The Evidence on Education Vouchers: An Application to the Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program*

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Clive R. Belfield
belfield@qc.edu
Economics Department, Queens College,
City University of New York,
Flushing, NY 11367

Abstract
This paper examines the academic achievement effects of the Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program (CSTP), within the context of existing research on education vouchers. We begin with a review of the recent evidence on vouchers and school choice. Evidence on the demand for private schooling shows religion, race, and family education levels are the most important factors. Evidence on school supply shows reasonable supply elasticity from the religious sector. Evidence on public financing indicates that concerns over property values may be more important than concerns over school quality or educational inequality. The evidence also highlights the many potential biases when identifying the treatment impacts of vouchers. The second part of the paper examines the results from the CSTP to examine a number of hypotheses regarding the effectiveness of vouchers. We find a number of practical similarities between the CSTP and other voucher programs. Overall, we find no academic advantages for voucher users in second and fourth grade tests. We also find that the results do not vary according to: adjustments for prior ability; intention-to-treat versus treatment effects; and dosage differences. Contrary to claims for other voucher programs, voucher programs are not differentially effective for African American students. These achievement results are also consistent with existing evidence.

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1. Introduction

This is now the third stage of voucher research. The first was theoretical in establishing the economic principles behind vouchers, namely that competition and private ownership would improve the quality of education (Friedman, 1962; West, 1968; for a recent review, see Neal, 2002; Ladd, 2002). These arguments relied on economic theory, largely unsupported by evidence or practice.

The second stage related to feasibility, showing that voucher programs could work and broadly satisfy several desiderata, these being parental approval and educational consequences that appear no worse than the status quo (Teske and Schneider, 2001; Hoxby, 1998). The first formal K-12 voucher program was established in Milwaukee in 1990. By 2003-04, the voucher value was $5,882, with 12,778 students participating in 107 schools. Its practical success was followed by programs developed in Cleveland, Florida, Colorado, and Washington DC (see Belfield and Levin, 2005).[1] At their most basic, these programs offer an existence proof for vouchers (as well as indicating the progress that voucher proponents have made). With them came sustained academic inquiry into education vouchers and their anticipated effects in terms of freedom of choice, efficiency, equity, and social cohesion (Levin, 2002).

The third stage of voucher research draws on the evidence from existing programs – both explicit voucher programs but also more general choice programs – to inform policy decisions about the optimal design for voucher programs. It is predicated on the possibility of large voucher programs which may radically reform schools, particularly in urban settings.

This paper begins with a general summary of the new evidence. This evidence is then used to inform evaluation of the Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program. In addition, results on the effectiveness of this Program are presented. In the final section of the paper, we look forward to imagine a fourth wave of research and policy interest in vouchers.

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[1] The Florida Opportunity Scholarship Program was established in 1999: schools that receive an F grade for two years out of four must allow their students either to select another public school or to receive a voucher valued at up to $4,500 for private school. By 2004, 542 students had used the voucher. In 2003 the state of Colorado passed a voucher plan (Opportunity Contract Pilot Program) to take effect in 2004. Students from low income families with low academic performance would be eligible if they resided in districts where 8 or more schools in 2001-2 had low or unsatisfactory performance (to a maximum of 1% of students in eligible districts). The value of the voucher was proportionate to district expenditures at each grade. In December 2003 the Colorado plan was struck down, being judged to violate the Colorado Constitution by depriving local school boards of control over instruction in their districts; the state Supreme Court affirmed this decision in June 2004, making the program moribund. Finally, the DC Opportunity Scholarship is for K-12 students who reside in the district with a family income less than 185% of the federal poverty line. In the first year (2004-05), 1,300 students participated. The voucher is valued at $7,500 to cover tuition, fees, and transportation costs and is valid for five years. Other states have considered vouchers, and as of October 2005 there was a campaign to introduce vouchers for students in Louisiana who were displaced as a result of hurricane Katrina. Full details for Cleveland are given below.

2. New Research on Vouchers and Choice

With the growth in voucher programs and the proliferation of a range of choice mechanisms in education (Belfield and Levin, 2005), there has been a corresponding increase in evidence and analysis on the topic of 'school choice' (Hoxby, 2005b). Predictably, the main focus of inquiry has been on whether vouchers do raise student achievement. However, the research has also considered: school choice and parental demand; school supply and the production function; and the general equilibrium and broader public finance aspects of vouchers. These in-depth investigations are useful for informing program design and for setting voucher reforms within the broader context of school choice reform. They are reviewed first, followed by a summary of the evidence on student achievement.

2.1 School Choice and Parental Demand

The decision to exercise school choice begins with comparison of existing versus potentially feasible choice sets (how parents obtain evidence has been investigated by Buckley and Schneider, 2003). As noted by Henig and Sugarman (1996), many families – particularly affluent ones – already have sufficient choices; attention has therefore focused on how voucher programs open up choices for families whose options are constrained. Thus far, all voucher programs have been targeted to low-income families or to districts with a high proportion of low-performing schools. Therefore choice sets are being expanded for low-income families. However, the evidence indicates that it is low-income families with children who may succeed well in school who are most likely to utilize the voucher. As found for the DC Scholarship Program, program applicants scored higher on math and reading tests than non-applicants and mothers' education levels were also higher (this latter result is confirmed in almost all students).

The second component of the school choice decision pertains to family preferences for different types of school. Unambiguously, the research evidence shows that the main determinant of private school choice is religious preference (as established in early research by Long and Toma, 1988). For example, Campbell et al. (2005) report data on which schools children in the private Children's Scholarship Fund select: they find religious preferences dominate (for Milwaukee, see Witte, 1999). For public school choice, a range of factors are important. Reback (2005) finds that parents do value high test scores: where these are higher, transfer applications are higher; and the effect is stronger than for district spending and for socioeconomic status. Based on analysis of 180 lotteries across 19 schools used to allocate places in Chicago Public Schools, Cullen et al. (2005) find that students who win the lotteries do choose schools with characteristics associated with high achievement (higher performing peer groups, lower poverty rates, higher local incomes). However, Hastings et al. (2004) find that parents' preferences are

very heterogeneous (and possibly inconsistent; but see Bast and Walberg, 2004). In the public school lottery system in North Carolina, Clotfelter et al. (2003) find that families choose schools for many reasons (other than simple achievement), and that – even when given the opportunity – not all children attend their first choice school: 50% of children chose their neighborhood school (in part because of parental risk aversion).

The second important consideration in understanding school choice preferences is race. Almost every paper shows segregation of students as a consequence of vouchers or choice (see Fairlie and Resch, 1998; Renzulli and Evans, 2005; and the essays in Scott, 2005). Even where schools operate random selection when places are oversubscribed, sorting by ability (prior achievement) is still possible (Chakrabarti, 2005); if families can supplement the value of the voucher, sorting by income is also likely. In many cases, these are tantamount to sorting by race. For example, even within a highly minority school system such as DCPS, the voucher participants are less likely to attend schools with other minorities (DCPS is 95% minority, the choice schools were 83% minority). The role of race is complicated, however, by the differences in behavior between Hispanic and African American children; and by the fact that the public school system also shows strong patterns of racial segregation.

The third component of the school choice decision is usage, i.e. actually changing school, conditional on the availability of new choices. Perhaps the clearest evidence comes from the randomized field trials reported by Howell and Peterson (2002). In the first year of the field trial, a significant proportion of children offered the voucher did not use it and attended public school (18% in New York; 20% in Dayton; and 32% in Washington, DC; see Howell and Peterson, 2002, Table 2-2). In subsequent years, these rates increased, such that at least one-third of all students offered a voucher were not using it (30%, 33%, and 63%, respectively). In addition, a non-trivial proportion of children who were not offered the voucher attended private school regardless (6%, 17%, and 11%, respectively, in the first year). And, these rates were conditional on eligibility, not application status. A second example is the evidence from the CPS lottery programs: Cullen et al. (2005) report that winning the lottery only raises attendance rates at preferred schools by 36%. Finally, recent evidence from the Washington DC School Choice Incentive Act shows the complexity of school choice with vouchers. Of the 41,000 eligible students within Washington Public Schools (DCPS), 1,848 were actually eligible when criteria related to student characteristics were applied. Across the characteristics of grade, income, and initial status, there were very different probabilities of scholarship receipt. Of the 1,366 scholarship winners, 24% did not complete the school search process and therefore were not

allocated vouchers. Depending on how students were classified, the usage rate for the voucher was 62% to 75% for the first year alone.

Three additional factors should be considered in relation to demand for school choice.[2] One is that the first and third components of the decision – eligibility and use – may be confounding. Campbell et al. (2005) find that minority families are more likely to apply for CSF-administered private vouchers, but conditional on eligibility, they are less likely to use them. (Data from the Chicago Public Schools lotteries shows both that (a) black students are less likely to participate and (b) lottery winners from high-achieving schools are more likely to enroll in a new school than winners from low-achieving schools, Cullen et al., 2005, Tables 1 and 2). It is unclear how school choice preferences generate this result. But it suggests that in actuality voucher programs may be less equitable than their supporters claim based on a simple reading of the program design (Kemerer and Vitteriti, 2002). The second factor is that a non-trivial proportion of students who are eligible for and receive vouchers are already in private school. In the DC Scholarship program, 28% of the winners were already in private schools when they applied. The third factor is that, regardless of school quality, changing school induces an academic penalty for children (as they learn the standards, rules, and expectations at their new school; for empirical estimates of the magnitude of this effect, see Hanushek et al., 2004). Parents might therefore be wary of changing school and would be unlikely to repeatedly select a different school for their children.

2.2 School Supply and the Technology of Education

Research has also paid attention to the supply decisions of private schools and their motivation to participate in voucher programs. Clearly, if there is no forthcoming supply of schools to accept voucher enrollees then demanders' preferences become meaningless. Complementary research has investigated the inputs and technologies these schools apply in providing education. Logically, if private schools do not operate in ways distinct from public schools there is unlikely to be an advantage to students from choosing these schools.

Belfield et al. (2004) investigate the types of schools that operate as part of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program over the period 1991-2004. Several conclusions emerge. Most obvious is the religiosity of the schools: 70% are religious, although Catholic schools' participation has fallen over time. There is a growing trend for private schools serving different religious groups, perhaps reflecting a greater differentiation of tastes for education. (These

[2] Other factors may also be considered. Many parents do now have a reasonably-sized choice set. Where vouchers do not fully cover tuition, they are not fully encouraging choice. Where parents are risk averse, or do not have full information, they are unlikely to make optimal choices or exercise choice.

findings give credence to general equilibrium models – see below – that emphasize product differentiation in the choice of school). After 1998, the number of secular schools participating fell to 30%, as the number of schools quadrupled, from 23 to 85. A second conclusion on supply is that voucher student enrollments in the MPCP are increasingly a majority within their school: by 2001, 40% of participating schools have more than 80% of their students claiming vouchers. This consolidation of voucher students within schools may raise concerns about the sorting of students into particular communities, leading to social segregation. However, at least in Milwaukee, the supply of new schools appears reasonably elastic: 46% of participating schools were founded after the Program was introduced, and they are a mix of secular and religious schools.[3] Finally, explaining private school supply behavior in terms of revenue functions is complex. Ideally, the design of a school choice program should take account of the revenue functions facing schools, along with the willingness of families to pay; but very limited, imprecise data is available on private schools' budgets. Data from MPCP indicates that many schools report costs above the value of the voucher (suggesting that they subsidize these students from other revenue sources), and costs only weakly converge to the voucher amount. (Plausibly, schools with higher proportions of voucher students do track their costs more closely to the value of the voucher.) Less complete evidence is available for the other programs. But, of the 58 schools participating in the Washington DC program, approximately 75% are religiously-affiliated.

Clearly, for vouchers to improve educational outcomes it is necessary for newly chosen schools to be an improvement on rejected schools. However, research on the inputs and technologies that private schools use which would raise efficiency levels has yielded few conclusions. In terms of the theory of the enterprise, economists are still no further ahead in identifying the separate benefits of ownership, innovation, and technical efficiency, i.e., which inputs work best (Hanushek, 2004). Levin (2003) finds that, although for-profit schools and new educational entrepreneurs claim to offer a distinctive educational service that cannot be found in the public school system, this claim is often overstated. The technology of education appears to be similar, regardless of the ownership and management structure. In comparing public and private schools, most research finds modest private school advantages after controlling for student characteristics: classroom-based private schools do not behave very differently from public schools and so their efficiency advantage is relatively small (see Benveniste et al., 2003; McEwan, 2003; Lubienski and Lubienski, 2005). Different types of school may simply face

[3] An early survey of schools' willingness to accept transfer students found that religious schools would be very unlikely to accept students not of the same religious persuasion (Muraskin and Stullich, 1999).

different constraints on expansion of supply. Religious schools may have a strong advantage in raising funds, more easily obtaining both donations and in-kind resources (such as school facilities located in the church). Yet, a religious school that enrolled large numbers of non-religious students would have to pay higher salaries to its teachers as the religious mission of the school becomes less prominent. For-profit schools face numerous challenges, not least in establishing brand equity to encourage parents to choose them.

Finally, inquiry has looked at the private school market structure and how this might affect school quality both for voucher students and those remaining in the public schools. The market has changed considerably over the 1990s. The growth in charter schooling represents competition not only against existing public schools but also against using a private school voucher. In a review of over 40 studies, Belfield and Levin (2002) find the effects of competition on school performance to be positive but relatively modest. Moreover, this review is based on analysis of large systems with significant variations in market structure: small-scale voucher programs are unlikely to induce even these effects. This is the case not only because of the relative size of the programs but also because of the weak links between school performance, student decisions, and student transfers. First, very few students actually make a new choice. Second, transferring students are only a very small proportion of all students within a school and may be offset by incoming students. In the Washington DC program, 25% of schools did not experience any reduction in student numbers; 56% had program-related transfers of less than 2% of enrollments; and only 2% of schools had transfers of over 4% of enrollments. Given these distributed losses, and the fact that some students who apply are already in private schools, it is hard to attribute sizeable school quality differences to student movements.

2.3 The Public Finance Consequences of Voucher Programs

Further research has examined how vouchers impinge on the existing public school system and its local financing.

Inter-district open enrollment programs (of which vouchers are one example) will change local property values because they undermine the public schools' local monopoly. Using data for Minnesota, Reback (2005) shows that property tax bases decline in desirable districts that accept transfer students and they increase in districts where students can transfer out. Consequently, districts that lose students may have improved financing because of tax base increases. Brunner and Sonstelie (2003) relate this inference to the ballot box: they show that vouchers, in attenuating how public schools are capitalized in property prices, are politically unpopular in districts where school quality is high (see also Kenny, 2005). In addition, other research has investigated implications of voucher programs for the provision of public goods. Fischel (2003)

reports on how families value the public goods of 'sense of community' produced by their neighborhood school.

A substantial amount of general equilibrium modeling of education systems within complete public/private school choice has been conducted (for an early example, see Epple and Romano, 1998). This work examines how individual school choices feedback into new distributions of housing values, district spending, and school quality; it also takes account of the ability of private schools to price peer ability. A summary of the literature is given in Nechyba (2003), who reports several novel results should large-scale voucher programs be introduced. First, competition for high-ability students would increase; these students would pay tuitions that would be lowered both as a result of the voucher and as a consequence of schools' eagerness to enroll them. Second, public schools would engage in more ability tracking, as they seek to prevent students from switching to the private sector. Both of these conclusions suggest further educational inequalities, as high ability public school children would be the most affected (rewarded). The third conclusion is that public school quality need not decline; where such declines do occur, they would be concentrated in middle or high income school districts. Thus, exacerbations in educational inequality may be offset by fiscal effects on families. Finally, in keeping with the above literature, Nechyba (2003) concludes that voters' opinions about vouchers are much more likely to be driven by perceived effects on their property values than on educational outcomes. Recently, Urquiola (2005) shows that although greater opportunities to choose schools (proxied by district availability) does affect peer groups and sorting, it may also reduce private school enrollment.

2.4 The Effectiveness of Voucher Programs

In addition to research on the components of school choice, there are detailed studies on the effectiveness of voucher programs in Milwaukee and Florida (with no evidence as yet available for Washington, DC), as well as findings from field trials of vouchers and from public school lotteries.

In evaluating the Milwaukee program, Witte (1999) compares voucher students with a random sample of Milwaukee school children and a low income sample. No achievement effects were found (Greene et al. (1998) find generally positive impacts). Rouse (1998) compared voucher users with those applicants who were not offered a voucher (by chance); this analysis also compensated for continuation in the program (as well as student fixed effects). Rouse (1998) found small but positive effect size differences of 0.08-0.12sd per year for math but no effect for reading. However, these evaluations used data from program participants in the early years of the

program, when religious schools were not eligible to participate; as well, most of the students were concentrated in a few schools, raising the possibility of strong school effects.

In their evaluation of the A+ Accountability Program in Florida, Figlio and Rouse (2005) find modest results. Using data on over 180,000 students, their analysis compares the performance of those students in schools eligible for vouchers as against students in schools that just avoided the eligibility criteria (i.e., these schools were graded F in one or two subjects rather than all three).[4] Achievement gains are evident for students in initially low-performing schools. But, much of the improvement is attributable either to student characteristics (controlling for lagged scores) or to teaching to the high-stakes test; and these gains are more plausibly caused by the stigma of the low performance grade rather than the threat of vouchers.

The randomized field trials for vouchers in three cities (New York, Dayton, and Washington, DC) found very small test score gains after three years; and these were primarily for African Americans in one setting. Howell and Peterson (2002, Table 6-1) only report the treatment effect of vouchers on those who use the voucher. They find no effects in New York and Dayton, with achievement gains for voucher users in Washington DC in the second (of three) years. Therefore, they do not find cumulative gains from voucher use, repudiating the supposition that voucher programs might exhibit a dose–response effect, i.e. that the longer a voucher is used, the greater the impact on student achievement. However, they do find strong impacts for African American children (across all three years in New York and the second year in Dayton and in Washington). Even these positive findings have been disputed (Howell and Peterson, 2004; Krueger and Zhu, 2004ab).

Most evidence from expanded school choice within the public system points to the same conclusion: there appear to be no benefits in terms of student achievement from placement in a choice school. The Chicago lotteries analyzed by Cullen et al. (2005, Table 6) show no gains from winning the lottery in terms of any of the following educational outcomes across ninth and tenth grades: dropping out, reading, algebra, English, geometry, course credits, and absences. However, there are some behavioral advantages, in terms of liking school more and avoiding involvement with the criminal justice system. From analysis of choice schools in North Carolina, Clotfelter et al. (2005) find no effect on student achievement (although suspension rates for lottery winners appear to be lower). Finally, the literature on charter schools across the states

[4] Previous general analysis argued that schools that might have met the failure criteria improved, spurred by their fear of the voucher (Greene, 2001). But, other incentives were also in place, making it very difficult to disentangle the impact of the voucher threat from the stigma of failure or from the effects of special state assistance for schools at risk of failure (Camilli and Bulkley, 2001).

shows few academic benefits from attending such schools (for California, see Buddin and Zimmer, 2005).

2.5 Conclusions from the New Research Evidence

In light of this new research, it is worth asking whether the initial theory about vouchers should be reconsidered. First, it may be questioned whether vouchers will be a catalyst for improvements and the creation of new markets in education. On the demand side, there are many steps between the creation of a voucher program and the actual exercise of choice by parents. On the supply side, the majority of participating schools are religious and there is no evidence of new secular schools being induced to open (or to become voucher-accepting schools) where such schools can demonstrate successful and improved technologies. Finally, the general equilibrium models of vouchers show that there is considerable uncertainty as to the possible consequences, particularly in relation to tax bases for supporting local schools. These models are of particular interest should the state-wide program in Ohio be expanded more broadly.

The research also allows for inferences about methodology. For the purposes of analyzing a voucher program, this research suggests several potentially important biases must be accounted for in measuring achievement gains. These biases will differ according to the status of the student. For each voucher program, students will fall into a set of categories. These are: users, i.e. those who were offered and used a voucher to attend private school; non-users, i.e. those offered a voucher but who did not use it or stopped using it; 'applicant rejects', i.e. those who applied for a voucher but were not offered one; 'eligibles', i.e. those who could have applied for the voucher but did not; and 'ineligibles', i.e. those in public and private schools who were not eligible for a voucher and did not apply. Often, these last two groups are conflated into a general 'comparison group'.

Biases are compared in relation to the 'comparison group'. First, there is an 'applicant bias': only those who apply for the voucher are likely to benefit from it. This will bias gains toward voucher users, non-users, and applicant rejects, because applicants are typically motivated families. Second, there is an 'eligibility bias': those who are eligible for the voucher will differ both from those who apply and (separately) from those who do not apply. This will bias gains away from users and non-users, because eligibility is conditional on low family income. Third, there is a 'usage bias': those who use the voucher will differ from those who do not use it, conditional on application and eligibility. This will bias gains in favor of users relative to non-users because usage is positively correlated with ability and family resources. (However, the bias will be affected by the relative quality of the voucher-admitting schools: if only schools with surplus capacity are admitting voucher students, then these schools may differ in quality from the

average private school). Fourth, there is a 'school switch bias': children who change school will initially perform below expectations as they adjust to the new school. This will bias gains against users and those non-users who were previously users of the voucher. Fifth, there is a 'reaction function bias': schools threatened with competition from vouchers will behave differently from those not under threat. This could bias gains against users, if public schools respond positively to the threat, or in favor of users, if the departure of high quality students causes public school quality to decline. Sixth, there will be a 'resource bias': because the voucher value is below the marginal cost of even high ability students, those remaining in the public schools will receive extra resources. This will bias gains against the voucher users. However, there is also a resource bias in favor of those users who were initially in private school, as the private school is receiving a windfall. In addition, in data collection there will be a 'response bias': survey attrition rates will differ across different types of students. This bias will depend on how the evaluation of the voucher program is structured.

There is some evidence for each of these biases. Importantly, differences in the selection of the comparison group will imply different biases. Comparing users with rejected applicants compensates for applicant bias, but then eligibility bias becomes salient. Comparing users with non-users compensates for applicant and eligibility bias, but then usage bias becomes salient. Given the importance of family background for child achievement, it may be the case that the applicants who were rejected from the program are actually the most advantaged of the four groups. These biases are considered below, in the re-evaluation of the Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program.

3. Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program

3.1 Details of the Program

The Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program (CSTP) is actually the second of the existing voucher programs (established by the State of Ohio in 1995).[5] The Program has particular prominence because it was the focus of a U.S. Supreme Court decision which resulted in the legal approval (at the Federal level) of inclusion of religious schools in a voucher program (Zelman vs. Simmons-Harris 2002). Thus, although it has been operating for almost ten years, its status was, at least until recently, uncertain. With the legal challenge resolved, further expansion of voucher programs is being set up across the state. In 2005, Ohio ratified a state-wide version of this

[5] The tutoring component is relatively small. The tutoring is one-to-one, and is open to all children currently attending a Cleveland Municipal school (K-8), but it is limited to one hour per day and 21 hours per academic school year and the reimbursement amount is $20 per hour (75-90% of which is paid by the State).

voucher program, to be implemented next year (Samuels, 2005). This program will provide as much as $5,000 for up to 14,000 students enrolled in schools across the state that have received the state's lowest performance ranking for three straight years.

The focus here is on the Cleveland program, the details of which are as follows. The program is situated in Cleveland Municipal Schools District (CMSD), which has 75,000 students across 130 schools. Currently 5,734 students participate in the program. The initial enrollment in 1996 was 1,996, with total funding of $5 million. At inception, eligible children had to be in K-8th grade, reside within the CMSD, and not require segregated special education. Low income families are given preference, with those below 200 percent of the poverty level (about $36,000 for a family of four) provided with 90 percent of tuition or $2,250, whichever is lower; families above 200 percent of the poverty level are provided with 75 percent of tuition or $1,875, which is lower. Transportation is also paid by the CMSD. About one-quarter of students came from the latter group. In comparison, per-pupil expenditure in CMSD in 1996 was $7,500 (including transportation). In 2003-04, the scholarships were made available for 9th graders and beyond. Also, funding was increased to $3,000 for grades K-8 and instituted at $2,700 for higher grades. (For 2006-07, the voucher amount is planned to rise to $3,450). Parents/guardians and the nonpublic chartered school must make arrangements for the payment of the amount not paid by the state (although parents from low-income families may request to work for the non-state portion of the tuition). Students must remain in residence within CMSD. Where the number of voucher applicants exceeded available placements, a lottery system was used.

Eligible schools are nonpublic chartered schools located within the CMSD; surrounding public school districts are eligible to apply. The state superintendent must approve schools that will be able to participate before children may enroll as scholarship recipients.

3.2 The Importance of the Cleveland Program

The Cleveland Program has important policy implications and merits further study (not least because it is the voucher program which has thus far received limited attention by academic researchers). First, the Cleveland Program is sufficiently large scale to allow for samples of students according to each voucher status. Second, it is possible to offer an up-to-date evaluation of the CSTP: this is important because there have been a number of school choice reforms over the period since 1995. Third, the CSTP allowed for vouchers to be used in religious schools. Both of these attributes are not present in the most recent evidence on the Milwaukee program. That evidence relies on data from before 1995, a period before religious schools could participate and when the program had most students clustered in only a few schools. Given the importance of religiosity in school choice debates, this is a clear advantage of the CSTP. Fourth, given the

duration of the program it is possible to examine the question of dose-response (i.e. whether persistence in the program yields higher rewards). This is an important concern for evaluating the efficiency of vouchers, and the current evaluation is both long-running and longitudinal. Fifth, CMSD has a high proportion of black students, and Howell and Peterson (2002) argue that vouchers are most beneficial for them. Finally, the CSTP voucher is relatively ungenerous: if effects can be found for this program, it is likely that achievement gains would be even larger for programs which are more generous (e.g. Milwaukee and Washington, DC).

4. Evaluating the CSTP

4.1 Prior Evaluations of the CSTP

Since 1996, evaluation of the CSTP has been conducted by the Center for Education Evaluation at Indiana University (with periodic reports by Metcalf et al., 1998, 2001, 2003, and Plucker et al., 2005). The evaluation began collecting data for those entering kindergarten in 1997 and has continued up to sixth grade in 2003. (No substantive changes in program design occurred during this period, but the legal status of the program was uncertain over the entire period up to 2002). The dataset is composed of: those who were offered and used a voucher to attend private school ('users', 23%); those offered a voucher but who did not use it ('non-users', 10%); those who applied for a voucher but were not offered one ('applicant rejects', 16%); and a public school comparison group ('public', 51%). These four groups are denoted by voucher status. The data has three advantages: it is longitudinal (including achievement measures); it includes students from multiple comparison groups; and it has over 4,000 students who attend over 100 different schools. However, the public group does not precisely conform to the above categorisation: it will include both eligibles and ineligibles. Also, the sample sizes are considerably lower with attrition and missing responses.

The evaluation gives evidence supporting the review of the literature. First, the majority of students in the program chose religious schools: of the 42 participating schools, all but two have a religious affiliation. The two Hope schools, enrolling a large proportion of the voucher students, became charter schools in response to the higher funding levels available to such schools. The Cleveland Diocese reported that in 2001-02, 46% of children in the participating Catholic schools were voucher enrollees (43% were also non-Catholic). This was not surprising, since such schools represent three quarters or more of existing private enrollments more generally and are the only ones available at the tuition levels of the Cleveland voucher. However, as in Milwaukee, Catholic school enrollment has been declining over the period. Second, voucher

awards are significantly sub-additive: by the sixth grade 61-72% of those awarded vouchers had attended private school in the previous year (Plucker et al., 2005, Table 5).

Achievement gains for voucher users have been reported for each year since the fall of first grade. In the most recent evaluation up to 6th grade, Plucker et al. (2005, Table 7) report statistically significant academic advantages from the voucher program for reading, language, and social studies (there are no effects for math). However, these comparisons are between three groups: (a) those users who have consistently enrolled in private school for seven years; (b) applicants who were rejected and stayed in the public school system; and (c) the public school comparison group. Given evidence on the educational advantages of a stable school choice and on the non-trivial proportions of students who enroll in private school without a scholarship, further comparisons are merited.[6] Such comparisons should include the group who used the voucher temporarily, reverting back to the public school system. As well, these comparisons do not adjust for student or school characteristics (except minority status) that might be confounded with academic achievement.

In earlier iterations following the same econometric protocols, Metcalf et al. (2003) found no statistically significant advantages for the voucher users in reading or math beyond the fall of first grade; for language, there were advantages for voucher user in the fall of first grade and the spring of second through to sixth grade. (The consistent pattern of advantage in fall of first grade may be an additional indication of selection bias of those applying for vouchers).

Separate evaluation of the program in its early years was conducted by Greene et al. (1998). Their survey of 2,020 voucher applicants focused on parental satisfaction. The results suggest that parents were choosing schools based on academic concerns. Scholarship recipients were much more satisfied with their schools than public school parents. However, this result differs by race: minority children using vouchers reported lower satisfaction levels. In a weak test, Greene et al. (1998, Table 14-13) find children in the two Hope schools had increased their academic achievement during their time in those schools.

In a replication study Greene et al. (1998) strongly dispute the third grade test score analysis performed by Metcalf et al. (1998). First, they contend that, as a result of imperfections in data collection, the second grade test scores are weak measures of prior achievement because they are not correlated with race in the expected direction. Second, they argue that the comparison group of students from CMSD schools were in schools that were superior to the

[6] Sample attrition is also a factor: the analysis is based on varying fractions of those for whom data was collected in first grade: 197 of 885 users (22%), 259 of 492 rejected applicants (53%), and 343 of 1408 public school children (24%). Yet, the probability of remaining in each group is not equivalent based on unobservable risk factors.

average CMSD school. Third, the official evaluation does not include data from the two Hope schools, which represents approximately one-quarter of scholarship users. Finally, Greene et al. (1998) are critical of the use of only one year of test score data.

In estimation which includes second grade test scores as a control for prior achievement, Greene et al. (1998, Table 14-15) find statistically significant impacts for voucher users in language and science, with positive but not statistically significant impacts for reading and social studies and negative but not statistically significant impacts for math.

4.2 Academic Effects of the CSTP: Re-Investigation

4.2.1 Model Specification and Data

Here, the Cleveland data are re-investigated to estimate differences according to school placement as a result of the voucher.[7] A simple education production function is given as:

$$(1) \qquad ACH_{kt} = \alpha + \theta ACH_{kt-1} + \beta STATUS_t + \gamma STUDENT_t + \delta SCHOOL_t + \varepsilon_{tk}$$

In equation (1), achievement *ACH* in subject *k* at time *t* is a function of: prior achievement in subject *k* at time *t-1*; voucher status (*STATUS*, i.e., the four groups of user, non-user, rejected applicant or public school student); and student and school characteristics.[8] All achievement scores are normalized for the sample with a mean of zero and standard deviation of 1. Coefficients across the equations can therefore be interpreted as effect sizes. Unfortunately, the covariates to be included in equation (1) are far from comprehensive, primarily because of data limitations (limited information is available and where available it is not always complete). Also, the dataset only follows participants from kindergarten to fourth grade. Equation (1) is performed for second grade in three subjects – reading, math, and language – and for fourth grade in four subjects – with science scores newly included.

Thus, the analysis here advances on that from the other evaluations. In contrast to Greene et al. (1998), it is possible to test for multiple comparison groups and with multiple years of data. (The objection in relation to the Hope schools is no longer valid). In contrast to Metcalf et al. (2003), it is possible to: adjust for co-variates; relate effects to years of usage; examine sub-groups of students; and manipulate the comparison group to examine different biases.

Table 1 shows the frequencies for students in second grade and fourth grade for prior test scores and characteristics, according to voucher status. The second grade data show two

[7] These data and the data codebook were downloaded from the Ohio Department of Education website on February 11th 2004.

[8] Because of small sample sizes, former non-users and persistent non-users are grouped together.

substantive differences across the groups.[9] Non-users are much more likely to be black and free-lunch eligible. However, first grade test scores are broadly equivalent across the groups. The fourth grade data are similar. Of the four groups, three (users, rejected applicants, and the public school comparison group) have comparable third grade test scores; the scores for the non-users, which includes those who were formerly users, is lower across all subjects. The student characteristics for this group are also extreme: non-users are considerably more likely to be black and free-lunch eligible. This finding accords with the evidence from the CSF cited above (Campbell et al., 2005). However, given the different characteristics of these non-users, inference about the consequences for achievement should be performed with great caution. Recipients may not differ greatly from all non-recipients, but they differ notably from non-users.

Some differences are evident across the other groups: the public school group approximately equivalent numbers who are free-lunch eligible, but very few who receive no subsidy for lunch. However, this difference is likely to reflect school effects rather than student effects, as private school students generally access school lunch subsidies at a lower rate. Basic measures of classroom characteristics – class size and the teacher's years of experience – are comparable across all four groups. There is no clear evidence that the public school comparison group attends better public schools, as found by Greene et al. (1998).

4.2.2 Effects in Second Grade

Table 2 shows achievement gains equations for three subjects in second grade. The covariates all vary in predictable ways with respect to achievement: black students post lower scores than whites; males have lower scores; indicators of family resources (free-lunch status) are correlated with scores; and classroom effects in the form of teacher experience are positive (class size has no obvious effect). Subject-specific first grade scores (standardized ~(0,1)) strongly predict performance in second grade. These coefficients – as well as pairwise correlations between the independent variables – accord with expectation and do not conform to the analyses by Greene et al. (1998).[10]

The bottom of Table 2 shows mixed effects according to voucher status. For reading, there are no differences across the four groups in second grade. For math, voucher users report the lowest scores: the statistically significant effect size is -0.09sd against the public school group

[9] Metcalf et al. (2003, 73) report that, based on direct analyses of all students in the 4th grade, the voucher users in this sample are representative of all voucher users and the public school comparison group is representative of public school students.

[10] Details of the pairwise correlations are available from the author.

and of comparable size against the other two groups.[11] In contrast, for language the public school group does considerably worse than the other three groups; however, the voucher user group gains the least – both non-users and rejected applicants show larger advantages. Given the biases that might lead to statistically significant gains for voucher users, we cannot find evidence that voucher students outperform relevant comparison groups in second grade.

Table 3 reports additional testing in relation to the current debate on the effectiveness of vouchers. Panel A reports coefficients which do not take account of prior achievement. This information is useful if the treatment impacts – from any status – are positive but insufficiently strong to be identifiable each year. If so, controlling for prior achievement would eliminate any gains attributable to group status from previous years. The goodness of fit for this equation is poor, but the results do not favor voucher users: the math penalty is maintained; and the language advantage over the public school group is eliminated. Moreover, the rejected applicants report statistically significant test score gains in reading and language.

Panel B reports on effects for those who are offered a voucher, regardless of whether they use it. Conflating users and non-users is necessary to establish the total effect of voucher programs: the argument that vouchers would raise overall school quality depends on the impacts across all of those students to whom vouchers are offered. For reading, no effect is detectable. For math, voucher winners report lower scores of -0.08sd. For language, scores would be higher by +0.11sd. Panel C compares users only against those who were not offered a voucher (the specification used by Howell and Peterson, 2002, Table 6-1). For both reading and math voucher users report scores that are lower by -0.14sd and -0.11sd, with no difference in language.

Finally, Panel D provides evidence on the question of dose–response, i.e. whether longer voucher usage is cumulatively associated with stronger advantages. No consistent pattern is evident. For reading, years of voucher use are negatively associated with achievement, but the coefficients are not significant. For math, years of use are cumulatively associated with achievement disparities. In contrast, for language, the benefits of voucher use are only meaningful for those children who have persisted in the voucher program for the three years since kindergarten.

As noted in Section 2, the impact of vouchers may differ by race. Restricting the sample to black students, four of the five equations shown in Tables 2 and 3 are re-estimated (the intention to treat specification is omitted, given that it can be indirectly calculated from the other equations). These re-estimations are shown in Table 4. Panel A reports coefficients for the

[11] Although their results are not readily compatible, Metcalf et al. (2003) report that the users' scores are closest to those in other groups for math.

preferred specification (as per Table 2). For black students, voucher users appear more disadvantaged: their reading scores are now statistically significant and lower (-0.14sd); the math penalty is still evident (but not statistically significant); and, unlike for the full sample, there are no differences across voucher status for language scores. Panel B shows statistically significant and large gross test score disadvantages in reading and math for black voucher users. Panel C shows that black voucher users score worse in all three subjects than black rejected applicants. Finally, there is no clear pattern of longer usage of the voucher having more intensive effects. Overall, these results give no indication that vouchers have a differential impact for black students.

4.2.3 Effects in Fourth Grade

Table 5 shows achievement gains equations for four subjects in fourth grade. Again, the coefficients for the covariates are all as expected. Prior achievement in third grade has a very strong impact on achievement in fourth grade. Black students score considerably below white students as well as below Hispanic students; girls score higher than boys in reading and language. Free-lunch eligible students have lower scores than reduced-price and non-free-lunch eligible students. Although class size has inconsistent effects, scores are higher where teachers have more experience. The bottom of Table 5 shows that there are very few differences in achievement according to voucher status. Measured against the public school comparison group, voucher users, non-users or rejected applicants perform at equivalent levels. There is only one statistically significant coefficient, and that shows that voucher users perform worse than the other three groups in math.

Table 6 summarizes results from additional testing. Panel A reports the unadjusted test scores, which act as a weak test (upper bound) of the effectiveness of vouchers. Again, the results show little evidence of any difference: the math penalty for voucher users is sustained, although with this specification voucher users report the highest scores in language. Panel B shows only negative effects for voucher users in math when all those offered a voucher are categorized together. Panel C shows higher scores for vouchers users relative to rejected applicants in language (effect size, +0.11sd), with no effect for the other three subjects. These results are in sharp contrast to the results for second grade, where voucher users posted uniformly lower scores. Panel D shows no obvious relationship between years of voucher use and test scores.

Table 7 reports results for only black students. Panel A follows the specifications reported in Table 3, and shows exactly the same results: the only statistically significant effect is in math, where vouchers students perform at lower levels than students in the other groups. Panel

B does not adjust for prior scores and reports similar results to Panel A of Table 6: for users, negative for math, positive for language, and weakly positive for reading. Panel C shows math scores are lower for users relative to rejected applicants, with no clear effect for language. As with the other estimations, the dose–response tests are inconclusive. Within the context of the particular differences in the coefficients, both Tables 4 and 7 refute the general hypothesis that black students would benefit most from vouchers. Clearly, the context and design of the program matter.

5. Conclusions

The above evidence shows that the CSTP operates in a way that produces effects quite similar to the other voucher programs in Milwaukee, Florida, and now Washington, DC. Although targeted at minority students from low-income families, these voucher programs are less equitable when implemented because of differences in usage rates and the schools students would attend if the voucher did not exist. Similarly, the CSTP does not show any substantial gains in academic achievement for voucher users relative to other comparison groups.[12]

Finally, although considerable strides have been made, the research base leaves several areas of inquiry still open. First, there is the question of the equity of education vouchers. Advocates have focused on the equity implications, arguing that private schools may not be that much more effective, but they are differentially effective and so can help to raise achievement levels for at-risk groups. Ultimately, this argument remains to be proven, given strong differences in usage rates. Second, achievement gains may not be the best source of evidence that vouchers work: alternative measures such as drop-out or truancy may be more appropriate. Third, there are financial implications in relation to the windfalls that some private schools will receive as their existing enrollees now access vouchers. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, given the heterogeneity of the research base, and the differences in the designs of the voucher programs, it seems most plausible that some voucher programs will be highly effective just as others need not be.

[12] Of course, the program may be justified on other grounds. Its legality was not predicated on its efficiency or effectiveness – that was taken for granted – but instead on its being a "program of true private choice… neutral in all respects toward religion" (Zelman versus Simmons-Harris, 2002, p.11).

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Table 1
Frequencies for Second and Fourth Grade Achievement Equations by Voucher Status

	Scholarship user in 2nd/4th grade	*Non-user (includes users in prior grades)*	*Rejected applicant*	*Public school comparison group*
Second Grade:				
Terra Nova Scores (1st grade):				
Reading	563 (38)	552 (41)	571 (40)	565 (38)
Math	518 (32)	506 (38)	522 (39)	519 (38)
Language	563 (37)	547 (44)	569 (44)	563 (43)
Student/class characteristics:				
Black	56.4%	74.7%	57.6%	47.7%
Hispanic	7.0%	4.0%	5.5%	2.5%
Female	51.6%	48.7%	49.4%	48.2%
Free lunch	58.4%	82.8%	50.0%	48.5%
Unsubsidized lunch	21.6%	6.6%	29.1%	8.9%
Class size (2nd grade)	23.1 (4.8)	23.3 (4.2)	23.7 (4.1)	23.7 (4.2)
Teacher experience (2nd grade)	13.7 (13.2)	12.6 (10.0)	12.9 (11.3)	12.4 (11.1)
N	*624*	*326*	*438*	*971*
Fourth Grade:				
Terra Nova Scores (3rd grade):				
Reading	621 (39)	616 (36)	620 (39)	618 (41)
Math	598 (38)	590 (35)	596 (39)	596 (39)
Language	619 (37)	606 (34)	615 (37)	612 (38)
Science	598 (40)	589 (40)	600 (49)	596 (49)
Student/class characteristics:				
Black	49.3%	77.7%	61.0%	57.4%
Hispanic	7.4%	3.4%	4.1%	4.3%
Female	50.5%	55.8%	54.8%	51.5%
Free lunch	47.1%	76.2%	50.1%	59.1%
Unsubsidized lunch	31.0%	12.6%	32.8%	9.5%
Class size (4th grade)	22.5 (5.1)	22.5 (3.8)	23.5 (4.1)	22.9 (4.4)
Teacher experience (4th grade)	12.2 (9.7)	13.1 (10.2)	13.9 (10.3)	13.0 (9.7)
N	*471*	*206*	*341*	*1071*

Table 2
Second Grade Standardized Test Scores [Terra Nova]

	(1) *Reading*	*(2)* *Math*	*(3)* *Language*
1st grade scores	0.446	0.624	0.521
	(0.021)***	(0.018)***	(0.020)***
Black	-0.284	-0.481	-0.364
	(0.051)***	(0.049)***	(0.051)***
Hispanic	-0.135	-0.126	-0.130
	(0.114)	(0.113)	(0.114)
Female	0.226	0.020	0.151
	(0.046)***	(0.045)	(0.046)***
Free lunch	-0.170	-0.060	-0.178
	(0.051)***	(0.043)	(0.048)***
Unsubsidized lunch	0.001	0.004	-0.049
	(0.063)	(0.054)	(0.059)
Class size	0.009	-0.000	0.011
	(0.005)*	(0.005)	(0.005)*
Teacher experience	0.009	0.007	0.009
	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.002)***
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship user	-0.060	-0.092	0.097
	(0.050)	(0.043)**	(0.047)**
Non-user	-0.019	-0.021	0.162
	(0.092)	(0.080)	(0.087)*
Rejected applicant	0.083	0.026	0.136
	(0.058)	(0.049)	(0.054)**
R-squared	0.27	0.46	0.35
Observations	*1733*	*1786*	*1736*

Notes: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant term not reported. 1st grade scores are subject-specific. Teacher experience measured in years. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.

Table 3
Second Grade Standardized Test Scores [Terra Nova]: Alternative Specifications

	(1) *Reading*	*(2)* *Math*	*(3)* *Language*
	Panel A: Unadjusted for Prior Scores		
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship user	-0.088	-0.115	0.082
	(0.056)	(0.055)**	(0.056)
Non-user	-0.056	-0.114	0.026
	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Rejected applicant	0.142	0.087	0.194
	(0.064)**	(0.062)	(0.064)***
R-squared	0.09	0.11	0.10
	Panel B: Intention to Treat Effect		
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship winners	-0.053	-0.081	0.108
(users and non-users)	(0.048)	(0.041)**	(0.045)**
Rejected applicant	0.083	0.026	0.136
	(0.058)	(0.049)	(0.054)**
R-squared	0.27	0.46	0.35
	Panel C: Effect of the Treatment on the Treated		
Ref. to rejected applicants:			
Scholarship user	-0.139	-0.111	-0.032
	(0.060)**	(0.049)**	(0.055)
R-squared	0.28	0.51	0.39
	Panel D: Dose−Response Effect		
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship user 1 year	0.056	-0.063	0.163
	(0.133)	(0.114)	(0.126)
Scholarship user 2 years	-0.091	-0.072	-0.037
	(0.087)	(0.073)	(0.082)
Scholarship user 3 years	-0.065	-0.102	0.131
	(0.056)	(0.048)**	(0.053)**
Non-user	-0.019	-0.020	0.162
	(0.092)	(0.080)	(0.087)*
Rejected applicant	0.083	0.026	0.136
	(0.058)	(0.049)	(0.054)**
R-squared	0.27	0.46	0.35
Observations (Panel C)	*864*	*895*	*866*
Observations (Panels ABD)	*1733*	*1786*	*1736*

Notes: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant term not reported. Covariates are as in Table 3: black; Hispanic; female; free lunch; unsubsidized lunch; class size; teacher experience (years). * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.

Table 4
Second Grade Standardized Test Scores [Terra Nova]: Black Students Only

	(1) Reading	*(2) Math*	*(3) Language*
	Panel A: Adjusted for Prior Scores		
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship user	-0.141	-0.089	0.060
	(0.074)*	(0.064)	(0.070)
Non-user	-0.011	-0.056	0.172
	(0.111)	(0.100)	(0.105)
Rejected applicant	0.038	0.026	0.107
	(0.084)	(0.071)	(0.079)
R-squared	0.19	0.37	0.27
	Panel B: Unadjusted for Prior Scores		
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship user	-0.156	-0.153	0.056
	(0.079)**	(0.079)*	(0.080)
Non-user	0.001	-0.111	0.084
	(0.119)	(0.125)	(0.120)
Rejected applicant	0.097	0.034	0.163
	(0.090)	(0.088)	(0.090)*
R-squared	0.06	0.03	0.05
	Panel C: Effect of the Treatment on the Treated		
Ref. to rejected applicants:			
Scholarship user	-0.169	-0.120	-0.051
	(0.086)*	(0.070)*	(0.079)
R-squared	0.22	0.45	0.34
	Panel D: Dose−Response Effect		
Ref. to public school group:			
Scholarship user 1 year	-0.035	0.001	0.119
	(0.196)	(0.169)	(0.186)
Scholarship user 2 years	-0.183	-0.118	0.036
	(0.129)	(0.109)	(0.122)
Scholarship user 3 years	-0.141	-0.091	0.061
	(0.082)*	(0.071)	(0.078)
Non-user	-0.011	-0.055	0.172
	(0.111)	(0.101)	(0.106)
Rejected applicant	0.039	0.026	0.107
	(0.084)	(0.071)	(0.079)
R-squared	0.19	0.37	0.27
Observations (Panel C)	*456*	*481*	*457*
Observations (Panels ABD)	*882*	*918*	*884*

Notes: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant term not reported. Covariates are as in Table 3 except for black/Hispanic: subject-specific 1st grade achievement score; female; free lunch; unsubsidized lunch; class size; teacher experience (years). * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.

Table 5
Fourth Grade Standardized Test Scores [Terra Nova]

	(1) *Reading*	*(2)* *Math*	*(3)* *Language*	*(4)* *Science*
3rd grade scores	0.633	0.625	0.577	0.603
	(0.017)***	(0.017)***	(0.018)***	(0.017)***
Black	-0.139	-0.188	-0.210	-0.260
	(0.037)***	(0.038)***	(0.039)***	(0.038)***
Hispanic	-0.055	-0.030	-0.104	-0.110
	(0.079)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)
Female	0.072	0.029	0.195	0.014
	(0.033)**	(0.033)	(0.034)***	(0.033)
Free lunch	-0.017	-0.015	-0.093	-0.123
	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.043)**	(0.041)***
Unsubsidized lunch	0.106	0.031	0.034	0.014
	(0.051)**	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.052)
Class size	0.009	0.002	-0.002	-0.001
	(0.004)**	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Teacher experience	0.004	0.005	0.003	0.003
	(0.002)**	(0.002)***	(0.002)	(0.002)*
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship user	0.043	-0.113	0.038	0.026
	(0.042)	(0.043)***	(0.044)	(0.042)
Non-user	-0.065	0.044	0.076	0.087
	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.058)
Rejected applicant	-0.030	-0.055	-0.063	0.047
	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.047)
R-squared	0.46	0.44	0.41	0.45
Observations	*2089*	*2102*	*2085*	*2096*

Notes: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant term not reported. 3rd grade scores are subject-specific. Teacher experience measured in years. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.

Table 6
Fourth Grade Standardized Test Scores [Terra Nova]: Alternative Specifications

	(1) *Reading*	*(2)* *Math*	*(3)* *Language*	*(4)* *Science*
	Panel A: Unadjusted for Prior Scores			
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship user	0.066	-0.124	0.116	0.004
	(0.054)	(0.055)**	(0.054)**	(0.053)
Non-user	-0.027	0.010	0.047	0.066
	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Rejected applicant	-0.012	-0.041	-0.043	0.089
	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.060)
R-squared	0.09	0.08	0.11	0.13
	Panel B: Intention to Treat Effect			
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship winners	0.009	-0.064	0.050	0.044
(users and non-users)	(0.037)	(0.038)*	(0.039)	(0.037)
Rejected applicant	-0.031	-0.053	-0.062	0.047
	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.047)
R-squared	0.46	0.44	0.41	0.45
	Panel C: Effect of the Treatment on the Treated			
Ref. to rejected applicants:				
Scholarship user	0.072	-0.069	0.111	-0.023
	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.057)*	(0.052)
R-squared	0.44	0.48	0.39	0.48
	Panel D: Dose−Response Effect			
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship user 1 year	0.097	-0.241	0.154	-0.144
	(0.141)	(0.136)*	(0.147)	(0.135)
Scholarship user 2 years	-0.008	-0.044	0.093	0.131
	(0.097)	(0.100)	(0.101)	(0.098)
Scholarship user 3 years	0.127	-0.209	0.107	-0.003
	(0.108)	(0.112)*	(0.113)	(0.111)
Scholarship user 4 years	0.035	-0.145	-0.010	0.037
	(0.086)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Scholarship user 5 years	0.034	-0.085	0.015	0.023
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.052)
Non-user	-0.065	0.044	0.076	0.087
	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.058)
Rejected applicant	-0.031	-0.055	-0.062	0.047
	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.047)
R-squared	0.46	0.44	0.41	0.45
Observations (Panel C)	*812*	*818*	*810*	*820*
Observations (Panels ABD)	*2089*	*2102*	*2085*	*2096*

Notes: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant term not reported. Covariates are as in Table 3: black; Hispanic; female; free lunch; unsubsidized lunch; class size; teacher experience (years). * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.

Table 7
Fourth Grade Standardized Test Scores [Terra Nova]: Black Students Only

	(1) Reading	*(2) Math*	*(3) Language*	*(4) Science*
	Panel A: Adjusted for Prior Scores			
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship user	0.026	-0.189	0.048	-0.059
	(0.061)	(0.061)***	(0.064)	(0.062)
Non-user	-0.095	0.000	0.103	0.097
	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.071)
Rejected applicant	-0.088	-0.053	-0.103	0.053
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.066)	(0.064)
R-squared	0.40	0.39	0.35	0.37
	Panel B: Unadjusted for Prior Scores			
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship user	0.136	-0.171	0.199	-0.016
	(0.077)*	(0.077)**	(0.076)***	(0.077)
Non-user	0.013	0.025	0.124	0.137
	(0.087)	(0.088)	(0.086)	(0.088)
Rejected applicant	-0.044	-0.054	-0.047	0.086
	(0.080)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)
R-squared	0.05	0.04	0.08	0.03
	Panel C: Effect of the Treatment on the Treated			
Ref. to rejected applicants:				
Scholarship user	0.117	-0.139	0.121	-0.108
	(0.076)	(0.071)*	(0.076)	(0.074)
R-squared	0.40	0.46	0.39	0.42
	Panel D: Dose−Response Effect			
Ref. to public school group:				
Scholarship user 1 year	-0.146	-0.415	0.373	-0.099
	(0.239)	(0.220)*	(0.247)	(0.225)
Scholarship user 2 years	0.193	0.243	0.400	0.227
	(0.169)	(0.174)	(0.176)**	(0.178)
Scholarship user 3 years	0.211	-0.248	0.161	0.061
	(0.157)	(0.155)	(0.163)	(0.161)
Scholarship user 4 years	0.030	-0.230	0.150	0.053
	(0.126)	(0.128)*	(0.131)	(0.131)
Scholarship user 5 years	-0.026	-0.210	-0.090	-0.156
	(0.075)	(0.076)***	(0.079)	(0.077)**
Non-user	-0.096	0.000	0.102	0.096
	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.071)
Rejected applicant	-0.087	-0.052	-0.103	0.054
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.066)	(0.064)
R-squared	0.40	0.40	0.36	0.37
Observations (Panel C)	*440*	*444*	*439*	*446*
Observations (Panels ABD)	*1215*	*1220*	*1213*	*1225*

Notes: OLS estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. Constant term not reported. Covariates are as in Table 3 except for black/Hispanic. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.