having	Rem	oving	Adding in 1	Having Children	
			Chil	Children		Incarceration		and Removing Incarceration	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Initial placement with	1.143	3.901	1.177	4.183	0.754	2.500	0.787	2.783	
non-kin family	(0.637)	(1.119)	(0.717)	(1.342)	(0.517)	(0.798)	(0.609)	(1.017)	
Number observations (children)	2.967	2,146	2.967	2,146	2.967	2,146	2.967	2,146	
County, month x year fes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Instrument	non-kin exits month								
Mean of outcome	1.24	0.685	1.10	0.941	0.893	0.742	0.752	0.997	
SD of outcome	1.91	2.25	2.28	2.47	1.53	1.61	1.95	1.85	

Notes: This table shows treatment effects of placement with a non-kin family on a variety of outcomes using the instrumental variable on two different subsets of foster children, males and females. Columns (1) and (2) recreate the results for the main outcome index used in Table 7 split out by females and males. This includes normalized outcomes for employment or enrollment, incarceration, homelessness and substance abuse. Columns (3) and (4) change the index in columns (1) and (2) by adding in the z-score of the outcome variable for giving birth or fathering a child. The z-scores are calculated by subtracting the control group mean and dividing by the control group standard deviation. Columns (5) and (6) change the index in columns (1) and (2) by removing the z-score for incarceration from the outcome index. Columns (7) and (8) change the index in columns (1) and (2) by both removing the z-score for incarceration from the outcome index and adding in the z-score for the outcome variable for giving brith or fathering a child. County and month x year fixed effects are included throughout. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Table A46: Counterfactuals on Scarcity and Allocation: No Control Function

Counterfactual	Mean Outcome (Index)	Mean Outcome - Baseline Mean Outcome 90% Confidence Interval	Proportion less than baseline
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Baseline	0.953	-	<del>-</del>
Add 50% families	1.036	[0.096, 0.141]	0
Random matching	1.004	[-0.001, 0.042]	0.088
Place twice as many boys as girls	1.027	[0.001, 0.057]	0.044
Optimal matching on observables	1.052	[0.046, 0.116]	0
Optimal matching on observables and unobservables	-	-	-

*Notes*: This table computes counterfactual outcomes for children in county-month-years that have a child in the survey data and have non-trivial variation in placement. It uses the standard probit placement equation to simulate placements and uses an OLS model interacting the main child demographic observables (sex, race, age) with treatment (placement with a family) to simulate outcomes. Column (2) gives 90% confidence intervals for the difference between the counterfactual mean and the baseline mean using block bootstrap where counties are blocks and I use 250 bootstrap replications. Column (3) gives the proportion of simulations of these 250 bootstrap replications where the counterfactual mean is less than the baseline using the same bootstrap technique. The details of each counterfactual are provided in the text. There is no optimal matching on unobservables in this model since there is no model for  $\xi_i$  in this setup.

Table A47: California Basic Foster Care Rates

Year	Age 0-4	Age 5-8	Age 9-11	Age 12-14	Age 15-21
2005	414	450	479	533	580
2006	398.36	433	460.9	512.86	558.09
2007	390.94	424.94	452.32	503.31	547.69
2008	371.24	403.52	429.52	477.94	520.09
2009	339.51	368.63	392.3	436.9	475.13
2010	335.65	364.44	387.84	431.93	469.73
2011	323.5	351.25	373.8	416.3	452.73
2012	545.86	591.07	621.77	650.77	681.48
2013	551.87	597.23	628.31	657.71	688.79
2014	554.18	599.6	630.98	660.72	692.1
2015	566.9	613.05	645.18	675.67	707.81

Notes: Basic monthly rates (stipends) for foster care in California in 2005 dollars.