

ALASKA LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE FILES

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SHES

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(Courtney et al., 2001). Barth's (1990) study of young adults previously in care in the San Francisco area found that 47% received welfare.

- **Poor health:** Barth (1990) reported that approximately 44% of his sample had experienced a serious illness or accident since exiting care, and 24% had required hospitalization. The relative financial difficulties of groups of alumni would indicate that obtaining health care would be a problem. Pecora and colleagues (Pecora et al., 2005a) found that 33% of their sample had no health insurance at the time of the interview. In the Wisconsin study (Courtney et al., 2001), 44% of the young adults reported having difficulty acquiring needed health care all or most of the time.
- **Drug and alcohol abuse:** Substance abuse is associated with a history of maltreatment (Briere, 1992). Substance use has been found to be relatively common among adolescents in foster care (Courtney et al., 2001), and studies of adults formerly in foster care have shown that much of this use continues: 50% of the respondents in the national Westat study (Cook et al., 1991) reported using illegal drugs, similar to national rates, while 42% reported using alcohol, less than the national rate. In contrast, the Northwest Alumni Study found that foster care alumni were significantly more likely to have a lifetime history of alcohol or drug dependence than a demographically matched sample, and significantly more likely to be drug-dependent currently (past 12 months).
- **Criminal behaviors:** Previous alumni studies have generally found arrest rates of 25% to 40%, with 14% to 22% spending time in jail (McDonald et al., 1996). For example, Barth (1990) found that 31% of the alumni interviewed had been arrested, and 26% had spent time in jail or prison. These rates are generally equal to or greater than those of general population comparison groups (McDonald et al., 1996).
- **Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other mental health problems:** Foster children generally experience a number of risk factors that may lead to poor mental health. Most prominent among these is abuse and neglect (Briere, 1992); adults who have suffered more types of child maltreatment have higher levels of anxiety and depression (Edwards, Holden, Felitti, & Anda, 2003). Previous foster care alumni studies have found high rates of depression and other emotional disorders and of mental health service usage (McDonald et al., 1996). More recently, the Northwest study (Pecora et al., 2005a) compared foster care alumni to a matched, nationally representative incidence sample using a diagnostic interview. A significantly larger proportion of alumni had lifetime histories of a psychological disorder: 54% of alumni versus 22% in the general population. Among specific disorders, the highest lifetime rates were for major depressive episode (41% of the alumni, versus 20% of the general population) and PTSD (30% versus 7%). While a large proportion of those with a history of major depression had not experienced an episode

within the past 12 months (the rate decreased to 20%), the past 12 month rate for PTSD (25%) illustrated that most of those who had suffered in the past from PTSD were still suffering.

- Low educational achievement: Education is an important goal of our society, not just to acquire knowledge itself but to a larger extent because education is a key to self-sufficiency (Mech, 2003). A number of authors have noted that many foster children have a variety of school difficulties, resulting in low achievement (Blome, 1997; Burley & Halpern, 2001; Courtney et al., 2001; Courtney et al., 2005; Downs & Caldwell, 2003; McDonald et al., 1996; Mech, 1994; Wertheimer, 2002). The US General Accounting Office (as cited in Mech, 2003) found that 30% to 46% of foster youth emancipating from care do so without a high school diploma. Although many youth in care aspire to pursue education beyond high school (Courtney et al., 2001), few are able to do so (Cook et al., 1991; Courtney et al., 2001; McDonald et al., 1996). While a number start out to pursue this goal—the Northwest study found that 43% of alumni had some post-secondary education or training—few complete a degree or certificate—16% of Northwest alumni had completed a vocational degree or certificate and 1.8% had completed college (Pecora et al., 2005a). In the national independent living study (Cook et al., 1991), a vast majority (74%) of young adults cited finances as the major deterrent to further education.

Preparing Foster Youth for Adulthood

Professionals have documented the need to begin teaching life skills to foster care youth in early adolescence to maximize the potential for successful independence (Mallon, 1992). This investment increases the chances for youth to pursue education, gain employment, and enter into productive lives (Mech, 2001, 2003). Unfortunately, programs may be too little, too late for youth who have experienced multiple traumas through abuse, neglect, and childhoods characterized by instability and multiple placements.

Independent living programs have been developed to mitigate the risk factors for emancipating foster care youth (Barth, 1986; Cook, 1988; Irvine, 1988; Mallon, 1998; Mauzerall, 1983; McMillen & Tucker, 1999; Mech, 1994; Scannapieco, Schagrin, & Scannapieco, 1995; Stoner, 1999; Timberlake, Pasztor, Sheagren, Clarren, & Lammert, 1987). A full range of services are recommended for these programs, including: HIV prevention (Auslander, 1998); cultural identity development (Gavazzi & Alford, 1996); money management, credit, and consumer education (Cook, 1994; McMillen, Rideout, Fisher, & Tucker, 1997); survival and socialization skills (Mauzerall, 1983); and employment skills (North et al., 1988).

Beyond skills training, adolescents in foster care have a myriad of complex needs in their journeys to become successful as young adults (Lammert & Timberlake, 1986). A variety of people is needed to meet their needs. Foster parents are a primary resource for

preparing youth for independence (Mech, 2003; Ryan, McFadden, Rice, & Warren, 1988). For youth with more extensive needs, therapeutic foster parents can provide intensive preparation for healthy development and independence (Hawkins, Meadowcroft, Trout, & Luster, 1985). Mentors provide guidance in a number of realms, including corporate-business mentoring, parenting skills, cultural-empowerment, and life skills mentoring (Mech, 2003; Mech, Pryde, & Rycraft, 1995). Family-of-origin members are often key participants as youth become independent, maintaining relationships well into adulthood (Courtney & Barth, 1996). In addition, various programs and services, including transitional apartments, subsidies, and after-care services, can be effective in helping foster youth make the transition to self-sufficient adulthood (Mech, 2003).

The Current Project

When a child welfare authority takes a youth into care, responsibility for raising the youth resides with that organization. Like any good parent, that organization should desire to know how it is doing in terms of helping that youth become an independent and contributing adult. "Achieving adult self-sufficiency is an expected goal in Western society" (McDonald et al., 1996, p. 41). Child welfare organizations should desire to improve in those areas of development which appear to have been historically lacking.

In an effort to document the fates of foster care alumni, the Child Welfare Evaluation Program developed a study to identify those areas related to independent living and functional adulthood most in need of attention. The current project conducted a follow-up study of foster care alumni functioning and outcomes such as educational achievement, employment, homelessness, and current contributions to their community. This will help the State (particularly but not exclusively the Office of Children's Services) in understanding what factors helped these alumni to live successfully in the community, and what barriers to success they faced.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Selection

The project team for the Alaska Foster Care Alumni Study, composed of representatives from the University of Alaska Anchorage School of Social Work, the State Office of Children's Services (OCS), Casey Family Programs (Casey), and the Tribal-State Collaboration Group, along with the University research team, developed eligibility criteria for the project. As the focus of the study was on independent living preparation, the group wanted to include young adults who had been in state custody for some length of time during adolescence, a key state in preparing for the youth's eventual independence. The criteria were:

- Respondents between 19 and 28
 - Born between 1/1/75 and 1/1/85

- At least one year (continuous) in out-of-home care in state protective custody
 - Includes residential care and other group care
 - Includes licensed and unlicensed relative care
 - Allowing breaks of up to 2 weeks for returns home (trial or otherwise), runaway episodes, etc.
- One year must be between 15 and 18 years of age
- Left care on or after 16th birthday
- Were not in Casey's Alaska Technical Assistance Program
- Could be receiving post-emancipation independent living services, such as scholarship funding.

The State Department of Health and Social Services, particularly the Office of Children's Services, was an integral partner to the alumni study project. OCS constructed a database query based on the eligibility criteria to obtain a list of adults formerly in out-of-home care. Due to the vagaries of OCS' relational database (since replaced by a new information system), the initial list was over-inclusive. Combining the data into a single SPSS dataset allowed for better calculation and determination of eligibility in concert with the State.

Location and Recruitment

Locating and recruiting foster care alumni is a difficult process. Previous foster care follow-up studies have often suffered from low response rates (McDonald et al., 1996; Williams et al., in press). Due to differences between respondents and non-respondents (see, for example, Dillman & Tarnai, 1988, and Groves & Couper, 1998), low response rates may limit the representativeness of the results, although this is not necessarily always the case (Krosnick, 1999). To maximize sample size and coverage substantial efforts need to be made to contact what is often a mobile and/or marginalized segment of the general population. Fortunately, past research has illustrated that, once found, a large proportion of foster care alumni are very willing to share their stories (Williams et al., in press).

All location and recruitment activities (as with all procedures) were conducted under the oversight of the University's Institutional Review Board. Location was a multiple-stage process. In the first stage, OCS queried the Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend (PFD) database for each potential participant. The PFD is a yearly check (based on oil production royalties) sent to each registered Alaskan resident (with provisions for students and members of the military). In order to receive the dividend, generally around \$1000, each resident is required to update his or her address. While the PFD provides not only an incentive to remain in the state but also an unusual resource for locating potential participants, this initial query was less successful than was hoped.

Introductory letters and consent materials were sent to the addresses obtained from the PFD. Many of these turned out to no longer be valid. Between finding an old or otherwise invalid address or no address at all, the majority of the sample required further tracking. This was conducted through a concerted effort involving state and commercial databases, coordinated by a University employee doing follow-up telephone calls. Such an investment of time and resources, combining mail, database, and telephone methods, is necessary to find foster care alumni (Williams et al., in press). The results of the location and interviewing procedures are presented in Table 1. Location of respondents was aided by the awarding of an incentive (\$20) for returning the consent form, even if the alumnus refused to participate. Those who completed the interview were given an additional incentive. At the beginning of production, this amount was \$50. In order to help boost response, the latter amount was increased to \$80 after several months of searching and interviewing. As is common in other studies (Williams et al., in press), this had the effect of increasing sample member responsiveness to the project location efforts.

Table 1. Final location dispositions and response rate

Disposition	Frequency	Percent
Interviewed	66	47.1%
Refused	5	3.6%
Unable to reach during interview period	41	29.3%
Institutionalized, ill, or otherwise incapable of participating	11	7.9%
Incarcerated throughout interviewing period	15	10.7%
Deceased	2	1.4%
Total	140	100.0%
Adjusted response rate (excluding the deceased and those the project was not permitted to interview due to human subjects restrictions: interviews ÷ [starting population - institutionalized - incarcerated - deceased])		58.9%

Instruments and Data Collection

Case File Data

OCS extracted case file data from its computer database (PROBER) to provide background information regarding the young adults to be interviewed. This included demographics, placement and custody data (including placement types and length), and limited information on reported child abuse and neglect. Created variables included:

- o Age at first out-of-home placement
- o Age at end of last out-of-home placement (age at exit)
- o Number of and total time in out-of-home placements: All living situations while in custody except runaways and home placements.

- Placement change rate: For each of the three above types of living situations, the number of situations is divided by the time in those situations.
- Reunification failures: Number of closures between foster care spells (i.e. the number of spells minus one).
- Chronicity of maltreatment: The timing of maltreatment, among other dimensions such as type, has been found to be important in predicting outcomes (English, Graham, Litrownick, Everson, & Bangdiwala, in press). Important variables to consider include the timing of the first reported maltreatment and the number of reports.
- Number of types of maltreatment: Of physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, and emotional maltreatment (which includes "emotional injury" and abandonment).

Interview

In order to maximize comparability with other studies of foster care alumni and the general population, the questionnaire for this study was developed from previously used instruments and interviews. Most items had been used in Casey's National and Northwest Alumni Studies, which in turn utilized items from previous work, including numerous studies conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan (UM SRC). When applicable, all items were used by permission. The constructs assessed in the interview are presented below:

- A validity-enhancing question designed to maximize honesty and effort in replying, found in previous UM SRC studies to improve validity (Ron Kessler, personal communication, 2 October 2000).
- Household composition: standard question series from the UM SRC.
- Educational achievement: adapted from the National Comorbidity Survey Replication (NCS-R; www.hcp.med.harvard.edu/ncs/), conducted by UM SRC.
- Employment: from NCS-R.
- Personal income: from NCS-R.
- Use of public assistance: from the Starting Early Starting Smart (SESS) Project Intake Module, with permission of the SESS Steering Committee and Data Coordinating Center. (See www.health.org/promos/SESS).
- Health insurance coverage: from SESS.
- General physical and mental health: the SF-12® Health Survey (SF-12, version 1; © 1994, 2002 by Medical Outcomes Trust and QualityMetric Incorporated)

- Mentor while in foster care: adapted from NCS-R, with follow-up questions developed by the project team.
- Siblings in care: question series created by the project team.
- Agency resource support for transition: from the Wisconsin Young Adult Study (Wave 2 Instrument), conducted by the University of Wisconsin Survey Center (see Courtney et al., 2001).
- Overall preparedness for independent living at emancipation: subjective self-rating, from the Wisconsin Young Adult Study.
- Homelessness: series adapted from NCS-R and the Wisconsin Young Adult Study.
- Pregnancies or impregnation: series adapted from NCS-R.
- Children involved with CPS: single question developed by the project team.
- Arrests and incarceration: series adapted from NCS-R.
- Use of drug/alcohol and mental health services: series from NCS-R.
- Past month alcohol and drug use: from the follow-up interview of the Quality Outcomes Leadership Alliance (QOLA) study (Mason et al., 2003).
- Positive and negative social support: from relatives not living with the respondent, friends, and former foster family members; adapted from NCS-R.
- Number of friends and any friends formerly in foster care: from the Wisconsin Young Adult Study.
- Contact with biological family since leaving care: from the Wisconsin Young Adult Study.
- Life satisfaction: satisfaction with life in general, living environment, school, and work; from the QOLA study.
- Ethnicity, including primary ethnicity: adapted from NCS-R, using Census categories with the exception that Hispanic or Latino was included as a category, not a separate dimension.
- Ethnic identity: the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), which assesses ethnic identity search and sense of affirmation, belonging, and commitment in diverse populations.
- Reflections on foster care: two open-ended questions, used in the Casey Alumni Studies, regarding important people or experiences and what the respondent thinks could have been done better to help her/him.

Data Collection

CWEP contracted with a marketing research and polling firm to supervise and provide space and equipment for MSW student interviewers. These students were trained in general telephone interviewing as well as the specifics of the current interview and the Computer-Aided Telephone Interviewing system used by the interviewing contractor. Each completed a practice interview (which served as a pretest, resulting in minor changes to the instrument before proceeding). Some interviews were conducted by contractor supervisors, as well.

After receiving signed consent forms, CWEP sent the contractor lists of sample members with contact information. For a number of participants, the address and telephone number given in their consent form was no longer valid when the interviewer attempted first contact, resulting in more tracking effort. When a respondent was reached, they could complete the 20- to 25-minute interview then or schedule a time to do so.

RESULTS

Whole Population Variables

Population Demographics

Foster care alumni are a different population from other adults. There are a number of factors associated with entering foster care, including maltreatment, ethnicity (Downs & Caldwell, 2003), and poverty (Kortenkamp & Ehrle, 2002), that create substantial differences between foster care populations and other populations the same age. As seen in Table 2, 70 of the 140 foster care alumni eligible for the study were listed in their electronic case files as being Alaskan Native or American Indian. When compared to a general population (all ages) rate of 15.6% for Alaska, this reflects the overrepresentation of Native youth in the child welfare system. The alumni population also had twice the proportion of African Americans as Alaska in general. Nearly 53% of this population was female, compared to 48.4% of Alaskans under the age of 20 and 48.7% of all US citizens under 20, according to 2000 Census data.

Table 2. Case file-defined ethnicity and gender for the whole population (N=140).

	Alumni population	Current OCS youth ^a	Alaska (2000)
American Indian or Alaska Native	50.0%	61.0%	15.6%
African American	7.1%	7.8%	3.5%
Hispanic/Latino	2.9%	1.8%	4.1% ^b
Caucasian	37.9%	27.9%	67.6%
Other/unknown	2.1%	.2%	11.5%
Female	52.9%	49.3%	48.3%

^a As of 1 September 2004 (Kristen Tromble, OCS, personal communication, 20 April 2005)

^b In Census data, Hispanics may appear in other non-white categories.

Child Abuse and Neglect

This population had very diverse childhood experiences. Ninety-five percent of the population (excluding one case for whom records had not been imported from the state from which the youth had transferred) had from 1 to 20 (trimmed for analysis¹) reports of child abuse and neglect filed with the State, with an average of nearly five (4.7). The distribution of number of reports of harm is presented in Table 3. Note that while these are reports of harm and not necessarily substantiated cases, there is literature to suggest that the distinction between substantiated and unsubstantiated reports is largely meaningless, particularly in terms of child outcomes (Hussey et al., 2002).

On the average, the first report of harm came before the youth's 10th birthday (at 9.8 years of age, ranging from a little over 4 months of age to over 18 years and 8 months). Over 86% had 1 to 9 (trimmed for analysis) reports of harm before entering care for the first time, with an average of 2.5. Less than 6 in 10 alumni (58.3%) had a report of harm filed after they first entered out-of-home care. This may have occurred while in a trial home placement, while the case was closed, or while in another non-foster care situation.

Table 3. Reports of harm recorded in case files, overall and before and after first entering care (N=140).

Number of reports	Total	Before first placement	After first placement ^a
0	5.0%	13.7%	41.7%
1 to 2	39.6%	59.7%	30.2%
3 to 4	17.3%	11.5%	12.2%
5 to 6	15.1%	6.5%	7.2%
7 or more	23.0%	8.6%	8.6%
Average (S.D.)	4.4 (4.32)	2.1 (2.31)	2.1 (2.93)

^a Incidents after the first placement were not necessarily while the youth was in out-of-home placement. They may have occurred while the case was closed or during a trial home placement, etc.

Maltreatment as reported in OCS files can be divided into four subtypes: Neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse (includes the OCS category of out-of-home sexual abuse), and emotional maltreatment (combines mental injury and abandonment). The experience of maltreatment by subtype is presented in Table 4. The child protective services (CPS) records allowed for only one primary and one secondary referral reason for each report,

¹ Trimming is a commonly-used procedure for reducing the influence of extreme values of a continuous variable. When an extreme value is on the high end, as with all trimmed variables in this study, it has a great effect on calculating the average. Trimming the extreme value(s) results in a slightly lower but more stable estimate of population means (averages). Extreme values were those more than 3 times the interquartile range—the difference between the 25th and 75th percentiles—above the 75th percentile. All variables with extreme values were trimmed before reporting means and standard deviations.

unlike other states that may record six or more reports of harm for each referral. In addition, Alaska does not appear to emphasize emotional maltreatment as other states do. For these two reasons, it is difficult to compare referral data between Alaska and other jurisdictions. For example, in 1999, of children with substantiated maltreatment reported to the Federal government (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2001), 48% were victims of psychological maltreatment in North Dakota, 50% in Connecticut, and 54% in Maine, compared to 8% in Alaska.

Table 4. Maltreatment types experienced, per CPS reports of harm (N=140).

	Total	Before first placement	After first placement ^a
Neglect	69.1%	60.4%	36.7%
Physical abuse	56.1%	41.7%	26.6%
Sexual abuse	52.5%	29.5%	33.8%
Emotional maltreatment	16.5%	10.1%	10.1%
Number of types (S.D.)	1.9 (1.01)	1.4 (0.90)	1.1 (1.15)

^a Incidents after the first placement were not necessarily while the youth was in out-of-home placement. They may have occurred while the case was closed, during a trial home placement, etc.

Placement: Dates, Timing, Types, Length

The average alumnus in this population entered their first out-of-home placement at 10 years and 7½ months of age, and left care at 18 years and 5½ months of age. The alumni in this population left care between 1991 and 2004. The average length of time in out-of-home care (i.e. excluding home visits, returns home, and runaways) was nearly 7 years (6.9). For most of the sample (78.6%), this time in care came in one spell (or period of state custody); the other 30 out of 140 had at least one case closure followed by a return to care for a second (or even fourth or sixth) episode of being in OCS custody.

The alumni often experienced great turmoil within a spell of foster care. The average number of out-of-home placements (across all spells) was 13.2. This number ranged from 1 to 44 with 60% having more than 8 out-of-home placements (or 9 living situations, when runaways and home placements are included) reported in their case files. Put another way, the average alumnus experienced more than two (2.1) placements for every year in out-of-



home care. In addition, 35% of the population had one to five runaway episodes recorded in the case data, with an average total time on runaway status of over 2 months (65.5 days).

Out of the 140 alumni in the sample, 33 (23.6%) had one or more out-of-state placement. This included 14 (10.0%) who experienced a stay in out-of-state residential care. Such an outside placement did not always bring any more stability of placement: 8 of the 14 with any out-of-state residential care stays had more than one.

Child welfare services are more frequently turning to relative placement, particularly in Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) cases, as a way to provide a theoretically superior context for maintaining birth family relationships, providing permanency, and reducing costs (National Commission on Family Foster Care, 1991, as cited in: American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000; Beeman, Kim, & Bullerdick, 2000). Over half of the current population (55.7%) had at least one placement episode with a relative, whether licensed or unlicensed. Altogether, these placements added up to an average of over 2 years (799.6 days) across an average of almost 3 (2.7) placement episodes, among those with any such placements. In contrast, almost all members of the population (94.3%) had at least one non-relative foster care placement (including emergency foster homes, pre- and foster-adoptive placements, and adoptive homes). Among those with any, the average number of non-relative foster placements was nearly 8 (7.7), comprising an average of 4 years and almost 10 months. Overall, the average proportion of time in out-of-home care spent in relative placements was 20.2%, while the average spent in non-relative foster care was 62.8%.

Whole Population Outcomes

Almost a Quarter Moved Out of State

A substantial proportion (22.9%) of potential respondents had moved from Alaska to the Lower 48 states. A few were in the military. It is not just those who were placed out of state that were living outside of Alaska during the interviewing period. In fact, of the 32 population members (out of 140) found to be living in the lower 49, 20 were never placed out of state while in care. Of those who moved, one-third moved to the Pacific Northwest states of California, Washington, and Oregon. Another one-sixth moved to other Western states: Nevada, Idaho, and Utah. Five moved to Midwest states of Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Ohio, and Kansas, while four moved to Texas. Three moved to the east coast states of Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia. Two moved to the southern states of Florida and Georgia, and one moved to Hawaii. The locations of the alumni are summarized in Figures 1 and 2.

Almost Two-thirds Stayed in Alaska

Eighty-eight potential respondents, or 62.8%, remained in Alaska. As seen in Figure 1, almost half of those who remained in Alaska resided in Anchorage, where half the state's population resides. Eleven (7.9%) resided on the Kenai Peninsula and 6.4% in the

Matanuska-Susitna Borough, large regions connected to Anchorage by the road system (unlike the bulk of the state).

A total of six resided in the Interior Census Areas of Fairbanks North Star Borough and the Yukon-Koyukuk, and twelve resided in southeast Alaska Census Districts of Juneau, Ketchikan Gateway Borough, Valdez-Cordova, Sitka, and Wrangell-Petersberg. Eight potential respondents resided in the Bethel or Wade-Hampton Census Districts, which are located in the Yup'ik areas of Southwest Alaska. Five resided in the Inupiat communities of northwest and northern Alaska: Nome, Northwest Arctic (Kotzebue), and North Slope (Barrow) Census Districts. Three had unknown locations in Alaska.

Many Were in Difficult Straits

Of those for whom a recent address could not be found, eight were found to be in prison in the Alaska or Federal system. In addition, seven other alumni for whom recent addresses were found were imprisoned for the duration of the interview period. For five others, including two who were deceased, no addresses could be found. Considerable effort went into finding alumni, including searches of state licensure (e.g., Department of Motor Vehicles) and payment (e.g., Medicaid, PFD) databases as well as location resources that rely upon credit report headers, legally available information generated by financial transactions such as signing up for a credit card or initiating cell phone service. Not finding even an old address for an individual by such methods may well be an indication that the person has "fallen through the cracks": Previous research has shown that the difficult to locate frequently have weak community ties (for example, less involvement in neighborhood, community, or religious groups) and low income and education levels (Groves & Couper, 1998; Keeter, 1995) and tend to lack a permanent home or be ill or otherwise incapacitated (Bailey, 1987).

Non-response Bias

It is important to determine the extent of non-response bias by examining whether there are any differences between those who were interviewed and those who were not. If no differences are found, one can be more confident (although not completely so) that the participants found are representative of those not found. Using PROBER data, the 66 who were interviewed were compared to the 74 who were not. Examining variables individually provided evidence that the two groups differed in gender, with females significantly more likely than males to be interviewed. When analyzing the potential predictors in combination, however, there was no consistent, significant model: No variable, including gender, consistently predicted non-response.²

² In a cross-validation stepwise regression procedure, gender was a significant predictor in one model ($p = .046$), with a random half of the population, but did not appear in the second model developed in the other half of the population. Note that the power of this analysis was limited by the sample size.

Respondent Interview Outcomes

Demographics of Interviewees

Age, gender, and ethnicity of the interviewed sample are presented in Figures 3 and 4. The average age of respondents was just over 23 years. Over 36% were 21 or younger, while almost 29% were 25 or older. Almost two-thirds of respondents were female (63.6%); almost half (47.0%) reported Alaska Native as their primary ethnicity. Another 41% were Caucasian, while 4.5% identified as African American. Only two (3%) identified their primary ethnicity as Hispanic or Latino or another ethnicity. Three respondents (4.5%) identified themselves as being bi- or multi-ethnic.

Figure 1. Alumni locations by region

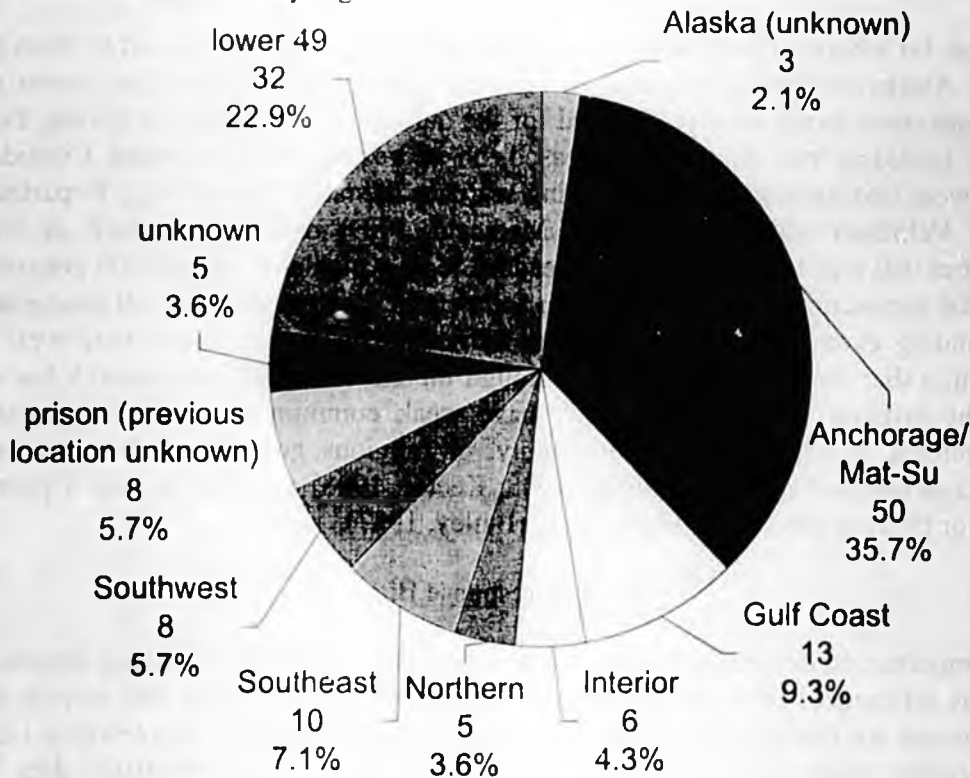


Figure 2. Geographic dispersion of the alumni within Alaska.

- 1 alumnus
- 2 alumni
- 4 alumni
- 6 or 7 alumni
- 9 or 11 alumni
- 41 alumni

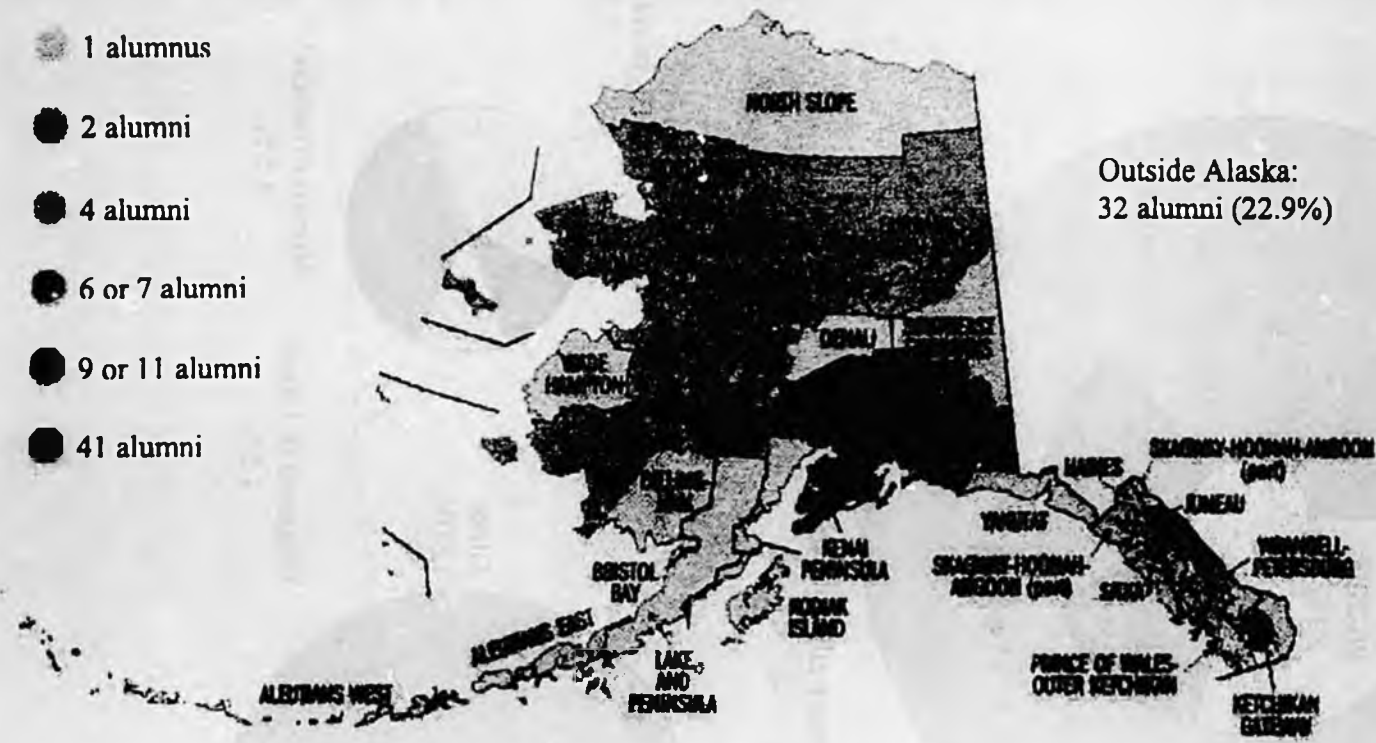
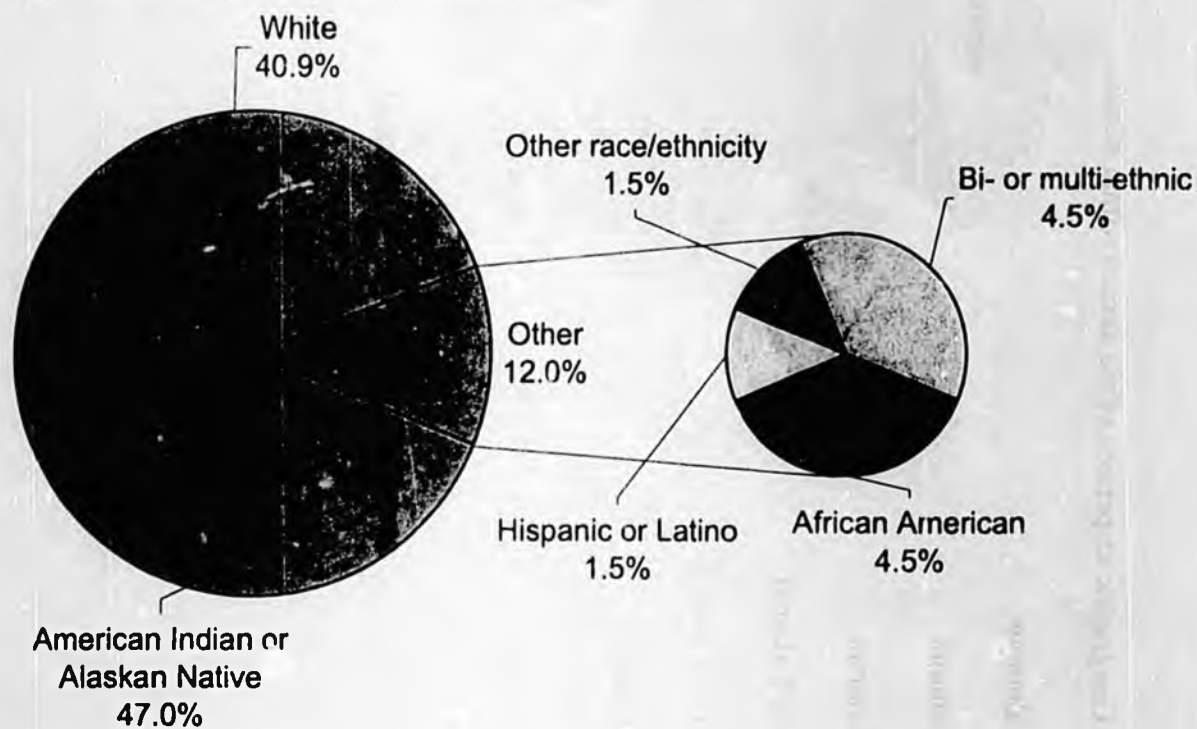


Figure 3. Age and gender of respondents (N = 66).



Figure 4. Self-reported primary ethnicity (N = 66).



Socio-emotional Outcomes

Relationships with adults while in care

Respondents were asked in the interview about some of their experiences in care. Over three-quarters of the alumni (75.8%) reported having had a close relationship with an adult while in foster care. Almost three-quarters reported of these still being in contact with these adults (72.0%). As seen in Figure 5, foster parents were most frequently mentioned as providing this needed bond, while several others mentioned birth family members, particularly extended family members (3% mentioned aunts and 3% grandparents). Seventeen percent reported having close relationships with other mentors, including teachers, group home house parents, and guardians ad litem.

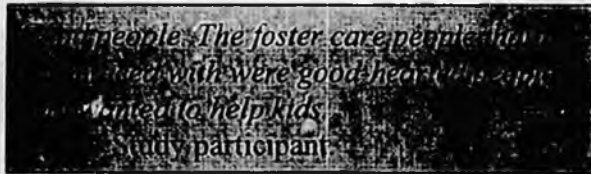
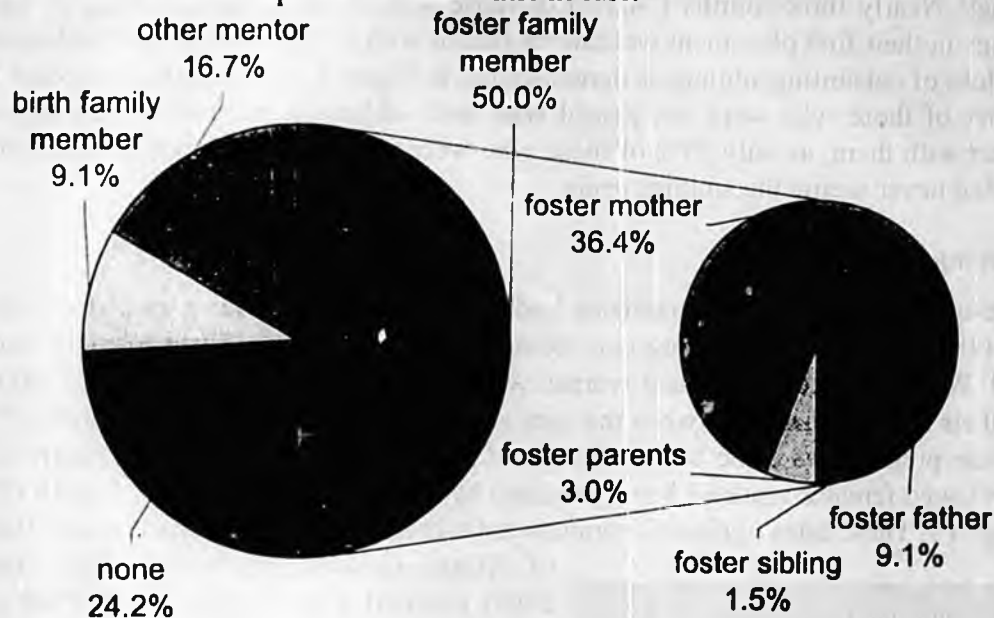


Figure 5. Close relationship with an adult while in care.



In describing why these relationships were important, respondents mentioned a variety of reasons:

- The importance of setting and striving towards goals: *My foster parents taught me to set goals and accomplish them. Even if you don't see a reward there is one at some point of time.*
- Emotional growth and support: *She gave me hope. She was my teacher and she didn't have children of her own but she was willing to help me, so she became my foster mother.*

- Teaching life skills: *He treated me like a son; taught me how to cook, to clean, to be a man.*
- Supporting educational achievement: *They did a lot, like help me with school, homework, and encouraged me to finish. They loved me and were good role models.*

Siblings

Research is beginning to document the benefits of keeping sibling groups together when appropriate (Herrick & Piccus, 2005; Leathers, 2005; Tarren-Sweeney & Hazell, 2005). Unfortunately, it appears that many of the alumni found it difficult to maintain sibling bonds while in care: Less than 9% (8.5%) of those with siblings were placed with all of their siblings in their first foster home (not an initial emergency placement), and nearly 63% (62.7%) were placed with none of their siblings. Nearly three-fourths (74.5%) of those who were not placed with all of their siblings in their first placement were never placed with at least one of their siblings later. This loss of cohabiting siblings is demonstrated in Figure 6. Fortunately, it appears that a number of those who were not placed with their siblings were able to maintain some contact with them, as only 29% of those who were not placed with one or more siblings reported never seeing the siblings again.



Parenthood

Three-quarters of female respondents had been pregnant, as shown in Table 5. Nearly half (48.4%) of those reporting ever being pregnant had given birth to more than one child. With the exception of one woman whose first pregnancy was at age 29, all others had their first pregnancy between the ages of 14 and 24. More than three-fourths (77.4%) of these pregnancies came before the age of 20, 13% before 18. Overall, nearly 1 in 10 interviewed females reported being pregnant by the age of 17, but nearly 6 in 10 (57.1%) by age 19. These rates *appear* to compare unfavorably with the statewide rates: The State of Alaska (Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics, 2005) reported a pregnancy rate in 2003 of less than 3% for females between 15 and 17 years of age, and less than 6% of those between 15 and 19 (note that one woman in the current sample reported being pregnant at 14). While the statewide rates are for a single year, the prevalence rates for the current sample are over 3 (for under 18) and nearly 10 (for under 20) times the one year incidence rates. Thus, while not a perfect comparison, this contrast indicates a high rate of early pregnancy among foster care alumni.

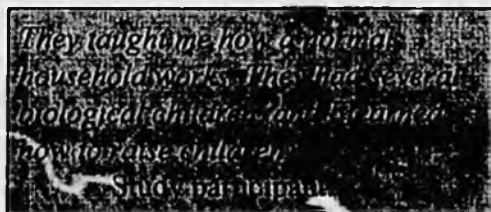
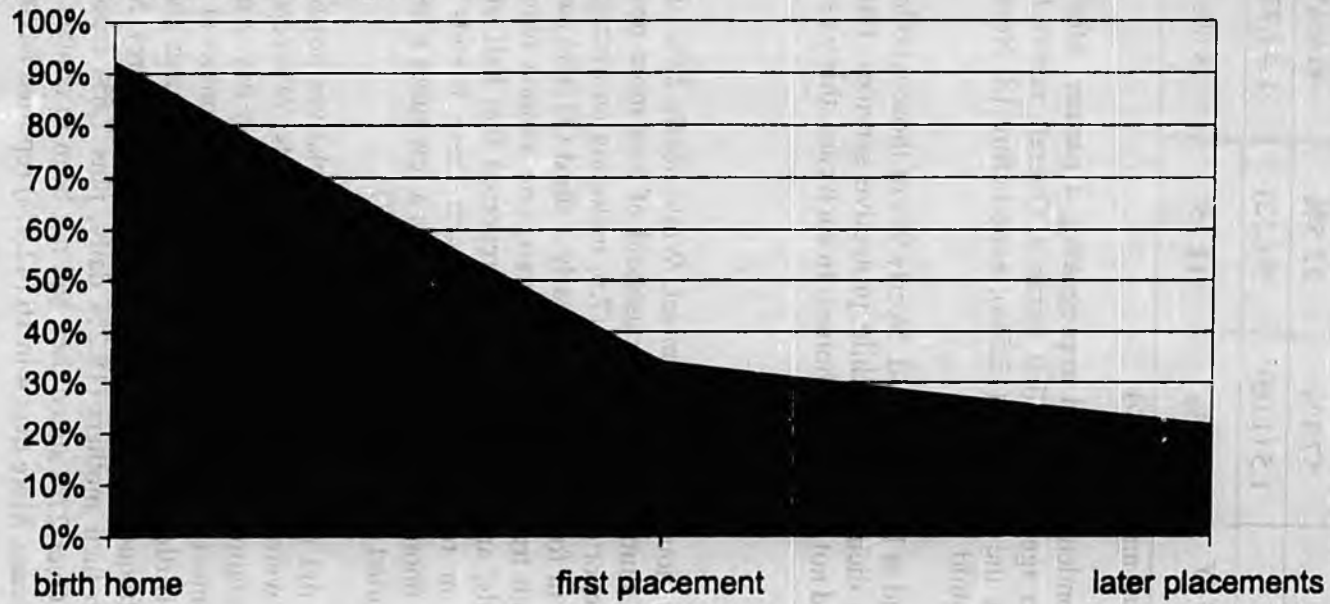


Figure 6. Placement with siblings over time.



12 (100%)	30 (75%)	15 (125%)
4 (33%)	3 (23%)	4 (33%)
8 (67%)	27 (68%)	11 (88%)
10 (83%)	50 (75%)	26 (77%)
6 (50%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)
2 (17%)	1 (2%)	1 (8%)
Examples:	100%	0%
*Percentages are based on number of siblings		

Table 5. Pregnancy and impregnation.

	Average (S.D.) or percent of sample		
	Females	Males	All
Ever pregnant or impregnated a partner:	73.8%	41.7%	62.1%*
Resulting in any births	61.9%	37.5%	53.0%
Age at first pregnancy/impregnation:	19.1 (2.72)	20.4 (1.65)	19.4 (2.55)
17 or under	9.5%	0	6.1%
19 or under	57.1%	12.5%	40.9%*
Number of births	1.5 (1.06)	.9 (.32)	1.4 (.97)
Ever had child removed from home by CPS (of those with live births)	7.7%	11.1%	8.6%

* Significant difference between females and males ($p < .05$)

Less than half (41.7%) of male respondents reported impregnating a partner. Most of these (7 of the 10) reported being over age 19 at the first instance. Overall, nearly 13% reported impregnating a partner before the age of 20 (12.5%), none before 18. None of the males had fathered more than one child.

Of all interviewed alumni, 53% had had at least one child. Nearly 9% of those who had a child had had a child removed from their home by child protective services. Fifteen percent had biological children who did not live in their homes. In each case, this was one biological child.

Social contact and support

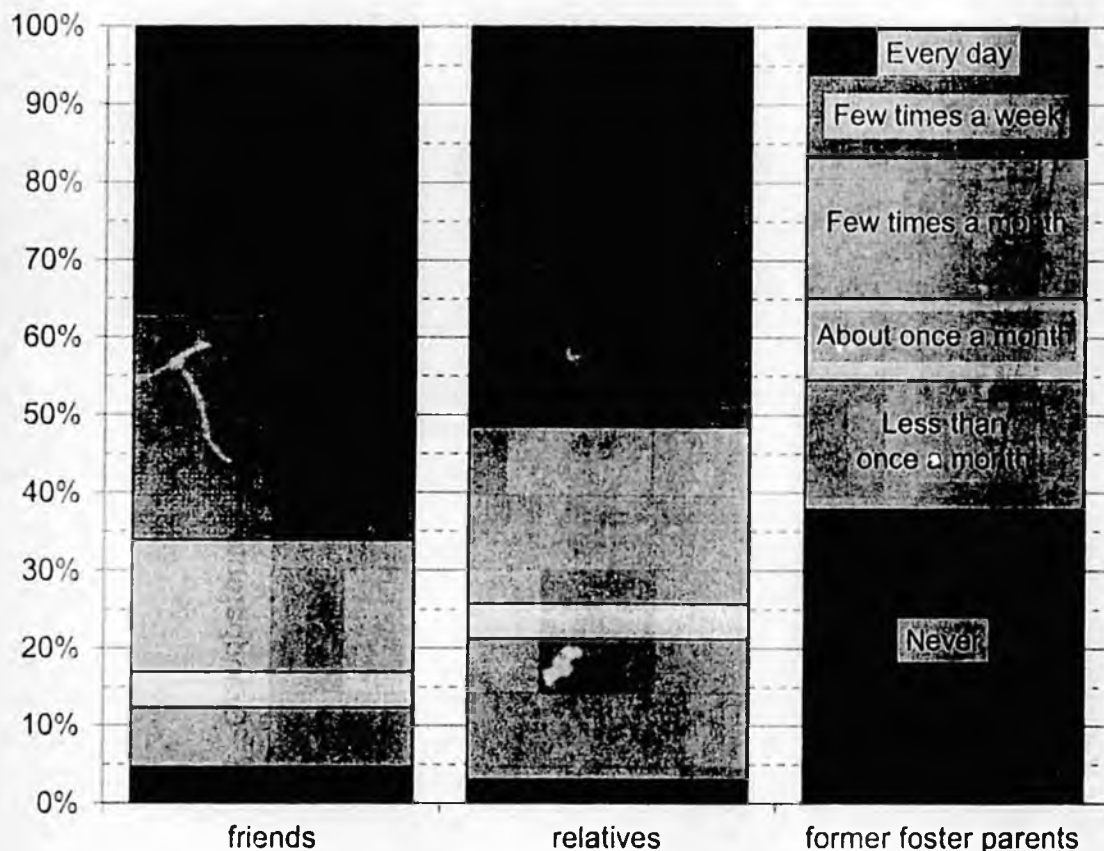
Most Alaska alumni reported a great amount of social contact. While nearly 23% of the respondents lived alone, about 1 in 5 alumni lived in a household of 5 or more people. The average number of friends they reported was nearly 8 (7.6, including an average of 2.4 friends who had themselves been in foster care), with nearly a third (31.3%) saying they had 9 or more friends. (Although trimmed for the analysis, one alumna reported having approximately 60 close friends, and another alumnus reported that half of his approximately 30 friends had been in foster care.) Contact with these friends was frequent: 82% reported talking on the phone or visiting with friends a few times a month or more, including over 36% who reported daily contact (see Figure 7).

Only 2 alumni (3%) stated that they did not have any contact with relatives not living with them. Interactions with relatives were less frequent than with friends: 74% reported multiple monthly contacts, with 23% stating they spoke with relatives every day. Among relatives, alumni reported the most contact with siblings (50.0% reporting contact at least a few times a month; see Figure 8). Birth mothers were the next most frequent contact among relatives (40.9% reporting a frequency of a few times a month or more). Many alumni had either much contact with their mothers (18.2% daily, plus 7.6% reporting several times a week) or none at all: Over 27% stated they had not been in contact with their biological mothers since leaving care. More than 4 in 10 (42.4%) reported having no

contact with their fathers since leaving care, while nearly 2 in 10 (19.7%) reported having no contact with their siblings.

Over 6 in 10 alumni (62.1%) of the alumni interviewed said that they had remained in contact with former foster parents since leaving care. A majority of these spoke with a former foster parent at least a few times a month (56.1% of those who remained in contact, or 34.8% of all interviewees).

Figure 7. Frequency of social contact with friends, relatives, and former foster parents.



Respondents were asked a series of questions to assess the positive and negative social support they experience from their social relations. Positive social support was defined as having social contacts who are understanding, reliable, and listeners with whom the respondent can “open up.” By contrast, negative support referred to how often these contacts make demands, argue with the respondent, or let him or her down. Support was assessed in reference to friends, relatives, and former foster parents, and these ratings are presented in Figure 9.

Figure 8. Frequency of visiting with particular relatives.

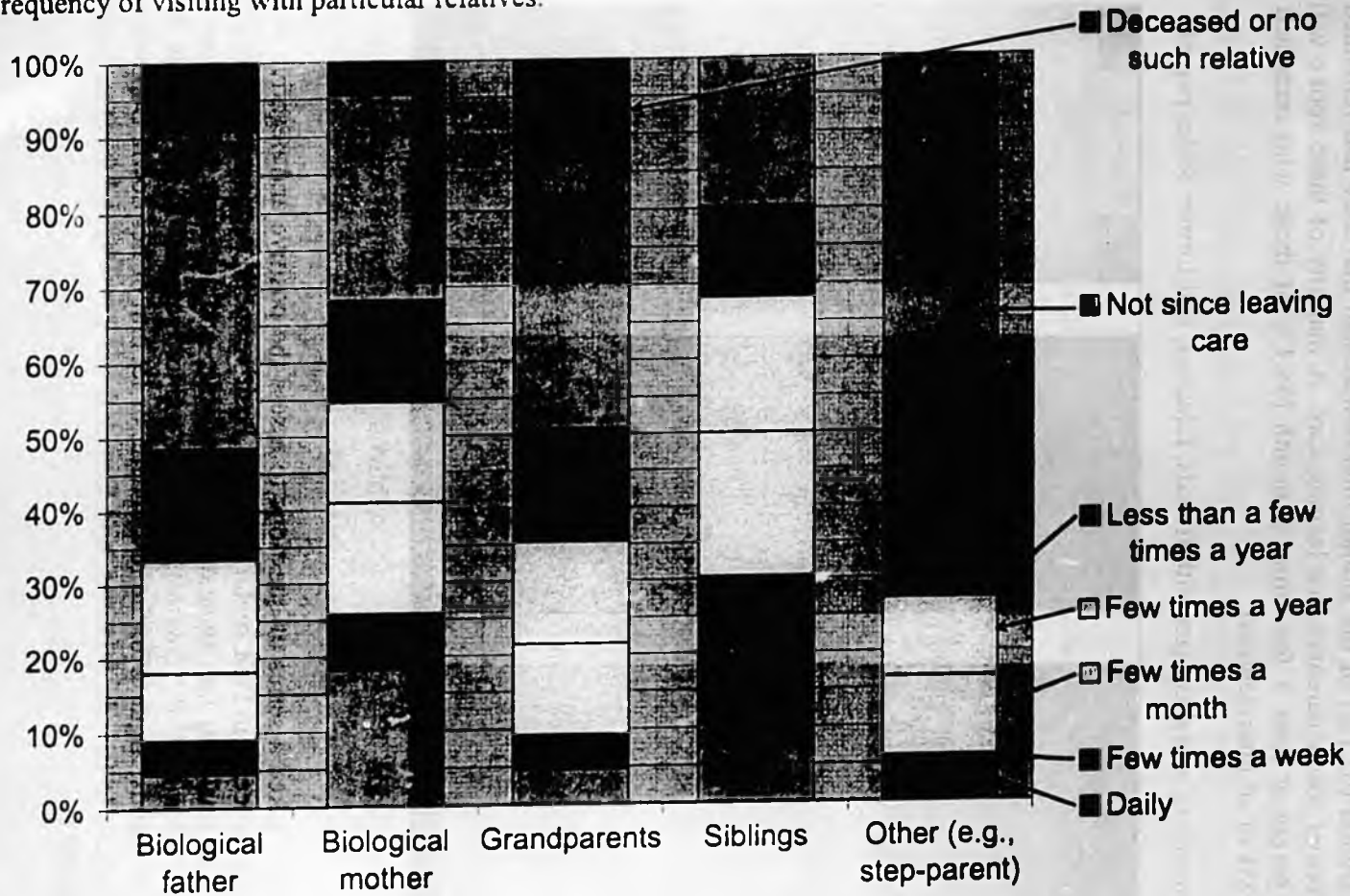
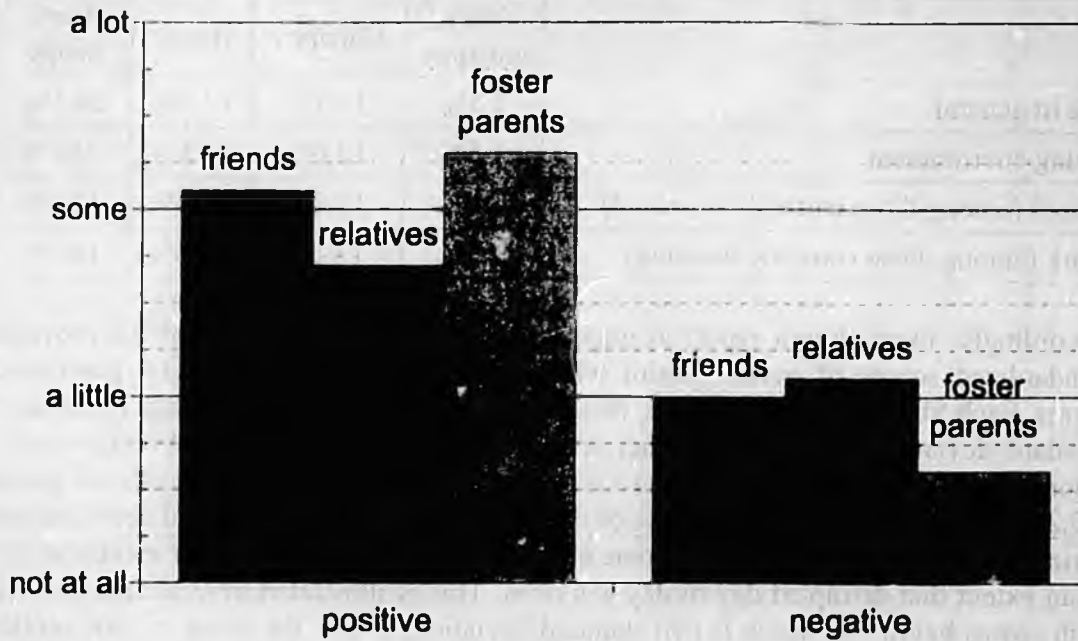


Figure 9. Ratings of positive and negative social support.



Those who were in contact with former foster parents apparently maintained these relationships due to the rewarding nature of those interactions: Among the three types of relationships rated (friends, relatives, and former foster parents), the average rating for foster parents was highest on the positive social support ratings and lowest on negative support—that is, foster parents were given, on the average, the best ratings. In a statistical analysis, however, only the difference between foster parents and relatives on negative support was significant (the same comparison for foster parents versus friends approached significance³). On the average, the

She never gave up. She was just such a cheery little person, you could talk to her about anything. I still go and visit her. She is just an awesome person. She is so much like what a mother should be in my eyes.
Study participant

alumni rated relatives not living with them as providing the least positive support and the most negative interactions.

General mental health

The alumni were asked to rate their life satisfaction in a number of different areas. Overall, most alumni reported being happy with their living environments, their school experiences (if in school), their work situation (if working), and their lives in general. As shown in Table 6, more than 8 in 10 alumni reported feeling “happy” or “very happy” in each area.

³ Using the Bonferroni method to control analysis-wide error rate resulted in setting $\alpha = .0083$. One-sample t-tests were conducted on difference scores: for foster parents versus relatives on negative support, $t(38) = -3.595$, $p = .001$; for foster parents versus friends on negative support, $t(38) = -2.607$, $p = .013$; for all other comparisons, $p \geq .032$.

Table 6. Life satisfaction ratings.

	Very unhappy	Unhappy	Happy	Very happy
Life in general	1.5%	12.3%	63.1%	23.1%
Living environment	1.5%	10.6%	63.6%	24.2%
School (among those currently in school)	0	18.2%	63.6%	18.2%
Work (among those currently working)	2.7%	13.5%	67.6%	16.2%

Accordingly, most alumni report average to good mental health. The SF-12 provides standardized scores of overall health which can be compared to general population norms. Each SF-12 scale is a T-score, which has a general population average of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, with higher scores indicating better health. Average scores among Alaska foster care alumni were very close to 50 for the mental health composite (49.2), as seen in Table 7. While 50% of the sample had scores of 53.8 and above, scores varied widely (from 17.6 to 65.1). Some alumni reported having very poor mental health, to an extent that disrupted day-to-day activities. This is illustrated by 7 alumni (10.8%) with scores below 30, which is two standard deviations below the mean, or, put another way, lower than almost 98% of the general population.

Table 7. General mental health as measured by the SF-12 Mental Component Summary.^a

	Alumni	General population
Average (SD)	49.2 (11.95)	50.0 (10.00)
Median	53.8	
Highest 5% of scores (range)	60.9 to 65.1	
Lowest 5% of scores (range)	17.6 to 19.9	
Scores below 30	10.8%	~2.3%

^a SF-12 scores are standardized as T-scores, which in the general population have an average of 50 (and a standard deviation of 10). Higher scores indicate better health, such that a person scoring 65 is reporting a level of health that is 1.5 standard deviations higher than average.

Ethnic identity

The Phinney Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) produces scores that are the average of ratings from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) of individual items measuring the participant's ethnic identity development and group affirmation, sense of belonging, and commitment. The scores are presented in Table 8 and Figure 10.

Table 8. Ethnic identity strength as measured by the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure.

	Average (S.D.)
Total score:	2.7 (.48)
Identity	2.6 (.57)
Affirmation, Belonging & Commitment	2.8 (.51)

While there are no normative or benchmark scores with which to compare those in the current sample, groups that are of European-American ethnicity tend to have average scores at the midpoint of the scales, or 2.5, with members of minority groups scoring higher, on average (J. Phinney, personal communication, 1 March 2005). This is apparent in Figure 10, which shows that MEIM scores of sample members whose primary ethnicity was not Caucasian were higher than those of primarily Caucasian respondents, with significant differences for the Total score and the Identity subscale.⁴ Scores for the Caucasian group appear to be close to the midpoint of 2.5, although in this sample the average score for Affirmation, Belonging, and Commitment was significantly different than this general population comparison.⁵

Physical and Behavioral Health

Disability

As discussed previously, 11 members of the original population of 140 could not be interviewed due to a mental or physical condition. In addition, three others who had public guardians *were* capable of being interviewed and completed interviews. The nature of their conditions, including when they began, are not known (disability information did not appear in OCS' former electronic case file system). Anecdotal reports from the locator indicate that the 11 missed interviews were cases in which the guardian indicated that the alumnus was too emotionally unstable or neuro-cognitively unable to participate in this interview.

Mental and behavioral health service usage

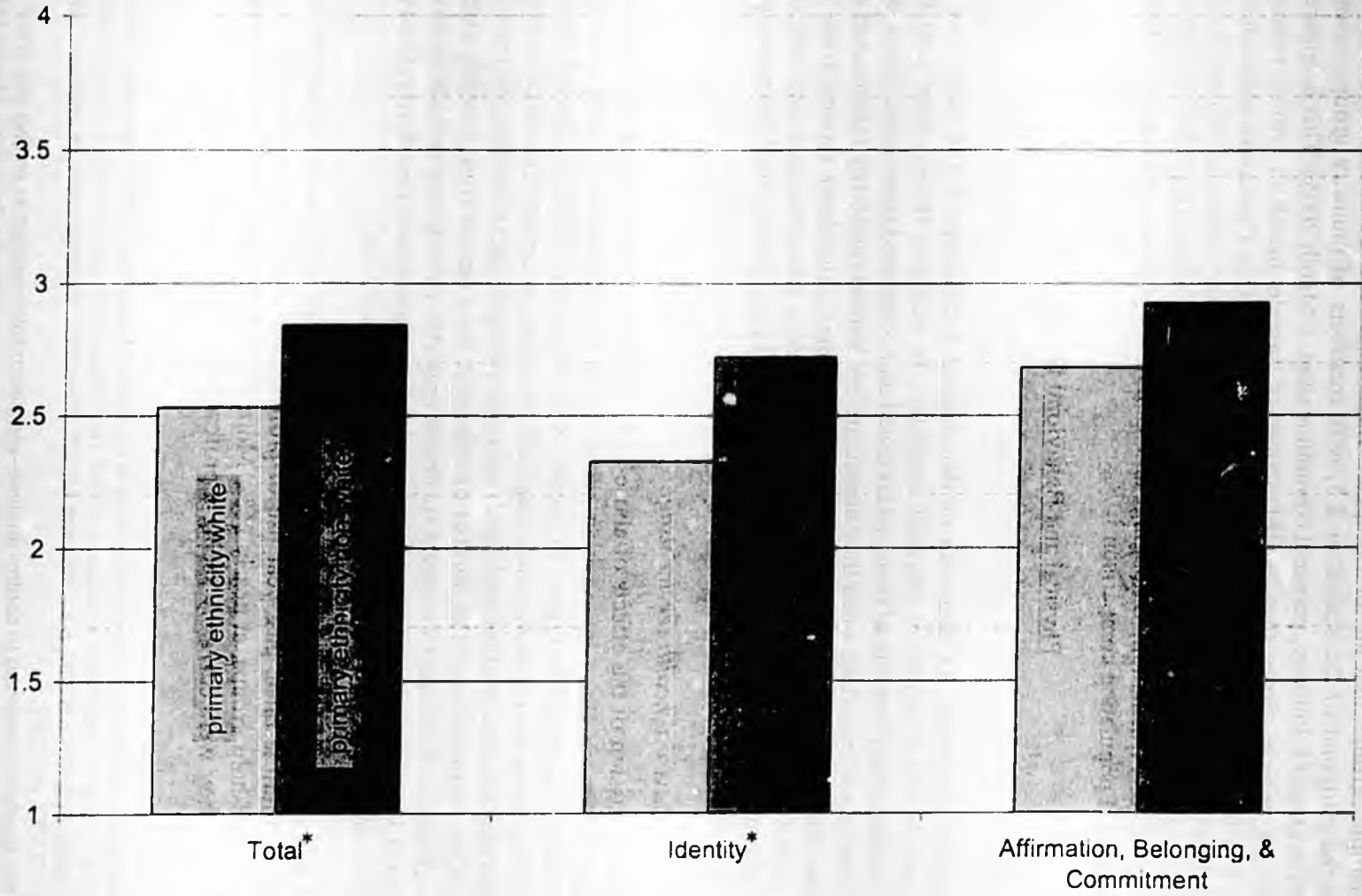
Given the discussion of the effects of abuse and neglect, a relatively high use of mental health and substance abuse intervention services would be expected among alumni of foster care. As illustrated in Figure 11, nearly 8 in 10 alumni (78.8%) reported lifetime use of any of these interventions, including 35% reporting overnight treatment stays and 68% reporting seeing a professional (such as a psychologist, social worker, or minister) outside of an overnight stay. The number of overnight stays ranged from 1 to 40, with an average of almost 8 different overnight treatment episodes (which may include before or during care). Of those who did not report ever seeing a professional, one-third related that they had at some point felt that they should have sought such help.

About 1 in 4 alumni reported using any of the services listed in Figure 11 in the past year. As with the lifetime rates, past year use of professionals was much higher than use of hotlines or self-help groups, at nearly 26%. More than half of those (16.7% of the total) reported that they were *currently* seeing a professional. The average number of visits or

⁴ The results of univariate follow-up ANOVAs to a significant MANOVA (Wilk's Lambda = .880, $F(3, 61) = 2.766$, $p = .049$) were as follows: MEIM Total score, $F(1, 63) = 7.068$, $p = .010$; MEIM Identity scale, $F(1, 63) = 8.314$, $p = .005$; and MEIM Affirmation, Belonging & Commitment scale, $F(1, 63) = 3.773$, $p = .057$.

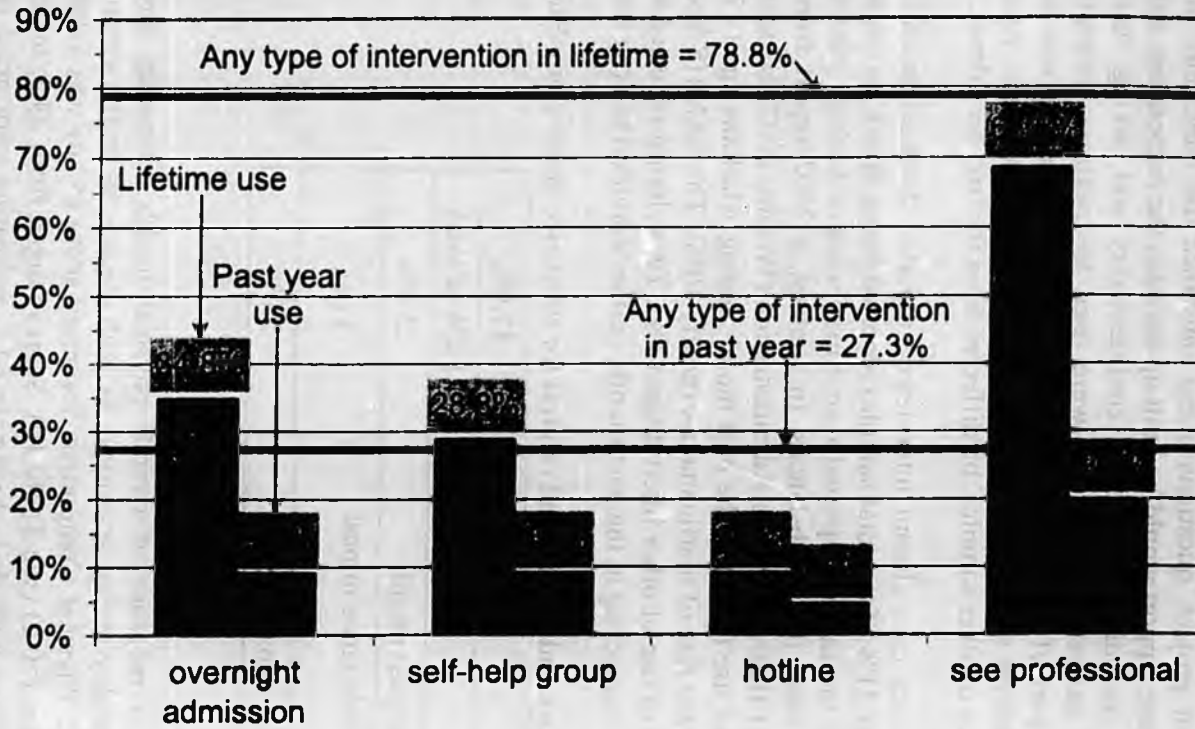
⁵ Using the Bonferroni method to control analysis-wide error rate resulted in setting $\alpha = .0167$. One-sample t-tests were conducted to compare scores among primarily Caucasian alumni to the predicted score of 2.5: for the Affirmation, Belonging, and Commitment subscale, $t(26) = 2.749$, $p = .011$; for Identity, $t(25) = -1.796$, $p = .085$; and for the Total MEIM, $t(26) = .798$, $p = .432$.

Figure 10. Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure scores for primarily white versus primarily non-white alumni.



* Significant difference between the groups

Figure 11. Mental health or substance abuse service use, lifetime and past year, by type.



sessions in the past year was 20, ranging from 1 to 56. Six alumni (9.1%) reported overnight treatment stays in the past year. The use of professionals and of overnight treatment in the past year in this sample are higher than the rates in the Northwest Alumni Study sample (12.0% and 2.9%, respectively; Pecora et al., 2005b).

Substance use

Validity problems related to honesty of reporting frequently weaken surveys of drug and alcohol usage. In the current project, questions about substance use came late in the interview in the hope that some rapport would be built up between the respondent and the interviewer. Other efforts, including pledges of confidentiality and asking that the respondent be alone when answering questions, were used to maximize honesty of reporting. In addition, this part of the interview came after the respondent was asked about non-specific mental health and alcohol or drug treatment. Nonetheless, reported rates of substance use may, as in other samples, be different from the true prevalence.

While nearly half of the foster care alumni interviewed reported drinking in the past month, only 45% of those (or 21% of the total sample) reported being drunk, as shown in Table 9 below. A quarter of the sample reported recent marijuana or hashish use, while two people reported using other illicit substances. In contrast, a 2002 report from the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (Wright, 2002) estimated a slightly higher rate of alcohol use (53%) in the past month among Alaskans aged 12 and above, but a substantially lower rate of marijuana use (nearly 10%). The SAMHSA report estimated a comparable rate of use of other illicit drugs (4%). Two alumni reported being referred for alcohol or drug counseling in the past month; neither admitted to drug use.

Table 9. Reported use of drugs and alcohol and referral for substance abuse counseling.

Drink in past month:	47.0%
Drunk in past month	21.2% of total
Used marijuana or hashish in past month	25.8%
Used any other illegal drug/substance in past month	3.0%
Referred for AOD counseling in past month	3.0%

Overall physical health

The SF-12 also provides a measure of overall physical health, assessing physical problems and their effect on day-to-day activities. As with the mental health composite, the sample's average SF-12 Physical Component Summary score (50.6) was similar to that of the general population (50.0) (see Table 10). Scores ranged from 23.3, indicating very poor health that interferes with daily living, to 64.6, indicating very good health. Three alumni (4.6%) had scores under 30—more than two standard deviations below the mean, indicating extremely poor health.

Table 10. Overall physical health, as measured by the SF-12 Physical Component Summary.^a

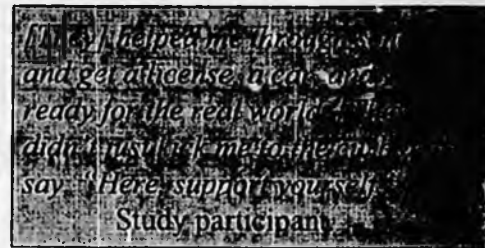
	Alumni	General population
Average (SD)	50.6 (9.08)	50 (10.00)
Median	53.8	
Highest 5% of scores (range)	61.1 to 64.6	
Lowest 5% of scores (range)	23.3 to 29.3	
Scores below 30	4.6%	~2.3%

^a SF-12 scores are standardized as T-scores, which in the general population have an average of 50 (and a standard deviation of 10). Higher scores indicate better health, such that a person scoring 65 is reporting a level of health that is 1.5 standard deviations higher than average.

Education, Employment, and Health Insurance

Reports of preparedness for adulthood when they left care

As shown in Table 11, the interview asked respondents to recall types of active assistance that their caseworker or agency may have provided. Most alumni reported not receiving such help. The most frequently recalled type of assistance was support in identifying someone to call for help with future problems. Less than a quarter of the sample (24.2%) reported receiving such assistance. Approximately one in eight reported receiving assistance in getting job training, getting a job interview, or arranging for health insurance (12.1% each). Just over 10% noted that an agency helped them get a job, and slightly fewer stated that an agency helped them find housing. A few reported that they received help getting public assistance (7.6%), getting health records (7.6%) or finding child care if needed (4.2%). One in five alumni reported some other kind of transition-related assistance. Many of the 'any other way' responses were related to college or training programs. A small number of alumni mentioned the state buying them plane tickets, either to get to college or to visit relatives. In all, the alumni reported receiving an average of 14.1% of these 8 to 10 (depending on applicability) types of assistance. Despite this low level of assistance, few alumni (16.7%) reported feeling "not at all prepared" for independent living when they left care.



Many of these same interview items were used and reported in the Wisconsin alumni study (Courtney et al., 2001) and the Northwest Alumni Study (Pecora et al., 2005b). As seen in Table 11, the Wisconsin alumni appear to have reported more frequent receipt than the current sample of most of the types of transition assistance. Approximately twice as many Wisconsin alumni as Alaska alumni reported receiving help in obtaining their health records, and about 50% more reported getting assistance in accessing job training. Alumni from Oregon and Washington appear to have reported comparable levels of

assistance, although more Northwest alumni reported help in getting job training and more than a third fewer Northwest alumni reported help in identifying contact persons.

Table 11. Transition assistance provided before leaving care, as reported by alumni.

Agency helped youth:	Alaska alumni	Wisconsin alumni ^a	Northwest alumni ^b
Get job training	12.1%	18%	17.1%
Get a job interview	12.1%	11%	9.2%
Get a job	10.6%	14%	10.7%
Get public assistance (food stamps, etc.)	7.6%	11%	6.7%
Get health records	7.6%	15%	9.5%
Arrange for health insurance	12.1%	11%	12.5%
Find housing	9.1%	12%	8.3%
Find child care if needed	4.2%	—	—
Finding contact persons to help with future problems	24.2%	—	15.3%
Any other way	19.7%	—	—

Note. A dash (—) indicates that the item was not reported.

^a Courtney et al. (2001)

^b Pecora et al. (2005b)

Homelessness since leaving care

Previous studies have found high rates among homelessness among foster care graduates (Cook et al., 1991; Courtney et al., 2001; Pecora et al., 2005a). As seen in Table 12, the current study similarly found high levels of homelessness among alumni of foster care in Alaska. Nearly 4 in 10 alumni reported being homeless since leaving care, including 3 in 10 who were homeless within a year of leaving care. The number of episodes of homelessness ranged from 1 to 10 (trimmed), although one participant reported being homeless 36 times and another 48 times. These same two participants reported being homeless for three or more years at one time. The (trimmed) range of longest reported homelessness episode was from 1 to 365 days.

Table 12. Homelessness since leaving care.

	Average (S.D.) or percent of sample
Ever homeless since leaving care:	37.9%
Number of homeless episodes	4.0 (3.18)
Longest episode, in days	95.0 (127.35)
Homeless within one year of leaving care	30.3% of total

Educational achievement

Nearly 79% had completed high school (63.6%) or a GED (15.2%) by the time of the interview. In contrast, foster care alumni in the Northwest Alumni Study (Pecora et al., 2005a) were found to have completed high school at a rate of 84.8%, comparable to the general population rate for 18- to 29-year-olds of 87.2% (in 2000; National Center for Education Statistics, 2001, Table 107). One-third of the Alaskan alumni (33.3%) went on to some sort of education or training beyond high school. Eleven (16.7%) had completed at least one year of college. Seven respondents (10.6%) had less than 3 years of post-high school with no degree. Three respondents (4.5%) had a BA or higher. Nearly 20% were in school at the time of the interview, including two in college, three in trade or technical school, and three in a GED program. High school and college completion rates for the interviewed alumni are presented in Table 13, while the highest degree or level of education obtained by the alumni is presented in Figure 12.

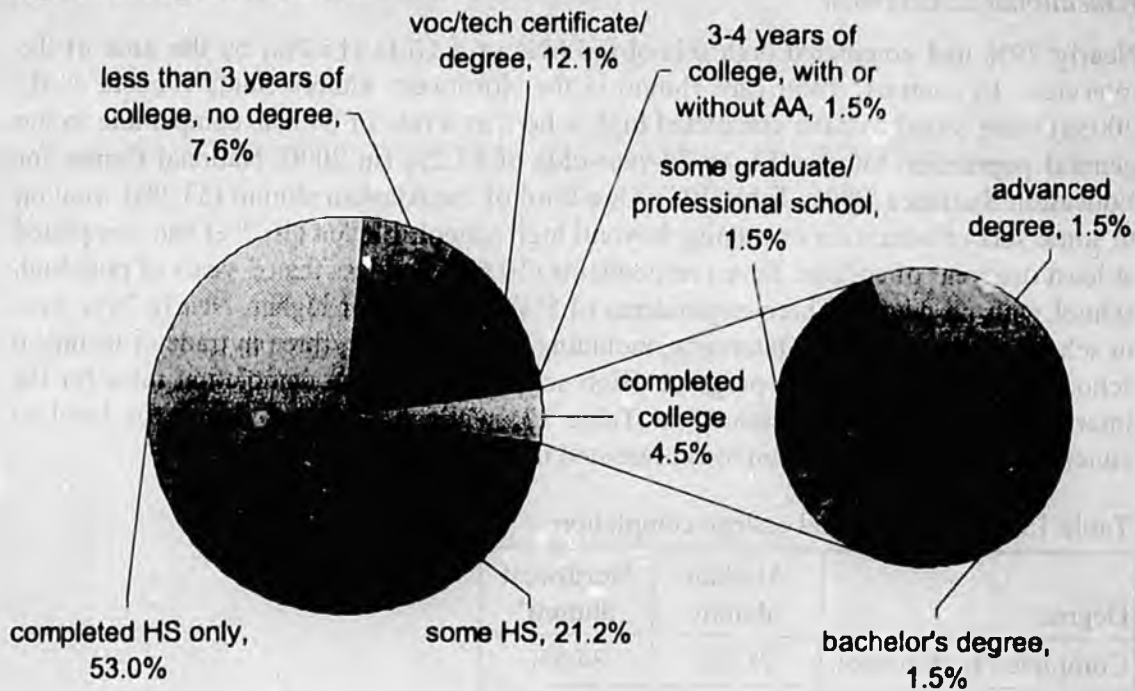
Table 13. High school and college completion.

Degree	Alaskan alumni	Northwest alumni ^a
Completed high school:	78.8%	84.8%
With diploma	63.6%	56.3%
With GED	15.2%	28.5%
Completed college	4.5%	1.8%

^a Pecora et al. (2005a)

Fourteen alumni who had completed high school (not a GED program), and two others who reported completing a GED program (for a total of 24.2% of the sample), reported having attended vocational or technical school for post-secondary training. Of these 16 who attended vocational-technical school, 6 (42.9% of those who attended, or 9.1% of the sample) reported achieving a degree from that program, and 2 were still in trade school. For three respondents (4.5% of the sample), this vocational-technical degree or certificate was their highest degree of education or training.

Figure 12. Highest level of education achieved.



As illustrated in Table 14, the high school completion rate was slightly below the statewide rate for adults 25 and over in 2003, but above the national rate. (Published rates of high school completion, such as those from the Census Bureau, are generally presented for the population aged 25 and older, not for the whole population or those 19 and above.) The proportion of those going on to complete a bachelor's degree or higher was substantially below the national and Alaska rates (US Census Bureau, 2003), but higher than the rate found in the Northwest Alumni Study (2.7%), despite the higher rate of postsecondary enrollment in that sample versus the Alaska alumni. Of the 19 alumni 25 and older, 17 had completed high school, 1 was currently in a GED program, 9 had gone on to further education or training beyond high school, 1 was currently in vocational or technical school, 1 had completed a bachelor's degree and some subsequent graduate or professional training, and 1 had completed an advanced degree.

Table 14. Educational completion for those 25 and older.

	Alaska alumni (n=19)	Alaska general population	US general population
Completed high school (including GED)	89.5%	91.2%	83.6%
BA or higher	10.5%	26.6%	26.5%

Employment, finances, and health insurance

Nearly 6 in 10 respondents (58.5%) were working at the time of the interview, while 17% were not in the workforce. The unemployment rate among this sample was 29.6%, compared to a reported unemployment rate in Alaska of 7.1% in May 2004 and 7.6% in December 2004 (5.6% and 5.4%, respectively, in the US) (Robinson, 2004, 2005). (Note that while the interview asked if respondents were "looking for work" this may not meet the definition applied by the State and the Federal government, requiring an active attempt to find work, as reported to the unemployment office, in the past 4 weeks.) Among those who worked, the range of hours was from 8 to 60, with an average of 35 hours per week. Two respondents were reportedly permanently disabled.

Given the high rate of unemployment and low rates of college completion in this sample, average income was low. The average of approximately \$12,300 is a little more than half of the Census Bureau's 2003 estimate of per capita income for Alaska of \$24,361. The median income was \$9,500, equivalent to the Federal poverty level for a single person household in 2003 (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Mills, 2004); only five alumni reported personal incomes above \$40,000. Approximately 39% of the respondents had no health insurance.

Cost to Society

Criminality

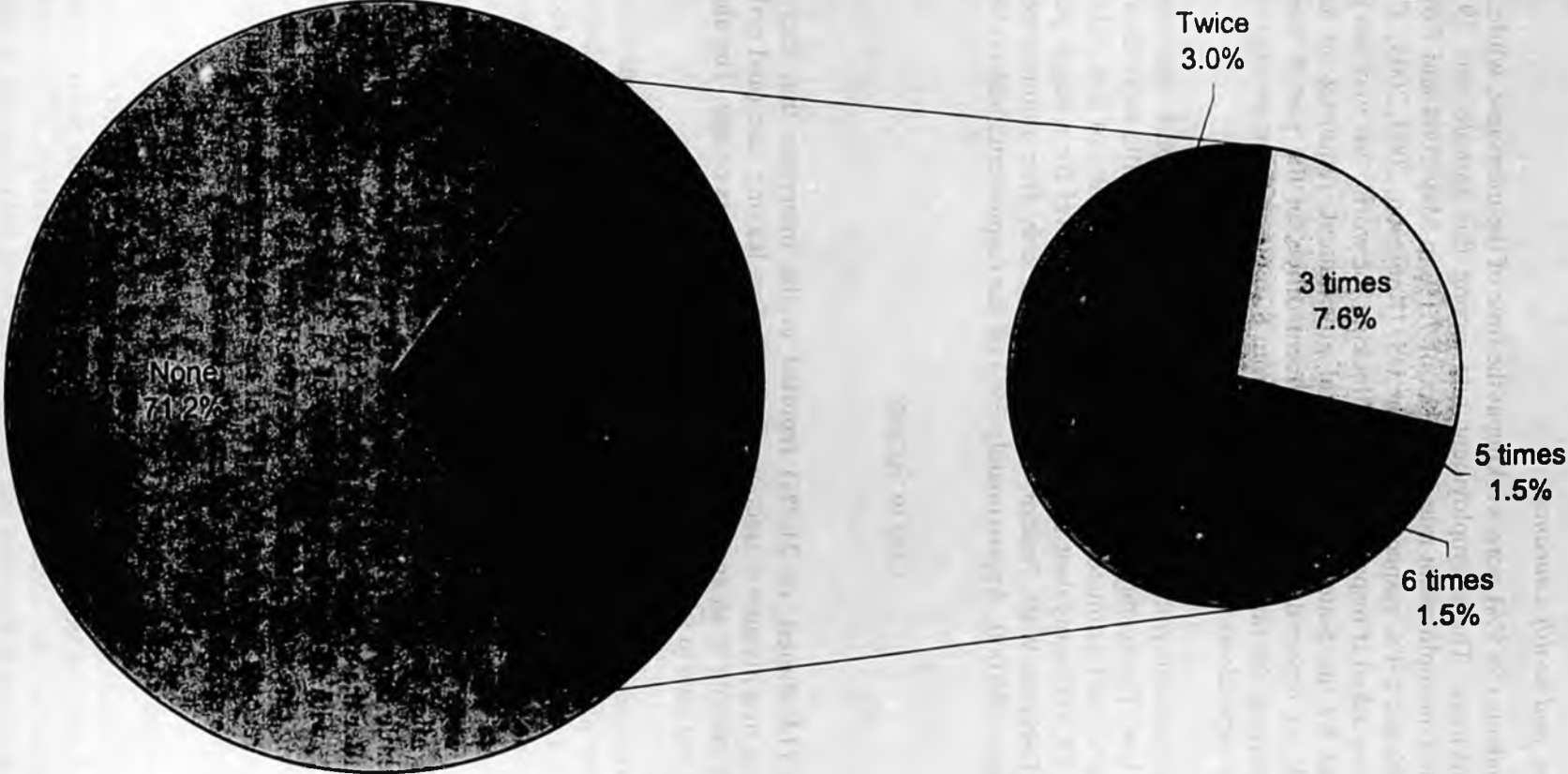
One in five alumni (14 alumni, or 21.2%) reported in the interview that they had experienced placement in a juvenile corrections facility before leaving care (and perhaps before entering care), starting at an average age of just over 15 years of age. The alumni reported an average total time in such placements of 27 days.

Several sources of information can be combined to examine alumni interactions with the criminal justice system after leaving care. State and federal records indicated that more than 1 in 5 alumni (21.4% of the entire population of 140) had some criminal record, including 15 alumni who were incarcerated throughout the interviewing period. Interview data revealed that more than half of the alumni had been arrested, which may have included while they were juveniles. Nineteen alumni (28.8% of those interviewed) reported being jailed after leaving care, including 9 of the 14 (64.3%) who reported spending time in juvenile detention. The average first age of imprisonment was 19.9, or less than 18 months after the average age of leaving care (18.5). The average number of incarcerations was 2.1, with an average longest stay of 53.5 days. More than half of those imprisoned after leaving care were jailed only once (see Figure 13). Combining interview data with government records indicated that 43% of the entire population of alumni had some interaction with the criminal justice system after leaving care.

Household public assistance use

Over 77% of alumni (including 73.3% of those who live alone and 78.4% of those living with others) reported that someone in their household received some form of public assistance in the last six months, including 32% receiving food stamps, 27% receiving Temporary Assistance to Needy Families aid, and 27% receiving help from the Women,

Figure 13. Times in jail since leaving care among interviewed alumni.



Infants, and Children program (see Table 15). Three alumni reported that someone in their household was receiving a foster care or adoption subsidy. Nearly 11% reported that someone in the household was receiving unemployment benefits. Five alumni (7.7%) reported that someone in their household was receiving financial aid to attend school.

Table 15. Household public assistance or aid program use, past 6 months.

Any program:	77.3%
Medicaid/Medicare	55.6%
Food stamps	31.8%
TANF	26.6%
WIC	27.3%
Supplemental Social Security	26.6%
Foster care or adoption subsidy	4.6%
Unemployment	10.6%
Public housing	9.4%
Energy program	7.6%
Child care subsidy	4.6%
Student financial aid	7.7%
Other aid	15.6%

DISCUSSION

Socio-emotional Outcomes

Supportive Adult Relationships

“Optimal child development occurs when a spectrum of needs are consistently met over an extended period” (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000, p. 1146). Many youth in long-term foster care experience a host of disruptions to their relationships: removal from their birth family, new foster parents, new foster siblings, a new school, a new caseworker, and new guardian ad litem. These multiple disruptions make it difficult to develop trusting relationships (Briere, 1992; Chalk et al., 2002; Downs & Williams, 2003; Mech, 2003). Nearly a quarter of the Alaska alumni reported no close relationship with an adult while they were in care.

The development of a consistent adult relationship, a constant through the storm of foster care, can have a variety of positive effects, including socio-emotional, educational, and employment outcomes. Positive adult relationships help youth develop into psychologically healthy adults (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). Viewing this

from the Assets Framework, trusting adult relationships and positive role models are protective factors that can promote the development of other assets: creative activities, high expectations and achievement motivation, interpersonal competence, self-esteem, etc. (Mannes, Roehlkepartain, & Benson, 2005; see the Search Institute website at www.search-institute.org/ for more information). An “available...and devoted” adult (Downs & Williams, 2003, p. 496) can be a foster parent, an elder or extended family member with whom the youth maintains contact, a dedicated caseworker, or some other mentor.

Mentors have been shown to be effective in helping produce positive outcomes in youth (see, for example, Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Grossman & Tierney, 1998), particularly when mentors are trained and supported. Mech (2003) describes mentors as a form of social capital, a way to connect foster youth to resources—community resources, other helpful individuals, job and education resources, etc.—that can have positive returns for the individual and society, in the form of reductions in school dropouts, delinquency, and antisocial behavior; avoidance of adolescent pregnancy; prevention of family violence; and future taxable income. Mentors provide examples of functional adulthood and healthy relationships. They can reinforce the value of education and provide informal tutoring, supply job shadowing opportunities, and encourage youth to explore and learn. This was supported by a recent study of Alaskan youth ages 14-19 in state custody (Pope & Williams, 2005a) who reported that adult mentors, coaches, foster parents and other positive role models were essential to them as they acquired and practiced the skills they think are important to live as successful adults.

There has been increased discussion about connecting foster youth or alumni with adults (Collins, 2001), including adoption beyond what has been traditionally considered something of a deadline for adoption: the onset of adolescence. Alumni in the current project discussed the benefits of feeling like there was someone they could count on even after leaving their (last) foster home:

She was just such a cheery little person; you could talk to her about anything. I still go and visit her. She is just an awesome person. She is so much like what a mother should be, in my eyes. (Study participant)

In addition to individuals taking on this role spontaneously, formal efforts, such as the California Permanency for Youth Project (www.cpy.org), are appearing around the country to promote permanency for older youth and even adult foster care alumni. Such programs are not intended to take the place of independent living preparation. The focus is less on independence and more on connections—personal and legal—with adults (Louisell, 2004). Alaska’s development of subsidized guardianship should provide another way to increase connections with adults. Guardianship may be an especially feasible choice for adolescents and/or those in kinship care situations (National Abandoned Infants Assistance Resource Center, 2003) by establishing connections without severing birth family ties.

No matter what form they take, encouraging the formation of positive, consistent adult relationships will have many preventive effects (Downs & Caldwell, 2003; Downs &

Williams, 2003; Mannes et al., 2005; Pecora et al., 2005a). Assets research has shown that maximizing the number of assets is related to increased thriving behaviors, decreased high-risk behaviors, and improved well-being (Mannes et al., 2005). Thus, concentrating on developing adult relationships among foster youth will in turn address many of the poor outcomes for which foster care alumni seem to be at risk: the Northwest Alumni Study report (Pecora et al., 2005a) recommendations discuss adult connections as being important for improving outcomes in mental health, education, and employment and finances. The current study, similar to others (Collins, 2001), documents that social contact and support appear to be strengths among foster care graduates (although no comparisons were made with the general population). Further analysis will illustrate the protective nature of this support for foster care alumni.

Sibling and Birth Family Contact

As demonstrated in Figure 6, too many of the alumni in this study lived through the experience of not only being separated from their parents, but also from their siblings. Although sibling contact appears to have been fairly well supported (71% of those not placed with siblings reported seeing them again at least once before leaving care), a number of responses to the open-ended question "*What could have been done to better help you while you were in care?*" indicated that for those who were unable to have contact with their siblings, this was a negative experience that left a major impression:

The people who cared for my brother and sister did not make an effort for us to see one another and we all lost communication.

I would have liked to have been closer to my siblings; they should have made a greater effort to keep me close to family.

I think I should have been kept with all my siblings. I was emotionally stressed about that; I loved my brothers and sisters.

[It would have been better to have] contact with my brothers more and family more and the social workers more.

There is a slowly growing body of research supporting the benefits of keeping sibling groups together when appropriate (Herrick & Piccus, 2005; Leathers, 2005; Tarren-Sweeney & Hazell, 2005). Siblings can provide a protective factor for adjusting to foster care and preventing placement change. By helping youth maintain these relationships, workers can increase the probability of a young person having supportive relationships upon leaving care.

Birth family contact can also be important when such contact is appropriate (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). Consistent with previous research, Leathers (2005) found that the frequency of maternal visitation among foster youth predicted chances for reunification. Birth family members are important for youth that do not reunify, as well. Many young people move in with birth parents or other relatives soon after leaving care, sometimes by default (Courtney et al., 2001; Courtney et al., 2005; McDonald et al., 1996). Foster youth struggle with being disconnected from people and resources and they

move into and out of various placements (Mech, 2003), an existence not conducive to developing the social support necessary to thrive as an interdependent adult. A birth family member, even if the youth is unable to live with them, might be an important source of support now and in the future. Youth and alumni report closeness and a desire for contact with birth family members both before and after care (e.g., Courtney et al., 2005). Working to facilitate appropriate contact can only reduce the youth's anxiety and improve youth-caseworker relations.

Pregnancy and Parenting

Foster youth in general are relatively likely to engage in early risky sexual activity (Wertheimer, 2002), especially those who have suffered maltreatment (Rodgers et al., 2004), often resulting in pregnancy (Downs & Caldwell, 2003; McDonald et al., 1996) and/or sexually transmitted diseases (Chalk et al., 2002). In their review, McDonald and colleagues (1996) found relatively high levels of teen pregnancy among foster youth in some but not all studies. The national independent living study (Cook et al., 1991) found that 60% of females discharged from foster care had given birth, equivalent to the rate of young women below the poverty level but more than twice the rate of the general population. The current sample appears to be no different: Nearly 13% of males had impregnated a partner before the age of 20, and 57% of females were pregnant before 20, including almost 10% by age 17. In comparison, recent research indicates that 34% of all women become pregnant before the age of 20 (National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2004a). Rates in the current sample appear to be higher than those of all young Alaskans. Thus, the current study confirms previous findings that youth in foster care are at risk for early risky sexual activity, pregnancy, and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

Why does this matter? Because adolescent childbearing and STDs carry significant social costs. These costs are borne by the teenagers themselves, by society as a whole, and—perhaps most poignantly—by the children of teenage mothers, who start out life at a serious disadvantage. Beyond the social costs are the financial ones which are measured in the billions of dollars (Manlove et al., 2002, p. 1).

Teen mothers are less likely to complete high school and college, and more likely to be on welfare. Their sons are more likely to be jailed and their daughters more likely to themselves become teen mothers (National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2004b). Efforts to prevent teen pregnancy would appear to be a worthwhile and cost effective investment, especially among foster care alumni. Evidence exists that foster care alumni have more parenting difficulties, even when controlling for the factor of early pregnancy (Quinton, Rutter, & Liddle, 1986, as cited in McDonald et al., 1996). The national independent living study (Cook et al., 1991, as cited in McDonald et al., 1996) found young motherhood to be associated with "becoming a cost to the community" (p. 125). McDonald et al. (1996) report high rates of alumni having their own children removed by child protective services, up to 19%. Three of the 32 parents in the current sample (8.6%) reported having a child in CPS.

Although Alaska appears to be effective in this area, ranking third among all states in the reduction of teen pregnancy rates between 1992 and 2000, with a reduction of 33% (National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2004c), more can and should be done. A number of sexuality and HIV education programs have been shown to be effective in promoting delay of sexual activity, avoidance of pregnancy, and prevention of STDs, while abstinence-only programs have not proven effective in scientific evaluations (American Psychological Association, 2005; Manlove et al., 2002; see Manlove et al. for a review of programs, and the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy website at www.teenpregnancy.org). Specifically, programs that incorporate sexuality education into youth development programs as well as service learning programs (combining volunteering with classroom activities) have been shown to reduce the probability of early sexual activity and pregnancy. Research also shows that starting earlier in childhood with such programs can increase the positive effects (Manlove et al., 2002).

Once a young person does have a child, they need support and training to avoid the poor outcomes described above. Parenting education and support programs are necessary for young parents, and youth in care in Alaska have recognized the need for such training (Pope and Williams, 2005a). Nurse home visiting programs have been shown to have positive effects in improving parenting skills as well as reducing the incidence of second pregnancies among adolescents and young adults (Manlove et al., 2002; Pope & Williams, 2005b). The report on family preservation and support produced by CWEP (Pope & Williams, 2005b) describes other interventions that may be useful for Alaskan foster youth who are parents.

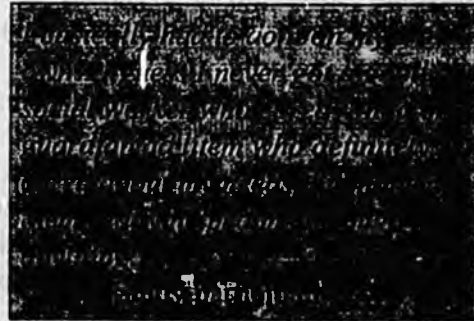
Social Contact and Support

Previous research has shown that the trauma and upheaval of entering and remaining in foster care puts foster children at risk of poor social outcomes (Downs & Williams, 2003; Kools, 1997; Mech, 1994). Optimal care would allow for these youth to maintain and develop relationships and limit the effects of trauma and disruption on socialization skills (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). Socialization skills are important in and of themselves, allowing the individual to interact productively with the larger society. Social aptitude in turn allows for the development of a support network. Foster children who experience caring and consistent relationships in foster care may return to a healthy developmental path (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000; Downs & Williams, 2003; Kools, 1997; Mech, 1994) and develop a network of friends, relatives, and mentors who can provide help—emotional, financial, networking opportunities, etc.—in times of need (Mech, 2003).

Most alumni in this sample appear to be maintaining a good degree of social contact. While it does not necessarily indicate that such contact is helpful and positive, having social connections is a positive outcome. More than half of the sample reported still being in contact with an older adult with whom they had a positive relationship while in care.

More than 6 in 10 remained in contact with former foster parents, most having at least monthly contact. When asked about friends, relatives, and foster parents, the latter were reported to provide the most positive social support, on average, and the least hassles and arguments, particularly compared to relatives. This is similar to Courtney and colleagues' (2001) finding that Wisconsin alumni reported receiving less social support from their birth families than from their friends, significant others, and former foster families. That study also found that foster families often remained "an important factor in the participants' lives after discharge" (p. 698). In summary, it appears that a large number of alumni are making long-lasting positive connections while in care that may benefit them into adulthood.

A number of alumni, however, were not. Nearly a quarter reported not having a close adult relationship while in care, and 38% reported not being in contact with foster parents since leaving care. Three alumni reported having no contact with friends. And then there are those who were not found to be interviewed: Previous research has indicated that people not found for surveys, particularly when effort is made to find them (e.g., by trying to talk to relatives and neighbors), tend to have weak community ties (Groves & Couper, 1998; Keeter, 1995). Functioning well in modern society generally requires being interdependent, providing such benefits as connections to jobs and other resources.



Mental Health

Foster care alumni suffer from significantly higher rates of mental health disorders than their general population peers (Pecora et al., 2005a). Alumni in the current sample are likely no different than foster care graduates elsewhere. Nearly 14% report feeling unhappy with their lives. On the nationally standardized SF-12, a number reported low scores for overall mental health, including nearly 11% with scores lower than almost 98% of the general population. Mental health issues can interfere with educational achievement, finding and keeping a job, maintaining social contact, and a host of other activities.

Whether these mental health issues arise from the experience of maltreatment, family disruption, placement change, the stigmatization of being in foster care, or other factors—or all of these factors—it is clear that foster care has not always met the goal of being the primary therapeutic intervention for children who have suffered trauma (Downs & Williams, 2003). Analyses in the Northwest Alumni Study (Pecora et al., 2005a) showed that improving aspects of a foster youth's placement experience, their educational services and school stability, and their preparation for leaving care and maximizing the availability of therapeutic services and supports can have significant long-



term effects in improving mental health. Placement experience, including stability of placement and prevention of reunification failures, was found to have the strongest effect in those analyses on mental health and other outcomes. Alumni in that study averaged 1.4 placements per year, and the optimal level of change in the foster care experience optimization analyses was .61 or fewer. Alaskan alumni had an average of 2.1 placements per year.

Physical and Behavioral Health

Drug and Alcohol Use

While the proportion of alumni in this study who reported drinking in the past month appears to be comparable to if not lower than that in the general population, nearly half of these drinkers reported being drunk in the past month. In addition, a relatively high number reported the use of marijuana. This drug use and excessive consumption of alcohol may represent a self-medicating effort to deal with the effects of trauma (Briere, 1992), and is similar to findings in other studies of foster care alumni (Pecora et al., 2005a). The destructive nature of substance abuse is well documented, and may be contributing to some of the other poor outcomes found in the current study. Improving the foster care experience, including placement stability and therapeutic services, will help minimize future substance abuse.

Mental and Behavioral Health Service Usage

Consistent with their reported substance use and mental health, Alaskan alumni reported high levels of the use of mental and behavioral health services. This is particularly true for expensive overnight treatment stays. More than one-third of Alaskan alumni reported having had an overnight treatment episode. While this may have been while they were in care, almost 1 in 10 reported such a stay in the past year. Nearly 7 in 10 (68%) reported seeing a professional (such as a psychologist, social worker, or minister) outside of an overnight stay. In comparison, 22% of the alumni in the Northwest Alumni Study reported a lifetime overnight treatment episode and 69% reported seeing a professional on an outpatient basis (Pecora et al., 2005b). Past year use of professionals was reported by nearly 26% of Alaskan alumni, and more than half of those (16.7% of the total) reported that they were *currently* seeing a professional. Perhaps due to this frequent use of professionals on an outpatient basis, only six alumni (9.1%) reported overnight treatment stays in the past year. The use of professionals and of overnight treatment in the past year in this sample are higher than the rates in the Northwest Alumni Study sample (12.0% and 2.9%, respectively; Pecora et al., 2005b). While this may indicate that Alaskan alumni are better able to access needed services, it likely suggests that the current prevalence of psychiatric disorders among Alaska alumni may be even greater than the rate found in the Northwest study (54%). Inpatient treatment episodes have direct costs to the individual or to the public, and with 39% of the sample not having health insurance and many others being on Medicaid, the latter is likely. Mental health and substance abuse issues also have indirect costs to society in terms of lost production and tax revenue.

Employment, Education, and Health Insurance

Preparation for Adult Living

Many of the young adults in this study were faring well. They reported incomes above the per capita average for Alaska. They had active social lives and families. A number reported excellent health—mentally, physically, behaviorally—and satisfying jobs. A number of alumni, however, were not doing as well as we would like.

For years, many social workers have known that they were sending young people out into the world ill-prepared for what lay before them. Unfortunately, often all the workers could do was provide bus fare. The current study joins other efforts that have documented the difficulties many foster care alumni have in making the transition from ward of the state to self-sufficient adult. "If one intent of the out-of-home care system is to prepare foster youth to compete with their more traditionally domiciled peers in the complex society faced by young people in the United States today, that intent is far short of realization" (Courtney et al., 2001, p. 714). Independent living skills training and transition programs are a relatively recent phenomenon (Ansell, 2001). More than half of the alumni in this sample left care before the Chafee Act was signed into law. It is only the less than 20% who left after 2001 who *may* have had some benefit from Chafee before leaving. OCS has only recently (in 2004) established an expanded independent living program with four regional coordinators.

This timing may explain what appears to be a low level of transition assistance efforts provided by the foster care agency as reported by the alumni. In many areas, frequency of receipt appears to have been lower than that provided in previous studies (that used the same interview questions). For example, less than 8% of the current sample reported getting help in obtaining their health records, compared to 11% in the Wisconsin study (Courtney et al., 2001) and over 12% in the Northwest study (Pecora, 2005b). Similarly, only 12% reported help in obtaining job training, compared to 18% and 17% in the Wisconsin and Northwest studies, respectively.

Independent living skills training has been shown to improve long-term outcomes (Collins, 2001; Cook et al., 1991). The Northwest Alumni Study demonstrated the impact of providing both preparation and concrete resources to youth before they leave care (Pecora et al., 2005a). For example, ensuring that a youth has at emancipation three little things that are likely representative of improved overall preparation—a driver's license, at least \$250, and dishes and utensils—had a great effect on future outcomes, particularly in the areas of education and employment and finances. The low levels of assistance reported by alumni may be related to some of the struggles they experienced in housing, education, employment, etc.

Early planning can help a youth develop a future orientation and address skill needs. Discussing post-high school education early helps youth begin to think about college as a possibility, while addressing work early can help youth explore career options. The low level of preparation reported by alumni in this sample is reflected in subsequent poor outcomes.

I was totally unaware that foster care even assisted us as we were turning 18. Some of the things that happened to me...didn't have to happen if I had been more prepared for being on my own. My foster mother did things to help me; the agency itself did absolutely nothing. What if my foster mother had not been helpful? Even with her help I was still unprepared for things that had a big affect on me.

Most of the alumni in this study were no longer in care when the State began implementing the Chafee independent living program. Recent efforts to address transition issues earlier in care, including use of the Ansell-Casey Life Skills Assessment (ACLSA), need to be continued and augmented. Workers should use the ACLSA as an assessment and conversation tool in and of itself, but also make the next steps through the lesson planning and training resources available at Caseylifeskills.org. Further information and resources for helping youth transition to adulthood are available from Casey Family Programs (including the *It's My Life* guides available at www.casey.org/Resources/Publications) and the training, products, and links available from the National Resource Center for Youth Services (www.nrcys.ou.edu). OCS should ensure that all of its workers are aware of available resources for helping youth prepare for adulthood. This would include coordination of services offered by other agencies, public and private. The State might gain insight into the effectiveness of those efforts by repeating this alumni study with a more recent cohort of foster care graduates.

Homelessness

It is apparent that many foster care graduates at some point find themselves without a place to stay for the night. Alumni in this and other studies frequently reported not being prepared for life on their own, and many struggled immediately upon leaving care, particularly those who are not able to live with a foster parent or birth family member. Four in 10 Alaskan alumni reported ever being homeless since leaving care. Three in 10 were homeless within a year of leaving care, while 22% of alumni in the Northwest study were (Pecora et al., 2005a). In the Wisconsin Foster Youth Transitions to Adulthood study (Courtney et al., 2001), 12% of the alumni had been homeless in the 12 to 18 months between leaving care and the follow-up interview, while the national Westat study (Cook et al., 1991) found that 25% of alumni had been homeless for at least one night in the four or fewer years since they left care. Courtney and colleagues (2005) found that recent foster care graduates were more likely than their same-aged peers still in state custody to suffer financial hardships: 19% reported not having enough money to pay rent at some point, 7% reported being evicted, 17% reported not having enough to pay a utility bill, and almost 12% reported periods of frequently not having enough food. Homelessness is but one sign of the financial struggles faced by many foster care alumni as they venture into adulthood.

The rates of homelessness immediately after leaving care illustrate the need to extend foster care services. The State now allows for extending state custody and foster care until age 19, allowing youth to continue developing supportive relationships, employment and life skills, and financial stability before heading out on their own. In addition, the results of this study underscore the need to bolster OCS' effort to work with the Alaska

Housing Finance Corporation to increase transitional housing opportunities for foster youth.

Educational Achievement

Previous research has shown that foster care alumni tend to have less education than their peers. Results regarding high school completion are mixed: For example, the Midwest alumni study (Courtney et al., 2005) found that 37% had not completed high school, either traditionally or via GED, compared to 9% of a sample of 19 years olds from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), and 34% of Festinger's (1983) had not completed high school versus 12% of New Yorkers of the same age. In contrast, the Northwest Alumni Study (Pecora et al, 2005a) found a high school completion rate of 85%, comparable to the 87% among similarly aged young adults nationally. Alaskan alumni had a slightly lower rate of high school completion (79%) than in the Northwest study, although alumni in the latter sample were somewhat older. National school completion rates are often cited for ages 25 and above. In this comparison, rates for the 19 Alaskan alumni in that age group were comparable to Alaska as a whole (90% and 91%, respectively), and both were higher than the national average of 84%.

Most alumni, however, appear to stop their educational or vocational training pursuits soon after completing high school. A third of the Alaska alumni, fewer than in the Northwest Alumni study (42.7%), went on to any further education or training beyond high school. Half of these completed a degree or certificate: Of the 22 who pursued additional training or education, 8 completed a vocational degree and 3 others (4.5% of the sample) completed college. Approximately 17% of young adults ages 18 through 29 in the US have completed a bachelor's degree or above (US Census Bureau, 2005, Table 1). Although college is not for everyone, many more jobs in today's economy demand vocational training or a college degree. Foster care alumni appear to be at a distinct disadvantage without more assistance in attending and completing technical school or college.

Learning problems are common among foster youth (Evans et al., 2004), and many conditions they experience are not conducive to educational achievement: anxiety over their birth family, placement disruption, stigmatization, etc. Changing placements often involves changing schools, resulting in a disruption of the child's lesson track (e.g., history class suddenly jumps from Ancient Rome to midway through the War of 1812) or tutoring progress. "Unfortunately, educational records, like other records (e.g., immunization), do not routinely follow children in foster care" (Evans et al., 2004, p. 576), thus placing a youth with particular educational (and psychosocial) needs in a situation in which no one understands those needs. Given the chaos that often surrounds them, youth in foster care need routines. Routine assessment results should be communicated to appropriate service providers and all concerned, including the school. Caseworkers should regularly monitor academic progress as well as the social development that happens in the school context. Judges should ensure that academic issues are addressed and problems confronted. The National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges (NCJFCJ), in conjunction with Casey Family Programs, has

published a judicial checklist to help judges monitor the educational progress of children under their jurisdiction (www.ncjfcj.org/content/view/340/322/).

The high rates of learning disabilities and other academic problems experienced by children in foster care (Blome, 1997; Evans et al., 2004) require intervention to help maintain positive educational progress for these children. Some of this intervention can come from the foster placement itself providing a stable and educationally rich environment (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000; Downs & Williams, 2003). In the Northwest Alumni Study optimization analyses, placement history had a great effect on educational outcomes (Pecora et al., 2005a). Caseworkers should arrange for appropriate educational services, including those that may be available through the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). These services can help youth complete high school and thus be better prepared for life after foster care. Youth should also be supported in obtaining a high school diploma and not a GED, as high school graduates generally have better outcomes in subsequent education, employment, and income. Although half as frequent as in the Northwest study, Alaskan alumni obtained a GED at a rate three times that of the general population in the US (5%) (Pecora et al., 2005a).

Mental and physical health and substance use issues will also hamper educational advancement. Foster youth are relatively likely to suffer from health and emotional problems (Kortenkamp & Ehrle, 2002). Early and ongoing assessment and intervention are key to improving not just mental health outcomes, but also educational progress.

Alumni may not be accessing available help to continue their schooling: Of the 13 alumni who reported currently attending school, only 2 were receiving financial aid to do so. There are a variety of programs to help disadvantaged youth become ready for and attend post-secondary education and training, including TRIO (www.coenet.us/abouttrio.html) and GEAR UP (www.ed.gov/programs/gearup/index.html). In addition, there are opportunities specific to youth in foster care, such as the Education and Training Vouchers recently added to the Chafee Independent Living program and scholarships from the Orphan Foundation of America (www.orphan.org). Youth must be made aware of these possibilities well before 18. In the Northwest Alumni Study, resources at exit (specifically, money, dishes and utensils, and a driver's license) were positively related to better educational outcomes. It may be that having these resources is an indicator of overall preparedness, including a future orientation encompassing education and career. It may also indicate "more financial stability, allowing alumni to pursue their education goals" (Pecora et al., 2005a, p. 47).

Employment, Finances, and Health Insurance

Alaska is a state with a high level of seasonal employment. Official unemployment rates are higher in Alaska compared to the US average. Interviewing for the current project began in May of 2004, when the official unemployment rate in Alaska was 7.1%. Interviewing was completed in December, when the Alaska unemployment rate was 7.6%. The unemployment rate among interviewed alumni was nearly 30%. The report of high unemployment is consistent with previous reports on outcomes for foster care alumni (Courtney et al., 2001; Courtney et al., 2005). For example, the unemployment

rate in the Northwest Alumni Study, using the same interview questions, was 19.9% (Pecora et al., 2005a). The unemployment rate for Alaskan alumni also far exceeds the three highest rates among Alaska census areas at the end of 2004: 23.5% for the Aleutians East area, 20.0% for Skagway-Hoonah-Angoon (in neither of which were any alumni found to be living), and 19.2% in Wade-Hampton (in which one alumnus was living) (Robinson, 2005).

Income comparisons are also more tenuous in Alaska because of the Permanent Fund Dividend, as well as checks for Native Corporation shareholders. In addition, Alaskan residents, particularly Alaska Natives, are more likely to rely on hunting and fishing, barter, and/or family connections to survive without having a "traditional" job. This may be illustrated by the discrepancy between the 25% who reported being unemployed versus the 11% who reported that someone in their household was receiving unemployment benefits (or it may be that their benefits had run out). It is clear, however, that foster care alumni in Alaska were not doing as well financially as their peers. Although many alumni had positive social support, foster care graduates in general tend to have less than ideal social development (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000; Downs & Caldwell, 2003; Downs & Williams, 2003; Mech, 2003) and may thus lack the connections that might help with housing, job finding, or other resources needed to live independently. The median personal income among alumni was approximately \$9,500, comparable to the Federal poverty level in 2003 for a household of one. The low income found in this study mirrors previous work (Barth, 1990; Courtney et al., 2001; Pecora et al., 2005a).

Low incomes likely impact other areas of the lives of these alumni. As with other studies of foster care alumni (such as Barth, 1990; Cook et al., 1991; Courtney et al., 2001; and Pecora et al., 2005a, 2005b), many of those fortunate enough to have a job had low-paying positions with no health benefits. In all, 39% of Alaskan alumni were without health insurance, compared to 33% in the Northwest Alumni Study, 18% of 18- to 44-year-olds nationally (as reported by Pecora et al., 2005a), and 20% of all Alaskans under 65 (Institute of Medicine, 2004). Such young people are at risk of finding themselves in even worse financial conditions—health problems are a frequent contributing factor to bankruptcies—as well as poor health outcomes.

Uninsured people are less than half as likely as people with health insurance...to have received appropriate preventive care, such as recent mammograms or Pap tests; or to have had any recent medical visits.... Evidence suggests that lack of insurance over an extended period significantly increases the risk of premature death and that death rates among hospitalized patients without health insurance are significantly higher than those with insurance (National Center for Health Statistics, 2001, pp. 11-12).

According to the Institute of Medicine (2004), approximately 18,000 excess premature deaths occur in America each year due to a lack of health insurance coverage. Poor "health due to uninsurance is estimated to cost [the nation] between \$65 and \$130 billion annually" (p. 2).

Foster youth in Alaska report low levels of preparation in the area of money management (Pope & Williams, 2005a). While the economic infrastructure within Alaska varies, at some point in their lives most adults will have a bank account or a credit card or will have to decide how to spend their dividend check. Youth need supports to pursue education and training and to start a career, but they also need training and support in dealing with what money they do have.

In addition to life skills training, connecting youth with adults is important in promoting positive outcomes in employment and financial stability. Having a network of social support can provide more tangible benefits of job leads, letters of recommendation for scholarships, a couch on which to sleep, and so on. The importance of modeling and mentoring are well established (Mannes et al., 2005; Moore & Zaff, 2002). A recent analysis of data from the 1988 Panel Study of Income Dynamics found that, from the age of 18 until 34, the average young person receives \$2,200 a year (in 1988 dollars) from their parents (Schoeni & Ross, 2003). While many foster care alumni remain in contact or even return to live with their birth parents, many do not, and the association between poverty and child removal indicates that even those who do have a good relationship with their birth parents after leaving care likely lag behind their peers in terms of financial support from parents.

Costs to Society

Criminality

Foster youth are a marginalized group. Alumni often speak of not feeling as though anyone knew what their life was like. Youth in care often feel stigmatized (Kools, 1997). At 18 or 19, they are frequently asked to live on their own, often with, as discussed, little support and little preparation. Childhood maltreatment is associated with delinquency and criminal behavior (Briere, 1992; Chalk et al., 2002; Widom, 1989). Foster youth, therefore, appear to be at high risk for engaging in criminal activity. Many do not: More than 7 in 10 Alaskan alumni interviewed reported never having spent a night in jail. Many, however, do become involved with the criminal justice system: 43% of the entire population of alumni has some interaction with the criminal justice system after leaving the Alaska foster care system (which included non-criminal holds recorded in Department of Corrections records).

Time since leaving care is, of course, an important factor in measuring prevalence of any behavior, and so comparisons with other studies must account for this time. Thus, the rate of arrest in the Wisconsin study (18%; Courtney et al., 2001) initially appears to be substantially lower than in the current population, but the young adults in that study were interviewed 12 to 18 months after leaving care, as opposed to an average of approximately 4.5 years for the Alaska alumni. (In addition, the Wisconsin proportion included only those youth interviewed and did not incorporate criminal justice records—19 of the Alaskan interviewees, or 29%, reported being arrested since leaving care.) Cook and colleagues (1991) found that 25% of their interviewees had been arrested in the 2.5 to 4 years since leaving care. While the proportion of alumni experiencing arrest in Alaska may not be substantially larger than rates found in other foster care follow-up studies, it is

apparent that adults formerly in foster care are prone to involvement with the criminal justice system.

Nearly half of those Alaskan alumni who reported spending at least one night in jail since leaving care had been jailed more than once. Nearly 11% of the sample had been jailed three or more times. Any arrest has multiple implications, for the individual's social and family relations, employment and finances, and psychology, as well as in costs incurred by society. Foster youth may benefit from positive youth development programs that have been found to reduce the rate of delinquency. (Please see the Recommendations for more information on such programs.)

Public Assistance Use

The national independent living study conducted in the late 1980s (Cook et al., 1991) examined whether the young adults in the study had been a "cost to the community" (p. 4-7). Since discharge, 12% had relied on some form of housing assistance, and 12% had utilized the services of a food bank or soup kitchen. More than one in five (21%) had received General Assistance, 34% Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and 37% food stamps.

Foster care alumni continue to have high rates of relying on public assistance. Barth (1990) found that 47% of young adults previously in care in the San Francisco area received welfare. In the Northwest Alumni Study (Pecora et al., 2005b), nearly 18% of the individuals interviewed were currently receiving Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), more than five times the general population rate. Nearly 52% reported receiving public assistance since age 18. In the past six months, nearly 48% of Northwest alumni households had received some form of public assistance. Rates among Alaska alumni appear to be higher, with 77% of alumni reporting recent household public assistance use (including 73% of those living alone).

Foster youth appear to be a population for whom targeting interventions addressed at employment and money management (as well as many other outcomes in this report) would have great benefit. Any parent would want their child to get a job and stay off welfare. Increasing job preparation and money management skills, job finding services, assistance with completing forms, and other interventions—some large, many small—may have great benefit to society in terms of decreased use of public funds and increased tax revenue. In examining the benefit of life skills, the national independent living study (Cook et al., 1991) found that those foster care alumni who had received training in five skill areas (employment, education, consumer skills, credit management, and budgeting) had significantly better outcomes than those who had not received such training. Youth who had received all five were more likely to maintain a job, obtain necessary health care, not be a cost to the community, and have higher life satisfaction. Training in other individual skill areas had smaller effects. The Northwest study (Pecora et al., 2005a) found positive benefits for youth preparation for leaving care and educational services in all outcome areas. Thus, OCS appears to be headed in the right direction with its increased reliance on the assessments and resources available at Caseylifeskills.org and in

its growing independent living program. Assessment is only the first step, however, and should be followed by training to address areas of weakness.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The final question of the interview invited the alumni to comment on how to improve the foster care system: *What could have been done to better help you while you were in care?* In offering recommendations we have attempted to stay close to results of the study and the feedback from the study participants. Below are some of their responses to this question.

The foster care could have helped me with finding, keeping a job and helping me. They didn't really help me and I was lost and scared. I learned the most while I was on my own. They could have helped me a whole lot more; they did nothing.... That shouldn't happen again—they should give a heads-up for future kids going out on their own. Don't assume that we know what to do.

They could have listened. I could have grown up with a little bit of love; [I was] treated as an unwanted disease...

More contact with social workers in order to be able to talk to them. I wanted to let them know about things I needed and wanted.

I needed a tutor and I think that OCS should have helped me with that since I was being moved around so much.

They could have paid more attention and not placed me with unfit caregivers and not moved me around so much. This system stinks. They need to be careful of who they let raise children.

Having someone to comfort me. Someone to say, "Hey this is what you have, you need to make the best of it." Kids in foster care are scared so anything they can do to help reassure them would help. Comforting would make it easier.

Based on the outcomes described above and comments from the study participants, as well as discussions with numerous stakeholders, the following are recommended (further suggestions from stakeholders are in Appendix A):

o **Increase early intervention:**

"Early interventions are key to minimizing the long-term and permanent effects of traumatic events" (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000, p. 1147). Even beyond the effects of trauma, early intervention efforts are recommended to minimize most of the poor outcomes described in this report. Research has shown, for example, that family support programs are more successful the younger the children are. Casey Family Programs promotes using its life skills assessment and training tools (www.caseylifeskills.org) early and often. The National Campaign to Prevent Teen

Pregnancy has highlighted research showing that interventions with young children can prevent pregnancy when those children reach adolescence. Similar results have been found for child safety, mental health, substance abuse, and delinquency outcomes. There are various model program guides that policy makers and administrators should consult:

- The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) highlights effective youth development programs:
www.dsgonline.com/mpg_non_flash/mpg_index_flash.htm
- The joint Center for Substance Abuse Prevention-OJJDP review of family-focused programs: strengtheningfamilies.org
- The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) registry of evidence-based programs in substance abuse and mental health: modelprograms.samhsa.gov
- The Office on Child Abuse and Neglect's 2003 review of the evidence base for family strengthening programs:
nccanch.acf.hhs.gov/topics/prevention/emerging/report.pdf

Involving youth in out-of-school programs can be an important method for promoting health in a variety of areas. Such programs nurture protective factors that reduce high risk behaviors and increase current and future well-being (Mannes et al., 2005). Research shows that after school programs can reduce delinquency (Simpkins, 2003), teen pregnancy, and sexually transmitted diseases (Manlove et al., 2002), and promote the development of socialization and other skills (Simpkins, 2003), which in turn can have long-term benefits in employment and reduced use of public assistance (Cook et al., 1991). In addition, occupying a youth's time in constructive activities has obvious benefit in reducing foster parent burnout. The Harvard Family Research Project (www.gse.harvard.edu/hfrp) is an excellent resource on youth development and out-of-school programs, including program design and youth engagement.

○ **Involve youth in planning:**

A number of open-ended question responses lamented the respondent's not being involved in decisions about his or her own future, and similarly being uninformed about such decisions. Previous studies have also described the effects of youth not being involved in planning their own lives (e.g., Festinger, 1983). Simply being more informed can help increase a youth's sense of predictability, while having a say can increase her or his sense of control. Such involvement is at the center of family group conferencing and other models. Person-centered planning should involve exploring and pursuing the youth's *own* goals, which in turn will further engage the youth in planning for his or her future (Krebs & Pitcoff, 2003). Adapting such a model by including adults who are important to the youth can help strengthen beneficial connections between the youth and adults who may be supportive for a good portion of the rest of the youth's life. Furthermore, surrounding the youth with concerned adults can help the youth understand the need for life skills preparation, healthy

behaviors, and so on. The Youth Advocacy Center (youthadvocacycenter.org) provides materials and training to help youth develop a desire to succeed and prepare them to reach their goals, with a focus on self-advocacy, which may help engage youth in planning their own futures.

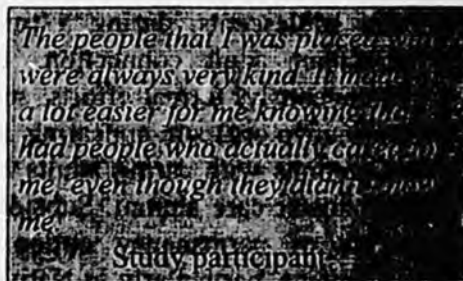
○ **Provide comprehensive assessment:**

Assessment is more than giving a test or coming up with a diagnosis. Foster children need comprehensive assessments as early as possible (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000; Evans et al., 2004). Such an assessment should document the child's strengths, weaknesses, and needs regarding physical health, development, behavior, emotional functioning, cognitive functioning, socialization, education, and environmental issues. A comprehensive assessment can result in a detailed service and support plan, a road map for all concerned with helping the youth return to an optimal developmental path. The final purpose of assessment is communication: This assessment should be updated periodically and shared with caseworkers, foster parents, teachers, therapists, and so on. Having this collective knowledge and plan can promote placement stability, but passing on the assessment and treatment plan is especially important if a child must move to a new foster home. This helps the new caregiver understand from where the youth has come and to where she or he is going.

Maximize placement stability:

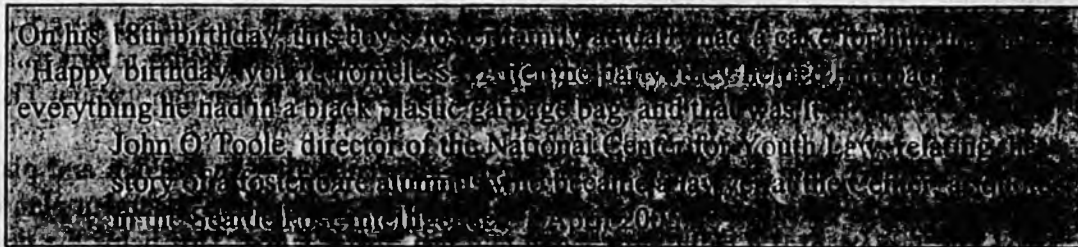
The recent Northwest Alumni Study (Pecora et al., 2005a) has strengthened previous conclusions regarding the benefits of placement stability (e.g., Festinger, 1983; McDonald et al., 1996; Newton, Litrownik, & Landsverk, 2000). A comprehensive assessment can help match youth to foster parents (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). Better matching can improve

relationships with foster families, which in turn results in improved outcomes during and after care (McDonald et al., 1996). Training parents in effective behavior management and therapeutic techniques, as well as other agency support, can help maintain placements. Fostering a helping and trusting relationship between youth and foster parent promotes permanency, continuity of life skills training for the youth, and maintenance of the foster parent as a source of support after leaving. If a youth does have to move, it is beneficial to have that youth remain in the same community, to help maintain social ties, and continue attending the same school, minimizing disruption of his or her educational progress and positive relationships with teachers and other school staff. As in any state, the need to recruit more foster parents almost goes without saying. Having more resource families makes matching youth and families easier, improves the odds of remaining in the same community at placement or replacement, and provides families for respite care, thus reducing incidence of foster parent burnout.



- **Encourage positive adult relationships:**

The development of a consistent adult relationship, a constant through the storm of foster care, can have a variety of positive effects, including socio-emotional, educational, and employment outcomes. Positive adult relationships help youth develop into psychologically healthy adults (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). An “available...and devoted” adult (Downs & Williams, 2003, p. 496) can be a foster parent, an elder or extended family member with whom the youth maintains contact, a dedicated caseworker, or some other mentor. These relationships can help minimize the stress of transition, provide links to jobs and other resources, and offer support and encouragement as young adults head out on their own.



- **Promote legal ties, such as adoption and guardianship, throughout adolescence and even into adulthood:**

Even adolescents, during a time of establishing an individual identity, need a permanent adult connection. In addition to individuals taking on this role spontaneously, formal efforts, such as the California Permanency for Youth Project (www.cpyy.org), are appearing around the country to overcome barriers to life-long connections with caring adults and promote permanency for older youth and even adult foster care alumni. Subsidized guardianship may be an especially appropriate choice of permanency options for adolescents and/or youth in kinship care placements, particularly in Native communities that might disapprove of termination of parental rights (National Abandoned Infants Assistance Resource Center [NAIARC], 2003). Guardianship can be a cost-effective choice for the State, but efforts must be made to make sure that it works financially for the child and family—for example, in some states subsidized guardianship results in a loss of eligibility for Medicaid (Riggs, 1996, as cited in NAIARC, 2003)—and that support services continue.

- **Support relationships with foster parents after youth leave foster care:**

While most young people remain dependent upon their parents into their 20s, the timing of the customary emancipation itself—leaving care at 18 or 19—puts young people who grew up in foster care at risk. Furthermore, about half of young adults who were not in foster care return to live at home at least once after their initial transition to independence (Collins, 2001). In order to promote maintenance of adult connections, the State should work to remove barriers to having young people remain in the home or at least in contact after emancipation. These barriers may include licensing, insurance, and payment issues:

In a very matter-of-fact way, George explained to his worker that he had to leave this home "because the foster parents were not getting any money anymore, and they needed room for more kids." According to the worker, he acted as if that was to be expected and that people should not feel sorry for him (Mech, 2003, p. 12).

During the course of conducting alumni studies, researchers often hear from foster parents who would like to be in contact with former foster youth, and former foster youth who would like to catch up with their former foster parents. To promote this among current and future alumni, the State could take advantage of the free service offered by Foster Care Alumni of America called FosterFind. Foster parents, youth and alumni, and others involved with foster care should be encouraged to register with this free service that will confidentially facilitate re-contact (see www.fostercarealumni.org).

○ **Promote sibling contact, as appropriate:**

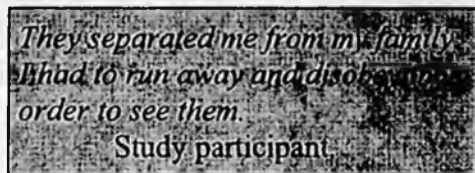
Optimally, sibling groups would remain intact. Siblings can provide a protective factor for adjusting to foster care and preventing placement change. The interviewed alumni often spoke of the pain and trauma of being separated from their siblings (as well as their birth parents). Even if they are not placed together, social contact among

siblings should be supported. Promoting healthy relationships with birth family members can reduce a youth's anxiety over their separation and placement, thus decreasing the probability of acting out and running away (which often involves running home). Furthermore, by helping youth

maintain these relationships, workers can increase the probability of a young person having supportive relationships upon leaving care.

○ **Provide sexuality education to all foster youth:**

Foster youth appear to be relatively likely to engage in early sex, often resulting in pregnancy and/or STDs. A number of sexual and reproductive health programs have been shown to be effective in scientific evaluations in promoting delay of sexual activity, avoidance of pregnancy, and prevention of STDs. Specifically, programs that incorporate sexuality education into youth development programs as well as service learning programs (combining volunteering with classroom activities) have been shown consistently to reduce the probability of early sexual activity and pregnancy (see Manlove et al., 2002, for a review of programs, and the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy website at www.teenpregnancy.org). Youth development programs will have added benefits in educational, employment, social, and mental and behavioral health outcomes as well. In addition to promoting such youth development and/or service learning efforts, the State can provide family planning services, including examinations, counseling and education, and contraceptives, to at-risk youth through Medicaid (with a 90% reimbursement rate). Such efforts have



been shown to result in substantial cost savings to the states as well as the prevention of hundreds of thousands of unwanted pregnancies (Gold & Richards, 2005).

○ **Provide parenting support for youth who do become parents:**

Once a young person does have a child, they need support and training to avoid the poor outcomes described above. The need for training in parenting skills was also highlighted in CWEP's youth in care study (Pope & Williams, 2005a). The State is working to address the needs of at-risk parents. In particular, OCS' project with Healthy Families America should be targeted to foster youth, and connections should be made with other existing services available in many parts of Alaska, such as Early Head Start (www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/hsb/programs/ehs/ehs.htm) and Parents as Teachers (www.parentsasteachers.org). As discussed in CWEP's family preservation and support report (Pope & Williams, 2005b), programs involving parent-child activities and peer support with a goal of parent development, combined with case management, can be effective, especially when focused on teen parents with young children. Foster youth appear to be at high risk for early parenting. A home visitation program may be indicated for these young mothers and their partners. One such program, utilizing nurses and including training in health and development issues, has the added benefit of reducing the incidence of subsequent early pregnancies (Olds et al., 1999, as cited in Manlove et al., 2002). Other programs demonstrated to be effective in promoting positive parenting and preventing maltreatment and child removal include:

- Incredible Years (Carolyn Webster-Stratton, University of Washington; incredibleyears.com)
- Family Connections (University of Maryland School of Social Work)
- Strengthening Families (K.L. Kumpfer, University of Utah)
- Michigan Families First (www.michigan.gov/dhs/0,1607,7-124-5439-15373--,00.html)
- Parenting Wisely (Donald Gordon and colleagues, Ohio University; familyworksinc.com)

○ **Improve mental health treatment:**

Foster children, most of whom have been maltreated, are prone to a host of psychological problems (Briere, 1992; Chalk et al., 2002; Widom, 1989). Proper assessment can help develop a treatment plan to be implemented by caseworkers, foster parents, teachers, and others, in the home and out. Proper training, for example in cognitive-behavioral interventions, will maximize the effectiveness of this plan. The Kauffman Best Practices Project conducted by the Chadwick Center on Children and Families (2004) identified three well defined and well researched practice models in treating abused children: