

Parental Incentives and Early Childhood Achievement: A Field Experiment in Chicago Heights *

Roland G. Fryer, Jr.
Harvard University and NBER

Steven D. Levitt
University of Chicago and NBER

John A. List
University of Chicago and NBER

August 2015

Abstract

This article describes a randomized field experiment in which parents were provided financial incentives to engage in behaviors designed to increase early childhood cognitive and executive function skills through a parent academy. Parents were rewarded for attendance at early childhood sessions, completing homework assignments with their children, and for their child's demonstration of mastery on interim assessments. This intervention had large and statistically significant positive impacts on both cognitive and non-cognitive test scores of Hispanics and Whites, but no impact on Blacks. These differential outcomes across races are not attributable to differences in observable characteristics (e.g. family size, mother's age, mother's education) or to the intensity of engagement with the program. Children with above median (pre-treatment) non cognitive scores accrue the most benefits from treatment.

* Special thanks to Tom Amadio, Superintendent of Chicago Heights, for his leadership and support during this project. Tanaya Devi, Rucha Vankudre, Anya Samek, Eric Anderson, Martha Woerner, and Sara D'Alessandro provided exceptional research assistance and project management support. Correspondence can be addressed to the authors by e-mail at rfryer@fas.harvard.edu [Fryer], slevitt@uchicago.edu [Levitt] or jlist@uchicago.edu [List].

There is no program or policy that can substitute for a mother or father who will attend those parent-teacher conferences or help with the homework or turn off the TV, put away the video games, read to their child. Responsibility for our children's education must begin at home.

--Barack Obama in an address to a Joint Session of Congress 2009

Parental inputs matter. Children quasi-randomly assigned via adoption to highly educated parents and small families are twice as likely to graduate from a college ranked by U.S. News & World Report, have an additional .75 years of schooling, and are 16 percent more likely to complete four years of college (Sacerdote 2007). Black et al (2005) demonstrate that birth order has an important impact on educational attainment, adult earnings, employment, and teenage childbearing. Many believe that the importance of parental inputs – along with the racial and income differences that exists in such inputs – is an important cause of intergenerational inequality (Becker and Tomes 1979).¹

In an effort to increase the quantity and quality of early life experiences and decrease the gaps between race and income groups in these formative years, early education programs have become laboratories of reform.² One potentially cost-effective – and scalable – strategy, not yet tested in America, is providing short-term financial incentives for parents to increase their involvement with their children or exhibit certain behaviors believed to be important for the production of human capital. Theoretically, providing such incentives could have one of three possible effects. First, if low-income parents lack sufficient motivation, heavily discount the future, or lack accurate information on either the educational production function or the returns to parental investment, providing incentives for parental involvement will yield increases in parental participation and potentially child achievement. Second, if parents lack structural resources to convert effort to output, or the production function of child achievement has important complementarities out of their control (e.g. adequate food

¹ There are large racial and income differences in parental inputs. Black children are reared in environments with 58% less books than whites and are less likely to engage in activities such as going to museums (Fryer and Levitt 2004). From birth to kindergarten entry, black children spend 1,300 less hours in conversations with adults than white children (Phillips 2011). Hart and Risley (1995) argue that children from low-income families hear 30 million fewer words than children from high-income families.

² There is a large established literature on the efficacy of early childhood interventions. The evidence on the scalability of these strategies -- due to cost, access, and replicability of results -- is less clear. See Almond and Currie (2010) for an extensive review of the literature. York and Loeb (2014) provide new evidence on the positive effects of a text messaging program for preschoolers designed to help them facilitate literacy development.

supply, safe neighborhoods, or health care), then incentives will have little impact. Third, some argue that financial rewards (or any type of external reward or incentive) crowd out intrinsic motivation and lead to negative outcomes in the long run. Which one of the above effects – investment incentives, structural inequalities, or intrinsic motivation – will dominate is unknown. The experimental estimates obtained in this study will combine elements from these and other potential channels.

In the 2011-2012 school year, we conducted a parental incentive experiment in Chicago Heights – a prototypical low performing urban school district – by starting a parent academy that distributed nearly \$1 million to 257 families (figures include treatment and control).³ There were two treatment groups, which differed only in when families were rewarded, and a control group. Parents in the two treatment groups were paid for attendance at Parent Academy sessions, proof of homework completion, and the performance of their children on benchmark assessments. The only difference between the two treatment groups is that parents in one group were paid in cash or via direct deposits (hereafter the “cash” condition) and parents in the second group received the majority of their incentive payments via deposits into a trust account which can only be accessed if and when the child enrolls in college (the “college” incentive condition). Eleven project managers and staff worked together to ensure that parents understood the particulars of the treatment; that the parent academy program was implemented with high fidelity; and that payments were distributed on-time and accurately.

Across the entire sample, the impact on cognitive test scores of being offered a chance to participate in our parental incentive is 0.119σ (with a standard error of 0.094).⁴ These estimates are non-trivial, but smaller in magnitude than some classroom based interventions. For instance, the impact of Head Start on test scores is approximately 0.145σ . The impact of the Perry Preschool intervention on achievement at 14 years old is 0.203σ . Given the imprecision of the estimates, however, our results are statistically indistinguishable

³ In 2010, we conducted a pilot experiment designed to work out operational and logistical challenges and to write a year-long curriculum. Results from the pilot are provided in Appendix Tables 10-14.

⁴ An important limitation of our field experiment is that it was constructed to detect treatment effects of 0.2 standard deviations or more with eighty percent power. Thus, we are underpowered to estimate effect sizes below this cutoff, many of which could have a positive return on investment. This level of power seemed reasonable *ex ante* given the relatively large effect sizes reported in the early childhood literature (see, e.g., Zaslow et al. 2010).

both from these programs and from zero. The impact of the “college” and “cash” incentive schemes are nearly identical.

The impact of being offered a chance to participate in our parental incentive scheme on non-cognitive skills is large and statistically significant (0.203σ (0.083)). These results are consistent with Kautz et al. (2014), who argue that parental investment is an important contributor to non-cognitive development. Again, the “cash” and “college” schemes yield identical results.

We complement our main statistical analysis by estimating heterogeneous treatment effects across a variety of pre-determined subsamples that we blocked on experimentally. Two stark patterns appear in the data. The first pattern is along racial lines: Hispanics (48 percent of our sample) and Whites (8 percent of the sample) demonstrate large and significant increases in both cognitive and non-cognitive domains. For instance, the impact of our parent academy for Hispanic children is 0.367σ (0.133) on our cognitive score and 0.428σ (0.122) on our non-cognitive score. Among the small sample of Whites, the impacts are 0.932σ (0.353) on cognitive and 0.821σ (0.181) on non-cognitive. The identical estimates for Blacks are actually *negative* but statistically insignificant on both cognitive and non-cognitive dimensions: -0.234σ (0.134) and -0.059σ (0.129), respectively. Importantly, p-values on the differences across races are statistically significant at conventional levels.⁵ We explore a range of possible hypotheses regarding the source of the racial differences (extent of engagement with the program, demographics, English proficiency, pre-treatment scores), but none provide a convincing explanation of the complete effect.

The second pattern of heterogeneity in treatment that we observe in the data relates to pre-treatment test scores. Students who enter our program below the median on non-cognitive skills see no benefits from our intervention in either the cognitive or non-cognitive domain. In stark contrast, students who enter our parent academy above the median in non-cognitive skills experience treatment effects of roughly 0.3 standard deviations on both

⁵ This pattern of racial heterogeneity is a recurring theme in the literature on early childhood achievement. Gentzkow and Shapiro (2008) demonstrate that an additional year of preschool television has marginally significant positive effects on reading and general knowledge scores. However, these effects are the largest for children from households where the primary language is not English and for non-white children. Currie and Thomas (1999) report that Head Start pre-school closes at least one-fourth of the gap in test scores between Latino children and non-Hispanic white children, and two-thirds of the gap in the probability of grade repetition. The Parents as Teachers program, which is a parent education program that is designed to strengthen parent’s knowledge of child development and help prepare their children for school, has larger effects on Latino families than on non-Latino families (Wagner and Clayton 1999).

cognitive and non-cognitive dimensions. If we segment children by both cognitive and non-cognitive pre-treatment scores, the greatest gains are made on both the cognitive and non-cognitive dimension by students who start the program *above* the median on non-cognitive skills and *below* the median on cognitive skills. A similar complementary between cognitive and non-cognitive skills has been observed in observational studies (Weinberger 2014).

The remainder of our paper is structured as follows. Section II gives a brief review of the experimental literature on parental incentives. Section III provides some details of our experiment and its implementation. Section IV details the data, research design, and estimating equations used in our analysis. Section V presents estimates of the impact of parental incentives on a child's cognitive and non-cognitive skills. Section VI provides some discussion and speculation about potential theories that might explain the differences between racial groups in estimated treatment effects. There are two online appendices. Appendix A is an implementation supplement that provides details on the timing of our experimental roll-out and critical milestones reached. Appendix B is a data appendix that provides details on how we construct our covariates and our samples from the data collected for the purposes of this study.

II. A Brief Literature Review on Parental Incentives for Achievement

This paper lies at the intersection of several literatures: (1) early childhood interventions such as Perry Pre-School or Head Start; (2) parental education interventions such as Parents as Teachers; and (3) a small literature on parental incentives. An extensive review of the first of these literatures is provided by Almond and Currie (2010). Likewise, Nye et al. (2006) provide a systematic review of the second literature. Interested readers are directed to those studies for excellent work in these two areas. We are not aware of a parallel survey on the emerging literature on parental incentives to increase educational achievement (e.g. Fryer 2011, Middleton et al. 2005, Skoufias 2005, Attanasio et al. 2005, Chaudhury and Parajuli 2006 and Kremer, Miguel and Thornton 2009).

The most well-known and well analyzed incentive program for parents is PROGRESA, which was an experiment conducted in Mexico in 1998 that provided cash incentives linked to health, nutrition, and education. The largest component of PROGRESA was linked to school attendance and enrollment. The program provided cash payments to mothers in targeted households to keep their children in school (Skoufias 2005). As a part of

the program, households could receive up to \$62.50 per month if children attended school regularly. The average amount of incentives received by treatment households in the first two years of treatment was \$34.80, which was 21% of an average household's income. Besides school attendance, PROGRESA also emphasized actual student achievement by making a child ineligible for the program if she failed a grade more than once (Skoufias 2005, Slavin et al. 2009).

Schultz (2000) reports that PROGRESA had a positive impact on school enrollment for both boys and girls in primary and secondary school. For primary school children, PROGRESA increased school enrollment for boys by 1.1 percentage points and 1.5 percentage points for girls from a baseline level of approximately 90 percent. For secondary school students, enrollment increased by 7.2 to 9.3 percentage points for boys and 3.5 to 5.8 percentage points for girls, from a baseline level of approximately 70%. The author also reports that PROGRESA had an accumulated effect of 0.66 years additional schooling for a student from the average poor household. Taking the baseline level of schooling at face value, PROGRESA's 0.66 years accumulated effect translates into a 10% increase in schooling attainment.⁶

Opportunity NYC – modeled after PROGRESA – was an experimental conditional cash transfer program that was conducted in New York City. The program had three components: the Family Rewards component that gave incentives to parents to fulfill responsibilities towards their children; the Work Rewards component that gave incentives for families to work; and the Spark component that gave student incentives to increase achievement scores in classes. The program began in August 2007 and ended in August 2010 (Silva 2008).

Riccio et al. (2013) analyze data from the Family Rewards component of the program during the first two years of treatment. Their analysis is based on 4,800 families with 11,000 children out of which half were assigned to treatment and the other half to control. Opportunity NYC spent \$8,700 per family in treatment over three years. The program had an insignificant impact on school outcomes (Riccio et al. 2013). The children's award

⁶ Behrman, Sengupta, and Todd (2001) also analyze the data and report that PROGRESA children entered school at an earlier age, had less grade repetition, and better grade progression. Treatment children also had lower dropout rates and once dropped out, they had a higher chance of re-entry into high school.

experiment, analyzed in Fryer (2011), showed no impact on student achievement or attainment.

Fryer and Holden (2012) conduct a field experiment in fifty Houston public schools designed to understand the impact of aligning teacher, student, and parent incentives on a common goal: raising math achievement. On outcomes for which they provided direct incentives, there were very large and statistically significant treatment effects. Students in treatment schools mastered more than one standard deviation more math objectives, parents attended twice as many parent-teacher meetings, and student achievement increased. Aligned incentives have a large impact on the inputs for which incentives were provided and a corresponding positive impact on math achievement and *negative* impact on reading achievement. Moreover, the achievement effects persist two years after removing the incentives.

III. Program Details and Research Design

The field experiment was conducted in Chicago Heights, IL. Chicago Heights lies 10 square miles south of Chicago. According to the 2010 Census, the population is 30, 276; nearly 80% of which is either black or Hispanic. Per capita income is \$17,546 and the median home value is \$125,400. 90% of students in the Chicago Heights School District receive free or reduced price lunch.

Table 1 provides a birds-eye view of our experiment and its implementation. Online Appendix A gives further program and implementation details. The experiment followed standard implementation protocols. First, we built a partnership with the superintendent of the Chicago Heights School District, who supported our recruiting efforts and helped to secure space for the experiment.

Second, we ran a large local marketing campaign to inform and enroll parents in the experiment. This included sending five direct mailings to the roughly 2,000 target families, as well as a single mailing to families with older children enrolled in the local school district, District 170, who might help refer target families (approximately 7,500), and to the community at large (approximately 12,000). We collaborated with superintendents from neighboring districts to perform robo-calls to families in their communities providing information about the experiment. We distributed information about the program through

district leadership staff, newspapers, and phone calls. We also held three information sessions, six registration events, and more than ten community events.

Third, we selected the curriculum to be used in our treatment. We searched for existing curricula that would teach parents to help their children with both cognitive skills (such as spelling and counting) as well as non-cognitive skills (such as memory and self-control). It is unusual for a curriculum to address both of these areas. Moreover, there are very few parent curricula that have been evaluated by randomized control trials. None of the reviewed curricula fulfilled the requirements of the project, so we had to create a curriculum. We decided to take two effective pre-school curricula, one that emphasizes cognitive skills (Literacy Express) and another that focuses on non-cognitive skills (Tools of the Mind), and use them as a guide to develop the Parent Academy curriculum. Appendix A describes our selection process. All sessions were taught by the same teacher (in English). One session of each lesson had a Spanish translator present for parents who had difficulty with English.

Fourth, we identified the appropriate assessments to be used in the experiment. To do so, we evaluated norm-referenced assessment batteries currently being used in the social sciences, conducted a series of interviews with experts in early childhood and developmental psychology, and hosted a two-day conference at the University of Chicago where leading experts convened to discuss assessment strategies. From this process, we decided to administer two assessments designed to measure cognitive ability and two assessments to measure non-cognitive skills.

The cognitive assessments consist of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) and the Woodcock Johnson III Test of Achievement (WJ-III). PPVT is a leading measure of receptive vocabulary for standard English (resp. Spanish) and a screening test of verbal ability. It is a norm-referenced standardized assessment that can be used with subjects aged 2-90 years old (Dunn et al. 1965). The WJ-III is a set of tests for measuring general intellectual ability, specific cognitive abilities, oral language, and academic achievement. It is a norm-referenced standardized assessment that can be used with subjects aged 2-80 years old (Woodcock, McGrew, and Mather 2001).

The non-cognitive assessments consist of the Blair and Willoughby Measures of Executive Function and the Preschool Self-Regulation Assessment. The Blair and Willoughby Measures of Executive Function includes a battery of executive function tasks including “Operation Span” – which measures the construct of working memory, asking

children to identify and remember pictures of animals – and “Spatial Conflict II: Arrows” – which measures the construct of inhibitory control, asking children to match 37 arrow cards in sequence (Willoughby, Wirth and Blair 2012). The Preschool Self-Regulation Assessment is designed to assess self-regulation in emotional, attentional, and behavioral domains.

This battery of assessments was given at the beginning of the program to obtain an accurate profile of each student, and was then given at the end of each semester. Each assessment was administered (blind to treatment) by a team of administrators who all held Bachelor’s degrees and were trained in assessment implementation. It was graded by pen and paper and then coded electronically.

Research Design

We use a simple, single draw, block randomization procedure to partition the set of interested families into treatment and control. A total of 260 subjects, including siblings, participated in the lottery and were randomly assigned to one of our two treatments or to the control group.⁷ 74 families were selected to be in treatment one (“cash”), 84 to be in treatment two (“college”), and the remaining 99 served as the control group.

For those who were randomized into one of our two treatment groups, 90 minute Parent Academy sessions were held every two weeks over a nine month period, for a total of eighteen sessions. Both parents were encouraged to attend and onsite child care services were provided free of charge to encourage attendance.

Parent Academy families had the opportunity to earn up to \$7,000 a year and could participate until their children entered kindergarten. Participants were given \$100 per session for attendance if they arrived on time or less than 5 minutes after the session began. They received \$50 for being “tardy” or arriving between 5 and 30 minutes late. No payment was given if they arrived more than 30 minutes late or not at all. Rewards for attendance were paid in cash or via direct deposit in both of our treatment groups.

⁷ Families with children in the pilot program who returned for 2011-2012 were guaranteed a spot; these families were not part of the randomization and not analyzed in this paper. Families with multiple siblings in the program were included in the program, but are excluded from our analysis because if one sibling was randomized into treatment, both siblings were assigned to treatment. This means that siblings had a greater chance of getting access to our program than singletons, distorting the randomization. Excluding multiple siblings is common practice in lottery-based education evaluations (Angrist et al 2010 and Dobbie and Fryer 2011). There were three such families in our study; all six of these children ended up in the “college” treatment arm. Therefore, the final experimental sample consisted of 254 individuals – 74 “cash”, 81 “college” and 99 “control”.

Each participant in the Parent Academy was also given a variety of assignments designed to reinforce the learning objectives of the sessions. Some of these assignments asked the parents to submit videos of themselves working with their children while others simply asked them to hand in their assignments in the upcoming session. For homework incentives, parents received \$100, \$60, \$30, or \$0 depending upon whether they received an A, B, C, or I (incomplete) grade on their homework assignment. These payments were made via cash/direct deposit in our “Cash” treatment. In our “College” treatment, the homework incentives were deposited into account that cannot be accessed until parents provide proof that the child is enrolled in a full-time postsecondary institution.⁸

There were 18 sessions and 17 homework assignments. Thus, a parent with perfect attendance and “A” quality homework for every assignment earned \$3,500. The remainder of the incentive payment was based on each child’s assessments. Children were given a major assessment at the end of each semester and multiple shorter assessments to test whether homework assignments were being completed, and whether they were effective. Parents could earn up to \$1800 a year for interim evaluations based on the child’s performance. Finally, parents could earn up to \$1600 in total for the two major end-of-semester assessments. As was the case with homework payments, the “Cash” treatment received assessment payments via cash/direct deposit; the “college” treatment had the funds deposited into an account to be accessed only upon the child’s enrollment in college.

Those families that were randomly assigned to the control group did not have access to Parent Academy sessions. They received no training or guidance from us. They were, however, awarded \$100 to incentivize them to complete the end-of-semester assessments.

IV. Data and Econometrics

A. Data

All data used in our analysis was collected for the purposes of this study.⁹ We began by collecting demographic data about children when families registered for the experiment. Parent demographic data were collected when children took their pre-assessments in May

⁸ Parents in this group get biennial reports with a reminder of the steps required to receive payment. While we encourage parents to apply the payment to help pay for college, there is no legal obligation for the parents to do so.

⁹ Appendix Table 2 provides a timeline for data collection.

2011, prior to the randomization. Data on children’s assessment scores were collected in the middle of the treatment year (January 2012) and at the end of treatment (May 2012).

Our main outcome variables are the series of assessments described above. The composite cognitive score was calculated as the average of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test score and the Woodcock Johnson III Test of Achievement scores. Observations with any of the individual assessment scores missing were given a missing cognitive score.¹⁰ The non-cognitive scores were calculated as the average of the Blair and Willoughby Executive Function scores and the Preschool Self-Regulation Assessment score. Similar to cognitive scores, observations with any of the individual assessment scores missing were given a missing non-cognitive score.

We use a parsimonious set of controls to aid in precision and to correct for any potential imbalance between treatment and control. The most important controls are pre-treatment cognitive and non-cognitive test scores, which we include in all regressions along with their squares. Baseline cognitive test scores are available for 76.4 percent of the sample. The corresponding number for baseline non cognitive scores is 95.7 percent. For observations missing baseline test scores, we substitute these with a value of 0 and include a missing indicator that is 1 when a baseline score is missing and 0 when it is not. Note that pre-treatment testing was done prior to randomization, so there is no differential selection between treatment and controls on this dimension.

Other individual level controls include a mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive set of race dummies, child’s gender, child’s age and mother’s age. Race is taken from demographic data collected during family registrations. Parents were asked for the date of birth of each child at the same time; from this we construct each child’s age. Mother’s age was taken from a parent demographic survey.

We also administered mid-year and end-of-year parent investment surveys to all program participants. All participants were given a \$25 incentive to show up to an assessment and complete the parent incentive survey. Data from the surveys include information on parental investment in terms of number of hours spent per weekday teaching

¹⁰ The majority of missing assessments is due to families being absent on assessment days, not selective test taking conditional upon attending. The probability of a child missing all cognitive assessments, conditional on missing one, is 0.857. Similarly, the probability of a child missing all non-cognitive assessments, conditional on missing any one, is 0.984. Appendix Table 9 investigates covariates for our sample without this restriction. All the results remain qualitatively similar to results that we get by applying the restriction.

their child; and beliefs about their child in terms of how they ranked relative to other children their age in reading and math skills.

Given the combination of data collected at different times over the course of a year, sample sizes will differ for various outcomes tested, due to missing data. Table 2 provides an accounting of sample sizes across various outcomes. For instance, the bottom panel of Table 2 demonstrates that 76% of the experimental sample have at least one valid end of year test score. This amounts to 79.8% of the control group, 78.4% of the cash treatment group and 69.1% of the college treatment group.

Below we detail our main experimental estimates, which come from a standard treatment effects model of the form $Y_i = g(\cdot) + \varepsilon_i$, where we use Z as an indicator for assignment to our parent academy treatment. Our inference hinges on random treatment assignment, which implies $E(\varepsilon_i | Z_i) = 0$. Table 3 examines observed differences between individuals assigned to treatment and individuals assigned to control. All covariates are balanced between the treatment groups and between treatment and control; no p-values are statistically significant. A joint F-test that all differences between means are equal to zero has a p-value of 0.723.

Roughly one-fourth of our subjects do not have final assessment scores. Ultimately, it is this sample of the data (what we term the “analysis sample”) for which we require $E(\varepsilon_i | Z_i) = 0$. Therefore, we report summary statistics by treatment conditional on having a year-end test score in the final four columns of Table 3. The treatment and control samples remain balanced on all baseline covariates. A joint F-test that all coefficients are equal to zero has a p-value of 0.835. This does not preclude unobserved differences between the groups (see section V.II of this paper for further discussion), but at least demonstrates there are not obvious disparate patterns in who is showing up for the assessments across treatments.

B. Econometric model

We estimate two empirical models – Intent-to-Treat (ITT) effects and Local Average Treatment Effects (LATE) – which provide a set of causal estimates on the effect of parental incentives on early childhood cognitive and non-cognitive achievement. The ITT effect, τ_{ITT} , is estimated from the equation below:

$$(1) \quad Y_i = \alpha + \tau_{ITT} \cdot Z_i + f(Y_{i,T-1}) + \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i$$

where Z_i is an indicator for assignment to any parent academy treatment and let X_i be a vector of control variables consisting of demographic variables in Table 3, and let $f(\cdot)$ represent a polynomial including baseline cognitive and non-cognitive scores prior to the start of treatment and their squares. Y_i represents the outcome variable while $Y_{i,T-1}$ represents the pre-treatment value of the outcome variable.

The ITT is an average of the causal effects for children whose parents signed up to participate in the parental incentive program and were randomly selected for treatment or control. Put differently, ITT provides an estimate of the impact of being *offered* the chance to participate in a parental incentive program. We only include children in treatment and control who were randomly assigned. All parent mobility after random assignment is ignored.

Under several assumptions (that treatment assignment is random, that being assigned to treatment has a monotonic impact on Parent Academy enrollment, and that being selected for treatment affects outcomes through its effect on Parent Academy enrollment), we can also estimate the causal impact of *attending* the Parents Academy. This parameter, commonly known as the Local Average Treatment Effect (LATE), measures the average effect of attending the Parent Academy on children whose parents attended as a result of being assigned to treatment (Angrist and Imbens 1995).

The LATE parameter, *ATTEND*, can be estimated through a two-stage least squares regression of child achievement on parental attendance in the Parent Academy, using the lottery offer Z_i as an instrumental variable for the first stage regression. The second-stage equations of the two-stage least squares estimates therefore take the following form:

$$(2) \quad Y_i = \alpha + \Omega ATTEND_i + f(Y_{i,T-1}) + \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i$$

and the first stage equation is:

$$(3) \quad ATTEND_i = \alpha + \lambda Z_i + f(Y_{i,T-1}) + \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i,$$

where all other variables are defined in the same way as in Equation (1). λ measures the impact of treatment assignment on the probability of attending the Parent Academy. We

estimate equations (2) and (3) using a continuous variable measuring the fraction of sessions parents were attendance at Parent Academy in 2011-2012. Therefore, *ATTEND* takes all values between 0 and 1.

There is a powerful first stage effect of being assigned to treatment on Parent Academy attendance. None of the parents assigned to the control group attended any of the Parent Academy session, compared to 88 percent of those who were assigned to “cash” treatment and 81 percent of those assigned to “college” treatment. Forty nine percent of parents who were assigned to “cash” treatment and 41 percent of parents assigned to “college” treatment attend all sessions. Appendix Table 3 presents formal first stage estimates. All first stage coefficients are large, positive, and statistically significant. The coefficients differ slightly between regressions as the sample being considered changes size according to non-missing outcome variables; F statistics range from 156.532 to 870.232.¹¹

V. Experimental Results

Table 4 presents ITT and LATE estimates of the impact of parental incentives on end-of-year measures of cognitive and non-cognitive skills.¹² All results are presented in standard deviation units. Standard errors, corrected for heteroskedasticity, are in parentheses beneath each estimate.

The impact of parental incentives on cognitive achievement is statistically zero, but not trivial in size. The LATE estimate for families in the cash condition is 0.079σ (0.109) and 0.184σ (0.120) for individuals in the college condition; the pooled estimate is 0.131σ (0.099). Using the cost-benefit framework in Krueger (2003), one can show that effect sizes as low as 0.10σ have a return on investment approximately equal to 5%.

In contrast, the impact of parental incentives on non-cognitive skills is larger and statistically significant. The LATE estimate for the “cash” condition is 0.225σ (0.104) and 0.217σ (0.104) for the “college” condition. These results are consistent with Kautz et al. (2014), who argue that parental investment is an important contributor to non-cognitive development.

¹¹ Appendix Figure 1 plots the distribution of the number of sessions of Parent Academy attendance by treatment assignment.

¹² We also conducted mid-year assessments. The pattern of point estimates are consistent with those of the assessments done at year end, but are generally smaller in magnitude, as would be expected. Full results for the mid-year assessments are available in Appendix Table 4.

These overall results mask interesting heterogeneity among subsamples of the population that we blocked to observe. This fact is demonstrated in Table 5, which presents LATE estimates, pooling the “cash” and “college” results, for different groups in the sample. Rows (2)-(4) of Table 5 divide our sample along racial lines into Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites. We obtain negative, but statistically insignificant treatment effects on Blacks for both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes, i.e. Blacks in our treatment groups, on average, fared worse than Blacks in the control group, but the effect is not significant at conventional levels.

In stark contrast, Hispanic students demonstrate remarkable increases in both cognitive (0.367σ ; 0.133) and non-cognitive (0.428σ ; 0.122) scores. For the small sample of Whites, the point estimates are even larger (0.932σ ; 0.353) on cognitive and (0.821σ ; 0.181) on non-cognitive, both of which are again statistically significant at conventional levels. Equality of the Black scores and the other races are easily rejected.¹³ We consider this to be one of the most intriguing findings in the paper and explore possible explanations for the result in Section VII.

The differences along gender lines, shown in the second panel of the table, are more muted. The point estimates are similar on cognitive scores. In the non-cognitive domain, point estimates are larger for girls, but not statistically significantly so.

When we divide our sample along three dimensions that may correlate with differential likelihoods of being at risk for parental underinvestment (i.e. by family income, mother’s age, number of siblings), the coefficients suggest our experiment was more effective for children in higher risk groups.¹⁴ Due to missing data along each of these

¹³ Hispanics and Whites continue to outperform Blacks when we take into account the probability of making one or more false discoveries – known as type I errors – when performing multiple hypothesis tests, using a step-down algorithm as described by Romano and Wolf (2005) and Romano, Shaikh and Wolf (2008).

¹⁴ Parent’s income is collected from the Parent Demographic Survey we conducted. This variable is categorical (see the data appendix for details). Per capita income for Chicago Heights is \$17, 546. The median category of income in our experimental sample is “3” which represents income values between \$16,000 and \$25,000. The experimental sample is divided into two subsamples – observations with income categories above or equal to median value of “3”, and observations with income categories below median value of “3”. Mother’s age is collected from the same Parent Demographic Survey. The mean mother’s age in the experimental sample is 31.40 years and the median is 31 years. For the subsamples table, we divide the experimental sample into two subsamples – observations with mother’s age above or equal to the median value of 31 years, and observations with mother’s age below the median value of 31 years. We also create subsamples based on the number of children in the household. This variable measures the total number of children between ages 0 – 18 that live in the household, including the child in the parent incentive program. The mean number of children living in a household present in the experimental sample is 2.46 and the median is 2. The sample is split in the manner above – observations with number of children in the household greater than the median value of 2 and

dimensions, the number of observations does not add up to the total sample size. The effects are greater for young mothers and families with below median income. Family size has a less clear cut impact.

The final panel of Table 5 divides the sample by test score prior to the experiment. The point estimates suggest that children who start with *below* average cognitive scores derive a greater benefit in the cognitive domain from our treatment. Pre-treatment cognitive scores do not have a large impact on non-cognitive gains. An even sharper pattern emerges with respect to pre-treatment non-cognitive scores. Students who enter the program *above* the median in non-cognitive experience large gains in both cognitive and non-cognitive skills. In stark contrast, those who start below the median in non-cognitive gain nothing from the program. One interpretation of this result is that sufficiently developed non-cognitive skills are a necessary input for learning.¹⁵

The last four rows of the table sort students simultaneously on both their cognitive and non-cognitive pre-scores (i.e., four groups corresponding to above the median on both, below the median on both, or one above and one below). The greatest gains on both dimensions accrue to the students who start high on non-cognitive and low on cognitive. These students have treatment effects of 0.343σ (0.169) on cognitive and 0.469σ (0.146) on non-cognitive. Those who start high on cognitive and low on non-cognitive skills actually experience significantly negative treatment effects on cognitive from our program and show no benefit on non-cognitive.

V.II Robustness to Attrition

As noted earlier, roughly one-fourth of the students in our randomization are missing final scores. Table 6 shows that the frequency of missing outcomes varies somewhat across treatment assignment. Children in the “cash” treatment, for instance, are 5.9 (6.7) percentage points *less* likely to be missing a score while children in “college” are 3.9

observations with number of children in the household less than or equal to 2. The final split of samples is done according to pre-treatment scores. In the top panel of Table 5 where the outcome variable is standardized end year cognitive score, the splitting is done on the basis of the median pre-treatment cognitive score. In the bottom panel, where the outcome variable is standardized end year non-cognitive score, the splitting is done on the basis of the median pre-treatment non-cognitive score.

¹⁵ There are, of course, other explanations. For instance, if there is a strong genetic component to non-cognitive skills, than students with low non-cognitive skills will also tend to have parents with low non-cognitive skills. Parents with low non-cognitive skills might themselves be ineffective learners or ineffective teachers of their children.

(6.8) percentage points *more* likely to be missing a score. Pooling both treatments, children in treatment are 0.8 (5.8) percentage points *less* likely to be missing an end year cognitive score. For end year non-cognitive assessments, the cash treatment group is 1.2 (6.7) percentage points more likely to be missing a score while the college treatment group is 8.5 (6.6) percentage points more likely to be missing a score. Pooling both treatments, the treatment group is 4.7 (5.2) percentage points more likely to be missing a non-cognitive score. If children who are missing cognitive or non-cognitive scores differ in important ways between treatment and control, our estimates may be biased.

There are many ways of accounting for attrition (Lee 2009). One popular approach among economists is that of Lee (2009), which calculates conservative bounds on the true treatment effects under the assumption that attrition is driven by the same forces in treatment and control, but that there are differential attrition rates in the two samples. Under the Lee method, children are selectively dropped from either the treatment or control group to equalize response rates. Specifically, this is accomplished by regressing the outcome variable on all controls and treatment status. When the probability of missing an outcome is higher for the control group, then treatment children with the *highest* residuals are dropped. When the probability of missing an outcome is higher for the treatment group, then control children with the *lowest* residuals are dropped. In our case, however, because the attrition rates are quite similar between treatment and control the impact on our estimates is small. The pooled cognitive estimates are unaffected; the non-cognitive estimates shrink by roughly 25 percent, but are still statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level (see Table 7).

A more pernicious form of attrition bias occurs when the reasons for attrition differ across treatment and control groups. For instance, if the lowest gaining children are systematically missing from final assessments in the treatment group (e.g. because dishonest researchers could identify these children in advance and not invite them to take the final assessment), but the highest gaining children go unassessed in the control group, then the attrition bias can be extreme. Given that there were no obvious observable dimensions on which the missing students differed in Table 3, we have no reason to suspect this sort of differential selection is at work. As one check on this possibility, we utilize the fact that we conducted interim tests halfway through the program. We compute the test score changes from pre-treatment to interim testing among all students who showed up for the interim

test, but not for the final assessments, looking for systematic differences across those in treatment versus control.

Empirical results are displayed in Appendix Table 15. Sample sizes are small (there are less than 30 students in total, split about evenly across treatment and control, who take the interim test but not the final assessment) and the results are indeterminate. On cognitive scores, gains between pre-treatment and the midterm by treatment group students who later attrite are larger than among the corresponding group of control students. For non-cognitive scores, the reverse is true. Thus, there is no definitive pattern of systematic attrition.

Nonetheless, it must be noted that with attrition rates like the ones we have in our sample (roughly one-fourth), any formal bounding technique which takes a pessimistic stance with respect to the source of attrition (e.g. giving every missing treatment student a score one standard deviation below the mean and giving every missing control student a score one standard deviation above the mean) would negate any positive findings of our treatment.

VII. Understanding Racial Differences in Treatment Effectiveness

As noted above, we obtain large and statistically significant differences in treatment effects between Blacks and others. In this section, we provide a more speculative discussion of what may explain the racial differences in treatment effects, focusing mostly on the gap between Blacks and Hispanics because our sample of Whites is so small. We explore a series of hypotheses in turn.

Did Black parents invest less heavily in the program?

One simple explanation for racial differences would be lesser engagement on the part of Black parents. The top panel of Table 8 explores this hypothesis. Each row of the table corresponds to a different measure of parental engagement. Column (1) reports means for the entire sample and columns (2) and (3) for Blacks and Hispanics, respectively. The final column presents a p-value of the null hypothesis of equality across columns (2) and (3). Blacks attend slightly more sessions than Hispanics, but are slightly worse on the other four dimensions we measure (tardiness, homework completed, average homework grade, and average amount of payment received for homework). None of the differences are

statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level, and the economic magnitude of the differences are small. For example, black parents turn in 0.06 fewer homework assignments on average.

Is race simply a proxy for other observable characteristics?

In the sensitivity analysis shown in Table 5, we found that certain types of children derived more benefit from our program (e.g. when they start with high non-cognitive scores or come from low-income families). To the extent that these characteristics are correlated with race, Hispanic status may not directly affect treatment outcomes, but rather only be correlated with treatment outcomes through these mediating factors. We explore this hypothesis in two ways. First, we present summary statistics by race in the bottom panel of Table 8. Hispanic mothers are almost three years younger on average than Black mothers (this difference is statistically significant), but none of the measures of income, family size, or pre-treatment test scores are very different. Second, we more formally examine the impact of these covariates in Table 9. Each column of Table 9 corresponds to a different regression specification. The dependent variable is the cognitive year-end test score in the first three columns and the non-cognitive year end test score in columns 4-6. In each case, we include treatment dummies, race dummies, all covariates from Table 3 and an interaction between treatment and Black that picks up the difference in treatment effects between Blacks and the rest of the sample. The first and fourth columns include no family based controls. The second and fifth columns add the controls in the second panel of Table 8. The third and sixth column includes both controls and interactions between the controls and Black. The coefficient of interest is the interaction between Black and treatment – the differential treatment effect on Blacks.

If differences in observable characteristics help explain the racial patterns, then the coefficients in the top row will shrink moving from columns 1 to 3 and from columns 4 to 6. As can be seen in the table, however, the inclusion of these controls has little impact on that parameter estimate. For instance, moving from column 1 to 2 slightly increases the estimate by 2.71 percent. The additional covariates in column 3 have no significant impact whatsoever. For non-cognitive, the pattern is similar, with covariates explaining only 5.21 percent of the gap between Blacks and others.

Can selection on unobservables explain why Blacks do so poorly in our program?

Altonji et al. (2000) describe a way to quantify the amount of selection bias on unobservables required to make treatment effects insignificant. Their main assumption is that selection on unobservables is equal to selection on observables. This helps us calculate how strong implied selection bias on unobservables would need to be to make the differences between Blacks and Hispanics insignificant. A way to represent the bias is to write it as a ratio of the main ITT effect divided by the implied bias. Appendix Table 7 shows that the implied ratio for Hispanics shows that the bias caused by unobservables has to be 10.149 times what it now is to be able to make the treatment effect on cognitive score statistically insignificant. The corresponding implied ratio for non-cognitive score is almost 148. This suggests selection on unobservables is unlikely to explain the pattern of racial effects we observe.

Do the pattern of outcomes across different components of the test provide any clues regarding the racial differences?

Thus far, we have presented only summary measures for cognitive and non-cognitive scores. Disaggregating the tests into their underlying components might potentially shed light on why Black performance lags if the racial differences were concentrated in particular areas. In actuality, however, the racial differences appear across the board.¹⁶ The treatment effect on Blacks is smaller in every sub-component of both the cognitive and non-cognitive tests, and statistically significantly so for the majority of these components. Thus, a disaggregation of test scores proves not to be elucidating on this dimension.

The “home language theory”

Prior research has found that early childhood interventions have had a greater impact on households where English is not spoken at home. Currie and Thomas (1999) show that Head Start pre-schools impact native born Hispanics and Mexicans more than foreign-born Hispanics.¹⁷ Wagner and Clayton (1999) find that children of Latina mothers derived greater benefit from the Parents as Teachers program, and children of Spanish speaking Latinas

¹⁶ For full results, see Appendix Tables 5 and 6.

¹⁷ For example, in the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, the effect of Head Start pre-schools compared to other pre-schools is 9.88 for native-born Hispanics while it is 2.21 for foreign born Hispanics. Among foreign born Hispanics, children who spoke Spanish at home did better than children who spoke English at home. The corresponding estimates are 18.22 and 1.15 in the same test.

benefitted most.¹⁸ Gentzkow and Shapiro (2008) show that television viewing among pre-school children increases standardized test scores by 0.0157 for children who speak English at home and 0.0766 for those who do not speak English at home.

While this cannot explain the strong performance of Whites in our program, it may account for some of the differences between Blacks and Hispanics. We therefore investigate differences in treatment effectiveness for Hispanic children who speak English at home versus children who speak mainly Spanish at home in Appendix Table 8. Our findings with respect to cognitive scores are entirely consistent with the home language hypothesis: the pooled treatment effect for Spanish speaking Hispanics is $0.424\sigma(0.162)$ while for English speaking Hispanics the point estimate is $-0.029\sigma(0.205)$.

The home language theory cannot, however, explain racial differences in treatment effects on non-cognitive skills. English speaking Hispanics actually have larger point estimates for non-cognitive scores ($0.573\sigma(0.242)$) than Spanish speaking Hispanics ($0.293\sigma(0.136)$), although these differences are not statistically significant (p -value= 0.313.) Compared to English speaking Blacks, English speaking Hispanics do significantly better on non-cognitive outcomes with the p -value of the difference in treatment effects between the two groups equal to 0.022.

VIII. Conclusions

There is a large literature demonstrating a robust correlation between parental inputs and student achievement (Nye, Schwartz and Turner 2006). We demonstrate that providing financial incentives (and a curriculum) to families to engage in activities with their children that stimulate both cognitive and non-cognitive growth, has a modest and statistically insignificant effect on cognitive scores and a large and statistically significant impact on non-cognitive achievement. Estimates of the effects separately by race reveals that Hispanic and White students do extremely well as a result of the intervention, but that Blacks gain nothing.

We explore a range of hypotheses that might explain these racial differences, finding little support for any of them except that speaking Spanish at home is associated with large

¹⁸ As was the case for Blacks in our sample, in the Parents as Teachers study, children of non-Latina mothers actually score lower than their control group counterparts.

cognitive gains for Hispanics (similar to Currie and Thomas (1999) and Gentzkow and Shapiro (2008)). Yet, we are unable with that theory to explain the large racial differences in non-cognitive growth, or the strong cognitive impact of the program on Whites. We also find that program effects are concentrated among those who have strong non-cognitive skills when entering the program, especially those students who also test poorly in the cognitive domain upon entry.

Our study demonstrates the viability of a new approach to early education: financially rewarding parents for attending a parent academy and investing in their children as a homework assignment. At the same time, our findings raise important public policy implications due to the enormous heterogeneity we observe in treatment effects.

References

- Altonji, J. G., Elder, T. E., & Taber, C. R. 2000. *Selection on observed and unobserved variables: Assessing the effectiveness of Catholic schools* (No. w7831). National bureau of economic research.
- 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(2), 239-243.
- Angrist, J., & Imbens, G. 1995. Identification and estimation of local average treatment effects.
- Almond, Douglas and Janet Currie. 2010. "Human Capital Development before Age Five." *Handbook of Labor Economics Volume 4b*. Chapter 15, pp. 1315-1486.
- Attanasio, O., Battistin, E., Fitzsimons, E., & Vera-Hernandez, M. 2005. How effective are conditional cash transfers? Evidence from Colombia.
- de Barros, R. P. 2009. *Measuring inequality of opportunities in Latin America and the Caribbean*. World Bank Publications.
- Behrman, Jere, Pilali Segupta, and Petra Todd. 2001. "Progressing through PROGRESA: An impact assessment of a school subsidy experiment". Pier Working Paper No. 01-033.
- Black, Sandra E., Paul J. Devereux, and Kjell G. Salvanes. 2005. The more the merrier? The effect of family size and birth order on children's education. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 669-70.
- Chaudhury, Nazmul, and Dilip Parajuli. 2006. Conditional cash transfers and female schooling: the impact of the female school stipend program on public school enrollments in Punjab, Pakistan. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (4102).
- Currie, Janet, & Duncan Thomas. 1999. "Does Head Start help Hispanic children?". *Journal of Public Economics*, 74(2), 235-262.
- Dobbie, Will, and Roland G. Fryer Jr. 2011. Are high-quality schools enough to increase achievement among the poor? Evidence from the Harlem Children's Zone. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 158-187.
- Dobbie, Will, & Roland G. Fryer Jr. (*forthcoming*). "The medium-term impacts of charter schools," *Journal of Political Economy*.

- Dunn, Lloyd M., Leota M. Dunn, Stephan Bulheller, and Hartmut Häcker. 1965. *Peabody picture vocabulary test*. Circle Pines, MN: American Guidance Service.
- Fryer, Roland G. 2011. "Financial Incentives and Student Achievement: Evidence from Randomized Trials." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(4): 1755-1798.
- Fryer, Roland G, and Richard Holden. 2012. "Multitasking, Incentives, and Learning: A Cautionary Tale. *NBER WP No. 17752*.
- Fryer, Roland G, and Steven D. Levitt. 2004. "Understanding the Black-White Test Score Gap in the First Two Years of School." *Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- Gentzkow, Matthew, and Jesse M. Shapiro. 2008. Preschool television viewing and adolescent test scores: Historical evidence from the Coleman study. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 279-323.
- Hart, Betty and Todd R. Risley. 1995. Meaningful differences in the everyday experience of young American children. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing.
- Kautz, Tim, James J. Heckman, Ron Diris, Bas Ter Weel, and Lex Borghans. 2014. "Fostering and Measuring Skills: Improving Cognitive and Non-cognitive Skills to Promote Lifetime Success", *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 110, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- Kremer, Michael, Edward Miguel, and Rebecca Thornton. 2009. Incentives to learn. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 91(3), 437-456.
- Krueger, Alan B. 2003. "Economic considerations and class size". *The Economic Journal*, 113(485), F34-F63.
- Lee, David S. 2009. "Training, wages, and sample selection: Estimating sharp bounds on treatment effects". *The Review of Economic Studies*, 76(3), 1071-1102.
- Middleton, Sue, Kim Perren, Sue Maguire, Joanne Rennison, Erich Battistin, Carl Emmerson, and Emla Fitzsimmons. 2005. *Evaluation of Education Allowance Pilots: young people aged 16 to 19 years*. Queen's Printer and Controller of HMSO.
- Nye, Chad, Jamie Schwartz, and Herbert Turner. 2006. Approaches to Parent Involvement for Improving the Academic Performance of Elementary School Age Children: A Systematic Review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 2(4).
- Phillips, M. 2011. "Parenting, time use, and disparities in academic outcomes". *Whither opportunity*, 207-228.

- Riccio, J., Dechausay, N., Miller, C., Nunez, S., Verma, N., & Yang, E. 2013. Conditional Cash Transfers in New York City: The Continuing Story of the Opportunity NYC-Family Rewards Demonstration. *MDRC*.
- Romano, Joseph P., and Michael Wolf. 2005. "Stepwise multiple testing as formalized data snooping". *Econometrica*, 73(4), 1237-1282.
- Romano, Joseph P., Azeem M. Shaikh, and Michael Wolf. 2008." Control of the false discovery rate under dependence using the bootstrap and subsampling". *Test*, 17(3), 417-442.
- Sacerdote, Bruce. 2007. How large are the effects from changes in family environment? A study of Korean American adoptees. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119-157.
- Schultz, T. Paul. 2000. Impact of PROGRESA on school attendance rates in the sampled population. *February. Report submitted to PROGRESA. International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC*.
- Silva, M. 2008. *Opportunity NYC: a Performance-Based conditional Cash Transfer Programme. A Qualitative Analysis* (No. 49). International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth.
- Slavin, Robert E., Gibbs, Lauren, Michele Victor, Nancy Madden, Bette Chambers, and Susan Davis. 2009. "Can Financial Incentives Enhance Educational Outcomes?". *Best Evidence Encyclopedia*.
- Skoufias, Emmanuel. 2005. *PROGRESA and its impacts on the welfare of rural households in Mexico* (Vol. 139). International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Wagner, M. M., & Clayton, S. L. 1999. The Parents as Teachers program: Results from two demonstrations. *The Future of Children*, 91-115.
- Weinberger, Catherine. 2014. "The Increasing Complementarity between Cognitive and Social Skills," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 96 (5): 849-886.
- Willoughby, Michael T., R. J. Wirth, and Clancy B. Blair. 2012. Executive function in early childhood: longitudinal measurement invariance and developmental change. *Psychological assessment*, 24(2), 418.
- Woodcock, Richard W., K. S. McGrew, and N. Mather. 2001. *Woodcock-Johnson tests of achievement*. Itasca, IL: Riverside Publishing.

York, Benjamin N., and Susanna Loeb. 2014. *One step at a Time: The Effects of an Early Literacy Text Messaging Program for Parents of Preschoolers*. (No. 20659). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Zaslow, M.J., K. Tout, T. Halle, J.V. Whittaker, & B. Lavelle. 2010. "Toward the Identification of Features of Effective Professional Development for Early Childhood Educators". Washington, DC: Child Trends.

Appendix A: Implementation Appendix

Marketing and Recruitment

To begin recruitment, there was a four-week online contest for graphic designers to create a logo for the experiment (see Appendix Figure 2). The next step was to develop a website for families and community members to learn about the GECC, in English and Spanish (see <http://checkkids.org/>). We created posters, fliers, and brochures in both English and Spanish. There were informational luncheons held for district staff and community leaders to inform them about the experiment and then information request forms and FAQs were distributed. All materials were available in English and Spanish.

Articles were also published in district newsletters profiling the experiment. Automated messages in both English and Spanish were sent to all District 170 homes to inform the community of upcoming events. The program also staffed District 170 report card pick-up days to provide information to parents about the experiment, and staffed tables at local supermarkets, community events, and other outlets to inform families. Program managers worked with community groups to identify families not being served and sent them more than 20,000 pieces of mail to families in Chicago Heights and neighboring communities.

Interested families were entered into a lottery. The first 150 families to be picked were offered enrollment in the Griffin Early Childhood Center preschool program and the next 128 families were offered enrollment in the parent incentives experiment.¹⁹ The remaining families were asked to serve as a control group. Program managers spent the next couple of weeks encouraging and confirming family participation.

Curriculum Selection

We searched for existing curricula that would teach parents to help their children with both cognitive skills (such as spelling and counting) as well as non-cognitive skills (such as memory and self-control). It is unusual for a curriculum to address both of these areas. Moreover, there are very few parent curriculums that have been evaluated by randomized control trials. None of the reviewed curricula fulfilled the requirements of the project, so a curriculum had to be composed by the team. We decided to take effective pre-school

¹⁹ In Fryer, Levitt, and List (2015), we describe the effects of attending the Griffin Early Childhood Center preschool program on cognitive and non-cognitive skills.

curriculum for teaching cognitive and non-cognitive skills and use them as a guide to develop the Parent Academy curriculum.

To begin curriculum selection, we assessed pre-existing curriculum using information from the What Works Clearinghouse (WWC) at the US Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences (IES) because of their extensive review of early childhood education interventions and curriculum models. We reviewed 102 studies of interventions and found that 22 met WWC criteria for rigor. We looked at the evidence from these studies to assess how effective each intervention was in six categories: oral language, print knowledge, phonological processing, early reading and writing, cognition, and mathematics. Any intervention that had any achieved positive effects in at least one area, without any negative findings passed the initial screening.

Of the nine interventions that passed this screen, *Literacy Express* was the choice for the literary focus curriculum. *Literacy Express* is often included in classroom packages and combines aspects of multiple literacy programs. To supplement *Literacy Express*, *Pre-K Mathematics* was chosen, because it had been paired with *Literacy Express* in the past (CITES).

The non-cognitive curriculum was chosen after a conversation with experts from the Erikson Institute, The Development Network at The University of Chicago, The Boston Children's Museum's Instructional Team, The Harvard Graduate School of Education, The Sesame Workshop and others. *Tools of the Mind* was the curriculum selection because of its focus on self-regulation and executive function. The program is based on Vygotskian's theory that gaining these skills before learning cognitive skills will allow better retention of cognitive skills later on (Bodrova and Leong, 2007).

To build the Parent Academy, the two preschool curricula were separated into their individual parts. The Parent Academy Director created lesson plans for 18 sessions, which were revised by the research team in two rounds of revisions. All material was also translated into Spanish. Appendix Table 1 describes the number of sessions spent, by topic, in Parent Academy.

Parent sessions met on a bi-monthly basis, allowing two weeks in between each session to allow for parents to engage with their children, do their homework, and staff to grade assignments and process payments. There were eighteen, ninety-minute, lessons. Sessions were offered in English and Spanish.

Each member of the parent academy was given a variety of assignments and their children were given assessments. Homework assignments reinforced the learning objectives of the sessions. Some of these assignments asked the parents to submit videos of themselves working with their children. Children were given a major assessment at the end of each semester and multiple shorter assessments to test whether homework assignments were being completed, and whether they were effective.

Financial Incentives

Each Parent Academy participant had the opportunity to earn up to \$7,000 a year and could participate until their children entered kindergarten. Parents could earn financial incentives through a variety of methods. Participants were given up to \$100 per session for attendance and up to \$100 per session for completion of quality homework. Both payments were scaled. For attendance, parents received \$100 for arriving on time or less than 5 minutes after the session began. They received \$50 for being “tardy” or arriving between 5 and 30 minutes late. Finally, if they arrived more than 30 minutes late or not at all, they did not receive any cash payment. For homework incentives, parents received \$100, \$60, \$30, or \$0 depending upon whether they received A, B, C, or I(incomplete) grade on their homework assignment. Parents could also earn up to \$1800 a year for evaluations based on the child’s performance. Finally, parents could earn up to \$800 for each of the two major end-of-semester assessments. We provided all participants with oral and written directions and explanations of the rubric before each assignment and assessment so that parents had full knowledge of the requirements needed for each award.

Participants were randomly assigned to two payment options – a cash incentive or college incentive. Individuals in the cash incentive group received payments once a month following completed sessions.

Parents in the college group were paid for attendance only during the program and on the same schedule as the cash incentive group. The balance of the money that they earned during the program was put into a fund and will be given to the parents only when they send proof that their children have enrolled in a full-time postsecondary institution. Parents in this group get biennial reports with a reminder of the steps required to receive payment. While we encourage parents to apply the payment to help pay for college, there is no legal obligation for the parents to do so.

Assessments

To identify the appropriate assessments to be used in the experiment, we evaluated norm-referenced assessment batteries currently being used in the social sciences, conducted a series of interviews with experts in early childhood and developmental psychology, and hosted a two-day conference where leading experts convened to discuss assessment strategies.

The assessments started with a five-minute language screen to learn language preference. Children were then given both cognitive and non-cognitive assessments.

Cognitive Assessments

1. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Pearson) – PPVT-III is a leading measure of receptive vocabulary for standard English (Spanish) and a screening test of verbal ability. This is a norm-referenced standardized assessment that can be used with subjects with ages 2-90+. The test is not timed, and takes approximately 5 to 20 minutes to complete (Dunn and Dunn, 1965).
2. Woodcock Johnson III Test of Achievement (Riverside Publishing) – The WJ-III is a normed set of tests for measuring general intellectual ability, specific cognitive abilities, oral language, and academic achievement. This is a norm-referenced standardized assessment that can be used with subjects 2-80+. The test is not timed, and each sub-test takes approximately 5-10 minutes (Woodcock, McGrew, and Mather, 2001). It uses the following sub-tests –
 - a. Letter Word Identification: Measures ability to identify letters and words
 - b. Spelling: Measures ability to draw shapes and trace lines, and in older ages, write orally presented letters and words.
 - c. Applied Problems: Measures ability to analyze and solve math problems.
 - d. Quantitative Concepts: Measures knowledge of mathematical concepts and symbols.

Non-cognitive Assessments

1. Blair and Willoughby Measures of Executive Function – This battery of executive function tasks includes “Operation Span” that measures the construct of working memory, asking children to identify and remember pictures of animals; and “Spatial Conflict II: Arrows” that measures the construct of inhibitory control, asking children to match 37 arrow cards in sequence (Blair and Willoughby, 2006).
2. Preschool Self-Regulation Assessment – Assessor Report – The PSRA report is designed to assess self-regulation in emotional, attentional and behavioral domains.

This battery of assessments was given at the beginning of the program to obtain an accurate profile of each student, and was then given at the end of each semester. It was administered by a team of administrators who all held Bachelor’s degrees and were trained in assessment implementation. It was graded by pen and paper and then coded electronically.

Random Assignment

All families registered to be in the parent incentive program were randomly assigned to be a part of the two treatment groups and control group. The random assignment was done to balance gender, race, home language, self-reported home language ability, self-reported English language ability, pre assessment scores, location of residence, median city income, mother’s education level and if that was missing, preference for Parent Academy or other pre-school intervention, and whether the child has a social security number or not.

There are a few caveats to our randomization procedure. Before the program began in 2011-2012, there was a pilot program held in 2010-2011 (look at Appendix Tables 10-14 for results from the pilot year). Children who had not been randomized to be a part of the pilot year are considered “new” to the parent academy program. They were placed into the lottery for randomization in 2011-2012. If there were new children in 2011-2012 whose older siblings were in the pilot program, they were automatically placed into the same treatment group as their older sibling. New children with older siblings who had left the parent academy program were placed into the lottery. Returning children from the pilot year were given the choice to re-enter the lottery or continue with their current placement. After the lottery, one hundred children were randomly selected from Control and designated as Special Control. Special control children had stronger methods of follow up during the year and therefore, have non-missing outcomes.

Appendix B: Variable Construction

Child's Age

Child's age is taken from the registration forms that all families filled to enter themselves into the randomization lottery. The variable is coded in years and is continuous. In the experimental sample, the mean child's age is 4.03 and it ranges from 3 to 5. This is in accordance with the pre-condition issued to families before registrations that only children between 3 to 5 years will be considered for the Parent Academy program.

Child's Gender

Child's gender is also taken from the registration forms that families filled before the randomization lottery. It is coded up as 2 gender dummy variables – male and female.

Child's Race/Ethnicity

The race/ variable is also taken from parent registration forms. We code the race variables such that the four categories – white, black, Hispanic, and other – are complete and mutually exclusive. Hispanic ethnicity is an absorbing state hence “white” implies non-Hispanic white. However, “black” implies non-Hispanic black and Hispanic black.

Mother's Age

Mother's age is taken from a Parent Demographic Survey that was administered during the Pre-Assessment Tests. The variable is coded in years. The mean mother's age in the experimental sample is 31.40 years and it ranges from 19 to 60 years.

Mother's Education

Mother's education is taken from the Parent Demographic Survey. It is a categorical variable coded from the answer to question –

“Mom's highest grade or level of school completed?”

1 – No formal schooling

2 – Less than 9th grade

3 – Some high school but no diploma

- 4 – GED
- 5 – High school diploma
- 6 – Vocational/technical program after high-school
- 7 – Some college but no degree
- 8 – AA
- 9 – BA
- 10 – MA, graduate or professional degree
- 11 – Other”

Where “other” responses are replaced with missing to ensure that higher numbers imply a higher level of education.

Parent’s Income

Parent’s income is taken from the Parent Demographic Survey. It is a categorical variable coded from the answer to question –

“What is your approximate yearly income?”

- 1 – \$0 to \$5,000
- 2 – \$6,000 to \$15,000
- 3 – \$16,000 to \$25,000
- 4 – \$26,000 to \$35,000
- 5 – \$36,000 to \$45,000
- 6 – \$46,000 to \$60,000
- 7 – \$61,000 to \$75,000
- 8 – over \$75,000”.

Number of Children in the Household

This variable is coded from the answer to the question below, asked in the Parent Demographic Survey –

“How many children (ages 0 – 18) live in your household, including your child?”

Home Language

Home language is taken from the registration forms parents filled out before randomization took place. The variable is split into two categories – children who spoke only Spanish or a bit of English at home; and children who spoke only English at home.

Pre-treatment Scores

Pre-treatment scores were collected during the Pre-Assessment Tests. The pre-treatment cognitive score is calculated as the average of the WJ-III letter word identification score, WJ-III applied problems score, WJ-III spelling score, WJ-III quantitative problems score, and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test score. The score is replaced as missing if any of these scores are missing. As all individual assessment scores are between [0,100], the cognitive score ranges between [0,100]. The pre-treatment non-cognitive score is calculated as the average of the Pre-school Self-Regulation Assessment score, Blair and Willoughby operation span score, and Blair and Willoughby spatial conflict score. The score is replaced as missing if any of the three scores are missing. The individual assessment scores are between [0,1]. Hence, the non-cognitive score ranges between [0,1].

Test Scores used as Outcome Variables

Both mid-year and end-of year cognitive and non-cognitive scores are calculated as averages of individual assessments in the manner of pre-treatment scores. These scores are further standardized by year.

Treatment

Treatment is defined as the parent incentive group that the child was randomized into in the lottery. For regressions that contain two treatment variables for the cash condition and the college condition, the cash treatment variable is taken as 1 for children in cash treatment and 0 for children in college treatment or control. Similarly, the college treatment variable is coded as 1 for children in college treatment and 0 for children in cash treatment or control. For regressions that contain only a single pooled treatment variable, the variable is coded as 1 for children in either cash or college treatment arm and 0 for control children only.

Attendance Rates

Attendance in treatment is calculated as the fraction of sessions that parents attended in 2011-2012. As there were 18 sessions in total, this variable takes the total number of sessions that parents attended in the year and divides it by 18. Thus the variable is continuous and varies between $[0,1]$.

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF PARENT ACADEMY (PA) EXPERIMENT

Chicago	
Children in PA-Cash	74 children: 42% black, 47% Hispanic, 53% male, payments are made by cash
Children in PA-College	81 children: 46% black, 45% Hispanic, 53% male, payments are deposited into a trust account
Children in Control	99 children: 43% black, 51% Hispanic, 49% male
Reward Structure	Up to \$100 per session for attendance, up to \$100 per session for homework, up to \$1800 for evaluations
Frequency of Rewards	Per session for homework and attendance, 2 times per year for evaluations
Outcomes of Interest	Cognitive score made up of Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Woodcock Johnson III Tests of Achievement; and Non-Cognitive score made up of Blair and Willoughby Executive Function measures, and Preschool Self-regulation Assessment
Testing Dates	January/February 2011 for mid-year assessments, April-June 2011 for end year assessments
Operations	1 PA-Director, 2 curriculum co-ordinators, 2 curriculum assistants, 1 project co-ordinator 1 social worker for families, 2 child care support members 2 project managers

TABLE 2
Sample Accounting for All Outcomes

	<i>Whole Sample</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Cash</i>	<i>College</i>
Randomization Sample	260	99	74	87
Experimental Sample	254	99	74	81
Standardized End Year Cognitive Score	184	73	57	54
Standardized End Year Non-Cognitive Score	192	79	57	56
Analysis Sample	193	79	58	56
Percentage Sample with at least one outcome	0.760	0.798	0.784	0.691

Notes: This table describes how we obtain different samples from the randomization sample. The first row tabulates all children who were randomized to get treatment in 2011-2012. The second row tabulates all children who were present in the randomization sample excluding siblings who belonged to the same treatment. This is done to make sure that all children that are included in the regressions have equal probability of getting randomized into treatment. We call this the experimental sample. The third row displays the number of children from the experimental sample who have non-missing end-year cognitive scores. The fourth row displays the number of children from the experimental sample who have non-missing end-year non-cognitive scores. The first row from the bottom panel calculates the number of children that have either a non-missing end-year cognitive score or a non-missing end-year non-cognitive score. The final row calculates the percentage of children from the experimental sample that have at least one non missing end-year test score.

TABLE 3
SUMMARY STATISTICS

Variable	Experimental Sample				Analysis Sample			
	Control (1)	PA-Cash (2)	PA-College (3)	<i>p-value</i> (4)	Control (5)	PA-Cash (6)	PA-College (7)	<i>p-value</i> (8)
Age	4.018	4.079	4.012	0.712	3.969	4.039	4.035	0.710
Male	0.485	0.527	0.525	0.817	0.557	0.586	0.518	0.766
Female	0.515	0.473	0.475	0.817	0.443	0.414	0.482	0.766
White	0.061	0.108	0.087	0.524	0.063	0.121	0.071	0.523
Black	0.434	0.419	0.463	0.859	0.468	0.379	0.464	0.530
Hispanic	0.505	0.473	0.450	0.762	0.468	0.500	0.464	0.914
Mother's age	30.481	32.092	31.833	0.327	30.859	31.529	30.667	0.806
Pre treatment cognitive score	43.424	42.504	46.484	0.539	45.219	41.005	47.548	0.310
Pre treatment non-cognitive score	0.569	0.567	0.517	0.145	0.572	0.547	0.546	0.606
Missing race	0.000	0.000	0.012	0.318	0.000	0.000	0.000	.
Missing mother's age	0.202	0.122	0.185	0.314	0.190	0.121	0.196	0.426
Missing pre treatment cognitive score	0.232	0.243	0.235	0.986	0.215	0.276	0.250	0.713
Missing pre treatment non-cognitive score	0.030	0.054	0.049	0.690	0.038	0.069	0.036	0.692
<i>p-value from joint F-test</i>				0.723				0.835
Observations	99	74	81		79	58	56	

Notes: This table describes summary statistics and balance tests for baseline observable data. Column (1) reports means for all children in control group for 2011-2012. Columns (2) and (3) report means for children in cash treatment and college treatment groups for 2011-2012. Column (4) reports the p-value from a test of equal means obtained by regressing each variable on treatment dummies and correcting standard errors for heteroskedasticity. Columns (5)-(8) reflect columns (1)-(4) but only for children who have at least one non missing outcome variable i.e. have either a non missing end of year cognitive score or a non missing end of year no cognitive score.

TABLE 4
MEAN EFFECT SIZES (ITT AND LATE ESTIMATES), END YEAR

	ITT (1)	LATE (2)
<i>A. Standardized Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.073 (0.104)	0.079 (0.109)
College:	0.166 (0.113)	0.184 (0.120)
<i>p value:</i>	0.396	0.361
Pooled Treatment:	0.119 (0.094)	0.131 (0.099)
Observations	184	184
<i>B. Standardized Non-Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.210** (0.101)	0.225** (0.104)
College:	0.197** (0.098)	0.217** (0.104)
<i>p value:</i>	0.903	0.947
Pooled Treatment:	0.203** (0.083)	0.221** (0.088)
Observations	192	192

Notes: This table presents the estimates of the effects of being offered or attending parent academy on standardized end of year cognitive and non-cognitive scores in 2011-2012. Column (1) reports Intent-To-Treat (ITT) estimates while column (2) reports 2SLS estimates and use treatment assignment to instrument for the fraction of Parent Academy sessions attended in the year. The dependent variable is the cognitive score or non-cognitive score standardized by year to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. All specifications adjust for the child-level and parent-level demographic variables summarized in Table 3, pre-treatment cognitive and non-cognitive scores and missing indicators for them. Standard errors (reported in parentheses) are corrected for heteroskedasticity. *, **, and *** denote significance at the 90%, 95% and 99% confidence levels, respectively.

TABLE 5
Mean Effect Sizes on Cognitive and Executive Function Indices
Within Demographic Subgroups

	Standardized	<i>p</i> -value	Observations	Standardized	<i>p</i> -value	Observations
	Cognitive Score			Non-Cognitive Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Whole Sample</i>	0.131 (0.099)	0.185	184	0.221** (0.088)	0.012	192
<i>Race</i>						
Black	-0.234* (0.134)	0.082	80	-0.059 (0.129)	0.648	85
Hispanic	0.367*** (0.133)	0.006	89	0.428*** (0.122)	0.000	92
White	0.932*** (0.353)	0.008	15	0.821*** (0.181)	0.000	15
<i>Gender</i>						
Male	0.107 (0.126)	0.394	102	0.087 (0.131)	0.509	107
Female	0.056 (0.121)	0.642	82	0.272** (0.106)	0.010	85
<i>Parent Income</i>						
Parent Income: Above Median	-0.013 (0.130)	0.918	95	0.070 (0.106)	0.509	99
Parent Income: Below Median	0.163 (0.178)	0.360	47	0.502** (0.201)	0.012	51
<i>Mother's Age</i>						
Mother's age: Above Median	-0.017 (0.107)	0.877	73	0.033 (0.132)	0.805	79
Mother's age: Below Median	0.071 (0.176)	0.687	79	0.257** (0.131)	0.050	80
<i>Children in the Household</i>						
Children in the Household: Above Median	0.310** (0.154)	0.044	68	0.172 (0.153)	0.263	70
Children in the Household: Below Median	-0.125 (0.133)	0.349	92	0.243** (0.120)	0.042	97

TABLE 5
Mean Effect Sizes on Cognitive and Executive Function Indices
Within Demographic Subgroups

	Standardized	<i>p-value</i>	Observations	Standardized	<i>p-value</i>	Observations
	Cognitive Score			Non-Cognitive Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Whole Sample</i>	0.131 (0.099)	0.185	184	0.221** (0.088)	0.012	192
<i>Pre Treatment Score</i>						
Cognitive \geq Median	-0.055 (0.149)	0.713	71	0.225** (0.096)	0.019	74
Cognitive < Median	0.263* (0.145)	0.071	68	0.255* (0.153)	0.096	71
Non-Cognitive \geq Median	0.272** (0.136)	0.045	90	0.366*** (0.100)	0.000	93
Non-Cognitive < Median	0.039 (0.160)	0.809	85	-0.019 (0.146)	0.896	90
Cog \geq Median, Non-Cog \geq Median	0.187 (0.197)	0.343	47	0.335*** (0.103)	0.001	48
Cog \geq Median, Non-Cog < Median	-0.419** (0.190)	0.027	23	0.062 (0.111)	0.574	25
Cog < Median, Non-Cog \geq Median	0.343** (0.169)	0.043	36	0.469*** (0.146)	0.001	38
Cog < Median, Non-Cog < Median	0.128 (0.259)	0.621	31	-0.138 (0.288)	0.633	32

Notes: This table presents the estimates of the effects of attending parent academy on standardized end of year cognitive and non-cognitive scores in 2011-2012. Columns (1)-(3) report 2SLS estimates on standardized cognitive score while column (4)-(6) report 2SLS estimates on standardized non cognitive score. The dependent variable is the cognitive score or non-cognitive score standardized by year to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. All specifications adjust for the child-level and parent-level demographic variables summarized in Table 3, pre-treatment cognitive and non-cognitive scores and missing indicators for them. Standard errors (reported in parentheses) are corrected for heteroskedasticity. *, **, and *** denote significance at the 90%, 95% and 99% confidence levels, respectively.

TABLE 6
ATTRITION ESTIMATES

	Mid Year (1)	End Year (2)
<i>Panel A. Missing Standardized Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.042 (0.070)	-0.059 (0.067)
College:	0.128* (0.069)	0.039 (0.068)
Pooled Treatment:	0.081 (0.053)	-0.008 (0.058)
Observations	253	253
<i>Panel B. Missing Standardized Non-Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.057 (0.071)	0.012 (0.067)
College:	0.156** (0.069)	0.085 (0.066)
Pooled Treatment:	0.100* (0.051)	0.047 (0.052)
Observations	253	253

Notes: This table presents the estimates of the effects of attending parent academy on missing indicators of end of year test scores in 2011-2012. Columns (1) reports 2SLS estimates on missing mid year test score while column (2) reports 2SLS estimates on missing end year test score. The dependent variable is a missing indicator which is 1 when a test score is missing and 0 when test score is not missing. All specifications adjust for the child-level and parent-level demographic variables summarized in Table 3, pre-treatment cognitive and non-cognitive scores and missing indicators for them. Standard errors (reported in parentheses) are corrected for heteroskedasticity. *, **, and *** denote significance at the 90%, 95% and 99% confidence levels, respectively.

TABLE 7
LEE BOUND ESTIMATES

	LATE (1)	LEE (2)	<i>p-value</i> (1)=(2)
<i>Mid Year Cognitive Score</i>			
Pooled Treatment	0.102 (0.091)	0.003 (0.088)	0.006
Observations	196	189	
<i>End Year Cognitive Score</i>			
Pooled Treatment	0.131 (0.099)	0.131 (0.099)	.
Observations	184	184	
<i>Mid Year Non-Cognitive Score</i>			
Pooled Treatment	0.119 (0.096)	-0.004 (0.085)	0.010
Observations	198	191	
<i>End Year Non-Cognitive Score</i>			
Pooled Treatment	0.221** (0.088)	0.167** (0.081)	0.124
Observations	192	190	

Notes: This table presents bounded estimates to provide a conservative bound on the true treatment effects under the assumption that these are differential attrition rates in the treatment and control groups. Column (1) reports 2SLS estimates on test scores while column (2) reports the Lee bound estimates on test scores. Column (3) reports the p-value for the difference in the estimates reported in columns (1) and (2). The dependent variable is the cognitive score or non-cognitive score standardized by year to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. All specifications adjust for the child-level and parent-level demographic variables summarized in Table 3, pre-treatment cognitive and non-cognitive scores and missing indicators for them. Standard errors (reported in parentheses) are corrected for heteroskedasticity. *, **, and *** denote significance at the 90%, 95% and 99% confidence levels, respectively.

TABLE 8
AVERAGES BY RACE

	<i>Whole</i>	Black	Hispanic	<i>p-value</i> (2) = (3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel A. Parent Involvement</i>				
No. of sessions attended	8.174	8.333	7.744	0.779
No. of sessions parent arrived late to	0.004	0.006	0.003	0.055
No. of homework assignments turned in	10.242	10.134	10.197	0.913
Average grade in homework	2.902	2.876	2.913	0.070
Total amount of money earned from homework assignments	954.444	932.687	952.394	0.837
<i>Panel B. Demographics</i>				
Parent income	3.938	3.839	3.711	0.501
Mother's age	31.405	32.594	29.747	0.226
No. of children in the household	2.459	2.455	2.485	0.572
Pre treatment cognitive score	44.136	49.428	39.416	0.014
Pre treatment non-cognitive score	0.552	0.552	0.564	0.247

Notes: This table presents means for parent involvement and parent demographic variables. All variables are explain in detail in online Appendix B. Columns (1) reports means for the whole sample in 2011-2012, column (2) reports means for Black children and column (3) reports means for Hispanic children. Column (4) reports the p-value for a test of equal means reported in columns (2) and (3).

TABLE 9
Mean Effect Sizes on Cognitive and Non-Cognitive Scores
Including Additional Demographic Subgroups

	Standardized Cognitive Score			Standardized Non-Cognitive Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment*Black	-0.517*** (0.181)	-0.531*** (0.176)	-0.552*** (0.178)	-0.480*** (0.177)	-0.455*** (0.166)	-0.511*** (0.179)
Treatment	0.368*** (0.134)	0.378*** (0.128)	0.364 (0.609)	0.442*** (0.119)	0.455*** (0.112)	0.485 (0.458)
<i>Controls included</i>						
Mother's Age	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Income	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
No. of Siblings	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Pre Treatment Scores	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Interaction with</i>						
Mother's Age	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Income	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
No. of Siblings	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Pre Treatment Scores	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Observations	184	184	184	192	192	192

Notes: This table presents the estimates of the effects of being offered or attending parent academy on standardized end of year cognitive and non-cognitive scores in 2011-2012 for different regression specifications. Each column stands for a different specification. Columns (1)-(3) report 2SLS estimates on end of year cognitive score while columns (4)-(6) report 2SLS estimates on end of year non-cognitive score. All specifications adjust for the child-level and parent-level demographic variables summarized in Table 3, pre-treatment cognitive and non-cognitive scores and missing indicators for them. All specifications also include an interaction between treatment status and Black dummy. Columns (1) and (4) include no family based controls. Columns (2) and (5) add controls in the second panel of Table 8. Columns (3) and (6) includes all controls from the second panel of Table 8 and interactions between these controls and Black dummy. Standard errors (reported in parentheses) are corrected for heteroskedasticity. *, **, and *** denote significance at the 90%, 95% and 99% confidence levels, respectively.

APPENDIX TABLE 1
PARENT ACADEMY CURRICULUM FOR EACH SESSION

Session	Executive Function
1	Review of Key EF Concepts
2	Mental Functioning
3	The Importance of Language
4	Socially Shared Cognition
5	Learning and Development
6	Introduction to Private Speech and Self-talk
7	Understanding and Fostering Temperament and Self-Regulation
8	Establishing and Fostering Independence
9	Fostering Self-Esteem and Moral Development
10	Developing Reasoning and Problem Solving skills
11	Attention, Approval and Affection
12	Parenting Styles and Its Influences on Your Child
13	Guidance and Discipline Strategies for Your Child
14	Introduction to Parental Intervention
15	Resilience and Stress
16	Learning How and When to Remove Support
17	School Readiness - Rules and Routines in Kindergarten
18	Final Review and Wrap-up
Session	Literacy and Math
1	Review of Key Lit and Math Concepts
2	The Building Blocks of Building Vocabulary
3	Having Conversation with Children
4	Oral Language and Written Language
5	Understanding and Guiding Your Child as They Transition to K
6	Reading Readiness-Review of Sound to Symbol Correspondence
7	Reading Readiness-Emergent Reading and Storytelling
8	Reading Readiness-Listening to Stories for Fun and to Obtain Information
9	School Readiness-Writing, Literacy and Math
10	Writing- Salient Sounds Represented by Symbols
11	Writing-Expressing Emotions and Communicating through Emergent Writing
12	Learning How and When to Remove Support
13	Groups of Objects and Numeracy
14	Geometry and Constructng 3-D Shapes
15	Problems Solving, Computation, Operations
16	Graphing/Estimation
17	School Readiness - Rules and Routines in Kindergarten
18	Final Review and Wrap-up

APPENDIX TABLE 2
TIMELINE FOR DATA COLLECTION

Month	Collection Method	Data Collected
January 2011 - Randomization 2011	Family Registrations	(i) Race (ii) Gender (iii) Age
May-June 2011	Pre-Assessment Tests	(i) Baseline Cognitive Score (ii) Baseline Non-Cognitive Score
May-June 2011	Parent Demographic Survey	(i) Parent demographics
January-February 2012	Mid Year Assessment Test	(i) Mid Year Cognitive Score (ii) Mid Year Non-Cognitive Score
January-February 2012	Mid Year Parent Investment Survey	(i) Survey variables
April-June 2012	End Year Assessment Test	(i) End Year Cognitive Score (ii) End Year Non-Cognitive Score
May-June 2012	End Year Parent Investment Survey	(i) Survey variables

APPENDIX TABLE 3
FIRST STAGE RESULTS

	Mid Year (1)	End Year (2)
<i>Standardized Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.887*** (0.029)	0.913*** (0.025)
F-stat	238.723	605.580
College:	0.871*** (0.028)	0.902*** (0.020)
F-stat	163.975	234.304
Pooled Treatment:	0.884*** (0.021)	0.909*** (0.017)
F-stat	319.496	464.039
Observations	196	184
<i>Standardized Non-Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.889*** (0.029)	0.929*** (0.018)
F-stat	233.763	870.232
College:	0.870*** (0.030)	0.906*** (0.019)
F-stat	156.532	242.321
Pooled Treatment:	0.885*** (0.021)	0.919*** (0.013)
F-stat	311.800	594.298
Observations	198	192

APPENDIX TABLE 4
 MEAN EFFECT SIZES (ITT AND LATE ESTIMATES), MID YEAR

	ITT (1)	LATE (2)
<i>A. Standardized Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.088 (0.091)	0.097 (0.097)
College:	0.092 (0.111)	0.106 (0.122)
<i>p value:</i>	0.970	0.942
Pooled Treatment:	0.090 (0.084)	0.102 (0.091)
Observations	196	196
<i>B. Standardized Non-Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.183* (0.096)	0.205** (0.103)
College:	0.028 (0.115)	0.033 (0.128)
<i>p value:</i>	0.199	0.195
Pooled Treatment:	0.106 (0.088)	0.119 (0.096)
Observations	198	198

APPENDIX TABLE 5
MEAN EFFECT SIZES FOR TEST OBJECTIVES (LATE ESTIMATES)

	<i>Whole Sample</i> (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	p-val (4)
<i>Panel A. WJ Letter Word Identification</i>				
Cash:	0.152 (0.145)	0.101 (0.206)	0.164 (0.229)	0.837
College:	0.014 (0.165)	-0.176 (0.202)	0.119 (0.274)	
<i>p value:</i>	0.386	0.172	0.859	0.386
Pooled Treatment:	0.082 (0.134)	-0.059 (0.179)	0.144 (0.218)	0.473
Observations	193	85	92	
<i>Panel B. WJ Applied Problems</i>				
Cash:	0.125 (0.158)	-0.235 (0.268)	0.412** (0.187)	0.048
College:	0.279* (0.167)	-0.315 (0.225)	0.833*** (0.214)	
<i>p value:</i>	0.362	0.767	0.058	0.000
Pooled Treatment:	0.203 (0.138)	-0.281 (0.205)	0.602*** (0.169)	0.001
Observations	193	85	92	
<i>Panel C. WJ Spelling</i>				
Cash:	0.212 (0.148)	-0.138 (0.215)	0.470** (0.210)	0.043
College:	0.299* (0.158)	-0.157 (0.199)	0.672*** (0.223)	
<i>p value:</i>	0.607	0.929	0.377	0.006
Pooled Treatment:	0.256** (0.128)	-0.149 (0.176)	0.561*** (0.183)	0.005
Observations	193	85	92	
<i>Panel D. WJ Quantitative Concepts</i>				
Cash:	0.174 (0.158)	0.023 (0.244)	0.261 (0.200)	0.451
College:	0.168 (0.165)	-0.240 (0.230)	0.592*** (0.228)	
<i>p value:</i>	0.974	0.267	0.148	0.010
Pooled Treatment:	0.171 (0.137)	-0.130 (0.206)	0.406** (0.180)	0.050
Observations	189	82	91	
<i>Panel E. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test</i>				
Cash:	-0.226* (0.137)	-0.470** (0.198)	-0.089 (0.173)	0.147
College:	0.044 (0.185)	-0.479** (0.202)	0.556** (0.273)	
<i>p value:</i>	0.142	0.964	0.016	0.002
Pooled Treatment:	-0.090 (0.136)	-0.475*** (0.174)	0.213 (0.186)	0.007
Observations	189	83	91	

APPENDIX TABLE 6
MEAN EFFECT SIZES FOR TEST OBJECTIVES (LATE ESTIMATES)

	<i>Whole Sample</i> (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	p-val (4)
<i>Panel A. Preschool Self Regulation Assessment</i>				
Cash:	-0.221 (0.177)	-0.396 (0.257)	0.191 (0.176)	0.059
College:	0.024 (0.170)	-0.265 (0.269)	0.349** (0.164)	0.052
<i>p value:</i>	0.197	0.657	0.410	
Pooled Treatment:	-0.097 (0.147)	-0.321 (0.221)	0.263* (0.142)	0.026
Observations	193	85	92	
<i>Panel B. Operation Span</i>				
Cash:	0.637*** (0.140)	0.478** (0.194)	0.619*** (0.205)	0.617
College:	0.484*** (0.147)	0.273 (0.184)	0.486** (0.229)	0.467
<i>p value:</i>	0.290	0.317	0.540	
Pooled Treatment:	0.560*** (0.125)	0.360** (0.161)	0.559*** (0.188)	0.422
Observations	192	85	92	
<i>Panel C. Spatial Conflict</i>				
Cash:	0.204 (0.161)	-0.267 (0.242)	0.467** (0.237)	0.030
College:	0.137 (0.166)	-0.177 (0.210)	0.457* (0.275)	0.067
<i>p value:</i>	0.698	0.725	0.968	
Pooled Treatment:	0.170 (0.139)	-0.215 (0.186)	0.462** (0.221)	0.019
Observations	193	85	92	

APPENDIX TABLE 7
The Amount of Selection on Unobservables Relative to Selection on Observables
Required to Attribute Treatment Effect to Selection Bias

	<i>Whole Sample</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Hispanics</i>	
	Implied Bias (1)	Implied Ratio (2)	Implied Bias (3)	Implied Ratio (4)	Implied Bias (5)	Implied Ratio (6)
<i>End Year Cognitive Score</i>	-0.005	-22.251	-0.034	6.395	0.032	10.149
<i>End Year Non-Cognitive Score</i>	-0.059	-3.419	-0.033	1.656	0.003	147.854

APPENDIX TABLE 8
Mean Effect Sizes on Cognitive and Executive Function Indices
Within Home Language and Race Subgroups

	<i>Hispanic Sample</i> (1)	<i>Home Language</i>		p-val	<i>Whole Sample</i> (5)	<i>English Speakers</i>		p-val
		Mostly Spanish (2)	Only English (3)	(4)		Black (6)	Hispanic (7)	
<i>Panel B. End Year Cognitive Index</i>								
Cash	0.214 (0.145)	0.241 (0.183)	-0.080 (0.233)	0.279	0.053 (0.107)	-0.136 (0.161)	-0.080 (0.233)	0.845
College	0.497*** (0.164)	0.649*** (0.195)	0.017 (0.231)	0.037	0.149 (0.113)	-0.271** (0.137)	0.017 (0.231)	0.284
Pooled Treatment	0.340** (0.135)	0.424*** (0.162)	-0.029 (0.205)	0.082	0.100 (0.094)	-0.207* (0.125)	-0.029 (0.205)	0.458
Observations	89	62	26		184	75	26	
<i>Panel D. End Year Executive Function</i>								
Cash	0.428*** (0.135)	0.258* (0.155)	0.679*** (0.252)	0.155	0.207** (0.103)	-0.032 (0.168)	0.679*** (0.252)	0.019
College	0.399*** (0.154)	0.332** (0.166)	0.454 (0.303)	0.726	0.195* (0.104)	-0.078 (0.150)	0.454 (0.303)	0.116
Pooled Treatment	0.415*** (0.125)	0.293** (0.136)	0.573** (0.242)	0.313	0.201** (0.087)	-0.057 (0.131)	0.573** (0.242)	0.022
Observations	92	64	27		192	80	27	

APPENDIX TABLE 9
MEAN EFFECT SIZES (ITT AND LATE ESTIMATES)

	ITT		LATE	
	Mid Year (1)	End Year (2)	Mid Year (3)	End Year (4)
<i>A. Standardized Cognitive Score</i>				
Cash:	0.096 (0.085)	0.048 (0.095)	0.106 (0.090)	0.052 (0.099)
College:	0.097 (0.100)	0.139 (0.095)	0.112 (0.110)	0.153 (0.100)
<i>p value:</i>	0.994	0.407	0.963	0.376
Pooled Treatment:	0.096 (0.076)	0.094 (0.078)	0.109 (0.082)	0.103 (0.081)
Observations	204	194	204	194
<i>B. Standardized Non-Cognitive Score</i>				
Cash:	0.155 (0.097)	0.182* (0.106)	0.173* (0.103)	0.199* (0.109)
College:	0.021 (0.108)	0.206** (0.096)	0.025 (0.118)	0.228** (0.101)
<i>p value:</i>	0.245	0.824	0.235	0.799
Pooled Treatment:	0.086 (0.085)	0.194** (0.085)	0.097 (0.092)	0.213** (0.089)
Observations	204	193	204	193

APPENDIX TABLE 10
SUMMARY STATISTICS, PILOT YEAR

Variable	Experimental Sample				Analysis Sample			
	Control (1)	PA-Cash (2)	PA-College (3)	<i>p-value</i> (4)	Control (5)	PA-Cash (6)	PA-College (7)	<i>p-value</i> (8)
Age	3.982	4.019	4.004	0.953	3.984	3.988	3.938	0.908
Male	0.459	0.486	0.521	0.820	0.423	0.510	0.500	0.757
Female	0.541	0.514	0.479	0.820	0.577	0.490	0.500	0.757
White	0.027	0.014	0.000	0.368	0.038	0.020	0.000	0.369
Black	0.405	0.443	0.425	0.932	0.308	0.431	0.391	0.564
Hispanic	0.541	0.486	0.521	0.848	0.615	0.510	0.565	0.666
Mother's age	31.130	31.615	32.410	0.728	31.412	31.683	33.097	0.580
Pre treatment cognitive score	47.036	39.798	36.312	0.205	45.975	40.548	35.671	0.347
Pre treatment non-cognitive score	0.592	0.579	0.581	0.962	0.589	0.589	0.562	0.782
Missing race	0.027	0.043	0.054	0.772	0.038	0.039	0.022	0.859
Missing mother's age	0.378	0.257	0.473	0.024	0.346	0.196	0.326	0.227
Missing pre treatment cognitive score	0.405	0.229	0.459	0.009	0.385	0.137	0.370	0.009
Missing pre treatment non-cognitive score	0.297	0.100	0.324	0.001	0.231	0.039	0.196	0.012
<i>p-value from joint F-test</i>				0.917				0.733
Observations	37	70	74		26	51	46	

Notes: This table describes summary statistics and balance tests for baseline observable data. Column (1) reports means for all XXX children in XXX groups during 2010-2011. Columns (2) and (3) report means for XXX Column (4) reports the p-value on the difference of

APPENDIX TABLE 11
 MEAN EFFECT SIZES (ITT AND LATE ESTIMATES), PILOT-END YEAR

	ITT (1)	LATE (2)
<i>A. Standardized Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.077 (0.153)	0.091 (0.173)
College:	-0.093 (0.162)	-0.110 (0.178)
<i>p value:</i>	0.173	0.135
Pooled Treatment:	-0.011 (0.144)	-0.014 (0.161)
Observations	121	121
<i>B. Standardized Non-Cognitive Score</i>		
Cash:	0.292* (0.154)	0.351* (0.179)
College:	-0.063 (0.162)	-0.075 (0.181)
<i>p value:</i>	0.004	0.002
Pooled Treatment:	0.108 (0.146)	0.130 (0.164)
Observations	123	123

APPENDIX TABLE 12
Mean Effect Sizes on Cognitive and Executive Function Indices
Within Demographic Subgroups, Pilot Year

	Standardized	<i>p</i> -value	Observations	Standardized	<i>p</i> -value	Observations
	Cognitive Score			Non-Cognitive Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Whole Sample</i>	-0.014 (0.161)	0.933	121	0.130 (0.164)	0.428	123
<i>Race</i>						
Black	-0.338* (0.201)	0.093	48	-0.525** (0.249)	0.035	48
Hispanic	0.194 (0.215)	0.366	67	0.503** (0.234)	0.032	68
<i>Gender</i>						
Male	-0.172 (0.258)	0.506	58	0.296 (0.334)	0.376	60
Female	0.009 (0.210)	0.964	63	-0.029 (0.182)	0.875	63
<i>Parent Income</i>						
Parent Income: Above Median	-0.002 (0.176)	0.990	56	0.116 (0.222)	0.600	57
Parent Income: Below Median	-0.297 (0.199)	0.135	27	-0.486* (0.282)	0.085	27
<i>Mother's Age</i>						
Mother's age: Above Median	-0.025 (0.239)	0.917	47	-0.012 (0.256)	0.962	48
Mother's age: Below Median	-0.079 (0.166)	0.635	41	0.280 (0.228)	0.220	41
<i>Children in the Household</i>						
Children in the Household: Above Median	-0.167 (0.306)	0.586	49	-0.181 (0.332)	0.586	49
Children in the Household: Below Median	-0.067 (0.145)	0.641	44	0.489** (0.206)	0.018	45

APPENDIX TABLE 12
Mean Effect Sizes on Cognitive and Executive Function Indices
Within Demographic Subgroups, Pilot Year

	Standardized	<i>p</i> -value	Observations	Standardized	<i>p</i> -value	Observations
	Cognitive Score			Non-Cognitive Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Whole Sample</i>	-0.014 (0.161)	0.933	121	0.130 (0.164)	0.428	123
<i>Pre Treatment Score</i>						
Cognitive \geq Median	-0.044 (0.218)	0.840	45	0.096 (0.203)	0.638	45
Cognitive < Median	-0.076 (0.153)	0.617	44	0.180 (0.311)	0.562	44
Non-Cognitive \geq Median	0.127 (0.143)	0.375	51	0.081 (0.205)	0.691	51
Non-Cognitive < Median	0.081 (0.246)	0.742	54	0.477* (0.244)	0.051	55
Cog \geq Median, Non-Cog \geq Median	0.129 (0.197)	0.512	26	0.407 (0.288)	0.157	26
Cog \geq Median, Non-Cog < Median	-0.294 (0.238)	0.216	19	0.257 (0.189)	0.174	19
Cog < Median, Non-Cog \geq Median	-0.441*** (0.080)	0.000	18	0.281 (0.498)	0.572	18
Cog < Median, Non-Cog < Median	0.430** (0.218)	0.048	25	0.240 (0.860)	0.780	25

APPENDIX TABLE 13
MEAN EFFECT SIZES FOR TEST OBJECTIVES (LATE ESTIMATES), PILOT YEAR

	<i>Whole Sample</i> (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	p-val (4)
<i>Panel A. WJ Letter Word Identification</i>				
Cash:	0.045 (0.225)	-0.320 (0.262)	0.424 (0.328)	0.076
College:	-0.082 (0.229)	-0.259 (0.350)	0.142 (0.273)	0.366
<i>p value:</i>	0.484	0.857	0.212	
Pooled Treatment:	-0.019 (0.208)	-0.292 (0.255)	0.253 (0.276)	0.147
Observations	124	49	68	
<i>Panel B. WJ Applied Problems</i>				
Cash:	0.254 (0.246)	-0.133 (0.416)	0.576* (0.309)	0.171
College:	-0.237 (0.270)	-0.651 (0.545)	-0.013 (0.272)	0.295
<i>p value:</i>	0.007	0.112	0.015	
Pooled Treatment:	0.000 (0.239)	-0.390 (0.445)	0.219 (0.265)	0.239
Observations	123	48	68	
<i>Panel C. WJ Spelling</i>				
Cash:	0.387* (0.229)	-0.181 (0.359)	0.725** (0.293)	0.050
College:	0.208 (0.221)	-0.375 (0.342)	0.374 (0.247)	0.076
<i>p value:</i>	0.332	0.405	0.116	
Pooled Treatment:	0.294 (0.203)	-0.277 (0.321)	0.512** (0.240)	0.049
Observations	123	48	68	
<i>Panel D. WJ Quantitative Concepts</i>				
Cash:	0.093 (0.247)	-0.417 (0.294)	0.212 (0.339)	0.161
College:	0.006 (0.252)	-0.085 (0.343)	-0.029 (0.296)	0.901
<i>p value:</i>	0.660	0.391	0.243	
Pooled Treatment:	0.048 (0.229)	-0.252 (0.265)	0.063 (0.296)	0.428
Observations	121	48	67	
<i>Panel E. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test</i>				
Cash:	0.072 (0.228)	0.015 (0.343)	0.101 (0.309)	0.853
College:	-0.111 (0.222)	-0.792** (0.387)	0.103 (0.251)	0.052
<i>p value:</i>	0.335	0.016	0.992	
Pooled Treatment:	-0.021 (0.203)	-0.352 (0.311)	0.102 (0.250)	0.255
Observations	124	49	68	

APPENDIX TABLE 14
MEAN EFFECT SIZES FOR TEST OBJECTIVES (LATE ESTIMATES), PILOT YEAR

	<i>Whole Sample</i> (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	p-val (4)
<i>Panel A. Preschool Self Regulation Assessment</i>				
Cash:	0.342 (0.305)	-1.046* (0.590)	1.417*** (0.413)	0.001
College:	0.026 (0.279)	-1.219** (0.563)	0.623* (0.329)	0.005
<i>p value:</i>	0.182	0.591	0.005	
Pooled Treatment:	0.182 (0.265)	-1.125** (0.553)	0.936*** (0.345)	0.002
Observations	124	49	68	
<i>Panel B. Operation Span</i>				
Cash:	0.371 (0.251)	-0.492* (0.264)	0.993** (0.388)	0.002
College:	-0.179 (0.244)	-0.642** (0.322)	0.048 (0.328)	0.133
<i>p value:</i>	0.005	0.538	0.001	
Pooled Treatment:	0.086 (0.226)	-0.566** (0.259)	0.420 (0.328)	0.018
Observations	123	48	68	
<i>Panel C. Spatial Conflict</i>				
Cash:	0.144 (0.212)	-0.410 (0.309)	0.568* (0.335)	0.032
College:	-0.083 (0.231)	-0.330 (0.331)	-0.114 (0.301)	0.630
<i>p value:</i>	0.254	0.783	0.017	
Pooled Treatment:	0.026 (0.197)	-0.370 (0.288)	0.154 (0.289)	0.198
Observations	123	48	68	

APPENDIX TABLE 15
ATTRITION ESTIMATES BASED ON MID YEAR SCORES

	<i>Treatment</i>		<i>Control</i>	
	End-Year Score		End Year Score	
	Not Missing (1)	Missing (2)	Not Missing (3)	Missing (4)
<i>Panel A. Standardized Mid Year Cognitive Score</i>				
Observations	99	15	66	16
Mean Score	0.099	-0.209	0.086	-0.374
Mean Gain:	0.025	-0.126	0.033	-0.223
Fractions of Sessions Attended	0.928	0.522	.	.
<i>Panel B. Standardized Mid Year Non-Cognitive Score</i>				
Observations	101	13	74	10
Mean Score	0.075	-0.093	-0.066	0.192
Mean Gain:	0.076	-0.293	-0.155	0.275
Fractions of Sessions Attended	0.930	0.470	.	.