

Seattle Promise

A Snapshot of Four-Year Program Impacts

Prepared for:

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and Early Learning

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Executive Summary

Created in 2018, the Seattle Promise program provides financial support and personalized guidance to Seattle high school students who wish to earn an associate's degree or certificate and enter the workforce or transfer to a 4-year university. This report examines postsecondary outcomes for the first three cohorts of Seattle Promise students. The underlying research design matched these students with similar students who did not participate in the program. The matching process used strong statistical techniques as a foundation for determining program effectiveness. The following three findings are all statistically significant:

1. Seattle Promise applicants were significantly more likely to enroll in college, relative to matched nonapplicants.
2. Seattle Promise applicants who enrolled in college were more likely to enroll in 2-year, public, and in-state colleges than their nonapplicant peers who also enrolled in college.
3. There were fewer race-based college enrollment gaps among Seattle Promise applicants compared with matched nonapplicants.

Supplemental analyses explore outcomes related to college retention and completion among enrolled students.

Background and Introduction

About two-thirds of projected job openings in Washington will require applicants to hold a certificate, associate's degree, bachelor's degree, or higher level of education (Washington Student Achievement Council, 2023). However, only 60 percent of Washington high school graduates enroll in college within their first year of high school graduation (Education Research and Data Center [ERDC], 2025). Furthermore, of the students who enroll in college, only 47 percent complete a degree or certificate within 8 years of high school graduation (ERDC, 2025), indicating that Washington's school system inadequately supplies the state's labor market.

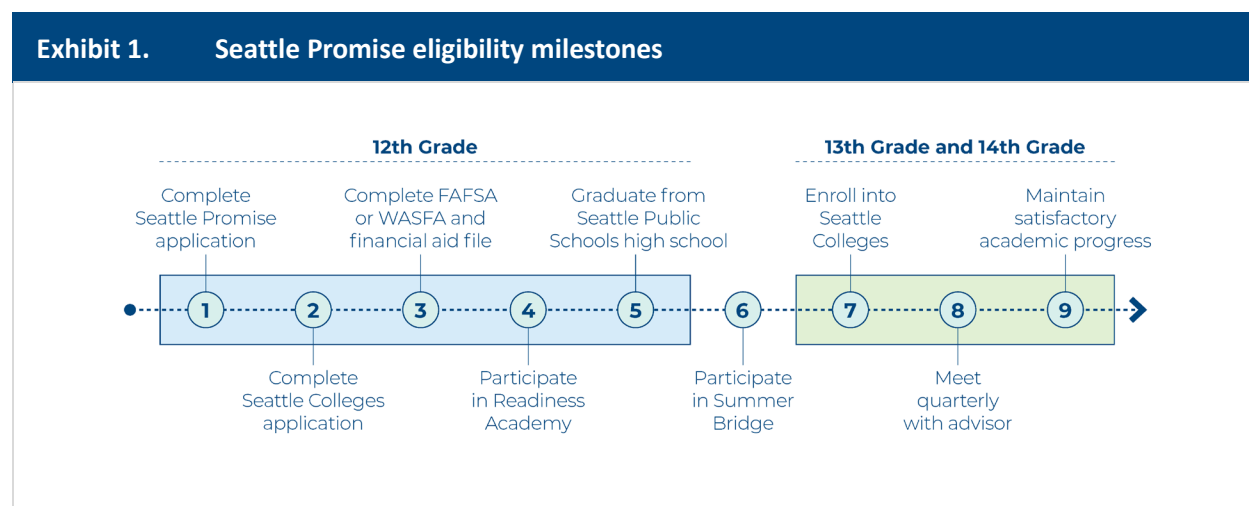
The City of Seattle used the Families, Education, Preschool, and Promise (FEPP) Levy (Seattle Department of Education and Early Learning [DEEL], 2019) to fund the Seattle Promise program. This program was created in 2018 to encourage more Seattle high school graduates to attain postsecondary degrees and certificates by providing financial support and personalized guidance to Seattle high school students who wish to earn an associate's degree or certificate and, later, to enter the workforce or transfer to a 4-year university (Seattle Colleges, n.d.).

All graduating seniors attending Seattle Public Schools (SPS) high schools¹ and charter schools² are eligible for Seattle Promise, regardless of their grade point average (GPA), income, ability, or country of birth (Seattle Colleges, n.d.). Seattle Promise provides a pathway of nine milestones from the 12th grade through students' 14th year (see Exhibit 1). All students who achieve the first milestone (i.e., complete a Seattle Promise application) are accepted into the program; this report

¹ Eligibility for Seattle Promise was limited to graduates of six SPS high schools (Chief Sealth International, Cleveland, Garfield, Ingraham, Rainier Beach, and West Seattle High Schools) in academic years 2017–2018 and 2018–2019, followed by an expansion to all 17 SPS high schools in academic year 2019–2020.

² Eligibility for Seattle Promise expanded to charter schools in academic year 2020–2021.

refers to students who complete an application as *Seattle Promise applicants* (milestone 1 in Exhibit 1). Applicants become *Seattle Promise scholars* when they achieve the next six milestones (milestones 2–7). To remain Seattle Promise scholars, students must complete two final milestones (milestones 8 and 9; meet quarterly with an advisor and maintain satisfactory academic progress³).



Note. Milestones 1 through 6 occur once, and milestones 7 through 9 may occur quarterly, depending on whether a student is eligible for Seattle Promise and/or deferred enrollment at Seattle Colleges.

FAFSA = Free Application for Federal Student Aid; WASFA = Washington Application for State Financial Aid

Source. Adapted from Seattle Department of Education and Early Learning (2019), p. 104

Building on a Seattle DEEL process evaluation report (n.d.) and outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025), this report set out to answer the following evaluation questions:

1. Does Seattle Promise increase college enrollment, retention, and completion for Seattle Promise applicants compared with nonapplicants?
2. Does Seattle Promise help close race-based opportunity gaps⁴?

Summary of Study Design and Methodology

In compliance with the 2018 FEPP Levy’s requirement to evaluate Seattle Promise’s impacts (Seattle DEEL 2019), this study used a quasi-experimental design to examine whether a causal relationship exists between Seattle Promise application and key postsecondary academic outcomes. The study sample was drawn from SPS students enrolled in 12th grade in academic years 2019–2020 through 2021–2022.⁵ The intervention group included students who applied to Seattle

³ Satisfactory progress means that students are passing and completing their coursework and educational programs. Students must maintain a cumulative GPA of 2.0.

⁴ Seattle DEEL (2019, p. 136) defines an opportunity gap as “a significant and persistent disparity in access to educational experiences and expanded learning opportunities between different groups of students, including historically underserved students.”

⁵ This excludes two pilot cohorts of students who enrolled in 12th grade at six SPS high schools (Chief Sealth International, Cleveland, Garfield, Ingraham, Rainier Beach, and West Seattle High Schools) in academic years 2017–2018 and 2018–2019, before the program expanded to all SPS high schools in academic year 2019–2020. Although Seattle Promise eligibility expanded to charter schools in academic year 2021–2022, charter schools are also excluded from the sample because of limited available data.

Promise, comprising 5,409 students.⁶ The comparison group consisted of nonapplicants, comprising 5,727 students. The evaluation team used a propensity score matching process⁷ to select an observationally equivalent comparison group. A total of 11,136 SPS students were included in for the study sample. This team also restricted the sample (both Seattle Promise applicants and the matched comparison) to students who enrolled in college in order to study college retention and completion outcomes.

This study used administrative data from SPS, Seattle Colleges, the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC), and the Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI). To answer evaluation question 1, the evaluation team conducted a series of stepwise regressions,⁸ adjusting for student background characteristics⁹ and SPS high school attended. There are several different ways to measure opportunity gaps, each with strengths and limitations. To answer evaluation question 2 on opportunity gaps, the team calculated four indices cited in the literature (see “Evaluation Question 1: [Does Seattle Promise Help Close Race-Based Opportunity Gaps?](#)” in the Findings section for an overview of these indices). This study also incorporates qualitative data from focus groups with Seattle Promise students (i.e., applicants and scholars) and staff (i.e., outreach specialists at SPS high schools and retention specialists at Seattle Colleges) to provide rich context for quantitative findings. See [appendix A](#) for additional details on the study methodology.

Findings

Evaluation Question 1: Does Seattle Promise Increase College Enrollment, Retention, and Completion for Seattle Promise Applicants Compared With Matched Nonapplicants?

This section provides an overview of results related to the impact of Seattle Promise on college enrollment, retention, and completion. See [appendix B](#) for detailed results.

Seattle Promise Significantly Increased College Enrollment and Influenced the Types of Institutions in Which Students Enrolled

Enrollment in any college

Results indicate Seattle Promise applicants were 20 percentage points more likely to enroll in college than matched nonapplicants (see Exhibit 2). This finding mirrors that of other Promise programs, and suggests the program is making progress toward its goal of ensuring Seattle students have access to and use postsecondary educational opportunities (Bartik, Hershbein,

⁶ This excludes 578 students whose Seattle Promise data could not be linked to their SPS and NSC data because of mis-entered student identifier data.

⁷ Propensity score matching helps identify equivalent comparison group cases where experimental approaches are not possible. In this study, the team used it to match SPS students who applied to Seattle Promise with SPS students who did not apply, based on student and high school characteristics. See [appendix A](#) for more details.

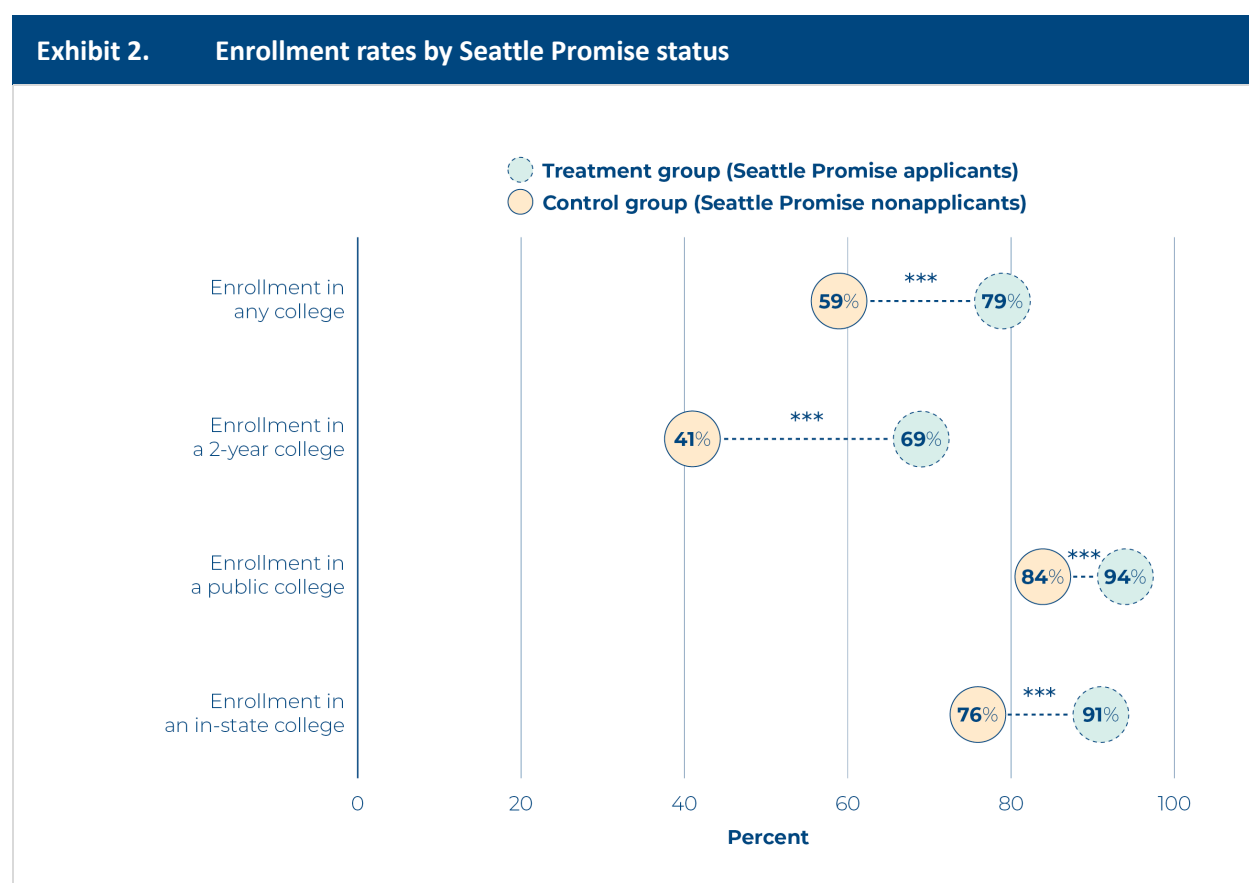
⁸ Stepwise regression involves building a model by testing and adding one or more independent variables at a time. In this study, the team regressed each outcome on just treatment status (Seattle Promise applicant versus nonapplicant) in the first step, then added race/ethnicity in the second step, covariates in the third step, and treatment by race/ethnicity interaction terms in a fourth step. This approach facilitates an understanding of how each set of independent variables changes model fit. See [appendix A](#) for more details.

⁹ Covariates included in each model are based on the student background characteristics associated with the outcome as identified by Seattle DEEL’s outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025).

Lachowska, 2017; Bifulco, Rubenstein, & Sohn, 2019; Carruthers & Fox, 2015; Page et al., 2019; Ratledge et al., 2021; Seattle DEEL, 2019).

Enrollment in different types of institutions

After restricting analyses to students who enrolled in college, the evaluation team found that Seattle Promise applicants and the matched comparison group tended to choose different types of institutions. Exhibit 2 shows that Seattle Promise applicants were 28 percentage points more likely to enroll in a 2-year (versus 4-year) college, 9 percentage points more likely to enroll in a public (versus private) college, and 15 percentage points more likely to enroll in an in-state (versus out-of-state) college, relative to their nonapplicant peers. Other Promise programs that limit the institutions at which scholarships can be used have seen a similar influence on college choices. Specifically, Kalamazoo Promise, which covers the tuition and mandatory fees of graduates of Kalamazoo public high schools at any public college or university located in Michigan, increases the likelihood that students consider public and in-state colleges (Andrews, DesJardins, & Ranchhod, 2010).



Note. Results statistically control for Seattle Public Schools (SPS) high school attended and student background characteristics associated with the outcome as identified by the Seattle Department of Education and Early Learning's outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025). Note that these analyses do not control for specific program components (e.g., the equity scholarship), as no control group members received them.

*** $p < 0.01$

$N = 11,136$ SPS students, including 8,316 SPS students who enrolled in a 2-year college, a public college, and an in-state college

Source. SPS, Seattle Colleges, National Student Clearinghouse, and Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction administrative data

Focus group discussions echoed these findings. Seattle Promise applicants reported receiving clear communication from Seattle Promise representatives, including outreach specialists. They also stated that the user-friendly Seattle Promise website facilitated their college application submissions. Outreach specialists indicated that helping students with college applications was just one part of promoting a broader college-going culture.

“Being in the community and embedded in the high schools has really helped us reach [students] and kind of promote college-going culture ...”

- Seattle Promise outreach specialist

Seattle Promise applicants reported enrolling in Seattle Colleges (which are public, in-state, 2-year colleges) because they offer tuition-free education and a relaxed atmosphere. A few applicants mentioned they wanted to pursue 4-year college degrees but opted to begin at Seattle Colleges to save money.

“I am so glad I’m able to do this because I want to, like, be in as little debt as possible going to college Our schedule is very light, so we can also work at the same time ...”

- Seattle Promise scholar

Seattle Promise May Help Mitigate Retention Challenges that 2-year College Students Encounter

Before accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

As shown in Exhibit 3, there was not a significant difference between Seattle Promise applicants’ and nonapplicants’ likelihood of staying in college from first fall to second fall (i.e., year 1 retention) or from second fall to second spring (i.e., year 2 retention).

Consistent with this finding, retention specialist focus group participants reported that Seattle Promise applicants occasionally drop out of the program and college because of life circumstances unrelated to Seattle Promise (e.g., needing to work more hours or provide childcare to support their families). Instead of dropping the program altogether, applicants could take advantage of Seattle Promise’s Part-time Flexibility offering.¹⁰ However, retention specialists and Seattle Promise applicants agree this rarely occurs. Retention specialists reported that the Part-time Flexibility offering is rarely discussed with Seattle Promise applicants. Even when it is discussed, it is often a last-resort option that applicants do not choose. When asked about the Part-time Flexibility offering, many Seattle Promise applicants were unaware of it. Therefore, a possible explanation for why Seattle Promise did not significantly impact retention could be that students who need retention support, like Part-Time Flexibility, are not aware of the opportunity and drop out.

¹⁰ Part-time Flexibility is an operational improvement designed to reduce the barrier to part-time enrollment. Introduced in the 2022–2023 school year, it allows Seattle Promise scholars to request part-time status because of medical reasons, financial reasons, personal reasons (such as needing to take care of family), academic stress, unavailability of classes needed that quarter, or less than a full-time load needed to graduate.

"[Part-time flexibility] was never like really presented to me as an option. And I think that during summer bridge specifically, [Seattle Promise] should list all these [operational improvements] as things that are available to you."

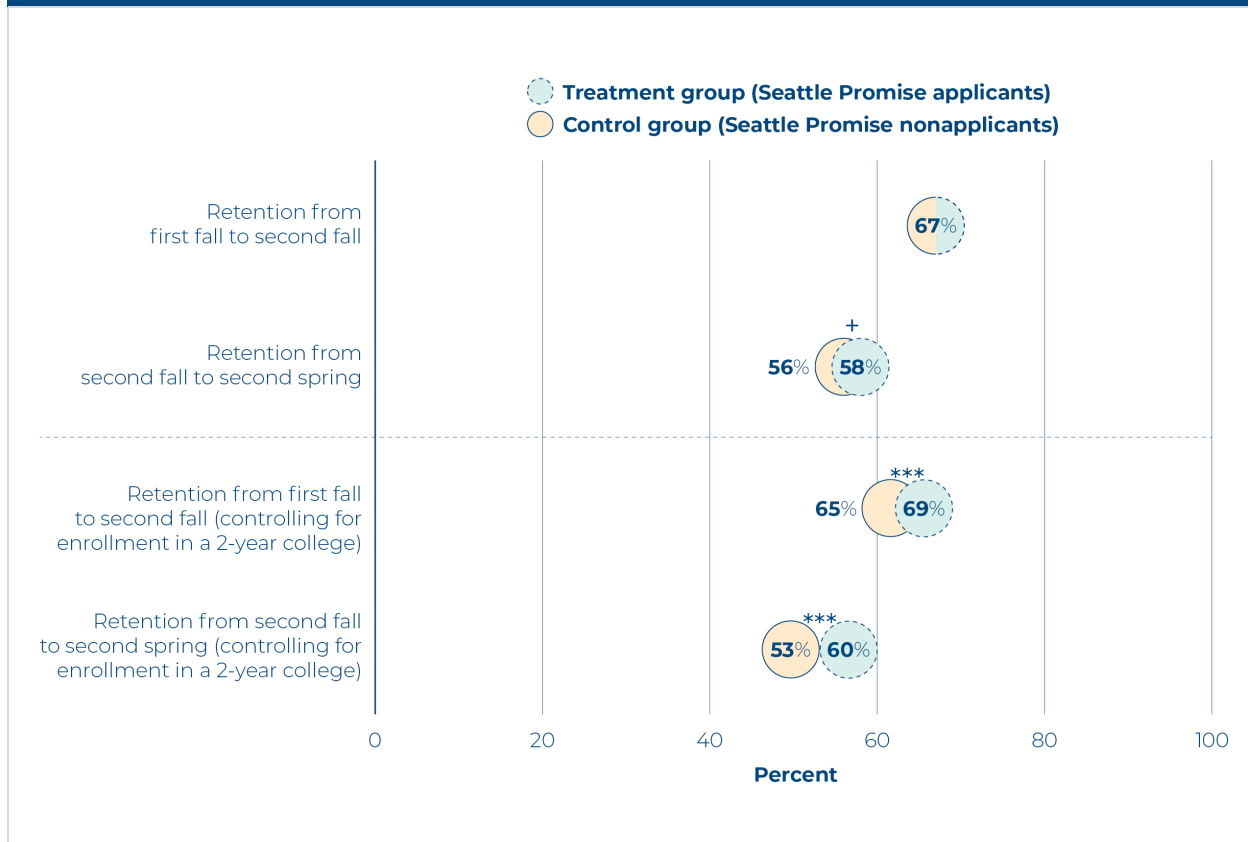
- Seattle Promise scholar

These findings, however, do not account for whether a student first enrolls at a 2- or 4-year college. The sector of initial enrollment matters when examining retention rates because long-term data trends point to sectoral differences in retention. For example, recent national estimates identify a nearly 20 percentage point difference in retention rates between 2- and 4-year institutions, with only 64.9 percent of students enrolled at 2-year institutions retaining from first fall to second fall (National Center for Education Statistics, 2024). At the same time, this study finds that Seattle Promise applicants were more likely to enroll in 2-year colleges, whereas their nonapplicant peers were more likely to enroll in 4-year colleges. In other words, more Seattle Promise applicants enroll in 2-year colleges where overall retention rates are lower. The potentially positive effects of Seattle Promise on retention could end up masked by the overall lower retention rates at 2-year colleges. Given this background, Seattle Promise's impacts on retention should be considered in the context of whether students first enrolled in a 2- or 4-year college.

After accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

After statistically controlling for whether students enrolled in a 2- or 4-year college, the evaluation team found a statistically significant relationship between treatment status and retention, both from first fall to second fall (i.e., year 1 retention) and from second fall to second spring (i.e., year 2 retention) (see Exhibit 3). Put differently, Seattle Promise applicants who enrolled in 2-year colleges were *more likely* to continue in their initial institution than their nonapplicant peers who also enrolled in 2-year colleges. This finding suggests Seattle Promise may help students mitigate some of the retention hurdles that traditional 2-year college students face.

Exhibit 3. Retention rates by Seattle Promise status, with and without statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college



Note. Results statistically control for Seattle Public Schools (SPS) high school attended and student background characteristics associated with the outcome as identified by the Seattle Department of Education and Early Learning's outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025). Note that these analyses do not control for specific program components (e.g., the equity scholarship), as no control group members received them.

+ $p < 0.10$, *** $p < 0.01$

$N = 8,316$ SPS students who enrolled in college for both year 1 and year 2 retention

Source. SPS, Seattle Colleges, National Student Clearinghouse, and Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction administrative data

Focus group responses suggest retention specialists may be one mechanism through which Seattle Promise helps students stay in school.

"I've been working with my retention specialist throughout this school year and...he's pretty great. I like working with him, sometimes I get a little scared with my plan to graduate but he's there to remind me that I'm on track....He communicates really well with me and he's really quick with answering emails. I do work with him and all the retention specialists closely ...and they're all pretty nice and always trying to help students."

- Seattle Promise scholar

Seattle Promise Did Not Significantly Increase College Completion Rates

Before accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

At first look, Seattle Promise appeared to have a positive impact on college completion rates. As shown in Exhibit 4, Seattle Promise applicants were

- 10 percentage points more likely to complete a certificate, degree, or transfer within 2 years of high school,
- 11 percentage points more likely to complete a certificate, degree, or transfer within 3 years of high school, and
- 7 percentage points more likely to complete a certificate, degree, or transfer within 4 years of high school, relative to their matched peers.

Retention specialist focus group participants emphasized their perceptions that, with the addition of the Completion Commitment¹¹ in the 2021–2022 school year, Seattle Promise can help students with varied time-to-degree completion pathways complete their programs. One retention specialist expressed how many of their Seattle Promise scholars became discouraged and dropped out of college before the Completion Commitment was implemented. Now, scholars with undecided majors or scholars who are actively exploring areas of study or developing career goals can benefit from a third year of funding.

“I think that [the Completion Commitment] has really done a lot to assist students to know that they can still be with Seattle Promise going into that third year.”

- Seattle Promise retention specialist

Focus group discussions also acknowledged the retention specialist’s role in supporting Seattle Promise scholars as they transferred to a 4-year institution. Scholars with an interest in applying to the University of Washington (UW) after completing Seattle Promise mentioned that their retention specialist introduced them to UW transfer advisors. These advisors helped UW-prospective students learn about the application process and life at UW.

However, impacts on completion should also be considered in context, namely whether students enrolled in a 2- or 4-year college (completing college quickly is, after all, feasible in shorter programs).

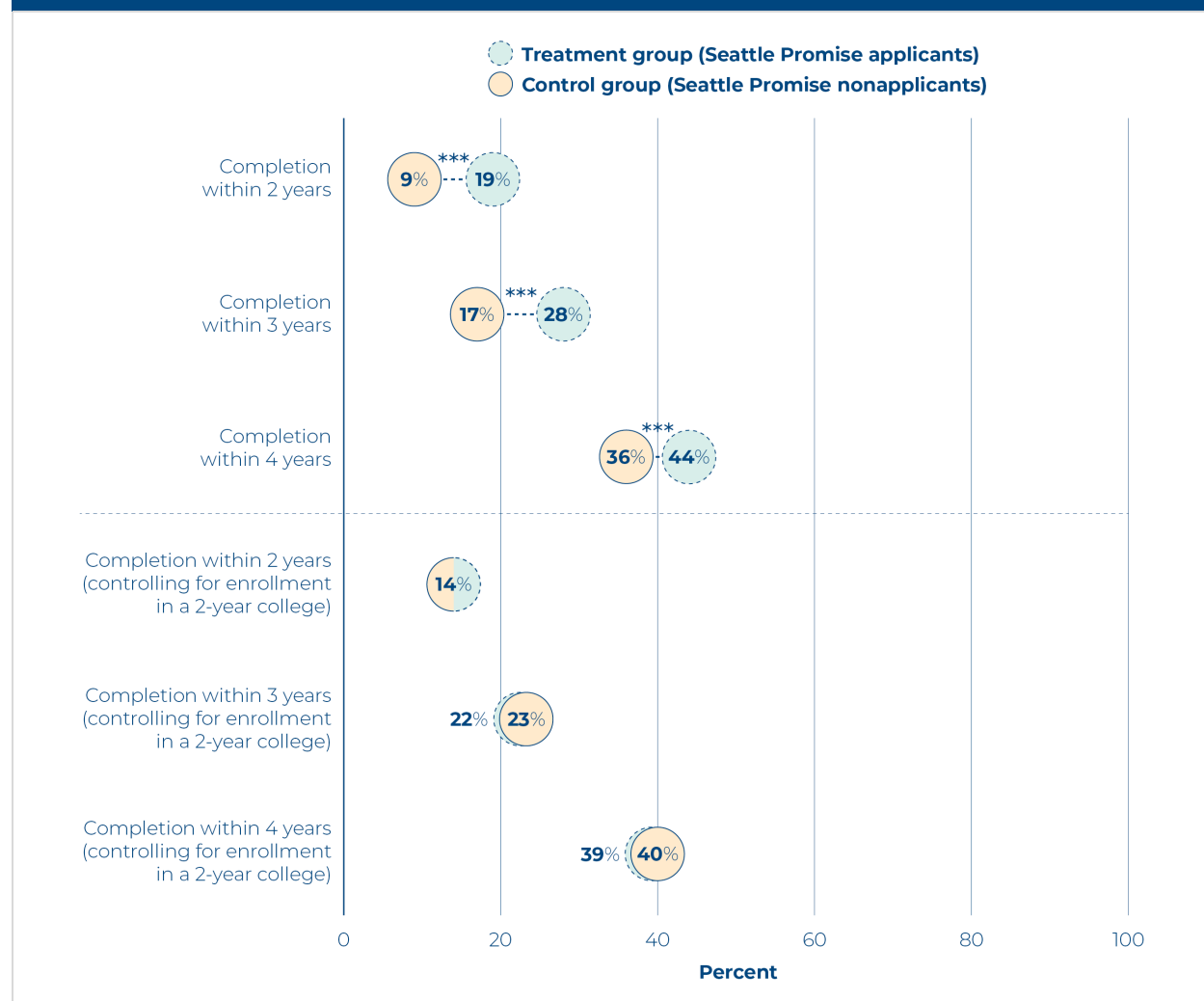
After accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

After statistically controlling for whether students enrolled in a 2- or 4-year college, the evaluation team did not find a statistically significant relationship between treatment status and completion rates within 2, 3, or 4 years of high school (see Exhibit 4). Taken together with results related to enrollment in different types of institutions, this finding suggests Seattle Promise may help applicants complete college more quickly than their nonapplicant peers by influencing their college choices. Enrollment analyses indicate Seattle Promise applicants were more likely to enroll in 2-year colleges, whereas their nonapplicant peers were more likely to enroll in 4-year colleges. And

¹¹ The Completion Commitment is designed to extend program supports for up to three quarters (and up to 1 additional year) for students who remain eligible to complete their program or degree. Introduced in the 2021–2022 school year, this commitment waives the existing 2-year time limit or 90-credit limit for Seattle Promise scholars.

although Seattle Promise applicants were more likely to complete college than their nonapplicant peers, this relationship is not significant when enrollment in a 2-year (versus 4-year) college was held constant in statistical analyses. Put differently, Seattle Promise applicants who enrolled in 2-year colleges were *not* more likely to complete college than their nonapplicant peers who also enrolled in 2-year colleges. Consistent with Seattle Promise’s goal to promote the attainment of a certificate, credential, degree, or transfer to a 4-year institution, this study did not distinguish between different types of degrees.

Exhibit 4. Completion rates by Seattle Promise status, with and without statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college



Note. Results statistically control for Seattle Public Schools (SPS) high school attended and student background characteristics associated with the outcome as identified by the Seattle Department of Education and Early Learning’s outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025). Note that these analyses do not control for specific program components (e.g., the equity scholarship), as no control group members received them.

*** $p < 0.01$

$N = 8,316, 5,489,$ and $2,693$ SPS students who enrolled in college for completion within 2 years, 3 years, and 4 years of high school, respectively

Source. SPS, Seattle Colleges, National Student Clearinghouse, and Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction administrative data

Evaluation Question 2: Does Seattle Promise Help Close Race-Based Opportunity Gaps?

This section provides an overview of results related to the impact of Seattle Promise on opportunity gaps in college enrollment, retention, and completion. Seattle Promise aims to close race-based opportunity gaps—significant and persistent disparities in access to educational experiences and expanded learning opportunities between different groups of students, including traditionally undersupported students—by “reduc[ing] and/or remov[ing] financial barriers that keep some public high school graduates from earning a credential, certificate, degree, or transfer to 4-year institution” (Seattle DEEL 2019, p. 100).

Opportunity gaps can be measured in several ways, each with its own strengths and limitations. For example, although this study is specifically interested in race-based opportunity gaps, gaps might exist between each racial subgroup and the highest performing subgroup, all other subgroups, or the student body as a whole. Because indices differ in their specific measurement approach, this study examines differences in opportunity gaps using four distinct indices described in the literature. Relying on multiple indices increases certainty that any findings for this evaluation question reflect true differences, rather than being an artifact of a specific measurement approach.

For each of the outcomes in question (i.e., enrollment, retention, and completion), this report identifies Seattle Promise as closing race-based opportunity gaps if at least three of the four indices are indicative of reductions in gaps for Seattle Promise applicants relative to nonapplicants. This conservative approach increases certainty about the findings themselves while still allowing for modest differences in measurement approach. See Exhibit 5 for a description of each measure and its strengths and limitations. See appendix B for detailed results.

Exhibit 5. Strengths and limitations of opportunity gap measures

Measure	Description	Strengths	Limitations
Equity gap score (adapted from Krause 2021)	Measures the ratio between the lowest and highest performing groups on a given outcome	• Easy to calculate • Can statistically control for covariates	• Results observed for small groups may not be reliable
80 percent rule index (Sosa 2022)	Examines whether any subgroups achieve a particular educational outcome less than 80% of the time when the highest achieving subgroup always attains the same outcome	• Clearly establishes a cutoff value for determining proportionality index • A strict 80% cutoff can prevent the need for further exploration • Effective method for comparisons between subgroups • Can statistically control for covariates	• A rigid 80% cutoff can curtail discussion or further exploration • Results observed for small groups may not be reliable
Percentage point gap index (Sosa 2022)	Measures the difference in percentage points between a target group's achievement outcome rate and the combined achievement outcome rate for all remaining demographic groups	• Easy to calculate • Accounts for the number of student records • Can statistically control for covariates	• The use of a margin of error presumes one is working with samples rather than populations of students
Proportionality index (Sosa 2022)	Examines whether a group's representation with respect to one or more educational outcomes is similar to its representation in the general student body	• Effective method for assessing equitable group representation	• No universally agreed-upon benchmark value for proportionality index • Results observed for small groups may not be reliable • Cannot statistically control for covariates

Seattle Promise Helped Close Race-Based Opportunity Gaps in College Enrollment

Enrollment in any college

Three out of four opportunity gap measures indicate that Seattle Promise helped close enrollment gaps, as illustrated by the blue dots in Exhibit 6. This was true across all colleges. Detailed analyses (shown in Exhibit B.15) suggest this finding is driven by Seattle Promise's success in closing enrollment gaps among applicants who identified as Hispanic or Black, in part, through increasing Hispanic and Black applicants' likelihood of enrolling in any college. National estimates indicate that majority of Hispanic and Black undergraduates are first-generation college students, at 73 percent and 65 percent, respectively (RTI International, 2023). This finding therefore suggests that

Seattle Promise supports first-generation college students, whose parents tend to have less experience with college and financial aid application processes.¹²

Enrollment in different types of institutions

When examining the types of institutions in which students enrolled, three out of four opportunity gap measures show there are fewer opportunity gaps in enrollment in 2-year (versus 4-year) and in-state (versus out-of-state) colleges among Seattle Promise applicants. Detailed analyses (shown in Exhibits B.16 and B.18) suggest this finding is driven by Seattle Promise’s success in closing enrollment gaps among applicants who identified as White, in part through increasing White applicants’ likelihood of enrolling in both 2-year and in-state colleges. Results indicated no change in opportunity gaps in enrollment at public (versus private) colleges (see Exhibit 6).

Exhibit 6. Changes in race-based opportunity gaps in college enrollment by treatment status and opportunity gap measure					
		Fewer opportunity gaps (F) — No change (N) — More opportunity gaps (M)			
		Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants) versus control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)			
		Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
Enrollment	Any college	F	N	F	F
	2 year (versus 4 year) college	N	F	F	F
	Public (versus private) college	N	N	N	N
	In-state (versus out-of-state) college	N	F	F	F

N = 11,136 SPS students, including 8,316 SPS students who enrolled in a 2-year college, public college, and in-state college

Source. Seattle Public Schools (SPS), Seattle Colleges, National Student Clearinghouse, and Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction administrative data

Seattle Promise’s Impact on Race-Based Opportunity Gaps in Retention Were Strongest During Students’ First Year In College

Before accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

Three out of four opportunity gap measures indicate Seattle Promise applicants exhibited fewer race-based gaps in retention from first fall to second fall (i.e., year 1 retention), as illustrated by the blue dots in Exhibit 7. Similar to enrollment in any college, detailed analyses (shown in Exhibit B.19) suggest this finding is driven by Seattle Promise’s success in closing year 1 retention gaps for Seattle Promise applicants who identified as Hispanic. This closure of the gap appears, in part, driven by Seattle Promise increasing Hispanic applicants’ likelihood of staying in college from first fall to second fall.

¹² This study did not statistically control for first-generation status because the necessary data were not available.

One possible explanation, gleaned from focus group discussions, is that the supports offered by retention specialists are particularly helpful for English language learners (ELLs) or first-generation college students,¹³ who are likely to identify as Hispanic.

“Throughout this year, I worked with a student who identifies as a first-generation [college student] as well as an English language learner to navigate some pretty complicated processes in terms of completing financial aid files Students are required to submit the FAFSA and the WAFSA each year But this student faced some barriers, like being a first-generation [college student], not having family members who can help them through [the financial aid process].. I was able to work closely with them with Financial Aid and with other offices, like Admissions and Registration, to get those files complete for them so they’re able to continue [college] and have their aid dispersed.”

- Seattle Promise retention specialist

However, when examining retention from second fall to second spring (year 2 retention), three out of four opportunity gap measures showed no change in retention (see Exhibit 7).

After accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

Post hoc analyses that control for enrollment sector (i.e., 2-year or 4-year) revealed mixed results regarding Seattle Promise’s impact on opportunity gaps in enrollment. The most meaningful change occurs in the measurement of retention from first fall to second fall (i.e., year 1 retention). Whereas, before controlling for enrollment sector, three out of four measures indicated a closing of opportunity gaps, after controlling for sector, only two measures indicate such an improvement (see Exhibit 7). Put differently, after controlling for sector, there is less certainty that Seattle Promise closed race-based opportunity gaps in retention from first fall to second fall.

¹³ Although this study statistically controlled for ELL status when deemed associated with the outcome as identified by Seattle DEEL’s outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025), analyses did not control for first-generation status because data were not available.

Exhibit 7. Changes in race-based opportunity gaps in college retention by treatment status and opportunity gap measure, with and without statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college

		Fewer opportunity gaps F N M More opportunity gaps			
		Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants) versus control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)			
		Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
Retention	First fall to second fall	F	M	F	F
	Second fall to second spring	N	N	M	N
Retention (controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)	First fall to second fall	F	N	N	F
	Second fall to second spring	N	F	M	N

N = 8,316 SPS students who enrolled in college for both year 1 and year 2 retention

Source. Seattle Public Schools (SPS), Seattle Colleges, National Student Clearinghouse, and Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction administrative data

Seattle Promise's Impact on Race-Based Opportunity Gaps in College Completion Were Strongest Four Years after High School

Before accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

Within 2 years of high school, there was no change in race-based gaps among Seattle Promise applicants in terms of completing a certificate or degree or transferring to a 4-year college, relative to the nonapplicant group (illustrated by the gray dots in Exhibit 8). However, the results suggest that Seattle Promise's impact on opportunity gaps in completion grew beyond 2 years after high school. Results were mixed within 3 years of high school, with two measures indicating no change and two measures indicating fewer completion gaps. Within 4 years, three out of four measures indicated fewer race-based completion gaps for Seattle Promise applicants compared with their nonapplicant peers.

Detailed analyses (shown in Exhibits B.27 and B.28) suggest this finding is driven by Seattle Promise's success in closing 4-year completion gaps for applicants who identified as multiracial, in part, through increasing multiracial applicants' likelihood of completing college within 4 years of high school. However, evidence suggests 4-year completion gaps increased among Seattle Promise applicants who identified as Hispanic, in part, through decreasing Hispanic applicants' likelihood of completing college within 4 years of high school. This finding is surprising, given that Seattle Promise appears to decrease opportunity gaps in both enrollment and retention for students who identify as Hispanic. That said, the finding aligns with results from studies of Kalamazoo Promise and its impacts on retention (Collier & McMullen, 2023; Martínez, Collier, Byrd, & McMullen, 2023).

Although quantitative analyses are a valuable tool for surfacing these dissonant findings, they leave unanswered the *why*, which can and should be explored as part of subsequent evaluations. In the case of Kalamazoo Promise, scholars contemplated whether lower completion rates for students of color was itself a reflection of inequities that accumulate over time and become a structural barrier to students' educational opportunity and success. Additional considerations involve the role and influence of *familism*, or how Hispanic students in particular may prioritize family needs and preferences above individual preferences (Desmond & Lopez Turley, 2009). A strong sense of familism can improve students' mental health and well-being, as well as guide their educational decision-making. Taken to its extreme, and if familism pushes learners away from postsecondary education, it could have a uniquely strong impact on attainment for Hispanic students. Without corroborating evidence, there is no clear reason to believe this underlies the findings we outline above. It does, however, suggest an area of future inquiry that could lead to changes in program design that improve completion for Hispanic students by learning from and uplifting the strength of families and communities.

After accounting for sector of initial enrollment (2-year versus 4-year)

Post hoc analyses that control for enrollment sector (i.e., 2-year or 4-year) revealed a pattern of results in the opportunity gap measures that is approximately similar to those observed that do not account for enrollment sector. The most meaningful change occurs in the measurement of opportunity gaps for completion within four years of high school. Whereas, before controlling for enrollment sector, three out of four measures indicated a closing of opportunity gaps, after controlling for sector, only two measures indicate such an improvement (see Exhibit 8). Again, after controlling for sector, there is less certainty in the finding that Seattle Promise closed race-based opportunity gaps in completion within four years of high school.

Exhibit 8. Changes in race-based opportunity gaps in college completion by treatment status and opportunity gap measure, with and without statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college

Fewer opportunity gaps (F) — No change (N) — More opportunity gaps (M)

		Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants) versus control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)			
		Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
Completion	Within 2 years	(N)	(N)	(N)	(N)
	Within 3 years	(N)	(F)	(F)	(N)
	Within 4 years	(F)	(F)	(F)	(N)
Completion (controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)	Within 2 years	(N)	(M)	(N)	(N)
	Within 3 years	(N)	(F)	(F)	(N)
	Within 4 years	(N)	(F)	(F)	(N)

N = 8,316, 5,489, and 2,693 SPS students who enrolled in college for completion within 2 years, 3 years, and 4 years of high school, respectively

Source. Seattle Public Schools (SPS), Seattle Colleges, National Student Clearinghouse, and Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction administrative data

Conclusion

This report offers a brief overview of postsecondary outcomes for the first three cohorts of Seattle Promise applicants. Consistent with other Promise program evaluations (Bartik, Hershbein, & Lachowska, 2017; Bifulco, Rubenstein, & Sohn, 2019; Carruthers & Fox, 2015; Page et al, 2019; Ratledge et al., 2021), overall results indicate Seattle Promise had positive impacts on college enrollment. This suggests the program is making progress toward its goal of ensuring Seattle students have access to and use postsecondary educational opportunities that promote the attainment of a certificate, credential, degree, or transfer to a 4-year institution (Seattle DEEL 2019). However, mixed findings related to college retention and completion suggest opportunities for improvement and areas for future research:

- Deliver early and clear communication about program elements.** Although Seattle Promise cannot single-handedly remove barriers that surface in students' life circumstances, such as the need to work more hours or provide childcare to support their families, program staff could deliver early and clear communication of program elements and support that might help Seattle Promise scholars experiencing extenuating circumstances stay in college, such as Part-time Flexibility. Similarly, greater awareness of program elements like Completion Commitment might help students with varied time-to-degree completion pathways (e.g., those actively exploring areas of study or developing career goals) complete their programs. A student

advisory group convened by DEEL echoed the need for early and clear communication, and the desire to reframe 3-year completion as a valuable and intentional pathway Seattle Promise can help support.

- **Actively engage diverse families with tailored, multilingual messages and support.** Results provide some evidence that Seattle Promise helps close race-based opportunity gaps in college enrollment, retention from first fall to second fall, and completion of a certificate, degree, or transfer within 4 years of high school. More specifically, Seattle Promise appears to have reduced both enrollment and retention gaps for students who identify as Hispanic; however, this did not translate to a reduction in completion gaps for these students. This may be related to Hispanic students' likelihood of being first-generation college students (RTI International 2023), inability to take full advantage of the program due to accumulated inequities (Collier & McMullen, 2023; Martínez, Collier, Byrd, & McMullen, 2023), or even a side-effect of familism (i.e., prioritizing family needs and preferences above individual preferences, Desmond & Lopez Turley, 2009). To address these challenges, Seattle Promise might consider actively engaging families with tailored, multilingual messages and support that recognizes the needs of different cultures and of first-generation college families. Seattle DEEL's student advisory group emphasized the unique challenges first-generation and multilingual college students face, and echoed the perceived value of actively engaging families to address these challenges.
- **Invest in additional research to determine whether Seattle Promise may unintentionally be influencing applicants to earn 2-year, rather than 4-year, degrees.** While preliminary analyses suggest Seattle Promise may positively impact college completion rates within 2-, 3-, or 4-years of high school, post hoc analyses suggest Seattle Promise may do so by influencing them to enroll in 2-year (rather than 4-year) colleges. However, given Seattle Promise's broad goal to promote the attainment of a certificate, credential, degree, or transfer to a 4-year institution, this study did not distinguish between the *types* of degrees students completed (e.g., 2-year versus 4-year). Although we are not aware of studies that explore this phenomenon in other Promise programs, there is some evidence to suggest the converse: Promise programs that do *not* limit students to a specific sector (2-year or 4-year) may influence students who would have otherwise enrolled in 2-year colleges to enroll in 4-year colleges instead. Although the authors concluded the program's effect on degree attainment was driven by an increase in bachelor's attainment, their analyses did not statistically control for the sector in which students enrolled, and so conclusions cannot be drawn about the role of programmatic influences on enrollment choices (Bartik, Hershbein, & Lachowska, 2017). Although unrelated to Seattle Promise's stated goals, an indirect impact on degree types may have implications for students' lifelong earnings, as bachelor's degree holders earn more at the median than those with associate's degrees (Carnevale, Cheah, & Wenzinger 2021). Moreover, Washington's community and technical colleges offer two types of "transfer degrees," the Direct Transfer Agreement (DTA) associate degree and the Associate of Science Transfer (AS-T) degree. As part of these degrees, students can choose a specific Major Related Program, which is designed to prepare students for transfer into select degree programs (e.g., business, biology, engineering, nursing) (WSAC, 2025). Any study of the impact of Seattle Promise on degree type should also examine whether and how Seattle Promise participation interacts with participation and success in these unique transfer pathways.

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Appendix A

Detailed Methodology

Appendix A

Detailed Methodology

This appendix provides supplemental methodological details. The following sections present the evaluation questions and data sources used to answer them, the study design implemented, and the data analyses conducted.

Evaluation Questions

Informed by the 2022–23 Seattle Promise Research Agenda (Seattle DEEL and Seattle Colleges 2022) and extant findings on Seattle Promise and other Promise programs, the general questions for this evaluation follow:

1. Does Seattle Promise increase college enrollment, retention, and completion for Seattle Promise applicants compared with nonapplicants?
2. Does Seattle Promise help close race-based opportunity gaps?

Within these larger questions, the evaluation plan specifies additional subquestions for this study. Exhibit A.1 lists the evaluation questions and subquestions this study was designed to answer.

Exhibit A.1. Evaluation questions and subquestions	
Evaluation question	Subquestion
1. Does Seattle Promise increase college enrollment, retention, and completion for Seattle Promise applicants compared with nonapplicants?	What is the effect of Seattle Promise on—
	a. Applicants' postsecondary enrollment at any college during the study period relative to nonapplicants?
	b. Applicants' enrollment in various types of postsecondary programs (i.e., in 4-year versus 2-year, public versus private, and in-state versus out-of-state programs) at any college during the study period relative to nonapplicants?
	c. Applicants' retention at any college relative to nonapplicants? ^a
	d. Applicants' completion at any college relative to nonapplicants? ^b
2. Does Seattle Promise help close race-based opportunity gaps?	Does Seattle Promise alter the relationship between race and—
	a. College enrollment at any college during the study period?
	b. Enrollment in various types of postsecondary programs (i.e., in 4-year versus 2-year, public versus private, and in-state versus out-of-state programs) at any college during the study period?
	c. College retention at any college? ^a
	d. College completion at any college? ^b

^a Including year 1 retention (continuing through college from first fall to second fall) and year 2 retention (continuing through college from second fall to second spring); for students who defer enrollment, year 1 retention is defined as first quarter through fifth quarter, excluding summer, and year 2 retention is defined as fifth quarter through seventh quarter, excluding summer.

^b Including completion (obtaining a degree, credential, or transfer) within 2 years, 3 years, and 4 years of high school

Data Sources

This study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative data sources to answer each of the evaluation questions outlined in Exhibit A.1.

Quantitative Data Sources

The evaluation team collaborated with Seattle DEEL to obtain the following data for academic years 2017–2018 through 2023–2024:

- **SPS District Data.** The team used student characteristics data from this source to identify an appropriate matched comparison group.
- **Seattle Colleges Data.** This data file included the primary independent variables (i.e., Seattle Promise application statuses) and supplemental dependent variables (i.e., enrollment, retention, and completion).
- **NSC Data.** This data file included the primary dependent variables (i.e., enrollment, retention, and completion).
- **Washington OSPI Data.** Because student-level data on income are not available, the team used the percentage of students identified as low income within each SPS high school in a student's given junior year from this source as a proxy variable.

Qualitative Data Sources

The evaluation team conducted staff and student focus groups with Westat and Seattle Colleges Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval:

- **Seattle Promise Staff Focus Groups.** The team collaborated with Seattle DEEL to coordinate and conduct focus groups with Seattle Promise outreach and retention specialists, building on the process evaluation focus groups conducted in the second quarter of 2023. These focus groups explored staff members' perceptions of the hurdles and facilitators to applicants' progression in the program from one milestone to the next.
- **Seattle Promise Student Focus Groups.** The team collaborated with Seattle DEEL to coordinate and conduct focus groups with Seattle Promise applicants and scholars. The protocol asked about factors identified in the literature and previous Seattle DEEL research to affect student outcomes and explored students' perceptions of hurdles and facilitators to remaining in the Seattle Promise program from one milestone to the next. Students received a \$50 e-gift card for their participation.

Study Design

This study used a quasi-experimental design to examine whether a causal relationship exists between Seattle Promise and key outcomes. This design estimates the causal impact of an intervention on a target population without random assignment.

Study Sample and Comparison Group Selection

SPS students who were enrolled in 12th grade in academic years 2019–2020 through 2021–2022 and applied for Seattle Promise, regardless of whether they enrolled in Seattle Colleges, were included in the program (or treatment) group. The comparison group for the study included SPS students who were enrolled in 12th grade in academic years 2019–2020 through 2021–2022 and were similar to Seattle Promise applicants. The approach mimics a randomized controlled trial; using a randomized controlled trial, students would have been randomly assigned at the start of their senior year to the Seattle Promise intervention or to receive all other available services at their high school. However, random assignment was not feasible, so the study established a matched sample of SPS students who did not apply for Seattle Promise during their senior year of

high school. The matching strategy proceeded in four steps (Stuart 2010) to derive the comparison group, as follows.

Step 1: Identify the Available Data. The evaluation team identified several variables that prior research suggests are likely to be related to high school graduation and college enrollment but *not* affected by Seattle Promise. These variables include student demographics, cumulative GPA, and low-income household status (proxied by the percentage of students identified as low income within each SPS high school in their junior year). Specifically, the team considered the following student-level data, obtained from 11th-grade SPS records:

- SPS high school attended;
- Cohort year (defined as year after high school graduation);
- Race/ethnicity;
- Gender;
- Special education status;
- Percentage of students identified as low income within each high school;
- SPS cumulative GPA (prior to grade 12); and
- ELL status.

Step 2: Explore Options to Assess Measures of Similarity. From the pool of SPS students who did not apply for Seattle Promise, the evaluation team selected a matched comparison sample of students similar to those who applied using propensity score matching. A propensity score is the probability that a student with certain characteristics might experience an intervention. In this study, the propensity score is the predicted probability that a student with certain characteristics would have applied for Seattle Promise. Propensity scores can be used to reduce selection bias by creating two similar groups.

Using logistic regression, the team estimated propensity scores for all SPS students (both Seattle Promise applicants and nonapplicants) based on the set of matching variables identified in step 1. The team compared the distribution of propensity scores in the treatment and comparison group to determine if the two groups had a similar propensity to apply to Seattle Promise.

Step 3: Select a Matching Method Based on a Selected Approach. To implement propensity score matching, the evaluation team explored imputation methods using the MatchIt package in R, including Nearest Neighbor, Full Matching, Optimal Matching, and K-to-One Matching. Each method was evaluated for its ability to balance key covariates and retain as many of the student observations as possible. The team ultimately selected Full Matching, which allows for more than one comparison individual for each Seattle Promise applicant with associated matching weights.

Different outcomes in this evaluation require different subsample groups. For example, enrollment in college was assessed on all students in the sample, but retention in the first year could only be assessed on students who attended college. Further, because of data availability, some outcomes (such as completion within 4 years of college) were only available for certain cohorts. To account for these subsample differences, the team conducted a matching procedure for each of the subsamples.

Step 4: Assess the Quality of the Match. The evaluation team assessed the quality of the matching method in two ways. First, the team examined whether the variables after matching (those included in the matching algorithm and those excluded; Stuart 2010) were similar for the Seattle Promise

program group and the matched comparison group by examining the standardized difference in means (Rosenbaum and Rubin 1985), as shown in Exhibit A.2 and Exhibit A.3.

Exhibit A.2. Standardized mean differences of baseline variables before full matching for the full sample			
Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
Treatment probability	0.58	0.40	0.93
Race/ethnicity			
American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.01	0.01	0.03
Asian	0.22	0.12	0.24
Black	0.21	0.13	0.20
Hispanic	0.16	0.11	0.14
Multiracial	0.08	0.09	-0.03
White	0.31	0.55	-0.50
Gender			
Female	0.47	0.49	-0.04
Male	0.52	0.50	0.04
Nonbinary	0.00	0.01	0.00
English language learner status			
No	0.85	0.93	-0.23
Yes	0.16	0.07	0.23
Special education status			
No	0.87	0.89	-0.05
Yes	0.13	0.11	0.05
Low income	0.43	0.31	0.48
Cohort			
2020	0.26	0.38	-0.27
2021	0.36	0.32	0.08
2022	0.38	0.30	0.16
Seattle Public Schools grade point average	3.13	3.34	-0.34
Seattle Public Schools high school attended			
Alan T. Sugiyama/South Lake High School	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ballard High School	0.11	0.14	-0.08
BRIDGES and Transition Services	0.01	0.02	-0.25
Cascade Parent Partnership	0.00	0.00	0.01
Chief Sealth International High School	0.08	0.05	0.12
Cleveland High School	0.11	0.02	0.28
Franklin High School	0.14	0.03	0.31
Garfield High School	0.08	0.16	-0.27
Ingraham High School	0.10	0.10	0.01
Interagency Academy	0.03	0.06	-0.16
Lincoln High School	0.01	0.02	-0.05
Middle College High School	0.01	0.00	0.05

Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
Nathan Hale High School	0.08	0.08	0.00
Nova High School	0.02	0.02	0.01
Open Doors Youth Reengagement (SVI 1418)	0.00	0.01	-0.50
Rainier Beach High School	0.07	0.03	0.17
Roosevelt High School	0.06	0.18	-0.52
Seattle World School	0.02	0.01	0.06
The Center School	0.02	0.01	0.02
West Seattle High School	0.06	0.08	-0.05

BRIDGES = Building Real-life Independent Daily Living and Gainful Employment Skills; SVI = Seattle Vocational Institute

Exhibit A.3. Standardized mean differences of baseline variables before full matching for the ever-enrolled in college subset			
Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
Treatment probability	0.66	0.38	1.24
Race/ethnicity			
American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.01	0.00	0.04
Asian	0.23	0.12	0.25
Black	0.20	0.09	0.28
Hispanic	0.14	0.07	0.20
Multiracial	0.09	0.09	-0.01
White	0.33	0.62	-0.61
Gender			
Female	0.48	0.52	-0.06
Male	0.51	0.48	0.07
Nonbinary	0.00	0.00	-0.02
English language learner status			
No	0.86	0.97	-0.31
Yes	0.14	0.03	0.31
Special education status			
No	0.89	0.96	-0.22
Yes	0.11	0.04	0.22
Low income	0.41	0.26	0.64
Cohort			
2020	0.27	0.38	-0.25
2021	0.36	0.31	0.10
2022	0.37	0.31	0.13
Seattle Public Schools grade point average	3.20	3.56	-0.64
Seattle Public Schools high school attended			
Alan T. Sugiyama/South Lake High School	0.00	0.00	0.02
Ballard High School	0.12	0.16	-0.13

Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
BRIDGES and Transition Services	0.00	0.00	0.01
Cascade Parent Partnership	0.00	0.00	0.02
Chief Sealth International High School	0.08	0.04	0.13
Cleveland High School	0.11	0.02	0.28
Franklin High School	0.15	0.03	0.33
Garfield High School	0.09	0.18	-0.33
Ingraham High School	0.10	0.11	-0.03
Interagency Academy	0.02	0.01	0.07
Lincoln High School	0.02	0.02	-0.07
Middle College High School	0.00	0.00	0.05
Nathan Hale High School	0.08	0.08	-0.02
Nova High School	0.01	0.01	0.06
Open Doors Youth Reengagement (SVI 1418)	0.00	0.00	-0.02
Rainier Beach High School	0.07	0.02	0.20
Roosevelt High School	0.06	0.22	-0.64
Seattle World School	0.01	0.00	0.10
The Center School	0.02	0.01	0.03
West Seattle High School	0.07	0.08	-0.05

BRIDGES = Building Real-life Independent Daily Living and Gainful Employment Skills; SVI = Seattle Vocational Institute

Second, the team compared the same variables after matching (the baseline measures) between the Seattle Promise program group and the comparison group as another check on match quality by graphically analyzing whether the standardized difference in means in the matched sample decreased from the prematch sample (King and Nielsen 2019; Stuart and Green 2008), as shown in Exhibit A.4 and Exhibit A.5.

Exhibit A.4. Standardized mean differences of baseline variables after full matching for the full subsample			
Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
Treatment probability	0.58	0.58	0.00
Race and ethnicity			
American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.01	0.02	-0.02
Asian	0.22	0.19	0.06
Black	0.21	0.22	-0.03
Hispanic	0.16	0.18	-0.05
Multiracial	0.08	0.10	-0.04
White	0.31	0.30	0.04
Gender			
Female	0.47	0.45	0.04
Male	0.52	0.54	-0.04
Nonbinary	0.00	0.00	0.01

Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
English language learner status			
No	0.84	0.81	0.11
Yes	0.16	0.19	-0.11
Special education status			
No	0.87	0.88	-0.02
Yes	0.13	0.12	0.02
Low income	0.43	0.43	-0.02
Cohort			
2020	0.26	0.28	-0.03
2021	0.36	0.37	-0.02
2022	0.38	0.35	0.05
Seattle Public Schools grade point average	3.13	2.97	0.26
Seattle Public Schools high school attended			
Alan T. Sugiyama/South Lake High School	0.00	0.00	-0.02
Ballard High School	0.11	0.11	0.02
BRIDGES and Transition Services	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cascade Parent Partnership	0.00	0.00	0.01
Chief Sealth International High School	0.08	0.09	-0.02
Cleveland High School	0.11	0.07	0.13
Franklin High School	0.14	0.12	0.04
Garfield High School	0.08	0.09	-0.02
Ingraham High School	0.10	0.09	0.02
Interagency Academy	0.03	0.04	-0.04
Lincoln High School	0.01	0.01	-0.01
Middle College High School	0.00	0.00	0.01
Nathan Hale High School	0.07	0.08	-0.03
Nova High School	0.02	0.02	-0.02
Open Doors Youth Reengagement (SVI 1418)	0.00	0.00	-0.01
Rainier Beach High School	0.07	0.09	-0.05
Roosevelt High School	0.06	0.05	0.03
Seattle World School	0.02	0.03	-0.09
The Center School	0.02	0.02	-0.06
West Seattle High School	0.06	0.07	-0.05

BRIDGES = Building Real-life Independent Daily Living and Gainful Employment Skills; SVI = Seattle Vocational Institute

Exhibit A.5. Standardized mean differences of baseline variables after full matching for ever-enrolled in college subsample

Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
Treatment probability	0.66	0.66	0.00
Race/ethnicity			
American Indian or Pacific Islander	0.01	0.01	0.00
Asian	0.23	0.22	0.02
Black	0.20	0.23	-0.07
Hispanic	0.14	0.12	0.06
Multiracial	0.09	0.09	-0.02
White	0.33	0.32	0.02
Gender			
Female	0.48	0.44	0.08
Male	0.51	0.55	-0.08
Nonbinary	0.00	0.00	0.01
English language learner status			
No	0.86	0.85	0.03
Yes	0.14	0.15	-0.03
Special education status			
No	0.89	0.90	-0.03
Yes	0.11	0.10	0.03
Low income	0.41	0.42	-0.01
Cohort			
2020	0.27	0.28	-0.01
2021	0.36	0.36	0.00
2022	0.37	0.37	0.01
Seattle Public Schools grade point average	3.20	3.16	0.08
Seattle Public Schools high school attended			
Alan T. Sugiyama/South Lake High School	0.00	0.00	-0.01
Ballard High School	0.12	0.11	0.03
BRIDGES and Transition Services	0.00	0.00	-0.01
Cascade Parent Partnership	0.00	0.00	0.02
Chief Sealth International High School	0.08	0.08	-0.01
Cleveland High School	0.11	0.08	0.09
Franklin High School	0.15	0.13	0.04
Garfield High School	0.09	0.09	-0.02
Ingraham High School	0.10	0.10	0.00
Interagency Academy	0.02	0.03	-0.09
Lincoln High School	0.02	0.01	0.02
Middle College High School	0.00	0.00	0.05

Term	Means treated	Means control	Standard mean difference
Nathan Hale High School	0.08	0.08	-0.02
Nova High School	0.01	0.02	-0.06
Open Doors Youth Reengagement (SVI 1418)	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rainier Beach High School	0.07	0.06	0.02
Roosevelt High School	0.06	0.06	0.01
Seattle World School	0.01	0.03	-0.15
The Center School	0.02	0.02	-0.05
West Seattle High School	0.07	0.07	-0.02

BRIDGES = Building Real-life Independent Daily Living and Gainful Employment Skills; SVI = Seattle Vocational Institute

The evaluation team selected the match method that yielded the best balance after these quality checks to produce the comparison group used for analysis.

Sample Size

The sample size for quantitative analyses includes Seattle Promise applicants from the 2020–2022 school year ($n = 5,409$) and a matched comparison group of nonapplicant 12th graders from eligible SPS high schools from the 2020–2022 school year ($n = 5,727$). See Exhibit A.6 for the number of SPS students in the evaluation sample by cohort and analysis group.

Exhibit A.6. Seattle Promise evaluation sample sizes by cohort and analysis group				
Sample	2020	2021	2022	Total
Nonapplicants	2,176	1,823	1,728	5,727
Non-SP applicant, non-SC matriculant	1,899	1,608	1,583	5,090
Non-SP applicant, SC matriculant	277	215	145	637
SP applicants	1,418	1,940	2,051	5,409
SP applicant, non-SP scholar	725	1,224	1,256	3,205
SP applicant, SP scholar	693	716	795	2,204
Total		3,763	3,779	11,136

SC = Seattle Colleges; SP = Seattle Promise

In addition, a convenience sample of 21 students and staff participated in focus groups, as follows:

- Seattle Promise Student Focus Groups.** Seattle Colleges sent introductory interest emails and text messages to potentially eligible Seattle Promise applicants and Seattle Promise scholars using IRB-approved outreach language. Eligible applicants included students who, as of July 1, 2024, were 18 years of age and older, were 12th-grade students participating in the Seattle Promise program, or graduated from high school in spring 2024. Eligible scholars included students who, as of July 1, 2024, were 18 years of age and older, were 13th- or 14th-grade students participating in the Seattle Promise program, or graduated from high school in spring 2022 or 2023 and enrolled in one of the Seattle Colleges the fall after graduating high school. See Exhibit A.7 for the number of students who were recruited, were eligible, and participated in focus group sessions. The applicants focus group represented five SPS high schools. The scholars focus group represented all three Seattle Colleges and four SPS high schools.

- **Seattle Promise Staff Focus Groups.** The evaluation team shared staff eligibility requirements (e.g., at least 1 year of experience, so staff would have sufficient insight to report on perceived impacts of recent programmatic changes) and outreach materials with Seattle Colleges leadership, including Dr. Lisa Malik, Seattle Colleges director of research and planning. Dr. Malik sent the first message to staff about the focus groups, and the team replied to interested staff members with Zoom links for the focus groups. These emails also included interview protocols and consent forms for staff to review before the focus groups. See Exhibit A.7 for the number of staff who were recruited, were eligible, and participated in focus group sessions.

Exhibit A.7. Student and staff focus group participation						
		Number recruited	Number responded	Number eligible	Number scheduled to participate	Number participated
Students	Applicants	2,176	61	61	10	5
	Scholars	1,802	50	47	10	7
Staff	Outreach specialists	N/A	N/A	5	5	4
	Retention specialists	N/A	N/A	14	14	5

N/A = not applicable

Baseline Equivalence Testing

In addition to using propensity score matching to select a matched comparison group of Seattle Promise nonapplicants, the evaluation team assessed the equivalence of the treatment and comparison students in each analytic sample for each outcome. Because the outcomes do not have “natural” baseline measures (i.e., the same measure at baseline), the team assessed equivalence using the following measures before Seattle Promise application (i.e., in 12th grade):¹⁴

- Cumulative GPA;
- Race/ethnicity; and
- ELL status.

The analytic sample for each outcome was defined as the students who had nonmissing outcome data and nonmissing data for all three baseline measures. Baseline equivalence was established for each outcome using the corresponding analytic sample. For continuously scaled measures (i.e., cumulative GPA), the evaluation team calculated the standardized baseline difference (Hedges’ g). For binary measures (i.e., race/ethnicity and ELL status), the team calculated a Cox index. Consistent with What Works Clearinghouse (2022) standards, the largest estimated baseline difference does not exceed 0.25 standard deviation (see Exhibits A.8–A.12).

¹⁴ What Works Clearinghouse (2022) standards indicate that, in the absence of a preintervention measure of the outcome or a proxy measure from the same domain, baseline equivalence must be established on (1) a broad, approximately continuous, and standardized measure of student academic readiness, knowledge, or skills and (2) baseline measures of at least two of the following for learners in the analytic sample: a measure of socioeconomic status, such as parental or caregiver level of education or eligibility for need-based assistance or financial aid; race or ethnicity; dual language or ELL student status; disability status; disciplinary measures, such as frequency of suspensions or referrals; or grade level, for students between kindergarten and grade 12 (or else age).

Exhibit A.8. Baseline equivalence testing (enrollment sample)

Measure	Seattle Promise applicants (treatment)		Seattle Promise nonapplicants (comparison)		Difference	Effect size
	n_t	$m_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$m_c (SD_c)$	$m_t - m_c$	g
SPS GPA	5,409	3.13 (0.61)	5,727	2.97 (0.85)	0.16	0.21
	n_t	$p_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$p_c (SD_c)$	$p_t - p_c$	d_{cox}
Race/ethnicity						
AI or PI	68	0.01 (0.11)	87	0.02 (0.12)	0.00	-0.11
Asian	1,173	0.22 (0.41)	1,100	0.19 (0.39)	0.02	0.09
Black	1,138	0.21 (0.41)	1,274	0.22 (0.42)	-0.01	-0.04
Hispanic	873	0.16 (0.37)	1,020	0.18 (0.38)	-0.02	-0.07
Multiracial	457	0.08 (0.28)	546	0.10 (0.29)	-0.01	-0.08
White	1,700	0.31 (0.46)	1,700	0.30 (0.46)	0.02	0.05
ELL	839	0.16 (0.36)	1,107	0.19 (0.40)	-0.04	-0.16

AI = American Indian; d_{cox} = ; ELL = English language learner; g = ; GPA = grade point average; n_c = comparison group sample size; m_c = comparison group mean; m_t = treatment group mean; PI = Pacific Islander; p_c = comparison group proportion; p_t = treatment group proportion; SD_c = comparison group standard deviation; SD_t = treatment group standard deviation; SPS = Seattle Public Schools

Exhibit A.9. Baseline equivalence testing (retention sample)

Measure	Seattle Promise applicants (treatment)		Seattle Promise nonapplicants (comparison)		Difference	Effect size
	n_t	$m_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$m_c (SD_c)$	$m_t - m_c$	g
SPS GPA	4,383	3.20 (0.57)	3,933	3.16 (0.62)	0.04	0.08
	n_t	$p_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$p_c (SD_c)$	$p_t - p_c$	d_{cox}
Race/ethnicity						
AI or PI	36	0.01 (0.09)	33	0.01 (0.09)	0.00	-0.02
Asian	1,009	0.23 (0.42)	876	0.22 (0.42)	0.01	0.03
Black	881	0.20 (0.40)	903	0.23 (0.42)	-0.03	-0.10
Hispanic	623	0.14 (0.35)	481	0.12 (0.33)	0.02	0.11
Multiracial	377	0.09 (0.28)	364	0.09 (0.29)	-0.01	-0.05
White	1,457	0.33 (0.47)	1,276	0.32 (0.47)	0.01	0.02
ELL	612	0.14 (0.35)	594	0.15 (0.36)	-0.01	-0.06

AI = American Indian; d_{cox} = ; ELL = English language learner; g = ; GPA = grade point average; n_c = comparison group sample size; m_c = comparison group mean; m_t = treatment group mean; PI = Pacific Islander; p_c = comparison group proportion; p_t = treatment group proportion; SD_c = comparison group standard deviation; SD_t = treatment group standard deviation; SPS = Seattle Public Schools

Exhibit A.10. Baseline equivalence testing (2-year completion sample)

Measure	Seattle Promise applicants (treatment)		Seattle Promise nonapplicants (comparison)		Difference	Effect size
	n_t	$m_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$m_c (SD_c)$	$m_t - m_c$	g
SPS GPA	4,383	3.20 (0.57)	3,933	3.16 (0.62)	0.04	0.08
	n_t	$p_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$p_c (SD_c)$	$p_t - p_c$	d_{cox}
Race/ethnicity						
AI or PI	36	0.01 (0.09)	33	0.01 (0.09)	0.00	-0.02
Asian	1,009	0.23 (0.42)	876	0.22 (0.42)	0.01	0.03
Black	881	0.20 (0.40)	903	0.23 (0.42)	-0.03	-0.10
Hispanic	623	0.14 (0.35)	481	0.12 (0.33)	0.02	0.11

Measure	Seattle Promise applicants (treatment)		Seattle Promise nonapplicants (comparison)		Difference	Effect size
Multiracial	377	0.09 (0.28)	364	0.09 (0.29)	-0.01	-0.05
White	1,457	0.33 (0.47)	1,276	0.32 (0.47)	0.01	0.02
ELL	612	0.14 (0.35)	594	0.15 (0.36)	-0.01	-0.06

AI = American Indian; d_{Cox} = ; ELL = English language learner; g = ; GPA = grade point average; n_c = comparison group sample size; m_c = comparison group mean; m_t = treatment group mean; PI = Pacific Islander; p_c = comparison group proportion; p_t = treatment group proportion; SD_c = comparison group standard deviation; SD_t = treatment group standard deviation; SPS = Seattle Public Schools

Exhibit A.11. Baseline equivalence testing (3-year completion sample)

Measure	Seattle Promise applicants (treatment)		Seattle Promise nonapplicants (comparison)		Difference	Effect size
	n_t	$m_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$m_c (SD_c)$	$m_t - m_c$	g
SPS GPA	2,763	3.19 (0.58)	2,726	3.13 (0.62)	0.06	0.09
	n_t	$p_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$p_c (SD_c)$	$p_t - p_c$	d_{Cox}
Race/Ethnicity						
AI or PI	24	0.01 (0.09)	21	0.01 (0.09)	0.00	0.06
Asian	642	0.23 (0.42)	600	0.22 (0.41)	0.01	0.04
Black	543	0.20 (0.40)	591	0.22 (0.41)	-0.02	-0.08
Hispanic	370	0.13 (0.34)	377	0.14 (0.35)	0.00	-0.02
Multiracial	241	0.09 (0.28)	264	0.10 (0.30)	-0.01	-0.07
White	943	0.34 (0.47)	873	0.32 (0.47)	0.02	0.06
ELL	355	0.13 (0.34)	383	0.14 (0.35)	-0.01	-0.06

AI = American Indian; d_{Cox} = ; ELL = English language learner; g = ; GPA = grade point average; n_c = comparison group sample size; m_c = comparison group mean; m_t = treatment group mean; PI = Pacific Islander; p_c = comparison group proportion; p_t = treatment group proportion; SD_c = comparison group standard deviation; SD_t = treatment group standard deviation; SPS = Seattle Public Schools

Exhibit A.12. Baseline equivalence testing (4-year completion sample)

Measure	Seattle Promise applicants (treatment)		Seattle Promise nonapplicants (comparison)		Difference	Effect size
	n_t	$m_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$m_c (SD_c)$	$m_t - m_c$	g
SPS GPA	1,186	3.09 (0.60)	1,507	3.02 (0.69)	0.07	0.10
	n_t	$p_t (SD_t)$	n_c	$p_c (SD_c)$	$p_t - p_c$	d_{Cox}
Race/ethnicity						
AI or PI	10	0.01 (0.09)	15	0.01 (0.10)	0.00	-0.09
Asian	277	0.23 (0.42)	328	0.22 (0.41)	0.02	0.05
Black	258	0.22 (0.40)	369	0.25 (0.43)	-0.03	-0.09
Hispanic	166	0.14 (0.35)	172	0.11 (0.32)	0.03	0.14
Multiracial	111	0.09 (0.29)	112	0.07 (0.26)	0.02	0.15
White	364	0.31 (0.46)	511	0.34 (0.47)	-0.03	-0.09
ELL	180	0.15 (0.36)	176	0.12 (0.32)	0.03	0.18

AI = American Indian; d_{Cox} = ; ELL = English language learner; g = ; GPA = grade point average; n_c = comparison group sample size; m_c = comparison group mean; m_t = treatment group mean; PI = Pacific Islander; p_c = comparison group proportion; p_t = treatment group proportion; SD_c = comparison group standard deviation; SD_t = treatment group standard deviation; SPS = Seattle Public Schools

Data Analysis

This section details the data analyses conducted for this study. This includes a specification of the quantitative model applied, an explanation of how the evaluation team treated missing data and adjusted for multiple comparisons in quantitative analyses, and a description of the approach for analyzing focus group data.

Regression Model Specification

To estimate the impact of Seattle Promise on college enrollment, retention, completion, and race-based opportunity gaps, the evaluation team conducted a series of stepwise multilevel ordinary least squares regressions where the weights are the inverse of the propensity scores (Tan 2010), modeled as

$$Y_{ij} = \alpha + \beta_1 T_i + \beta_2 Race_i + \sum \beta_3 Stu_i + \sum \gamma_j HS_j + \beta_4 T_i * Race_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Where:

- Y_{ij} represents the outcome (i.e., college enrollment, retention, or completion) for student i at SPS high school j ;
- T_i is an indicator variable equal to 1 for students who are Seattle Promise applicants (included in step 1);
- $Race_i$ represents each student's race, if associated with the outcome as identified by the outcome study (added in step 2);
- Stu_i is a set of indicator variables for other student characteristics associated with the outcome as identified by the outcome study¹⁵ (added in step 3);
- HS_j is a set of indicator variables for the high schools in the SPS district (added in step 3);
- $\beta_4 T_i * Race_i$ represents the interaction between treatment status and race (added in step 4);
- ε_{ij} is an error term, clustered to account for the nesting at the SPS high school level; and
- α , β , and γ are coefficients to be estimated. The primary coefficient of interest for evaluation question 1 is β_1 , which represents the effect of Seattle Promise on the outcome of interest. The primary coefficient of interest for evaluation question 2 was β_4 , which represents the moderating effect of Seattle Promise on the relationship between race and the outcome of interest (i.e., whether the relationship between race and the outcome of interest varies by Seattle Promise application status).

The evaluation team conducted this regression approach for each college enrollment retention and completion outcome listed in Exhibit A.1. See Exhibits B.1–B.14 for detailed estimates and Exhibits 2–4 for overarching summaries of main effects on enrollment, retention, and completion, respectively. Note that these analyses do not control for specific program components (e.g., the equity scholarship), as no control group members received them. See Seattle DEEL's outcome evaluation report (Yoshizumi & Ammon-Ciaglo, 2025) for findings related to the relationship between specific program components and outcomes among Seattle Promise applicants.

¹⁵ A control for the type of college in which a student first enrolls (2-year or 4-year) was added to the student characteristics as a post hoc sensitivity analysis and was not included in the original model specification.

Treatment of Missing Data

For each analysis, the sample was composed of all Seattle Promise and matched comparison group students with observed data for the outcome measure. The evaluation team followed the five-step approach outlined by Jakobsen et al. (2017) to determine whether to replace missing independent variables with estimated values, a process known as imputation.¹⁶ Imputation entails using other variables in the dataset to predict the missing value. The evaluation team explored a machine learning approach to better identify students likely to be Seattle Promise applicants who were not captured in initial records because of linking issues. To develop the model, the team identified a sample of school and cohort combinations with more than 95 percent coverage of Seattle Promise students. This sample, comprising approximately 7,000 students, was then split into a 90/10 training and testing dataset. The goal was to detect students who were likely applicants but might have been double-counted because of data inconsistencies. The team employed several models—XGBoost, logistic regression, Lasso, and random forest—but found that accuracy remained around 65 percent across these methods. Based on this moderate accuracy rate, the team decided not to pursue this approach further.

Adjusting for Multiple Comparisons

To address multiple hypothesis testing concerns and provide more detailed information to decisionmakers, the evaluation team defined a priori confirmatory and exploratory outcomes before data analysis (Schochet, 2009). For this study, the team treated the college enrollment outcomes as confirmatory and the progressing in and completing college outcomes as exploratory. Confirmatory findings are reported in this report's executive summary, but exploratory findings are not elevated because of the higher likelihood of false positives from examining so many outcomes.

Opportunity Gap Analyses

To assess the impact of Seattle Promise on race-based opportunity gaps, the evaluation team employed four distinct measures of subgroup disparities. Exhibit 5 provides descriptions of each measure, along with their respective strengths and limitations. Each metric relies on different underlying calculations and input data. For all metrics, if a weighted subgroup size is less than 30, the subgroup is excluded from the calculations, and the key comparison group shifts to the next highest or lowest group.

- **Equity Gap Score (adapted from Krause, 2021).** This measure compares the race/ethnicity groups with the highest and lowest marginal outcome estimates in both the treatment and control groups. These estimates are derived from interaction coefficients by race/ethnicity. Because the test compares only two groups at a time, only the subgroups with the highest and lowest estimates are included in the comparison. The evaluation team conducted significance testing using the `LinearHypothesis` command in R, with a significance threshold of 0.10.

$$H_0: \max(\beta_{gt}) - \min(\beta_{gt}) = 0$$

$$H_a: \max(\beta_{gt}) - \min(\beta_{gt}) \neq 0$$

Where:

- $\max(\beta_{gt})$ is the largest interaction coefficient of the race/ethnicity groups g in treatment group t ; and

¹⁶ No dependent variables were imputed.

- $\min(\beta_{gt})$ is the smallest interaction coefficient of the race/ethnicity groups g in treatment group t .
- **80 Percent Rule Index (Sosa, 2022).** This measure evaluates the ratio of each subgroup's marginal outcome estimate to the highest subgroup estimate, assessing equity relative to the top-performing group; this relative comparison means the highest subgroup is not included in the significance testing. A value of 1 suggests no difference in completion rates for a given subgroup, while a value less than 1 suggests proportionately smaller outcomes compared with the highest subgroup. Any index value less than 80 is flagged as significant.

$$80 \text{ percent rule index}_{rt} = \frac{\widehat{Y}_{rt}}{\max(\widehat{Y}_{gt})} \times 100$$

Where:

- $\widehat{Y}_{rt}$ is the marginal outcome estimate for race/ethnicity group r in treatment group t ; and
- $\max(\widehat{Y}_{gt})$ is the maximum marginal outcome estimate across all groups g in treatment group t .
- **Percentage Point Gap Index (Sosa, 2022).** This measure evaluates each subgroup's marginal outcome estimate to the overall estimate; it then incorporates the count and relative proportion of each race/ethnicity subgroup by treatment status to compute a margin-of-error threshold for each group. Given the use of matching methods, weighted counts and proportions are used in these calculations. If the point gap is larger than the margin of error, the gap is flagged as significant.

$$\text{Margin of error} = 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{P_{rt}(1 - P_{rt})}{n_{rt}}}$$

$$\text{Point gap} = \widehat{Y}_{rt} - \widehat{Y}_t$$

Where:

- P_{rt} is the weighted proportion of group r in treatment group t ;
- n_{rt} is the weighted population count of group r in treatment group t ;
- $\widehat{Y}_{rt}$ is the marginal outcome estimate for group r in treatment group t ; and
- $\widehat{Y}_t$ is the marginal outcome estimate for treatment group t .
- **Proportionality Index (Sosa, 2022).** This measure examines the representation of each race/ethnicity group within the population and outcome counts by treatment status. It compares each group's share of the total population to its share of those who completed the outcome. Given the use of matching methods, weighted counts and proportions are used in these calculations. A value of 1 indicates proportional representation; values below or above 1 suggest under- or overrepresentation in the outcome relative to group size. Any group with an index of less than 0.85 is flagged as significant.

$$\text{Proportionality index}_{rt} = \frac{\frac{O_{rt}}{\sum O_{gt}}}{\frac{n_{rt}}{\sum n_{gt}}}$$

Where:

- O_{rt} is the weighted count of outcomes for group r in treatment group t ;
- $\sum O_{gt}$ is the total weighted outcomes across all groups in treatment group t ;
- n_{rt} is the weighted population count of group r in treatment group t ; and
- $\sum n_{gt}$ is the total population count of group r in treatment group t .

Together, these measures provide complementary perspectives on subgroup equity. While each has its own limitations, they should be interpreted collectively as a body of evidence to evaluate changes in race-based opportunity gaps associated with Seattle Promise. See Exhibits B.15–B.28 for detailed estimates and Exhibits 6–8 for overarching summaries of changes in opportunity gaps in enrollment, retention, and completion, respectively.

Focus Group Analyses

All focus groups were videorecorded with closed caption transcriptions provided for attendees to access during the interview. The evaluation team downloaded transcripts from the Zoom online platform, renamed them to protect the identities of individual participants, and saved these documents in a secure folder only accessible to the team. The team cleaned the transcripts, which consisted of correcting transcription errors (e.g., UDUB to UW) and grouping text based on speaker responses. Once cleaned, all transcripts were kept in Word documents for coding and analysis.

The evaluation team developed a structural or organizational coding schema deductively from the evaluation questions for topical analysis. Two team members assessed intercoder reliability using a sample of one transcript. Each team member coded independently, and then the full team met to compare and discuss variations in approaches. The team had an average agreement of 82 percent agreement across codes. The team then revised the codebooks with an updated list of codes based on the results of this session, reviewed coding assignments, and raised questions about codes and themes when they emerged. The team applied the same codebook to all focus group transcripts.

Following coding, the team conducted inductive thematic analysis using the enterprise version of Microsoft Copilot, which is authorized for use at Westat. Microsoft Copilot in Bing for Enterprise combines OpenAI’s ChatGPT technology with the Bing search engine, allowing it to draw from its original training dataset and current web searches to provide answers and generate original content. The evaluation team removed all identifiable data, including names, institutions, and locations, to protect the identity of all participants between analysis and reporting. Information the team input into Copilot is secure and was not shared with Microsoft or other parties. Copilot enforces strict data control policies and retains no persistent memory of sensitive data after sessions end.

The evaluation team used Copilot to run queries using the revised coding schemes and organized the queries based on the report outline and evaluation questions. Analysis focused on identifying themes in response to each evaluation question.

Appendix B

Detailed Quantitative Results

Appendix B

Detailed Quantitative Results

This appendix provides additional details on results of the regression analyses, opportunity gap analyses, and quantitative analyses summarized in this report.

Regression Results

Exhibits B.1–B.14 provide detailed results of regression analyses.

Exhibit B.1. Stepwise linear regression estimates of enrollment in any college on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics				
Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.25 (0.01)***	0.24 (0.01)***	0.20 (0.01)***	0.18 (0.01)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		–0.42 (0.04)***	–0.24 (0.03)***	–0.32 (0.04)***
Asian, not Hispanic		0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)*	0.05 (0.02)**
Black, not Hispanic		–0.16 (0.01)***	0.05 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.02)
Hispanic		–0.26 (0.01)***	–0.03 (0.01)*	–0.07 (0.02)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		–0.06 (0.02)***	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.17 (0.06)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				–0.05 (0.01)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				0.06 (0.02)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				0.08 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				–0.01 (0.03)
N	11,136	11,136	11,136	11,136
R ²	0.07	0.12	0.33	0.33

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, English language learner status, special education status, homeless status, immigrant status, income level, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, Seattle Public Schools high school attended, and cohort.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Exhibit B.2. Stepwise linear regression estimates of enrollment in a 2-year college on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.25 (0.01)***	0.26 (0.01)***	0.28 (0.01)***	0.31 (0.02)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		0.26 (0.06)***	0.14 (0.05)**	0.17 (0.08)*
Asian, not Hispanic		0.02 (0.01)+	0.09 (0.02)***	0.12 (0.02)***
Black, not Hispanic		0.19 (0.01)***	0.06 (0.02)***	0.10 (0.02)***
Hispanic		0.20 (0.02)***	0.05 (0.02)**	0.08 (0.02)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.06 (0.11)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.06 (0.03)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.07 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.06 (0.03)+
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.02 (0.04)
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.07	0.10	0.26	0.26

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, Seattle Public Schools high school attended, and cohort.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.3. Stepwise linear regression estimates of enrollment in a public college on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.09 (0.01)***	0.09 (0.01)***	0.09 (0.01)***	0.09 (0.01)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		0.07 (0.04)+	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.04 (0.01)***	0.07 (0.01)***	0.08 (0.01)***
Black, not Hispanic		0.05 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.02)**
Hispanic		0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)*
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.04 (0.01)**	-0.04 (0.01)**	-0.07 (0.02)***
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.01 (0.07)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.01 (0.02)
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.02 (0.02)
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				0.03 (0.02)
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.05 (0.03)+
<i>N</i>	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
<i>R</i> ²	0.02	0.03	0.07	0.07

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.4. Stepwise linear regression estimates of enrollment in an in-state college on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.14 (0.01)***	0.15 (0.01)***	0.15 (0.01)***	0.21 (0.01)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.20 (0.06)**
Asian, not Hispanic		0.18 (0.01)***	0.13 (0.01)***	0.19 (0.02)***
Black, not Hispanic		0.16 (0.01)***	0.11 (0.01)***	0.18 (0.02)***
Hispanic		0.13 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***	0.14 (0.02)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		0.05 (0.02)***	0.04 (0.02)**	0.06 (0.02)**
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.32 (0.09)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.10 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.14 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.07 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				-0.04 (0.03)
<i>N</i>	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
<i>R</i> ²	0.04	0.08	0.10	0.11

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, English language learner status, special education status, immigrant status, and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$

Exhibit B.5. Stepwise linear regression estimates of year 1 retention on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.02 (0.01)+	0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.02)*
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.22 (0.06)***	-0.11 (0.05)*	-0.10 (0.08)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02).	-0.07 (0.02)***
Black, not Hispanic		-0.18 (0.01)***	-0.05 (0.02)**	-0.08 (0.02)***
Hispanic		-0.18 (0.02)***	-0.06 (0.02)***	-0.10 (0.02)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.07 (0.02)***	-0.04 (0.02)*	-0.04 (0.03)+
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.03 (0.11)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				0.08 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				0.07 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				0.07 (0.03)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.01 (0.04)
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.00	0.04	0.17	0.17

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include Seattle Public Schools grade point average and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.6. Stepwise linear regression estimates of year 1 retention on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.02 (0.01)+	0.02 (0.01)	0.04 (0.01)***	0.01 (0.02)
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.22 (0.06)***	-0.09 (0.05)+	-0.06 (0.08)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)*
Black, not Hispanic		-0.18 (0.01)***	-0.04 (0.02)**	-0.07 (0.02)***
Hispanic		-0.18 (0.02)***	-0.05 (0.02)**	-0.09 (0.02)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.07 (0.02)***	-0.04 (0.02)*	-0.04 (0.03)
Covariates ^c			x	x
First college type (2-year college) ^d			0.13 (0.01)***	0.13 (0.01)***
Treatment x race^e				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.05 (0.10)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				0.07 (0.03)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				0.06 (0.03)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				0.06 (0.03)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.00 (0.04)
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.00	0.04	0.19	0.19

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include Seattle Public Schools grade point average and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is students who attended 4-year colleges.

^e Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.7. Stepwise linear regression estimates of year 2 retention on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.04 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.01).	-0.03 (0.02)+
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.20 (0.06)***	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.08)
Asian, not Hispanic		-0.01 (0.01)	-0.05 (0.02)**	-0.10 (0.02)***
Black, not Hispanic		-0.20 (0.02)***	-0.03 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)**
Hispanic		-0.26 (0.02)***	-0.12 (0.02)***	-0.18 (0.03)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.09 (0.02)***	-0.05 (0.02)**	-0.05 (0.03)+
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.12 (0.12)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				0.10 (0.03)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				0.05 (0.03)+
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				0.11 (0.03)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				-0.00 (0.04)
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.00	0.04	0.21	0.21

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include Seattle Public Schools grade point average and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.8. Stepwise linear regression estimates of year 2 retention on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.04 (0.01)***	0.04 (0.01)***	0.07 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.02)
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.20 (0.06)***	-0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.08)
Asian, not Hispanic		-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)+	-0.07 (0.02)***
Black, not Hispanic		-0.20 (0.02)***	-0.03 (0.02)+	-0.05 (0.02)*
Hispanic		-0.26 (0.02)***	-0.10 (0.02)***	-0.16 (0.02)***
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.09 (0.02)***	-0.05 (0.02)**	-0.05 (0.03)+
Covariates ^c			x	x
First college type (2-year college) ^d			0.17 (0.01)***	0.17 (0.01)***
Treatment x race^e				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.14 (0.11)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				0.08 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				0.05 (0.03)+
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				0.10 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				-0.01 (0.04)
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.00	0.04	0.23	0.23

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include Seattle Public Schools grade point average and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is students who attended 4-year colleges.

^e Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.9. Stepwise linear regression estimates of 2-year completion on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.10 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***	0.17 (0.01)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.06 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.06)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)*	0.08 (0.02)***
Black, not Hispanic		-0.04 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.01)	0.06 (0.02)***
Hispanic		-0.07 (0.01)***	-0.04 (0.01)***	0.00 (0.02)
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.05 (0.02)*

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.07 (0.08)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.10 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.13 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.08 (0.03)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				-0.10 (0.03)***
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.05

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, Seattle Public Schools high school attended, and cohort.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; * $p < 0.05$

Exhibit B.10. Stepwise linear regression estimates of 2-year completion on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.10 (0.01)***	0.10 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.01)	0.05 (0.01)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.06 (0.04)	-0.11 (0.04)**	-0.09 (0.06).
Asian, not Hispanic		0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)*
Black, not Hispanic		-0.04 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)**
Hispanic		-0.07 (0.01)***	-0.06 (0.01)***	-0.03 (0.02)+
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)*
Covariates ^c			x	x
First college type (2-year college) ^d			-0.35 (0.01)***	-0.35 (0.01)***
Treatment x race^e				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				-0.03 (0.08)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.07 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.10 (0.02)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.06 (0.02)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				-0.09 (0.03)***
N	8,316	8,316	8,316	8,316
R ²	0.02	0.03	0.22	0.22

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include sector of first college attended, gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, Seattle Public Schools high school attended, and cohort.

^d Reference group is students who attended 4-year colleges.

^e Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.11. Stepwise linear regression estimates of 3-year completion on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.11 (0.01)***	0.11 (0.01)***	0.11 (0.01)***	0.18 (0.02)***
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.04 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.09)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)*
Black, not Hispanic		0.00 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)**	0.15 (0.02)***
Hispanic		-0.06 (0.02)**	-0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.08 (0.02)***	-0.06 (0.02)**	-0.07 (0.03)*
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.15 (0.12)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.07 (0.03)*
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.20 (0.03)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.11 (0.04)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				
N		5,489	5,489	
R ²		0.02	0.06	0.07

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, Seattle Public Schools high school attended, and cohort.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Exhibit B.12. Stepwise linear regression estimates of 3-year completion on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.11 (0.01)***	0.11 (0.01)***	-0.01 (0.01)	0.05 (0.02)**
Race/ethnicity^b				

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		-0.04 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.06)*	-0.20 (0.08)*
Asian, not Hispanic		0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Black, not Hispanic		0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)*	0.12 (0.02)***
Hispanic		-0.06 (0.02)**	-0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.08 (0.02)***	-0.06 (0.02)**	-0.07 (0.03)**
Covariates ^c			x	x
First college type (2-year college) ^d			-0.41 (0.01)***	-0.41 (0.01)***
Treatment x race^e				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.16 (0.11)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				-0.05 (0.03)+
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.16 (0.03)***
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.10 (0.03)**
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.03 (0.04)
N	5,489	5,489	5,489	5,489
R ²	0.02	0.02	0.22	0.23

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include sector of first college attended, gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, Seattle Public Schools high school attended, and cohort.

^d Reference group is students who attended 4-year colleges.

^e Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.13. Stepwise linear regression estimates of 4-year completion on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.09 (0.02)***	0.09 (0.02)***	0.07 (0.02)***	0.06 (0.03)*
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		0.07 (0.10)	0.10 (0.09)	0.05 (0.12)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.04 (0.03)+	-0.07 (0.03)*	-0.10 (0.03)**
Black, not Hispanic		-0.14 (0.03)***	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)
Hispanic		-0.12 (0.03)***	-0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.10 (0.04)**	-0.10 (0.03)**	-0.18 (0.05)***
Covariates ^c			x	x
Treatment x race^d				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.10 (0.19)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				0.07 (0.05)
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.04 (0.05)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.08 (0.06)
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.15 (0.07)*
N	2,693	2,693	2,693	2,693
R ²	0.01	0.03	0.20	0.20

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Exhibit B.14. Stepwise linear regression estimates of 4-year completion on treatment and race/ethnicity, controlling for student and Seattle Public Schools high school characteristics (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Independent variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)	AME (SE)
Treatment (Seattle Promise applicant) ^a	0.09 (0.02)***	0.09 (0.02)***	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Race/ethnicity^b				
American Indian or Pacific Islander, not Hispanic		0.07 (0.10).	0.07 (0.09)	0.03 (0.12)
Asian, not Hispanic		0.04 (0.03)	-0.08 (0.03)**	-0.11 (0.03)***
Black, not Hispanic		-0.14 (0.03)***	-0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Hispanic		-0.12 (0.03)***	-0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)
Multiracial, not Hispanic		-0.10 (0.04)**	-0.10 (0.03)**	-0.16 (0.05)***
Covariates ^c			x	x
First college type (2-year college) ^d			-0.22 (0.02)***	-0.22 (0.02)***
Treatment x race^e				
Seattle Promise applicant x American Indian or Pacific Islander				0.09 (0.18)
Seattle Promise applicant x Asian				0.07 (0.05)
Seattle Promise applicant x Black				-0.04 (0.05)
Seattle Promise applicant x Hispanic				-0.10 (0.06)+
Seattle Promise applicant x Multiracial				0.12 (0.07)+
N	2,693	2,693	2,693	2,693
R ²	0.01	0.03	0.23	0.24

AME = average marginal effect; SE = standard error; x = covariates included in model

^a Reference group is students who did not apply to Seattle Promise.

^b Reference group is students who identify as White, non-Hispanic.

^c Covariates for this model include sector of first college attended, gender, English language learner status, special education status, Seattle Public Schools grade point average, and Seattle Public Schools high school attended.

^d Reference group is students who attended 4-year colleges.

^e Reference group is nonapplicants who identify as White.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < 0.10$

Opportunity Gap Results

Exhibits B.15–B.28 provide detailed results of opportunity gap analyses.

Exhibit B.15. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in enrollment in any college by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	0.42	41.9%	-32.0%	0.33	0.73	72.5%	-16.9%	0.65
Asian, not Hispanic	--	--	5.1%	1.24	+	90.4%	-1.7%	1.06
Black, not Hispanic	+	95.9%	2.5%	0.82	--	--	6.5%	0.96
Hispanic	+	81.0%	-7.0%	0.59	+	91.4%	-0.8%	0.88
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	94.2%	1.4%	1.08	+	91.4%	-0.8%	1.02
White, not Hispanic	+	92.0%	0.0%	1.23	+	90.4%	-1.7%	1.06

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.16. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in enrollment in a 2-year college by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	--	--	11.2%	1.52	--	--	8.3%	1.22
Asian, not Hispanic	+	89.5%	5.7%	0.89	+	93.8%	3.5%	0.91
Black, not Hispanic	+	85.4%	3.6%	1.34	+	89.3%	0.0%	1.13
Hispanic	+	83.3%	2.4%	1.38	+	89.5%	0.2%	1.13
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	67.9%	-5.6%	0.78	+	88.9%	-0.3%	0.98
White, not Hispanic	0.67	67.2%	-6.0%	0.75	0.86	85.8%	-0.03	0.93

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.17. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in enrollment in a public college by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	+	95.4%	2.0%	1.08	+	97.4%	2.5%	1.04
Asian, not Hispanic	--	--	6.1%	1.03	--	--	5.0%	1.02
Black, not Hispanic	+	96.2%	2.7%	1.06	+	95.6%	0.7%	1.02
Hispanic	+	87.4%	-5.2%	0.98	+	92.2%	-2.7%	1.00
Multiracial, not Hispanic	0.84	84.0%	-8.3%	0.90	0.91	91.1%	-3.7%	0.96
White, not Hispanic	+	91.2%	-1.8%	0.97	+	92.9%	-2.0%	0.98

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.18. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in enrollment in an in-state college by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	0.55	54.5%	-30.0%	0.65	--	--	8.6%	1.10
Asian, not Hispanic	--	--	8.4%	1.14	+	95.8%	4.4%	1.07
Black, not Hispanic	+	99.0%	7.6%	1.12	+	91.6%	0.2%	1.03
Hispanic	+	94.1%	3.4%	1.05	+	93.9%	2.5%	1.04
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	84.9%	-4.3%	0.92	+	89.7%	-1.7%	0.96
White, not Hispanic	+	77.8%	-10.4%	0.83	0.87	87.2%	-4.1%	0.93

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.19. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in year 1 retention by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	+	86.4%	-4.7%	0.81	0.80	79.7%	-12.2%	0.73
Asian, not Hispanic	+	90.2%	-1.9%	1.11	--	--	1.8%	1.12
Black, not Hispanic	+	88.7%	-3.0%	0.78	+	97.0%	-0.3%	0.87
Hispanic	0.86	85.6%	-5.2%	0.80	+	94.0%	-2.3%	0.87
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	94.0%	0.9%	1.02	+	93.4%	-2.7%	0.97
White, not Hispanic	--	--	5.2%	1.15	+	98.8%	1.0%	1.06

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.20. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in year 1 retention by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	+	90.7%	-2.2%	0.81	0.82	82.1%	-10.5%	0.73
Asian, not Hispanic	+	93.0%	-0.6%	1.11	--	--	2.3%	1.12
Black, not Hispanic	+	89.5%	-3.0%	0.78	+	96.2%	-0.4%	0.87
Hispanic	0.87	87.3%	-4.6%	0.80	+	94.1%	-1.9%	0.87
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	94.3%	0.3%	1.02	+	92.3%	-3.2%	0.97
White, not Hispanic	--	--	4.2%	1.15	+	97.5%	0.5%	1.06

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.21. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in year 2 retention by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	+	99.8%	6.2%	0.93	0.80	79.5%	-10.4%	0.71
Asian, not Hispanic	+	84.3%	-3.5%	1.12	--	--	1.9%	1.15
Black, not Hispanic	+	90.2%	0.2%	0.76	+	98.2%	0.8%	0.85
Hispanic	0.71	71.1%	-11.7%	0.60	+	87.7%	-5.5%	0.77
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	92.0%	1.3%	1.04	+	90.8%	-3.7%	0.95
White, not Hispanic	--	--	6.3%	1.23	+	99.6%	1.6%	1.10

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.22. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in year 2 retention by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	--	--	9.3%	0.93	0.83	82.9%	-8.3%	0.71
Asian, not Hispanic	+	82.3%	-1.8%	1.12	--	--	2.5%	1.15
Black, not Hispanic	+	85.4%	0.1%	0.76	+	97.0%	0.6%	0.85
Hispanic	0.68	67.9%	-10.9%	0.60	+	88.2%	-4.9%	0.77
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	86.1%	0.6%	1.04	+	89.3%	-4.2%	0.95
White, not Hispanic	+	93.4%	5.1%	1.23	+	97.8%	1.1%	1.10

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.23. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in 2-year completion by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	0.31	30.8%	-4.9%	0.65	+	64.6%	-4.4%	0.74
Asian, not Hispanic	--	--	4.2%	1.52	+	90.8%	1.4%	1.08
Black, not Hispanic	+	86.4%	2.4%	1.00	+	70.4%	-3.1%	0.73
Hispanic	+	43.6%	-3.2%	0.53	0.63	63.4%	-4.7%	0.69
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	76.6%	1.2%	1.19	+	74.5%	-2.2%	0.92
White, not Hispanic	+	40.9%	-3.5%	0.77	--	--	3.5%	1.27

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.24. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in 2-year completion by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	0.20	20.3%	-10.9%	0.65	0.29	29.0%	-8.6%	0.74
Asian, not Hispanic	+	92.1%	1.5%	1.52	+	80.0%	0.3%	1.08
Black, not Hispanic	--	--	2.9%	1.00	+	66.6%	-2.0%	0.73
Hispanic	+	57.3%	-4.5%	0.53	+	47.8%	-5.3%	0.69
Multiracial, not Hispanic	+	95.5%	2.1%	1.19	+	68.5%	-1.7%	0.92
White, not Hispanic	+	74.3%	-1.6%	0.77	--	--	3.8%	1.27

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.25. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in 3-year completion by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	^	^	^	^	^	^	^	^
Asian, not Hispanic	+	62.7%	0.7%	1.20	+	91.1%	0.2%	1.10
Black, not Hispanic	--	--	11.2%	1.41	+	83.5%	-2.2%	0.81
Hispanic	+	58.6%	-0.5%	0.82	0.77	77.3%	-4.1%	0.77
Multiracial, not Hispanic	0.22	21.5%	-10.9%	0.34	+	85.5%	-1.6%	0.94
White, not Hispanic	+	46.2%	-4.0%	0.88	--	--	2.9%	1.14

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation; ^ = group suppressed due to small cell size ($n < 30$)

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices $>$ a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.26. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in 3-year completion by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	^	^	^	^	^	^	^	^
Asian, not Hispanic	+	68.3%	-0.9%	1.20	+	87.2%	-0.5%	1.10
Black, not Hispanic	--	--	9.4%	1.41	+	85.8%	-0.8%	0.81
Hispanic	+	72.4%	0.5%	0.82	0.72	71.5%	-4.4%	0.77
Multiracial, not Hispanic	0.42	41.8%	-9.4%	0.34	+	85.4%	-0.9%	0.94
White, not Hispanic	+	62.9%	-2.6%	0.88	--	--	2.8%	1.14

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation; ^ = group suppressed due to small cell size ($n < 30$)

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices $>$ a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.27. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in 4-year completion by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	^	^	^	^	^	^	^	^
Asian, not Hispanic	+	74.0%	-6.6%	1.23	+	93.1%	-0.7%	1.22
Black, not Hispanic	--	--	3.8%	0.73	+	92.6%	-0.9%	0.80
Hispanic	+	99.6%	3.7%	0.94	0.82	82.3%	-5.7%	0.71
Multiracial, not Hispanic	0.55	55.3%	-14.1%	0.69	+	93.6%	-0.4%	0.99
White, not Hispanic	+	99.4%	3.6%	1.13	--	--	2.5%	1.10

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation; ^ = group suppressed due to small cell size ($n < 30$)

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .

Exhibit B.28. Estimates of race-based opportunity gaps in 4-year completion by treatment status and opportunity gap indicator (statistically controlling for enrollment in a 2-year college)

Race/ethnicity	Control group (Seattle Promise nonapplicants)				Treatment group (Seattle Promise applicants)			
	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index	Equity gap score	80 percent rule index	Percentage point gap index	Proportionality index
AI or PI, not Hispanic	^	^	^	^	^	^	^	^
Asian, not Hispanic	+	71.3%	-7.9%	1.23	+	91.1%	-1.1%	1.22
Black, not Hispanic	--	--	4.9%	0.73	+	93.7%	0.0%	0.80
Hispanic	+	99.5%	4.7%	0.94	0.79	79.4%	-6.0%	0.71
Multiracial, not Hispanic	0.60	60.0%	-13.0%	0.69	+	90.5%	-1.3%	0.99
White, not Hispanic	+	96.2%	3.2%	1.13	--	--	2.6%	1.10

AI = American Indian; PI = Pacific Islander; -- = omitted reference group; + = group not used in equity gap score calculation; ^ = group suppressed due to small cell size ($n < 30$)

Note. Red cells indicate areas of inequity, as measured by: equity gap scores significantly different from 1 ($p < 0.10$); 80 percent rule indices < 80 percent; percentage point gap indices > a calculated margin of error; and proportionality indices ≤ 0.85 .