# Stand and Deliver: Effects of Boston's Charter High Schools on College Preparation, Entry, and Choice

Joshua D. Angrist, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and National Bureau of Economic Research

Sarah R. Cohodes, Teachers College, Columbia University

Susan M. Dynarski, University of Michigan and National Bureau of Economic Research

Parag A. Pathak, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and National Bureau of Economic Research

Christopher R. Walters, University of California, Berkeley, and National Bureau of Economic Research

We use admissions lotteries to estimate effects of attendance at Boston's charter high schools on college preparation and enrollment. Charter schools increase pass rates on Massachusetts' high-stakes exit exam, with large effects on the likelihood of qualifying for a statesponsored scholarship. Charter attendance also boosts SAT scores sharply and increases the likelihood of taking an Advanced Placement (AP) exam, the number of AP exams taken, and AP scores. Charters induce a substantial shift from 2- to 4-year institutions, though

This research was funded by the US Department of Education through Institute for Education Sciences grant no. 08120031 and by the New Schools Venture

[Journal of Labor Economics, 2016, vol. 34, no. 2, pt. 1]

© 2016 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0734-306X/2016/3402-0002\$10.00 Submitted August 6, 2013; Accepted August 8, 2014; Electronically published January 22, 2016

the effect on overall college enrollment is modest. Charter effects on college-related outcomes are strongly correlated with charter effects on earlier tests.

## I. Introduction

A growing body of evidence indicates that many urban charter schools have large, positive effects on the test scores of disadvantaged students. Oversubscribed charter schools in Boston increase the test scores of lowincome students by a third of a standard deviation a year—enough to eliminate the black-white test score gap in a few years of attendance (Abdulkadiroğlu et al. 2011). Similar effects have been found in New York City (Dobbie and Fryer 2011) and in a nationwide study of oversubscribed urban charter schools (Clark et al. 2011).

Although encouraging, gains on state-mandated standardized tests provide an inconclusive gauge of the benefits of charter attendance. Like other American public schools, charters are evaluated in part by the performance of their students on these tests. A growing literature suggests that educators respond strategically to the incentive to boost test scores (Neal and Schanzenbach 2010). In some cases, teachers have been found to cheat in order to avoid sanctions or to garner the rewards associated with high scores on tests used for accountability (Jacob and Levitt 2003).

The potentially distortionary effect of test-based accountability may be especially large in the charter sector, where schools whose students do poorly on state assessments can be closed. In our Massachusetts setting, for example, 14 out of 96 charters granted through 2013 have been lost. Charter schools would appear to have a particularly strong incentive to teach to the test, at the expense, perhaps, of a focus on the development of skills with a longer-term payoff.

This paper assesses the consequences of Boston charter high school attendance for outcomes beyond the test scores used for accountability purposes. We look here at outcomes where the link with human capital and

Fund. Grateful thanks go to Boston's charter schools, to Kamal Chavda and the Boston Public Schools, and to Carrie Conaway, Cliff Chuang, and the staff of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education for data and assistance. Caroline Hoxby, Tom Kane, and seminar participants at Chicago, Columbia, London School of Economics, National University of Singapore, NBER Summer Institute, Oberlin College, the Society of Labor Economists, Toulouse School of Economics. Pathak thanks the National Science Foundation for research support. Annice Correia provided excellent research and administrative support. Daisy Sun and Peter Hull provided expert research assistance. The views expressed here are those of the authors alone. Contact the corresponding author, Joshua Angrist, at angrist@mit.edu. Information concerning access to the data used in this article is available as supplementary material online.

future earnings seems likely to be sustained and strong, focusing on variables that are essential to or facilitate postsecondary schooling. These outcomes include high school graduation, the attainment of state competency thresholds, scholarship qualification, Advanced Placement (AP) and SAT performance, college enrollment, type of institution, and college persistence. Few of these measures are targeted for accountability purposes. Postsecondary schooling is also strongly linked with earnings, although we cannot, as yet, look at earnings directly.

Our analysis covers Boston's charter high schools for cohorts who applied when there were more applicants than seats. Oversubscribed Massachusetts charters allocate seats by lottery, thereby generating our research design. For our purposes, an analysis of high schools is both a necessity and a virtue. It is necessary to study high schools because most students applying to charters in earlier grades are not yet old enough to generate data on postsecondary outcomes. Charter high schools are also of substantial policy interest: a growing literature suggests that high school may be too late for cost-effective human capital interventions (see, e.g., Cunha, Heckman, and Schennach 2010). Consistent with this view, impact analyses of interventions for urban youth have mostly generated disappointing results.<sup>1</sup> We assess whether charter high schools produce meaningful long-term gains for disadvantaged urban youth.

Our findings suggest that the gains from Boston's high-performing charter high schools extend well beyond high-stakes tests. Charter attendance doubles the likelihood that a student sits for an Advanced Placement (AP) exam, with especially large gains in the share of students taking science exams. Attending a charter school quadruples the likelihood of taking an AP Calculus exam and increases the fraction of students earning an AP Calculus score high enough to qualify for college credit from 2%, for noncharter attendees, to 13%, for charter attendees. Charters also boost SAT scores sharply, especially in math. Importantly, our estimated SAT gains are about as large as the estimated gains on the state's high-stakes high school exit exam, in spite of the fact that SAT scores are unrelated to state-mandated accountability standards. Although overall college enrollment effects are not statistically significant, charter attendance induces a clear shift from 2-year to 4-year colleges, with gains most pronounced at 4-year public institutions in Massachusetts.

Our analysis also links gains on accountability assessments to gains in later outcomes, finding that effects on the two sets of outcomes are highly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For example, Dynarski et al. (1998) and Dynarski and Gleason (2002) document an array of discouraging findings for interventions meant to reduce dropout rates. See also Dynarski and Wood (1997) and Kemple and Snipes (2000) for results on alternative schools and career academies, where the findings are mixed at best.

positively correlated. In other words, whether or not state assessments are of intrinsic interest, gains on state tests predict gains elsewhere. Finally, because Boston's charter applicants are positively selected relative to the traditional Boston Public School (BPS) population, we explore the possibility that peer composition mediates charter effects. The results of this exploration are inconsistent with the notion that changes in peer composition account for our main findings.

The next section provides background on Massachusetts charter schools and describes the data used here. Section III outlines our empirical strategy and reports first-stage estimates and benchmark effects on standardized test scores. Section IV reviews findings for college preparation, while Section V discusses effects on college enrollment, choice, and persistence. Section VI reports effects in subgroups and discusses our evidence on peer effects. Section VII concludes.

#### II. Background and Data

# A. Boston's Charter Sector

Boston's oversubscribed charter schools generate impressive test score gains. Lottery estimates show that each year spent at a charter middle school boosts scores by about a fifth of a standard deviation in English language arts (ELA) and over a third of a standard deviation in math. High school gains are just as large (Abdulkadiroğlu et al. 2011). These effects are in line with those generated by urban charters elsewhere in Massachusetts, as we have shown in studies of a Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) school in Lynn, Massachusetts (Angrist et al. 2010, 2012) and in an analysis of charter lottery results from around the state (Angrist et al. 2011; Angrist, Pathak, and Walters 2013).

A defining feature of Massachusetts' successful urban charter schools appears to be adherence to *No Excuses* pedagogy, an approach to urban education described in a book of the same name (Thernstrom and Thernstrom 2003). *No Excuses* schools emphasize discipline and comportment, traditional reading and math skills, extended instruction time, and selective teacher hiring. Massachusetts' *No Excuses* charters also make heavy use of Teach for America (TFA) corps members and alumni and provide extensive and ongoing feedback to teachers. Like most Boston charter schools, the high schools studied here largely identify with the *No Excuses* approach, a fact documented in table 1.<sup>2</sup>

Charter schools are a recent innovation; Massachusetts' first charter schools opened in 1995. Not surprisingly, therefore, most evidence on

<sup>2</sup> Other lottery-based evidence on *No Excuses*'s effectiveness includes the Dobbie and Fryer (2011) study of a charter school in the Harlem Children's Zone, the Dobbie and Fryer (2013) study of a larger sample of New York charters, and results for a sample of KIPP schools from around the country (Tuttle et al. 2013).

Table 1 Boston High School Characteristics				
	Public High Schools (1)	Charters Serving Grades 9–12 Only (2)	Charters Serving Grades 9–12 (3)	Charters in the Study (4)
A. School characteristics:				
No. of years open		15	14	14
Have Saturday school		3 schools	5 schools	5 schools
Average math instructions (minutes)		83.5	92.0	97.3
Average reading instruction (minutes)		89.8	92.0	97.3
No Excuses		3 schools	5 schools	5 schools
Days per year	180	189	190	191
Average minutes per day	392	477	478	489
Average per pupil expenditure (\$)	$16,902^{a}$	$15,842^{b}$	13,694	13,499
Title I eligible	22 schools	4 schools	7 schools	6 schools
No. of schools in sample	22	4	7	9
B. Teacher characteristics (grades 9–12 only):				
No. of teachers per school	45	17	16	16
Student/teacher ratio	13.8	13.1	12.4	12.6
Proportion of highly qualified teachers	.70	.88	06.	.91
Proportion of teachers licensed in teaching assignment	.89	.80	69.	.64
Proportion of core classes taught by highly qualified teachers	.93	.97	.97	96.
Average teacher age	41	32	33	32
Proportion of teachers age 32 and younger	.23	.64	.63	69.
Proportion of teachers age 49 and older	.30	60.	.08	.04
Proportion of teachers assigned to SPED or ELL classes	.17	.08	.06	90.
Proportion of teachers assigned to AP classes	.04	.07	.07	.07
No. of teachers in sample	$993^{c}$	71	121	101
NOTE.—This table reports characteristics of Boston charter schools and Boston public schools operating in academic year 2012–13. Information on charter schools in panel A is from a 2010–11 survey of school administrators, except for per pupil expenditures, which are fiscal year 2011 figures obtained from http://www.doe.mass.edu/charter/finance/revespt/ revespt. Data for public schools were obtained from tww.nctgorg, www.nctgorg, www.nctgorg, and http://profiles.doe.mass.edu/charter/finance/revespt. Data for public schools were obtained from tww.nctgorg, www.nctgorg, wat 2011–12 with Bard Bard Bard form Massachustts Except where otherwise noted, entries in panel B are averages for teachers employed in the 2010–11 school years. See the the data appendix (app. A) for details. Except where onted, entries in panel A are averages actools and are nctgorg, water 2011 and 2011–12 school years. See the the data appendix (app. A) for details. Except where otherwise noted, entr	dd Boston public schools of expenditures, which are fi iww.bostonpublicschools. Iwe.bostonpublicschools. Iwent. Teacher characteristi tent. Teacher characteristi e 2010–11 and 2011–12 sch e 2010–11 and 2011–12 sch assachusetts DESE Distric tand out-of-district expeni- ting, as this school as well.	perating in academic year 2012– scal year 2011 figures obtained org and hrtp://profiles.doc.mass. dn 2013. Average per pupil expe- cs in panel B are derived from tool years. See the the data appen iool years. See the the data appen ditures. in academic year 2011–12.	<ol> <li>Information on charter sc from http://www.doe.mass.ee edu and refer to academic ye nditures include spending for Massachusetts EPINS teach dix (app. A) for details. Excep dix (app. A) for details. Excep Expenditure per Pupil, All Fu</li> </ol>	hools in panel A is du/charter/finance ar 2010-11, except all grade levels for ter data and SIMS of where otherwise inds, by Function"

charter effectiveness comes from outcomes measured while children are still enrolled in elementary and secondary school. An exception is Dobbie and Fryer's recent (2015) lottery-based study, which follows applicants to a charter middle school in the Harlem Children's Zone, estimating effects on college enrollment while also looking at noneducational outcomes related to crime and teen pregnancy. Dobbie and Fryer find that Promise Academy boosts college enrollment while reducing pregnancy for girls and incarceration for boys. Earlier work by Booker et al. (2008) uses statistical controls and distance instruments to identify the effects of charter school attendance on high school graduation and college enrollment. Results from both of these empirical strategies suggest gains for charter students. We complement this earlier work with new results on postsecondary preparation, enrollment, and college choice for a large sample of charter high school lottery applicants.

### B. Data and Sample

## 1. School Selection

We set out to study the effects of attendance at six charter high schools in Boston. These schools generated the lottery-based estimates of charter high school achievement effects reported in our earlier study (Abdulkadiroğlu et al. 2011), and they account for the bulk of charter high school enrollment in Boston today.<sup>3</sup> Two additional charter high schools serving Boston students in the same period are now closed. One school that is still open has poor records and appears unsuitable for a lottery-based analysis.

Table 1 describes features of the charter schools included in this study, as well as those of the full set of charter high schools in Boston and Boston's traditional public schools, including exam schools. This table classifies charters according to whether they cover grades 9–12 or are limited to grades 9–12. Boston's charters run a longer school day and year than traditional public schools, and they make frequent use of Saturday school. As a result, charter school students receive about 1,500 hours per year of instruction, compared to 1,150 in the traditional public schools. Most of Boston's charters adhere to the *No Excuses* instructional approach. As shown in panel B of table 1, charter teachers are younger than their traditional public school counterparts: 69% of teachers in our analysis sample are age 32 or younger, compared to 23% of traditional public school teachers. Similarly, only 4% of (study sample) charter teachers are age 49 or older, while 30% of public school teachers are at least age 49. Charter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The six schools are Academy of the Pacific Rim Charter Public School, Boston Collegiate Charter School, Boston Preparatory Charter Public School, City on a Hill Charter Public School, Codman Academy Charter Public School, and Match High School.

class sizes are smaller than those at traditional public schools. Per pupil expenditures are broadly similar across sectors, with traditional public high schools spending about \$1,000 more per student. All public schools in Boston, including charters, qualify for Title I aid.

### 2. Student Data

Massachusetts charter schools admit students by lottery when they have more applicants than seats. We collected lists of charter school applicants and information on the results of admissions lotteries from individual charter schools. These lists were then matched to administrative records covering all Massachusetts public school students. Our analysis sample is limited to charter applicants who applied for a charter school seat from fall 2002 through fall 2009. Additional information on applicant lotteries appears in the data appendix (app. A) and table A1.

We matched applicant records to administrative data using applicants' names, cohorts, and grades of application. Where available, information on date of birth, town of residence, race or ethnicity, and gender was used to break ties. Among applicants eligible for our study, 94% were matched to state data.<sup>4</sup> Applicants were excluded from the analysis if they were disqualified from the lottery (these are mostly applicants to the wrong grade). We also omit siblings of current charter students, late applicants, and some out-of-area applicants. Students submitting charter applications in multiple years appear only once in the sample, with data recorded for the first application only. Information on baseline demographics and test scores comes from the most recent pre-lottery data available in the state database. In addition to providing demographic information and scores on state assessments, state administrative records include AP and SAT scores for all public school students tested in Massachusetts.

Information on college enrollment and choice comes from the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC). The Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education routinely requests an NSC match for Massachusetts high school graduates; as described in the data appendix, we combined the graduate files with supplemental information on nongraduates. NSC data record enrollment spells at participating postsecondary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Match rates differ little by win/loss status, a fact documented in app. table A2. Online app. table B3 shows that results for applicant cohorts where match rate differentials are largest (mostly recent cohorts with projected graduation dates after 2009) are typically similar to those for the full sample, though effects on reading scores are somewhat smaller for the balanced cohorts. Appendix B, table B4, reports Lee (2009) bounds accounting for differential attrition. The bounds imply substantial and significant test score impacts in both subjects.

institutions, which account for 94% of Massachusetts undergraduates. Missing schools mostly run small vocational and technical programs.

Different outcomes generate different follow-up horizons, depending on when in a student's schooling career they are collected. We define followup horizons based on each applicant cohort's projected senior year of high school.<sup>5</sup> The earliest information available on baseline (pre-application) characteristics is from the school year ending in spring 2002. The earliest outcome data are therefore contributed by students projected to graduate in spring 2006. Outcome-specific samples range over projected senior years as follows:

- MCAS scores: These results are for students with projected senior years ending in spring 2006 to spring 2013; the outcome here is a tenthgrade score on the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) assessment. Some students retake tenth-grade MCAS tests in a later grade, an outcome we also see. MCAS scores are standardized to the state score distribution by grade, year, and subject. MCAS results include an analysis of effects on state-determined competency standards and scholarship awards.
- *AP and SAT scores:* These results are for applicants with projected senior years 2007–13, including tests taken earlier than the senior year. AP and SAT scores are in their original units (AP scores run from 1 to 5; SAT subject scores run from 200 to 800).
- *High school graduation:* High school graduation data are for cohorts projected to finish between 2006 and 2013.
- College outcomes: These are for students with projected senior years 2006–12 (the most recent cohort for which we have NSC data is the high school class of 2012).

Table 2 compares charter applicants with the full sample of traditional BPS ninth-graders in each outcome sample. Applicants tend to have higher baseline test scores than the traditional BPS population and are more likely to be black. Limited English proficient students are underrepresented among charter applicants, but the proportion of applicants identified as qualifying for special education services is almost as high among charter applicants as in the traditional BPS population.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The projected senior year equals the eighth-grade year plus 4 for applicants to City on a Hill, Codman Academy, and Match High (schools where applicants apply for ninth-grade entry), the fourth-grade year plus 8 for applicants to Boston Collegiate (where applicants apply for fifth-grade entry), and the fifth-grade year plus 7 for applicants to Academy of the Pacific Rim and Boston Preparatory (schools where applicants apply for sixth-grade entry).

#### Table 2 Descriptive Statistics

	All BPS Ninth-Graders		Charter Lottery Appli	cants
	Mean (1)	Mean (2)	Immediate Offer Gap (3)	Waitlist Offer Gap (4)
A. Projected senior year 2006–13 (MCAS outcome sample):				
Female	.496	.540	.025	014
			(.019)	(.011)
Black	.421	.613	004	001
			(.018)	(.010)
Hispanic	.308	.250	.006	002
			(.016)	(.009)
Asian	.101	.033	003	.002
			(.006)	(.003)
Subsidized lunch	.743	.729	.020	006
c · 1 1 ·	201	100	(.017)	(.010)
Special education	.204	.182	.012	009
Lincited Earlich and Griener	120	025	(.015) 001	(.008)
Limited English proficiency	.120	.035		.002
Baseline MCAS ELA	490	298	(.007) 046	(.004) .026
baseline MCAS ELA	489	298	046 (.035)	
Baseline MCAS Math	427	312	027	(.019) .018
Dasenne MCA3 Math	427	512	(.035)	(.020)
<i>p</i> -value			.805	.748
Charter attendance		.297	.005	.7 40
Immediate offer		.308		
Waitlist offer		.347		
N	29,846	.5 17	3,685	
B. Other outcome samples:	27,010		5,005	
Projected senior year 2007–13:				
Took any AP	.268	.286		
Took SAT	.496	.642		
Ν	22,467	3,672		
Projected senior year 2006–12:		-		
On-time college enrollment	.368	.488		
N	26,584	3,205		

NOTE.—This table shows descriptive statistics for Boston Public School (BPS) students and charter lottery applicants as well as differences by lottery offer status. Column 1 shows means for BPS ninth-graders projected to graduate between 2006 and 2013, assuming normal academic progress from eighth grade. Column 2 shows means for charter applicants in the same projected graduation year range. Columns 3 and 4 report coefficients from regressions of characteristics on immediate and waitlist lottery offers, controlling for risk set indicators. The sample for these regressions is restricted to charter lottery applicants with tenth-grade MCAS ELA (Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System English language arts) scores. The *p*-values are from tests of the hypothesis that all coefficients are zero. Baseline grade is defined as fourth grade for Boston Collegiate applicants, fifth grade for Boston Preparatory and Academy of the Pacific Rim applicants, and eighth grade for Match High, Codman Academy, and City on a Hill applicants. The baseline grade for BPS ninth-graders is eighth grade. Panel B shows outcome means for the AP/SAT and NSC analysis samples. Ontime college enrollment indicates enrollment by the semester after projected high school graduation. Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

#### **III.** Empirical Framework

## A. Models and Instruments

We estimate the effects of charter school attendance on high school graduation rates, measures of AP and SAT test-taking and scores, college enrollment and type, and college persistence. As a benchmark, we also report results for tenth-grade MCAS scores, including effects on competency thresholds in Massachusetts and eligibility for the state's Adams Scholarship, which grants public university tuition waivers to public high school students based on a combination of MCAS math and ELA cutoffs.

Our lottery-based empirical strategy is motivated by the observation that charter attendance is a choice that may be correlated with motivation, ability, or family background. Conventional regression estimates of the effects of charter attendance may therefore fail to capture causal effects. To eliminate selection bias, our empirical strategy uses randomly assigned charter lottery offers to estimate the effects of attending charter schools. The second-stage equation for our lottery-based two-stage least squares (2SLS) analysis links charter school attendance with outcomes as follows:

$$y_i = \sum_j \delta_j d_{ij} + \gamma' X_i + \rho C_i + \varepsilon_i, \qquad (1)$$

where  $y_i$  is the outcome of interest for student *i*,  $X_i$  is a vector including tenth-grade-year dummies and a set of pre-lottery demographic characteristics (gender, race, special education, limited English proficiency, subsidized lunch status, and a female-minority interaction), and  $\varepsilon_i$  is an error term. The  $d_{ij}$  are dummy variables for all combinations of charter school lotteries (indexed by *j*) to which lottery sample applicants applied. In what follows, we refer to these combinations as "risk sets." These are included because the application mix determines the probability of receiving an offer even when offers at each school are randomly assigned.<sup>6</sup> The variable of interest,  $C_{ij}$  indicates attendance at any of the six charter schools in our lottery sample in ninth or tenth grade. The parameter  $\rho$  captures the causal effect of charter school attendance.

We use charter offer dummies as instruments. The *immediate offer* instrument,  $Z_{i1}$ , indicates offers made on the day of the charter school lottery. Because some applicants who do not receive offers on lottery day do so at a later date when their names are reached on a randomly ordered waitlist, we also use a second instrument, called *waitlist offer*, or  $Z_{i2}$ . Some risk sets have only one instrument, in which case the other is set to zero and absorbed by controls for risk sets. Appendix table A1 details the schools and application cohorts for which we observe immediate and waitlist offers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For example, in a world with three charter schools and one entry cohort, there are seven risk sets: all schools, each school, and any two.

Effects of Boston's Charter High Schools

The first stage for our 2SLS procedure is

$$C_{i} = \sum_{j} \mu_{j} d_{ij} + \beta' X_{i} + \pi_{1} Z_{i1} + \pi_{2} Z_{i2} + \eta_{i}, \qquad (2)$$

where two separate parameters,  $\pi_1$  and  $\pi_2$ , capture the effects of immediate and waitlist offers on charter attendance. As in the second-stage equation, the first stage includes risk set controls, tenth-grade-year dummies, and baseline demographic characteristics. With two instruments used to estimate a single causal effect, we can interpret 2SLS estimates as a statistically efficient weighted average of what we would get from an estimation strategy that uses the instruments one at a time. Standard errors are clustered at the tenth-grade-school-by-year level.

Randomly assigned lottery offers are independent of student ability or family background. Consistent with presumed random assignment, columns 3 and 4 of table 2 show that pre-lottery demographic variables and test scores are similar for offered and nonoffered students. Specifically, differences in baseline characteristics by offer status are small and statistically insignificant for all variables tested, and *p*-values from joint tests are high.

Although random assignment ensures apples-to-apples comparisons among all those who apply, this statistical comparability is threatened by differential attrition between offered and nonoffered students. Appendix table A3 documents an MCAS follow-up rate close to 80%. Moreover, panel B, which reports the effect of lottery offers on the likelihood students contribute an MCAS score to our analysis sample, shows no significant effects of lottery offers on follow-up. Follow-up rates for further downstream outcomes are largely determined by whether a student is seen in a Massachusetts school in twelfth grade. Here too the estimates in panel B are encouraging, with no systematic difference between offered and nonoffered students.

#### B. First-Stage Estimates and an MCAS Benchmark

A waitlist admissions offer in a charter lottery boosts the probability of charter enrollment by 24 percentage points. This can be seen in column 3 of table 3, which reports waitlist offer first-stage estimates. Column 2 shows that an immediate offer boosts charter enrollment by an additional 13 points. The first-stage effect of an offer immediately following lottery day is therefore 37 percentage points.<sup>7</sup>

The relationship between lottery offers and charter enrollment—the size of the first stage—is determined by the likelihood that an applicant chooses to accept an offer. Our first-stage estimates are far from one because many lottery winners choose not to enroll in charter schools. This is driven in

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  First-stage estimates differ slightly across outcomes due to small changes in sample composition.

Table 3 Lottery Estimates of Effects on Tenth-Grade MCAS Scores by Projected Senior Year	e MCAS Score	es by Projecte	d Senior Ye	ır			
	Charter E	Charter Enrollment (First Stage)	Stage)	MCAS	MCAS Scores (Reduced Form and 2SLS)	d Form and 2	SLS)
Subject	Nonoffered Mean (1)	Immediate Offer (2)	Waitlist Offer (3)	Noncharter Mean (4)	Immediate Offer (5)	Waitlist Offer (6)	Charter Effect (7)
A. Seniors in 2006-13 (MCAS outcome sample): Standardized ELA	.104	.373***	.239***	- 285	.148***	.136***	.408***
N	[.306]	(.047)	(.042)	.833]	(.046)	(.044)	(.102) 3,685
Standardized math	.106	.374***	.241***	233	.221***	.152***	.592***
	[.307]	(.048)	(.041)	[.911]	(.058)	(.054)	(.117)
							3,629
D. Seniors in 2006–12 (INSC outcome sample): Standardized FI A	790	363***	228***	- 296	110**	073	304**
	[.296]	(.053)	.048)	[.830]	(.055)	(050)	(.127)
N	[	()					3,008
Standardized math	260.	.365***	.230***	241	.178***	.118*	.489***
N	[.296]	(.053)	(.048)	[.893]	(.068)	(.065)	(.146) 2,965
NOTE.—This table reports first-stage, reduced form, and two-stage least squares setimates for the effects of Boston charter attendance on tenth-grade MCAS (Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System) test scores. The panel A sample includes students projected to graduate between 2006 and 2013; the panel B sample (NSC = National Student Comprehensive Assessment System) test scores. The panel A sample includes students projected to graduate between 2006 and 2013; the panel B sample (NSC = National Student Comprehensive Assessment System) test scores. The panel A sample includes students are immediate by the formation of the state attendance in ninth or tenth grade. The instruments are immediate and wailist offer is equal to one when a student is offered a seat in any charter stendance in ninth or tenth grade. The instruments are immediate offer stendance in the state state attendance in a state. All models control for risk sets, tenth-grade calendar year dummies, race, sex, special education, limited English proficiency, subsidized lunch status, and a female by minority dummy. Standard errors are clustered at the school-year level in tenth grade. The means in col. 4 are for noncharter students. Standard errors are reported in parentheses, and standard deviations are reported in brackets. ** Significant at the 5% level. ** Significant at the 5% level.	two-stage least square square squares to sample includes sheen 2006 and 2011 aiste offer is equal to in Models count y dummy. Standart oncharter students	ares estimates for tudents projected t 2. The endogenou o one when a stude for risk seets, t d errors are cluster . Standard errors a	the effects of F o graduate betwo svariable is an sut is offered a su- enth-grade caler ed at the school- ure reported in p	oston charter atte een 2006 and 2013 indicator for chart at in any charter s- dar year level in tenth arentheses, and sta	ddance on tenth-g t the panel B samp er attendance in n chool immediately r arecs, sexs, specia grade. The means i ndard deviations : ndard deviations :	rade MCAS (M le (NSC = Nati inth or tenth gr following the l l education, lim l education, lim in col. 1 are for s are reported in l	lassachusetts onal Student ade. The in- ottery, while ited English tudents who orackets.

This content downloaded from 128.223.027.133 on September 05, 2019 14:15:08 PM All use subject to University of Chicago Press Terms and Conditions (http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t-and-c).

part by the variety of options available to Boston high school students: online appendix table C1 shows that some accepted applicants opt for a traditional public school, one of Boston's pilot schools, or an exam school. In addition, some students who receive no offer in the lotteries for which we have data receive one at a later date, further reducing the first stage. The 2SLS estimates adjust for differences between offers and enrollment, with the resulting estimates capturing causal effects for those who comply with (i.e., enroll in a charter school in response to) the offers recorded in our data (Imbens and Angrist 1994).

As a starting point, table 3 also reports first-stage, reduced form, and 2SLS estimates similar to those reported in our earlier Boston study for tenth-grade MCAS scores (Abdulkadiroğlu et al. 2011). Column 7, which shows second-stage estimates of the parameter  $\rho$  from equation (1), indicates that attendance at the charter high schools in our sample boosts tenth-grade ELA scores by 0.4 $\sigma$ , that is, four-tenths of a standard deviation, while raising math scores by almost 0.6 $\sigma$ .<sup>8</sup>

The analysis of longer-term outcomes necessarily covers fewer applicant cohorts than are available for an analysis of MCAS scores. As a check on the representativeness of the subsamples used to produce the estimates of effects on later outcomes, we constructed 2SLS estimates of MCAS effects for the subsample of applicants contributing to our college-going analysis below. Estimates of effects on tenth-grade MCAS scores in the collegegoing sample, reported in panel B of table 3, are similar to estimates for the full MCAS sample.

## **IV.** College Preparation

# A. MCAS Thresholds

Charter school attendance has large effects on the likelihood applicants score in the upper-two MCAS score categories. This can be seen in column 2 of table 4, which documents large and statistically significant increases in the likelihood charter applicants earn scores at a level deemed "Proficient" or "Advanced."

Since 2003, high school graduation in Massachusetts has been determined in part by tenth-grade MCAS scores. The initial state competency standard required students to pass the Needs Improvement threshold with scaled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The estimates reported in our earlier study, Abdulkadiroğlu et al. (2011), are smaller than this because the former are scaled to measure the effect of years of charter attendance, while those reported here show a charter enrollment effect, without adjusting for years attended. We opted for a dummy-endogenous-variable approach because this produces consistent specifications across outcomes, while sidestepping issues related to timing and reverse causality. High school graduation, e.g., causes years of charter enrollment as well as vice versa.

MCAS Performance Categories (Math and ELA Combined)	Categories (Math and ELA Combined)	bined)	Grade Progression and Graduation	ld Graduation	
	Noncharter Mean (1)	Effect (2)	Category	Noncharter Mean (3)	Effect (4)
Needs Improvement or higher	.975	.014	Start twelfth grade on time $(N = 3,920)$	.781	024
Proficient or higher	.543	(CIU.) .171**	Repeat twelfth grade $(N = 2,415)$	.070	(.049) .124** (050)
Advanced or higher	.076	.161*** .161***	4-year graduation $(N = 3,920)$	.687	(.000) 145***
Meets competency determination	.740	(+004) .147**	5-year graduation $(N = 3,208)$	.787	(ccu.) 003 (030.)
Eligible for Adams Scholarship using BPS cutoffs	.198	(.000) .242***			
Ν	3,608	(000)			
NOTE.—This table reports two-stage 1 System) performance categories, eligibilit ELA and math for the class of 2006–9 au subjects, advanced in at least one subject, i are imputed with the 2011 cutoff. A stude and "is advanced" if he or she scores at or on time is one if a student is observed in for repeat twelfth and 5-year graduation through 2013. The sample for repeat twelf	ast squares estimates of t y for the Adams Scholarshi and scores of 240 in both sub- ind scores an 0240 in both sub- in end in scores and the top 25 metric for the star of the above 260 on both tests. No twelfth grade by his or her ic year. Five-year graduatio includes twidents projected th is restricted to students	he effects of B p, and progress pects for the cla % of the Boston % of the Boston the or she scorte nn-Adams MCL r projected semi r proje	NorE.—This table reports two-stage least squares estimates of the effects of Boston charter attendance on tenth-grade MCAS (Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System) performance categories, eligiblity for the Adams Scholarship, and progression through high school. The competency determination requires scaled scores of 220 in both ELA and math for the classes of 2006–9 and scores anong the top 25% of the Boston district on his schelarship if he or she is proficient in both subjects, advanced in at least one subject, and scores anong the top 25% of the Boston district on his schelarship if he or she is proficient in both the 2011 cutoff. A guident "is proficient in both tests," is proficient in each scores at or above 210 on both tests, are imputed with the 2011 cutoff. A student "needs improvement" if he or she scores at or above 220 on both tests, and "is advanced" if he or she scores at or above 220 on both tests. The scores at or above 220 on both tests, and "is advanced" if he or she scores at or above 200 on both tests. Non–Adams MCAS outcomes indicate whether a student reached the threshold on any attempt. Starting grade 12 on time is one if a student is observed in twelfth grade by his or her projected senion year, assuming normal academic progress from baseline. Repeat twelfth is one if a student for repeats twelfth and 6 year divery ear duation includes students projected to graduate from 2006 through 2013. The sample for at least to construct these students who started to student by spring 2012. All other outcome samples uncleas broket to construct these estimates. The sample for repeat twelfth is restricted to students by spring 2012. All other outcome samples uncleas the for students projected to graduate for 2006 through 2013. The sample for at least to construct these students who started the students who started to student when these estimates.	assachusetts Comprehensiv tion requires scaled scores of holarship if he or she is prof ojected graduation cohorts 2 ojected graduation cohore 240 reshold on any attempt. Sta tseline. Repeat twelfth is or tseline. Repeat twelfth is or tudents projected to gradua models used to construct th	e Assessment 5f 220 in both cicient in both 2012 and 2013 on both tests; tring grade 12 tring grade 12 r. The sample tre from 2006 ese estimates.

Standard errors are shown in parentheses. \*\* Significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Significant at the 1% level.

This content downloaded from 128.223.027.133 on September 05, 2019 14:15:08 PM All use subject to University of Chicago Press Terms and Conditions (http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t-and-c).

scores of 220 in both math and ELA; for the graduating class of 2010 and onward, standards were increased to require Proficient scores of at least 240 in math, ELA, and science.<sup>9</sup> Consistent with the score gains documented in table 3, charter attendance boosts the likelihood of meeting competency standards, with a gain of 15 points. This estimate also appears in column 2 of table 4.

Beginning with the high school class of 2005, the state has used the MCAS to determine qualification for public university tuition waivers, an award known as the Adams Scholarship. Qualification for an Adams Scholarship requires an MCAS score in the Advanced category in either ELA or math, a score that is at least Proficient in the subject where the Advanced standard is not met, and a total MCAS score in the upper quartile of the distribution of scores in a scholarship candidate's home school district.<sup>10</sup> Awardees qualify for a tuition waiver at a Massachusetts public college or university.<sup>11</sup> As can be seen at the bottom of column 2 of table 4, charter attendance increases the likelihood of qualifying for an Adams Scholarship by 24 percentage points. This finding is notable in view of concerns regarding racial imbalance in eligibility for some scholarship programs (Dynarski 2000). Attendance at Boston charter schools increases scholarship eligibility for a mostly poor minority population.

The nature of the charter-induced shift in the distribution of MCAS scores emerges clearly in figure 1. This figure plots estimated score distributions for lottery compliers, that is, for applicants who take a charter seat when offered one in a lottery but enroll in a traditional public school otherwise. We plot densities for compliers because, as with our 2SLS estimates, such comparisons are purged of the selection bias that contaminates an unadjusted contrast between those who do and do not enroll in a charter school. Comparisons for compliers therefore have a causal interpretation.

Complier distributions are estimated here by adapting methods introduced by Abadie (2002, 2003). Specifically, for a grid of values, v, in the support of an outcome variable,  $y_i$ , we estimate equations of the following form:

$$K_{b}(v - y_{i})(1 - C_{i}) = \sum_{j} \kappa_{0j}(v) d_{ij} + \gamma_{0}(v)(1 - C_{i}) + u_{0iv}, \qquad (3)$$

$$K_b(v-y_i)C_i = \sum_{j}\kappa_{1j}(v)d_{ij} + \gamma_1(v)C_i + u_{1iv}, \qquad (4)$$

<sup>9</sup> See http://www.doe.mass.edu/mcas/graduation.html for details. Updated rules include an exception for students who pass the Needs Improvement threshold only and also meet personal goals. We ignore this exception here.

<sup>10</sup> Charter school students can earn a scholarship in either the district of attendance (the charter school) or the district of residence (Boston). The Adams Scholarship cutoff is defined here using BPS thresholds.

<sup>11</sup> Cohodes and Goodman (2014) estimate effects of Adams Scholarships on college enrollment and choice, showing these appear to increase enrollment in public universities in spite of the fact that they cover only a small portion of college costs.



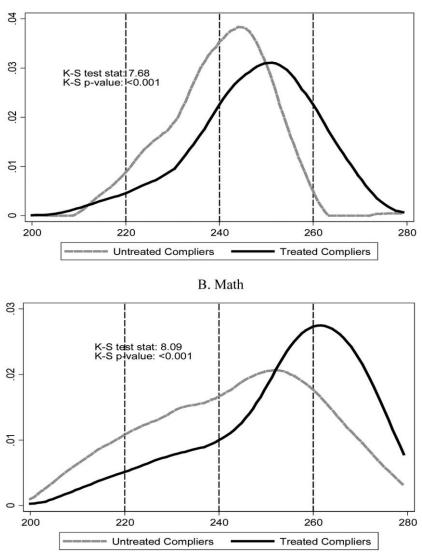


FIG. 1.—Complier distributions for MCAS scaled scores in ELA and math. This figure plots smoothed MCAS scaled score distributions for treated and untreated charter lottery compliers. The sample is restricted to lottery applicants projected to graduate between 2006 and 2013. Dotted vertical lines indicate MCAS performance category thresholds (220 for Needs Improvement, 240 for Proficient, and 260 for Advanced). Densities are estimated using an Epanechnikov kernel with bandwidth equal to twice the Silverman (1986) rule-of-thumb. Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics and *p*-values are from bootstrap tests of distributional equality for treated and untreated compliers.

where charter attendance  $C_i$  is treated as an endogenous regressor and instrumented with lottery offers. Here  $K_b(v) = (1/2)K(v/b)$  is a kernel function with bandwidth *h*. The resulting estimates of  $\gamma_1(v)$  and  $\gamma_0(v)$  describe densities for treated (charter) and untreated (noncharter) compliers.<sup>12</sup>

The *x*-axis in figure 1 marks MCAS score category cutoffs; these occur at 20-point intervals. Charter school attendance clearly pushes the first-attempt score distribution into the upper-three score groups. The effect of charter attendance on ELA scores is striking: very few noncharter students achieve at an Advanced level, while many charter students are in the Advanced group. Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of distributional equality suggest that the distributional shifts documented in this figure are very unlikely to be a chance finding.

#### B. Grade Progression and High School Graduation

Does charter attendance also increase high school graduation rates? Perhaps surprisingly given the gains in test score graduation requirements reported in column 2 of table 4, the estimates in column 4 of this table suggest not. In fact, charter attendance reduces the likelihood a student graduates on time by 14.5 percentage points, a statistically significant effect.<sup>13</sup> This negative estimate falls to zero when the outcome is graduation within 5 years of ninth-grade entry. Interestingly, charter schools appear no more likely to cause students to repeat ninth, tenth, or eleventh grade than are traditional public schools. This is apparent from an analysis of effects on the likelihood of starting twelfth grade on time. Instead, it appears that many charter students take an additional twelfth-grade year to graduate, perhaps due to their more rigorous graduation requirements. The subset of students taking an additional year in high school may be substituting the high school year for remediation in community college.<sup>14</sup>

## C. SAT-Taking and Scores

The SAT is a major milestone for college-bound high school students, and for many it is a major hurdle on the path to college. Designed to be challenging for all takers, SAT scores are a special concern for low-income and minority applicants. Gaps in SAT scores by race and socioeconomic

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  The grid for v covers each percentile of the observed MCAS distribution; the kernel is Epanechnikov, with bandwidth twice the Silverman (1986) rule-of-thumb. Walters (2013) shows that this method produces consistent estimates of density functions for compliers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> On-time graduation dates are determined by counting from the entry grade to grade 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> High school is less expensive for the student, but Massachusetts community college per pupil expenditures are around \$10,000 per student, compared to about \$14,000 in high school.

status that might be attributable to family background and school quality are further accentuated by the willingness of higher-income families to invest in SAT preparation classes (see, e.g., Bowen and Bok 2000).

Many high schoolers in Boston's traditional public schools take the SAT, and charter attendance does little to change this rate. As can be seen in the first two columns of table 5, nearly two-thirds of noncharter students in our applicant sample take the SAT, while the estimated effect of charter attendance on SAT-taking is about 8 points, a gap far from statistical significance.<sup>15</sup>

SAT scores are much lower in Boston than in the rest of the state, with fewer than 10% of noncharter students in our applicant sample scoring above the state median on the composite test (the sum of math, verbal, and writing scores). About three-quarters of noncharter students score in the lowest quartile of the state distribution or do not take the SAT. Charter attendance increases the share of students scoring above the bottom quartile by 15 percentage points (from 27% to 42%, as can be seen in col. 6).<sup>16</sup> Gains in math contribute most to this boost in composite scores; effects on verbal and writing scores are smaller, though still statistically significant. Charter attendance increases the probability that applicants earn an SAT reasoning score (the sum of math and verbal) above the state median, with math again the largest contributor to this gain.

Table 5 also reports SAT score effects estimated in samples limited to those who take the test. Because charter attendance has little effect on the decision to take the SAT, such conditional comparisons are unlikely to be biased by compositional shifts. These conditional results show that Boston's charters have large and statistically significant effects on SAT scores, especially in math. Specifically, charter attendance boosts average math scores by 52 points, a gain that amounts to over four-tenths of a standard deviation in the US score distribution.<sup>17</sup> This is almost as large (in standard deviation units) as the MCAS math effect reported in table 3, suggesting that the gains in math skills demonstrated on the MCAS carry over to the SAT. The score gain in verbal and writing is about 26 points in each subject. Although charter attendance has smaller effects on verbal and writing scores, the composite SAT score gain is estimated to be about 104 points,

<sup>15</sup> Charter applicants are positively selected, as shown by their somewhat higher baseline test scores than the general BPS population. Similarly, the SAT-taking rate among applicants of 0.63 exceeds the SAT-taking rate of 0.49 in the noncharter BPS population.

<sup>16</sup> În this calculation, we assign an SAT score of zero to those who do not take the test.

<sup>17</sup> Means (and standard deviations) of the US SAT distribution in 2012 were 512 (117) in math, 496 (114) in verbal, 488 (114) in writing, 1010 (214) for reasoning, and 1498 (316) for the composite.

Lottery Estimates of Effects on S	Effects on SAT Test-Taking and Scores	and Scores				
	Took SAT	AT	Reasoning $(Top Score = 1600)$	Score = 1600)	Composite (Top Score = 2400)	Score = 2400
	Noncharter Mean (1)	Effect (2)	Noncharter Mean (3)	Effect (4)	Noncharter Mean (5)	Effect (6)
Took SAT	.635 [.481]	.084 (.063)	~			
Score above bottom quartile	[ • •	()	.267	.165***	.265	.147***
•			[.443]	(.057)	[.441]	(.056)
Score above median			.103	.124***	.094	.108***
Score in top quartile			[.304] .033	(.041) .017	[.292] .027	(.036) .008
			[.178]	(.016)	[.162]	.016)
Average score (for takers)			855.5 [172.0]	78.1*** (23.0)	1,268.2	104.3***
			[4.0.1]	(6.07)	[C:0C7]	(c.+c)
	Math (800)	300)	Verbal (800)	(800)	Writing (800)	(800)
	Noncharter		Noncharter		Noncharter	
	Mean	Effect	Mean	Effect	Mean	Effect
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)
Score above bottom quartile	.315	.174**	.271	.139***	.289	.101*
	[.465]	(890.)	[.445]	(.054)	[.453]	(.056)
Score above median	.126	.166***	.112	.086**	.104	**620°
Score in ton quartile	[.332] 042	(.049) 065**	[.315] 034	(.042) 011	[.306] 079	(.037)
and the dam in the	.201]	.002)	.180]	.019)	.167]	.024)
Average score (for takers)	439.1	52.1***	416.4	26.0**	412.7	26.2**
)	[98.3]	(14.3)	[91.0]	(12.9)	[89.3]	(12.6)
NOTE.—This table reports two-stage least squares estimates of the effects of Boston charter attendance on SAT test-taking and scores. The sample includes students projected to graduate between 2007 and 2013. SAT outcomes are coded using the last test taken by each student. The average score outcome is for a sample of SAT takers. Other outcomes are equal to zero for non-SAT takers. Soore quartile values are from the distribution of Massachusetts SAT takers. Maximum possible scores are shown in parentheses next to outcome labels. The note to to non-SAT takers SAT takers. Other outcomes are equal to zero for non-SAT takers. Soore quartile values are from the distribution of Massachusetts SAT takers. Maximum possible scores are shown in parentheses next to outcome labels. The note to table 2 detains the 2SLS models used to construct the estimates. Standard deviations are shown in brackets, and standard errors are shown in parentheses. <i>N</i> of total sample = 3,672, <i>N</i> of sample taking the SAT = 2,378. * Significant at the 10% level. * Significant at the 5% level.	squares estimates of th mes are coded using th rule values are from the odels used to construct t T = 2,378.	e effects of Boston ch. e last test taken by ea distribution of Mass he estimates. Standarc	arter attendance on SAT ch student. The average s tchusetts SAT takers. Ma deviations are shown in	test-taking and scores. core outcome is for a s ximum possible scores brackets, and standard	The sample includes stud ample of SAT takers. Ot are shown in parentheses errors are shown in paren	ents projected to her outcomes are next to outcome theses. N of total

a large and statistically significant result. The gain here amounts to almost one-third of a standard deviation in the US composite score distribution. The corresponding effect on SAT reasoning is 78 points, also a large gain.

The effect of charter attendance on the SAT score distribution is summarized in figure 2, which plots the distribution of SAT scores for treated and untreated lottery compliers (estimated as in fig. 1). Charter school attendance causes a pronounced rightward distributional shift in all three SAT subjects, as well as for the composite score. Formal statistical tests of distributional equality suggest these shifts are very unlikely to be a chance finding. On balance, Boston's charter high schools produce substantial gains on the SAT as well as the MCAS.

## D. AP-Taking and Scores

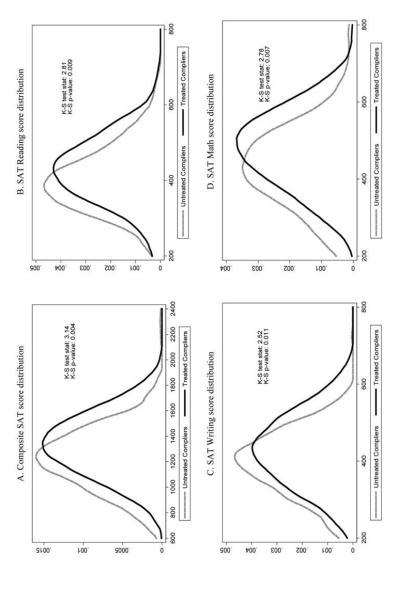
Advanced Placement coursework allows high schoolers to experience the rigor of college-level courses and potentially earn college credit. Five of the six charter schools in our sample offer AP classes, and one school requires its students to pass AP exams in order to graduate. As shown in table 6, charter school attendance increases the probability that a student takes at least one AP exam by 30 percentage points. Consequently, almost 60% of charter students take at least one AP test, compared with 28% of students in traditional public schools.<sup>18</sup>

Charter attendance increases the average number of AP tests that students take by over a full exam, a result that can be seen in the second row of table 6. Gains in AP scores are more modest. Charter school attendance increases the likelihood of taking a test and earning a score of at least 2 by 16 percentage points, a statistically and quantitatively significant gain. But a score of 3 or better is required to earn college credit, and many colleges and universities require at least a 4. Charter attendance increases the probability of earning a score of 3 by 12 percentage points, a large effect relative to the noncharter mean of 8%. At the same time, charter attendance generates no significant increase in the likelihood of earning a 4 or 5.<sup>19</sup> Note that by including zeros for nontakers in this analysis of score impact, we avoid bias from possible composition effects due to the large effect of charter attendance on the likelihood applicants take a test.

AP results by subject, reported in columns 3–10 of table 6, show a large increase in the likelihood charter applicants take tests in science, calculus,

<sup>19</sup> The University of Massachussetts–Amherst and the University of Massachussetts–Boston require at least a 4 on the AP Calculus exam for college credit, a threshold that most Boston students do not meet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The AP-taking effect does not reflect a lack of AP options in traditional public schools. BPS schools offer AP classes at the same or higher rates than charter schools. See online appendix tables C3 and C4 for details.



compliers. The sample is restricted to lottery applicants who are projected to graduate between 2007 and 2013. Densities are estimated using an Epanechnikov kernel with bandwidth equal to twice the Silverman (1986) rule-of-thumb. Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics and p-values are from Fig. 2.—Complier distributions for SAT scores. This figure plots smoothed SAT score distributions for treated and untreated charter lottery pootstrap tests of distributional equality for treated and untreated compliers.

Table 6 Lottery Estimates of		on Advance	Effects on Advanced Placement Test-Taking and Scores	Test-Takin	g and Score	(0				
	All AP Exams	Exams	Science	lce	Calculus	ulus	US History	istory	English	sh
	Noncharter Mean (1)	Effect (2)	Noncharter Mean (3)	Effect (4)	Noncharter Mean (5)	Effect (6)	Noncharter Mean (7)	Effect (8)	Noncharter Mean (9)	Effect (10)
Took exam	.279	.298***	.103	.308***	.070	.223***	.041	.181**	.162	.083
No. of exams	.586	(.062) 1.037***	.119	$(.052)$ . $293^{***}$		(.061)		(.078)		(690.)
Score 2 or higher	.156	$(.245)$ . $162^{**}$	.035	(.060) .067**	.025	.128***	.029	.087**	.105	.067
Score 3 or higher	083	(.064) 122**	020	(.030) 045**	019	(.049) 108***	019	(.041) 058***	035	(.048) 038
		.051)		.018)	2	.039)	2	.022)	2	.026)
Score 4 or 5	.046	.050	.011	003 (.010)	.011	.036*	.011	.021	.014	.008 (012)
NOTE.—This table reports two-stage least squares of the effects of Boston charter attendance on AP rest-taking and scores. The sample includes students projected to graduate between 2007 and 2013. Outcomes are equal to zero for nontakers. Science subjects include Biology, Chemistry, Physics B, Physics Mechanics, Physics Elerncity, Magnetism, Computer Science A, Computer Science AB, and Environmental Science. Outcomes for calculus combine Calculus AB and Calculus BC. Outcomes for English 5672. * Significant at the 10% level. * Significant at the 5% level. * Significant at the 5% level. * Significant at the 5% level.	eports two-stage 7 and 2013. Outo r Science A, Cor ature and Englisi 10% level. e 5% level. he 1% level.	Least squares es comes are equa mputer Science h Language. Th	stimates of the eff I to zero for non AB, and Environ te note to table 3 o	eets of Boston of takers. Science mental Science details the 2SLS	harter attendanc subjects include . Outcomes for i models used to	e on AP test-tal Biology, Cherr calculus combin construct these	ting and scores. istry, Physics F is Calculus AB estimates. Stand	The sample inc , Physics Mech and Calculus I dard errors are s	ludes students pr anics, Physics E BC. Outcomes fo ihown in parentl	$\frac{1}{1}$ ojected to lectricity/ br English teses. $N =$

This content downloaded from 128.223.027.133 on September 05, 2019 14:15:08 PM All use subject to University of Chicago Press Terms and Conditions (http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t-and-c).

and history, three of the most common categories of AP exams. Paralleling charters' large effect on MCAS math scores, the clearest AP score gains emerge for calculus. Charter attendance boosts the probability of taking the AP Calculus test by 22 percentage points and increases the likelihood of earning a score of at least 2 by nearly 13 points. The corresponding impact on the likelihood of earning a 3 on AP Calculus is 11 percentage points; relative to the noncharter mean of 1.9%, this implies that charter attendance more than quintuples the chances a student earns a 3 in calculus. There is also an effect on the 4 or higher threshold, with charter attendance increasing the likelihood of scoring in the highest categories by a marginally significant 3.6 percentage points. This is more than three times the probability of scoring 4 or higher for noncharter students. Charter attendance also increases AP scores in science and US history, with more students scoring above a 2 and above a 3 in both subjects. Charter schools have little effect on AP English test-taking or scores.

## V. College Enrollment and Choice

The charter schools in this study focus on college readiness. Nearly half of the applicants in our sample enroll in college immediately in the fall after graduation, while 60% start college within 18 months of expected high school graduation. While the estimated effect of charter attendance on college attendance is positive, it is not large enough to generate a statistically significant gain. This can be seen in the first row of table 7, which reports enrollment rates and charter effects for two subsamples. The first sample includes cohorts for whom we have college attendance data for the fall immediately following their expected high school graduation (the "within 6 months" sample). The second, smaller, sample includes cohorts we can follow for an additional year (the "within 18 months" sample). Columns 2 and 4 report enrollment effects on applicants who can be followed in these two windows. The estimated enrollment effects of 0.028 and 0.075 are not precise enough to rule out chance findings.

While the estimates of overall enrollment effects are inconclusive, the results in table 7 show a clear shift from 2-year colleges to 4-year colleges. Specifically, in the 6-month enrollment window, charter attendance decreases 2-year attendance by 11 points, while increasing 4-year attendance by 13 points. The decline in 2-year attendance is again 11 points in the longer time window, while the estimated gain in 4-year attendance are large enough to generate highly significant estimates, with confidence intervals well away from zero.

The gains in 4-year enrollment documented in table 7 are driven entirely by increases in attendance at public 4-year schools, with no effect

	Within 6 Mc	onths	Within 18 Mc	onths
	Noncharter Mean (1)	Effect (2)	Noncharter Mean (3)	Effect (4)
Any postsecondary enrollment	.497	.028 (.066)	.596	.075 (.081)
2-year	.123	107** (.046)	.186	108* (.061)
4-year	.374	.134** (.064)	.410	.183** (.073)
4-year public	.143	.141*** (.053)	.148	.145**
4-year private	.231	007 (.069)	.262	.038
4-year Massachusetts public	.123	.121** (.049)	.126	.115** (.057)
N		3,205		2,599

#### Table 7 Lottery Estimates of Effects on College Enrollment

NOTE.—This table reports two-stage least squares estimates of the effects of Boston charter school attendance on college enrollment. Enrollment within 6 months (cols. 1 and 2) is defined as enrollment by the semester following a student's projected high school graduation, while enrollment within 18 months (cols. 3 and 4) is defined as enrollment within two fall semesters after projected graduation. The within 18 months sample includes students projected to graduate in 2012 or earlier. The within 18 months sample includes students projected to graduate in 2011 or earlier. The note to table 3 details the 2SLS models used to construct these estimates. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. \*\* Significant at the 10% level. \*\*\* Significant at the 1% level.

on private attendance. The last row of table 7 shows that most of this gain is generated by enrollment at Massachusetts public colleges. In fact, the Boston campus of the University of Massachusetts is the modal institution for former charter students in our sample. The Adams Scholarship likely contributes to this pattern, though college counseling may also play a role.

In a recent study, Cohodes and Goodman (2014) argue that Adams Scholarship awards tend to reduce the selectivity of colleges chosen by many scholarship winners. We therefore estimated the effects of charter attendance on college selectivity as measured by Barron's rankings (not shown). College selectivity downgrading does not appear to be a consequence of charter attendance, perhaps because most of Boston's Adams scholarship recipients come from lower-income backgrounds. The Cohodes and Goodman findings are driven by higher-income students who might otherwise have attended private schools.

In addition to college enrollment, we look briefly at college persistence, as measured by the likelihood of enrolling for 3 or 5 semesters. The samples available for such an analysis are necessarily smaller than those available to study college enrollment. Persistence results within 18 months of high school graduation, reported in table 8, suggest that charter attendance increases the fraction of students who attempt at least 3 academic semesters at 4-year schools by about 12 points, a marginally significant effect. The corresponding estimate in panel B, computed in a sample window that allows an additional year to elapse before measurement of the outcome, is smaller (6 percentage points) but less precisely estimated. Estimated effects on 5-plus semesters of enrollment are similarly imprecise.

Taken together, the estimates reported here show that charter high school attendance generates gains through college preparation and institutional choice as well as in short-run achievement. Figure 3 summarizes the relationship between short-run and long-run impacts. This figure plots MCAS estimates against estimates for longer-run outcomes for each of the within-risk-set experiments in our charter lottery data. Each risk set is represented by a bubble, with bubble sizes inversely proportional to the standard error of the MCAS estimate for that risk set. As can be seen in panel A, SAT score gains track MCAS gains closely. Likewise, risk sets where score gains are larger also appear to generate larger 4-year enrollment effects, though here the relationship between impacts is looser than for the two test scores (shown in panel B). These findings suggest that the short-run effects of Boston's charter high schools on MCAS scores are a reliable guide to their longer-run effects.

## VI. Additional Results

## A. Effects in Subgroups

Estimates of effects within subgroups pinpoint the characteristics of students who benefit most from charter attendance. This section briefly summarizes a large set of subgroup results reported in online appendix B. Results for most outcomes are similar for boys and girls. For example, estimates of effects on SAT scores and 4-year college enrollment are large and positive for both boys and girls, though these gender-specific effects are not precisely estimated. In view of evidence that many educational interventions do not work well for males, this finding seems noteworthy (see, e.g., Anderson 2008; Angrist, Lang, and Oreopoulos 2009; Legewie and DiPrete 2012; Deming et al. 2014).

MCAS, SAT, and 4-year enrollment effects are larger for special needs students than for other applicants. Similarly, students with baseline scores below the sample median are more likely to gain from charter attendance than are high-scorers.<sup>20</sup> Effects on MCAS scores are somewhat larger for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Here the sample is split by whether the sum of baseline math and ELA scores is below the median of this measure in the full MCAS ELA sample.

TOUCH & TOULIALES OF THEFE AN ANTER I LISISHING						
	Any Postsecondary Enrollment	lary	2-Year College Enrollment	rollment	4-Year College Enrollment	ollment
	Noncharter Mean (1)	Effect (2)	Noncharter Mean (3)	Effect (4)	Noncharter Mean (5)	Effect (6)
A. Within 6, 18, and 30 months of expected high school						
graduation: One academic semester $(N = 3.205)$	.497	.028	.123	107**	.374	.134**
		(990.)		(.046)		(.064)
Three academic semesters $(N = 2,599)$	.367	.105	.067	018	.300	.123*
		(.073)		(.040)		(690.)
Five academic semesters $(N = 1, 887)$	.299	.005	.048	006	.251	.011
		(.078)		(.032)		(.071)
B. Within 18, 30, and 42 months of expected high						
school graduation:						
One academic semester $(N = 2,599)$	.596	.075	.186	108*	.410	.183**
		(.081)		(.061)		(.073)
Three academic semesters $(N = 1,887)$	.473	018	.125	080	.348	.062
		(.081)		(.049)		(.078)
Five academic semesters $(N = 1,382)$	.376	.068	.088	- 009	.287	.077
		(.103)		(.061)		(.106)
Nort.—This table reports two-stage least squares estimates of the effects of Boston charter attendance on college persistence. Panel A shows estimates of effects on the probability of attempting one, three, or five academic semesters on time, that is, in the minimum possible time given a student's projected high school graduation date. Panel B shows a set of estimates computed in a sample that allows an additional year to elapse before measurement of the outcome. The note to table 3 details the 2SLS models used to compute these estimates. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. * Significant at the 10% level. * Significant at the 5% level. ** Significant at the 5% level.	the effects of Boston ch time, that is, in the mini tonal year to elapse befor	arter attend imum possil re measuren	ance on college persist ole time given a student tent of the outcome. Th	ence. Panel A 's projected h e note to tabl	shows estimates of effe gh school graduation dat e 3 details the 2SLS mode	ts on the e. Panel B ls used to

	ersist
	ore P
	Colle
	u0
	Effects
	f
	Lottery Estimates of Effects on College Persist
Table 8	Lotterv

This content downloaded from 128.223.027.133 on September 05, 2019 14:15:08 PM All use subject to University of Chicago Press Terms and Conditions (http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t-and-c).

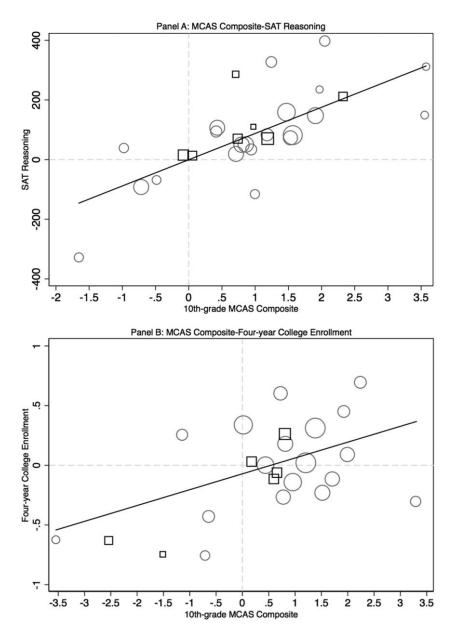


FIG. 3.—Comparisons of lottery estimates of effects on earlier and later outcomes. This figure plots within-risk-set lottery estimates of the effects of charter school attendance. Panel *A* plots effects on SAT Reasoning (verbal and math) against effects on MCAS composite scores. Panel *B* plots effects on the probability of enrollment in a 4-year college within 6 months of projected graduation against effects on MCAS composite scores. The sample in panel *A* includes students projected to graduate between 2007 and 2013, while the sample in panel *B* includes students projected to graduate between 2006 and 2012. Samples in both panels are further restricted to students with available data for both outcomes. Circles indicate risk sets in which students applied to one school, while squares indicate risk sets in which students applied to two. Marker sizes are proportional to the inverse of the standard errors of the MCAS estimates. Estimates for a given risk set use the instrument (immediate or ever offer) with the larger first-stage *t*-statistic. The sample excludes risk sets with first-stage *t*-statistics less than 1. Lines show weighted least squares regressions with weights inversely proportional to standard errors. The slopes are 87.9 (SE = 16.9) for the SAT plot and 0.133 (SE = 0.053) for the 4-year enrollment plot.

below-median students, and the effect on composite SAT scores is also larger for the lower-scoring group. The effect of charter attendance on 4-year college enrollment is driven entirely by students whose scores are below median at baseline, and much of the 4-year effect on this group comes from an increase in the overall rate of college enrollment rather than a shift from 2-year to 4-year institutions.

The subgroup analysis shows a less consistent pattern by poverty status (as proxied by qualification for a subsidized lunch), with the disadvantaged group gaining more in college enrollment and AP-taking but less on the SAT. This finding is notable given recent evidence that apparently college-ready poor students often choose not to attend 4-year institutions (Bowen, Chingos, and McPherson 2009; Hoxby and Avery 2012). Overall, Boston's charter high schools boost key outcomes for most subgroups, with large effects on at-risk groups, including boys, special education students, and those who enter high school with low achievement.<sup>21</sup>

## B. The Peer Channel

Charter schools are sometimes said to generate gains by the selective retention of higher-performing students (see, e.g., Skinner 2009). In this view, charter effectiveness is at least partly attributed to a tendency to eject trouble-makers and stragglers, leaving a student population that is easier to teach. Importantly, the causal interpretation of our lottery-based estimation strategy is unaffected by selective retention because we follow all winners and losers, regardless of whether they stay in the charter school. Moreover, the charter enrollment variable is "switched on" even for students who spend only a single day enrolled in a charter school. Thus, outcomes for poor-performing charter students who leave the school still count on the charter side of our IV estimation strategy.

At the same time, selective retention, if substantial, may lead to a favorable population mix that generates positive peer effects on students who remain enrolled in charters. In other words, charter schools may do well for most of their students in part because a few bad apples who would otherwise be disruptive to all are encouraged to leave. While not invalidating the evidence of gains reported here, this peer channel has different policy implications than other explanations of charter effectiveness, such as differences in teacher quality or training.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> In addition to looking at heterogeneity in effects across subgroups of students, we also asked whether the results are driven by any one charter school. Online appendix table B3 reports estimates for key outcomes in samples that drop data for one school at a time. The results are similar across samples, suggesting that the overall results are not due to the performance of any one school.

#### Effects of Boston's Charter High Schools

We explore the peer channel by looking directly at school switching and how this affects peer composition. *School switching* is defined as being observed in two or more schools after a lottery application. As shown in panel B, column 1, of table 9, Boston's charter lottery applicants are highly mobile: more than 40% of the sample changes schools by this measure. Column 2, which reports 2SLS estimates of effects on school switching, shows that charter enrollment raises the likelihood of a switch by about 2 percentage points, though this change is not significantly different from zero. The switching estimate increases to roughly 9 percentage points, again not significant, when switching is defined to omit natural transitional grades such as from fifth to sixth (some charters have unusual grade structures, a fact that might alter transition rates).

Might this evidence of differential switching account for the charter school gains reported here? Panel A assesses the explanatory power of the peer channel by showing the effects of charter enrollment on peer quality throughout high school. Here, peer quality is defined as the average base-line test score of the students with whom a lottery applicant attends school. Not surprisingly, given the positive selection of charter applicants, charter enrollment is associated with increases in peer achievement in the first post-lottery year: the effect here is roughly 0.19 $\sigma$  in each subject. This composition effect would be even larger if not for the fact, documented in the last row of panel B, that charter enrollment reduces exam school enrollment. In other words, the counterfactual for some charter students is an exam school, which also enrolls positively selected peers.

Panel A also shows, however, that the positive effect of charter attendance on peer quality falls through high school: peer composition effects shrink as students progress through school and are not significantly different from zero after the second year. The pattern of peer composition effects is driven, in part, by increasing peer quality in the schools attended by those who lose charter lotteries. This is documented in figure 4, which plots the profile of mean peer quality for charter lottery compliers separately by treatment status. Mean peer quality for compliers is estimated using methods similar to those used to construct the densities in figures 1 and 2.<sup>22</sup> Figure 4 documents a large initial gap in favor of lottery winners. This gap closes with time, as peer quality rises more sharply for compliers who lose the lottery. This pattern is likely driven by high dropout rates at traditional public schools among students with the lowest baseline scores. These results suggest that positive charter effects cannot be attributed to low-quality peers leaving charter schools. If anything, selective

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Specifically, we estimate versions of eqs. (3) and (4) that put the level of peer composition on the left-hand side, without kernel weighting.

Table 9 Lottery Estimates of Effects on Scho	Effects on School Switching and Peer Quality	and Peer Qı	ıality					
	First Year after Lottery	r after ry	Second Year after Lottery	ar after ry	Third Year after Lottery	r after ry	Fourth Year after Lottery	r after y
	Noncharter Mean (1)	Effect (2)	Noncharter Mean (3)	Effect (4)	Noncharter Mean (5)	Effect (6)	Noncharter Mean $(7)$	Effect (8)
A. Peer quality: Peer baseline ELA	417	.188***	353	.137**	295	.081	276	.048
Peer baseline math	414	(.061) $.193^{***}$	349	(.064). $139**$	284	$(.064)$ . $.116^{*}$	264	(090) 066
Peer baseline sum of ELA and math	815	(.067) .368***	688	(.069) .277**	567	(.062) .197	528	(.064) .111
Ν		(.125) 3,841		(.129) 3,881		(.123) 3,557		(.120) 3,467
B. School switching: Any switch	.403	.019		×		×		X
· N		(.072) 3.772						
Switch excluding transitional grades	.365	.086						
Ν		(.071) 3,758						
Ever attend an exam school	.162	084** (036)						
Ν		3,920						
NOTE.—This table reports two-stage least squares estimates of the effects of Boston charter attendance on school switching and peer quality. The sample includes applicants projected to graduate between 2006 and 2013. The any switch outcome indicates students observed in two or more schools at any time after the lottery. Transitional grades are excluding by omitting switches after the first school's exit grade. Peer quality is measured as the average baseline score of other students in the same school and year. The note to table 3 details the 2SLS models used to compute these estimates. Standard errors are shown in parenthese. * Significant at the 10% level. ** Significant at the 5% level. ** Significant at the 10% level.	two-stage least squares estimates of the effects of Boston charter attendance on school switching and peer quality. The sample includes applicants to 2006 and 2013. The any switch outcome indicates students observed in two or more schools at any time after the lottery. Transitional grades are after the first school's exit grade. Peer quality is measured as the average baseline score of other students in the same school and year. The note to table 3 o compute these estimates. Standard errors are shown in parentheses.	te effects of Bost ome indicates stu quality is measur rors are shown i	ion charter attend. idents observed in ed as the average b n parentheses.	unce on school two or more seline score of	switching and pe- schools at any tim other students in tl	er quality. Th le after the lo ne same schoo.	e sample includes ttery. Transitional land year. The note	applicants grades are : to table 3

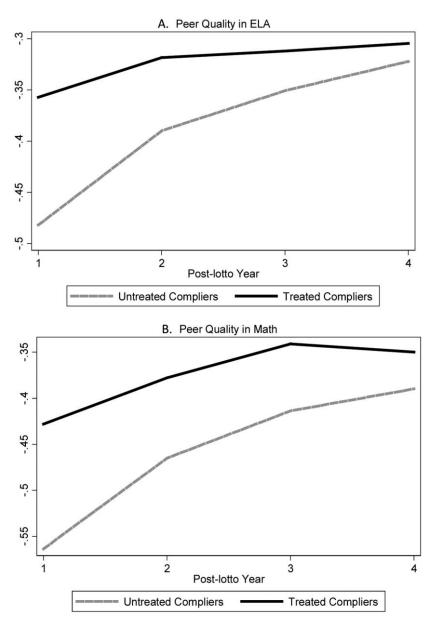


FIG. 4.—Peer quality for charter lottery compliers. This figure plots mean peer quality in the first, second, third, and fourth years after the lottery for treated and untreated charter lottery compliers. The sample includes lottery applicants who are projected to graduate between 2006 and 2013. Peer quality is measured as the average baseline score for other students in the same school and year.

exit of low achievers is more pronounced at Boston's traditional public schools.<sup>23</sup>

# VI. Conclusion

This paper uses randomized admission lotteries to ask whether Boston's charter high schools affect outcomes beyond the standardized tests that are used for statutory accountability reviews and charter renewal. Charter schools may be particularly likely to "teach to the test," since they are at risk of closure if their students score poorly. We therefore estimate charter effects on high school graduation, college attendance, and college choice, outcomes that are more clearly linked to long-term economic well-being than state assessments. We also look at performance on SAT and Advanced Placement subject exams, assessments not directly involved with accountability that might also be connected with postsecondary gains. Our estimates suggest that Boston's charters improve educational outcomes in many domains.<sup>24</sup>

Charter attendance has no clear effect on high school graduation, though charter students take slightly longer to complete their degrees. Charter attendance also has no statistically significant effect on the overall likelihood of college enrollment, but it shifts students away from 2-year institutions and toward 4-year colleges. The shift toward 4-year colleges is consistent with the substantial gains in college readiness seen for charter students. In particular, charter attendance more than doubles the likelihood of sitting for an Advanced Placement exam, with especially large effects on the likelihood of taking and passing AP Calculus. This finding is noteworthy since very few poor nonwhite students in Boston (or other urban areas) take and pass AP Calculus.

Charters significantly increase SAT scores, with charter students scoring a third of a standard deviation higher than students in Boston's traditional public schools. Charter attendance also increases the probability that students pass the score thresholds for high-stakes exams required for high school graduation and boosts the likelihood that students qualify for an exam-based public college scholarship. Boston's charter high schools seem

<sup>23</sup> We also explored the importance of the peer channel by estimating 2SLS models where the endogenous variable is peer quality. The results of this analysis are reported in online appendix table B5. These models imply that, in order for peers to account for the estimated effect of charters, a 1 $\sigma$  increase in initial peer quality must improve a student's test score by between 1.8 $\sigma$  and 2 $\sigma$ . This peer multiplier is implausibly large relative to peer effects estimated elsewhere, including Hoxby (2000) (0.3 $\sigma$ -0.5 $\sigma$ ), Hanushek et al. (2003) (0.15 $\sigma$ -0.24 $\sigma$ ), and other studies summarized in Sacerdote (2011)'s recent survey.

<sup>24</sup> Also weighing against the "teaching to the test" hypothesis, Cohodes (2015) reports no difference in effects on frequently and infrequently tested MCAS item areas for a sample of Boston middle school charters.

to be highly effective for subgroups that are often difficult to serve, including boys, special education students, and students with low achievement at high school entry.

In view of often-voiced concerns about the effect of charter schools on student attrition, we looked briefly at charter attendance effects on school switching and peer composition. Charter students have somewhat higher baseline test scores than other Boston students. At the same time, we see that charter attendance does not produce increasingly favorable selection of peers. In fact, charter peers become more like peers at traditional public schools as students progress through high school because attrition for weak students is even more pronounced in the traditional public sector. It therefore seems unlikely that changes in peer composition are the primary driver of our findings.

A final important result is the correlation between gains on statemandated assessments and gains elsewhere. While MCAS scores may not be of intrinsic interest, schools that tend to boost these also tend to increase SAT scores and 4-year college enrollment. In other words, causal effects on MCAS scores appear to predict effects that may be more closely tied to human capital and earnings.

As a caveat, it is worth noting that our results apply to charter lottery applicants, a group that may differ from nonapplicants. In addition, our estimates may not reflect the effects of expanding the number of seats in Boston's charter sector, which depend on the supply of teachers and other inputs, as well as potential effects of changes in peer mix for students who remain in traditional public schools. The estimates reported here show gains for recent cohorts of charter applicants. As these cohorts continue to progress through college and enter the labor market, we plan to use our lottery-based research design to determine whether the effects reported here extend to college completion, employment, and earnings.

## Appendix A

## Data Appendix

Lists of charter applicants and lottery winners are constructed from records provided by individual charter schools. Information on schools attended and student demographics come from the Student Information Management System (SIMS), a centralized database that covers all public school students in Massachusetts. Test scores are from the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS). Advanced Placement (AP) and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores are provided by the College Board. College attendance information comes from the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC). This appendix describes each data source and details the procedures used to clean and match them.

#### Lottery Data

#### Data Description and Sample Restrictions

Our sample of applicants is obtained from records of lotteries held at six Massachusetts charter schools between 2002 and 2009. The participating schools and lottery years are listed in table A1. A total of 26 school-specific entry cohorts are included in the analysis. Lotteries for three participating schools, Match High, Codman Academy, and City on a Hill, were conducted for entry to ninth grade; two schools, Boston Preparatory and Academy of the Pacific Rim, held lotteries for sixth-grade entry. Records for Boston Collegiate are from fifth-grade entry lotteries.

The raw lottery records typically include applicant names, dates of birth, contact information, and other information used to define lottery groups, such as sibling status. The first five rows in table A1 show the sample restrictions we impose on the raw lottery records. We exclude duplicate applicants and applicants listed as applying to the wrong entry grade. We also drop late applicants, out-of-area applicants, and sibling applicants, as these groups are typically not included in the standard lottery process. Imposing these restrictions reduces the number of lottery records from 9,256 to 8,851.

## Lottery Offers

In addition to the data described above, the lottery records also include information regarding offered seats. We used this information to reconstruct indicator variables for whether lottery participants received randomized offers. We make use of two sources of variation in charter offers, which differ in timing. The *immediate offer* instrument captures offers made on the day of the charter school lottery. The *waitlist offer* instrument captures offers made later, as a consequence of movement down a randomly sequenced waiting list. The pattern of instrument availability across schools and applicant cohorts is documented in panel B of appendix table A1. In some years, all applicants eventually received offers, in which case only the immediate offer instrument contributes to the analysis; these cases are listed as "Exhausted" for the waitlist offer instrument. As documented in table 2, immediate and waitlist offer rates were 31% and 35%, respectively, in our MCAS analysis sample, and these rates were similar in the samples for other outcomes.

#### SIMS Data

#### Data Description

Our study uses SIMS data from the 2001–2 school year through the 2012–13 school year. The SIMS records information on demographics and

schools attended for all students in Massachusetts public schools. An observation in the SIMS refers to a student in a school in a year, though there are some student-school-year duplicates for students that switch grades or programs within a school and year. The SIMS includes a unique student identifier known as the SASID, which is used to match students from other data sources as described below.

## Coding of Demographics and Attendance

The SIMS variables used in our analysis include grade, year, name, town of residence, date of birth, gender, race, special education and limited English proficiency status, free or reduced-price lunch receipt, and school attended. We constructed a wide-format data set that captures demographic and attendance information for every student in each year in which he or she is present in a Massachusetts public school. This file uses information from the longest-attended school in the first calendar year spent in each grade. Attendance ties were broken at random; this affects only 0.007% of records. Students classified as special education, limited English proficiency, or eligible for a free or reduced-price lunch in any record within a school-year-grade retain that designation for the entire school-year-grade. The SIMS also includes exit codes for the final time a student is observed in the database. These codes are used to determine high school graduates and transfers.

We measure charter school attendance in ninth or tenth grade. A student is coded as attending a charter in his or her ninth-grade or tenth-grade year when there is any SIMS record reporting charter attendance in that year. Students who attend more than one charter school within a year are assigned to the charter they attended longest.

# MCAS Data

We use MCAS data from the 2001–2 school year through the 2012–13 school year. Each observation in the MCAS database corresponds to a student's test results in a particular grade and year. The MCAS outcomes of interest are math and English language arts (ELA) tests in grade 10. We also use baseline tests taken prior to charter application, which are from fourth grade or eighth grade depending on a student's application grade. The raw test score variables are standardized to have mean zero and standard deviation one within a subject-grade-year in Massachusetts. We also make use of scaled scores, which are used to determine whether students meet MCAS thresholds, which are Needs Improvement, Proficient, and Advanced. Unless otherwise noted, we only use the first test taken in a particular subject and grade.

# AP and SAT Data

We use AP and SAT data files provided to the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) by the College Board. The AP and SAT files include scores on all AP exams and SAT tests for graduation cohorts 2007 and 2013; for students who took the SAT more than once, the file includes only the score for the most recent exam. The AP and SAT files also include SASID identifiers, which are used to merge these outcomes with the SIMS database.

# NSC Data

Data on college outcomes comes from the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC) database, which captures enrollment for 94% of undergraduates in Massachusetts. We combine information from five separate searches of the NSC database:

- A 2010 search for all students in the SIMS database between 2002–9 with projected graduation years earlier than 2014, assuming normal academic progress from the last observed grade and year (not restricted to students who graduated high school)
- A 2011 search of students who graduated from Massachusetts public high schools in the class of 2010
- A 2012 search of all students who graduated from Massachusetts public high schools in the classes of 2003–10
- A 2013 search of students who graduated from Massachusetts public high schools in the classes of 2003–12
- A 2013 search of all students in the charter applicant sample with the projected graduation between 2006–13

All students in our charter applicant sample were included in the 2010 NSC search, and Massachusetts high school graduates were included in multiple searches. College types are coded using the first attended college after the last date a student is observed in the SIMS. NSC searches were conducted using criteria like name and date of birth; the NSC files also include SASIDs, which are used to merge the college outcomes with the SIMS database.

#### Matching Data Sets

The MCAS, AP, SAT, and NSC data files are merged to the master SIMS data file using the unique SASID identifier. The lottery records do not include SASIDs; these records are matched manually to the SIMS by name, application year, and application grade. In some cases, this procedure did not produce a unique match. We accepted some matches based on fewer

Effects of Boston's Charter High Schools

criteria where the information on grade, year and town of residence seemed to make sense.

Our matching procedure successfully located most applicants in the SIMS database. The sixth row of panel A of table A1 reports the number of applicant records matched to the SIMS in each applicant cohort. The overall match rate across all cohorts was 94% (8,342/8,851).

Once matched to the SIMS, each student is associated with a unique SASID; at this point, we can therefore determine which students applied to multiple schools in our lottery sample. Following the match, we reshape the lottery data set to contain a single record for each student. If students applied in more than 1 year, we keep only records associated with the earliest year of application. Our lottery analysis also excludes students who did not attend a Boston Public Schools (BPS) school at baseline, as students applying from private schools have lower follow-up rates. This restriction eliminates 22% of charter applicants. Of the remaining 4,711 charter applicants, 3,685 (78%) contribute a score to our MCAS ELA analysis.

Table A1 Lottery Records									
			A. Sample J	A. Sample Restrictions by Projected Senior Year	Projected Senic	or Year			
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	All
Total number of records Excluding disqualified	009	450	940	883	1,117	1,533	1,753	1,980	9,256
applicants	600	450	940	883	1,117	1,530	1,753	1,968	9,241
Excluding late applicants	590	446	930	880	1,117	1,530	1,733	1,968	9,194
Excluding applicants from out									
of area	590	446	930	880	1,114	1,529	1,733	1,950	9,172
Excluding siblings	570	437	905	864	1,101	1,482	1,642	1,850	8,851
Excluding records not matched									
to the SIMS	509	419	858	816	1,055	13,95	15,47	1,743	8,342
Reshaping to one record per									
student-year	437	419	632	594	799	1,025	1,100	1,273	6,279
Excluding repeat applications	437	419	629	589	778	1,004	1,028	1,164	6,048
In Boston schools at baseline	289	337	511	481	607	850	761	875	4,711
Excluding applicants without									
tenth-grade ELA	232	267	415	378	482	664	571	676	3,685

312

		B. Immediate and Waitlist Offer Records by School and Cohort	id Waitlist Offer	Kecords by 2	school and Co	ohort	
Application Year	Acceptance Status	Boston Preparatory	Academy of Pacific Rim	Boston Collegiate	City on a Hill	Codman Academy	Match
Entry grade:		6	9	5	6	6	6
2002	Immediate Waitlist	Not open	No records	Yes Yes	Exhausted Yes	No records	Yes Yes
2003	Immediate Waitlist	Not open	No records	Yes Yes	No records	No records	Yes Yes
2004	Immediate Waitlist	Incomplete records	No records	Yes Yes	Exhausted Yes	Yes Exhausted	Yes Yes
2005	Immediate	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Incomplete	Yes
	Waitlist	Exhausted	Yes	Yes	Yes	records	Yes
2006	Immediate	Yes	Yes		Yes	Incomplete	Yes
	Waitlist	Yes	Yes		Yes	records	Yes
2007	Immediate Waitlist	Too young for follow-np			Yes Yes	No records	Yes Yes
2008	Immediate	1.			Yes	Yes	Yes
	Waitlist				Exhausted	Yes	Yes
2009	Immediate				Yes	Yes	Yes
	Waitlist				Yes	Yes	Yes
Ν		211	180	267	1,867	144	2,326

NorE.—Panel A summarizes the sample restrictions imposed for the lottery analysis. Disqualified applications are duplicate records and applications to the wrong grade. In pane B, "Exhausted" indicates that every applicant eventually received an offer. "Yes" means that lottery records with nonmissing information were available and that some applicants did not get offers. "Incomplete records" indicates schools and years for which lottery records are inadequate to allow reliable coding of offers. The last row shows the number of applicants to each school in the lottery sample excluding applicants without tenth-grade ELA scores. Cohorts are to oyoung for follow-up if they do not generate AP, SAT, high school graduation, or college-going outcomes in time for our study. For City on a Hill 2009 and Match 2008 applicants, we impute immediate offers using 2008 City on a Hill and 2007 Match immediate offer cutoffs. Starting in 2006, Academy of Pacific Rim has operated grades from 5 to 12. el st

Projected Senior Year	Number of Applicants (1)	Sample Mean (2)	Immediate Offer (3)	Waitlist Offer (4)
2006	570	.912	016 (.023)	.034 (.027)
2007	437	.959	006 (.025)	007 (.028)
2008	905	.950	.000 (.007)	002 (.019)
2009	864	.944	001 (.005)	.005 (.018)
2010	1,101	.959	004 (.003)	.024** (.012)
2011	1,482	.941	007*** (.003)	.043 <sup>*</sup> ** (.014)
2012	1,642	.942	008*** (.002)	.056*** (.012)
2013	1,850	.942	003 <sup>*</sup> * (.001)	.026 <sup>**</sup> (.011)
All cohorts	8,851	.944	002 (.006)	.028*** (.006)

### Table A2 Matching School Lottery Data to SIMS

NOTE.—This table summarizes the match from the lottery records to the Student Information Man-agement System (SIMS) administrative data. The sample excludes disqualified applicants, late applicants, out-of-area applicants, and siblings. Columns 3 and 4 report coefficients from regressions of an indicator for a successful SIMS match on immediate and waitlist offer dummies. The immediate offer dummy is equal to one when a student is offered a seat in any charter school immediately following the lottery, while the waitlist offer dummy is equal to one for students offered seats later. All regressions include risk set dummies. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. \*\* Significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Significant at the 1% level.

	ł	A. Follow	Follow-up Rates			B. Attri	Attrition Differentials by Offer Status	als by Offe	r Status	
					ELA	Ŧ	Math	-4	Observed in Grade 12	ed in 12
Projected Senior Year	Either Math or ELA (1)	ELA (2)	Math (3)	Observed in Grade 12 (4)	Immediate Offer (5)	Waitlist Offer (6)	Immediate Offer (7)	Waitlist Offer (8)	Immediate Offer (9)	Waitlist Offer (10)
2006	.803	.803	.803	.747	.021	.031	.021	.031	046	690.
					(.047)	(.053)	(.047)	(.053)	(.051)	(.062)
2007	.795	.792	.789	.774	.038	063	017	036	007	.017
					(960.)	(990.)	(.105)	( 290. )	(.100)	(.062)
2008	.820	.812	.800	.765	.076*	037	.063	037	.027	017
					(.040)	(.043)	(.042)	(.045)	(.045)	(.049)
2009	.794	.786	.771	.765	.030	060	.029	046	.010	050
					(.042)	(.042)	(.043)	(.043)	(.043)	(.043)
2010	797.	.794	.784	.766	.042	008	.040	014	.007	031
					(.039)	(.040)	(.039)	(.041)	(.043)	(.042)
2011	.785	.781	.759	.751	049	.041	059	.050	.005	.047
					(.038)	(.032)	(.039)	(.033)	(.038)	(.034)
2012	.757	.750	.744	.745	.036	022	.037	013	.028	015
					(.036)	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)	(.036)
2013	.775	.773	.759	.744	011	018	018	005	018	029
					(.032)	(.034)	(.033)	(.034)	(.033)	(.035)
All Cohorts	.787	.782	.770	.755	.014	010	.008	002	000.	004
					(.014)	(.014)	(.015)	(.015)	(.015)	(.015)

Table A3

This content downloaded from 128.223.027.133 on September 05, 2019 14:15:08 PM All use subject to University of Chicago Press Terms and Conditions (http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t-and-c).

### References

- Abadie, Alberto. 2002. Bootstrap tests for distributional treatment effects in instrumental variables models. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 97, no. 457:284–92.
  - . 2003. Semiparametric instrumental variable estimation of treatment response models. *Journal of Econometrics* 113, no. 2:231–63.
- Abdulkadiroğlu, Atila, Joshua Angrist, Susan Dynarski, Thomas J. Kane, and Parag Pathak. 2011. Accountability and flexibility in public schools: Evidence from Boston's charters and pilots. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126, no. 2:699–748.
- Anderson, Michael L. 2008. Multiple inference and gender differences in the effects of early intervention: A reevaluation of the Abecedarian, Perry Preschool, and Early Training Projects. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 103, no. 484:1481–95.
- Angrist, Joshua D., Sarah R. Cohodes, Susan M. Dynarski, Jon Fullerton, Thomas J. Kane, Parag A. Pathak, and Christopher R. Walters. 2011. Student achievement in Massachusetts' charter schools. Report, Center for Education Policy Research at Harvard University.
- Angrist, Joshua D, Susan M. Dynarski, Thomas J. Kane, Parag A. Pathak, and Christopher R. Walters. 2010. Inputs and impacts in charter schools: KIPP Lynn. *American Economic Review* 100, no. 2:239–43.
  - ——. 2012. Who benefits from KIPP? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 31, no. 4:837–60.
- Angrist, Joshua D., Daniel Lang, and Philip Oreopoulos. 2009. Incentives and services for college achievement: Evidence from a randomized trial. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1, no. 1:136–63.
- Angrist, Joshua D., Parag A. Pathak, and Christopher R. Walters. 2013. Explaining charter school effectiveness. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 5, no. 4:1–27.
- Booker, Kevin, Tim R. Sass, Brian Gill, and Ron Zimmer. 2008. Going beyond test scores: Evaluating charter school impact on educational attainment in Chicago and Florida. Report, RAND, Santa Monica, CA.
- Bowen, William G., and Derek Bok. 2000. The shape of the river: Longterm consequences of considering race in college and university admissions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bowen, William G., Matthew M. Chingos, and Michael S. McPherson. 2009. Crossing the finish line: Completing college at America's public universities. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Clark, Melissa A., Philip Gleason, Christina Clark Tuttle, and Marsha K. Silverberg. 2011. Do charter schools improve student achievement? Evidence from a national randomized study. Mathematica Policy Research Report 7273, Mathematica Policy Research, Princeton, NJ.

Effects of Boston's Charter High Schools

- Cohodes, Sarah. 2015. Teaching to the student: Charter school effectiveness in spite of perverse incentives. *Education Finance and Policy*, forthcoming, published online July 14, 2015.
- Cohodes, Sarah, and Joshua Goodman. 2014. Merit aid, college quality, and college completion: Massachusetts' Adams Scholarship as an in-kind subsidy. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 6, no. 4:251–85.
- Cunha, Flavio, James J. Heckman, and Susanne M. Schennach. 2010. Estimating the technology of cognitive and noncognitive skill formation. *Econometrica* 78, no. 3:883–931.
- Deming, David J., Justine S. Hastings, Thomas J. Kane, and Douglas O. Staiger. 2014. School choice, school quality and postsecondary attainment. *American Economic Review* 104, no. 3:991–1013.
- Dobbie, Will, and Roland G. Fryer. 2011. Are high-quality schools enough to increase achievement among the poor? Evidence from the Harlem Children's Zone. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3, no. 3:158–87.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. The medium-term impacts of high-achieving charter schools. *Journal of Political Economy* 123, no. 5:985–1037.
- Dynarski, Mark, and Philip Gleason. 2002. How can we help? What we have learned from recent federal dropout prevention evaluations. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk* 7, no. 1:43–69.
- Dynarski, Mark, Philip Gleason, Anu Rangarajan, and Robert Wood. 1998. Impacts of dropout prevention programs. Technical report, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., Princeton, NJ.
- Dynarski, Mark, and Robert Wood. 1997. Helping high-risk youths: Results for the Alternative Schools Demonstration Program. Technical report, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. Princeton, NJ.
- Dynarski, Susan M. 2000. Hope for whom? Financial aid for the middle class and its impact on college attendance. *National Tax Journal* 53, no. 3: 629–61.
- Hanushek, Eric, John Kain, J. M. Markman, and Steve Rivkin. 2003. Does peer ability affect student achievement? *Journal of Applied Econometrics* 18, no. 5:527–44.
- Hoxby, Caroline. 2000. Peer effects in the classroom: Learning from gender and race variation. NBER Working Paper no. 7867, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.
- Hoxby, Caroline M., and Christopher Avery. 2012. The missing "oneoffs": The hidden supply of high-achieving, low-income students. NBER Working Paper no. 18586, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

- Imbens, Guido W., and Joshua D. Angrist. 1994. Identification and estimation of local average treatment effects. *Econometrica* 62, no. 2:467–75.
- Jacob, Brian A., and Steven D. Levitt. 2003. Rotten apples: An investigation of the prevalence and predictors of teacher cheating. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 3:843–77.
- Kemple, James J. and Jason C. Snipes. 2000. Career academies: Impacts on students' engagement and performance in high school. Report, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, New York.
- Lee, David S. 2009. Training, wages, and sample selection: Estimating sharp bounds on treatment effects. *Review of Economic Studies* 76, no. 3: 1071–1102.
- Legewie, Joscha, and Thomas A. DiPrete. 2012. School context and the gender gap in educational achievement. *American Sociological Review* 77, no. 3:463–85.
- Neal, Derek, and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach. 2010. Left behind by design: Proficiency counts and test-based accountability. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 92, no. 2:263–83.
- Sacerdote, Bruce. 2011. Peer effects in education: How might they work, how big are they, and how much do we know thus far? In *Handbook of the economics of education*, vol. 3, ed. Erik Hanushek, Stephen Machin, and Ludger Woessmann, 249–77. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Silverman, Bernard W. 1986. Density estimation for statistics and data analysis, vol. 26. Boca Raton, FL: CRC.
- Skinner, Kathleen J. 2009. Charter school success or selective out-migration of low achievers? Effects of enrollment management on student achievement. Technical report, Massachusetts Teachers Association, Quincy, MA.
- Thernstrom, Abigail M., and Stephan Thernstrom. 2003. No excuses: Closing the racial gap in learning. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Tuttle, Christina Clark, Brian Gill, Philip Gleason, Virginia Knechtel, Ira Nichols-Barrer, and Alexandra Resch. 2013. KIPP middle schools: Impacts on achievement and other outcomes. Report, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., Princeton, NJ.
- Walters, Christopher R. 2013. Essays in labor economics. PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.