

# Education Markets II

Christopher Campos

Economics of Education, Spring 2026

# Outline for Today

## 1. Rise & Theory of Coordinated Assignment

- Neilson (2024): the global landscape of coordinated systems
- Abdulkadiroğlu & Sönmez (2003): the mechanism design framework
- Abdulkadiroğlu, Agarwal & Pathak (2017): welfare effects of coordination

## 2. Design Details Matter

- Kapor, Neilson & Zimmerman (2020): heterogeneous beliefs
- Terrier, Pathak, and Ren (2026): natural experiment transitioning from IA to DA
- Arteaga, Kapor, Neilson & Zimmerman (2022): search and information

## 3. Self-Selection

- The selection problem
- Characterizing more general classes of treatment effects

## 4. System Design: Campos, Bruhn, Chyn & Vazquez (2026)

- National catalog, LAUSD case study, structural model, counterfactuals

# **Coordinated Assignment**

## From School Choice to Market Design

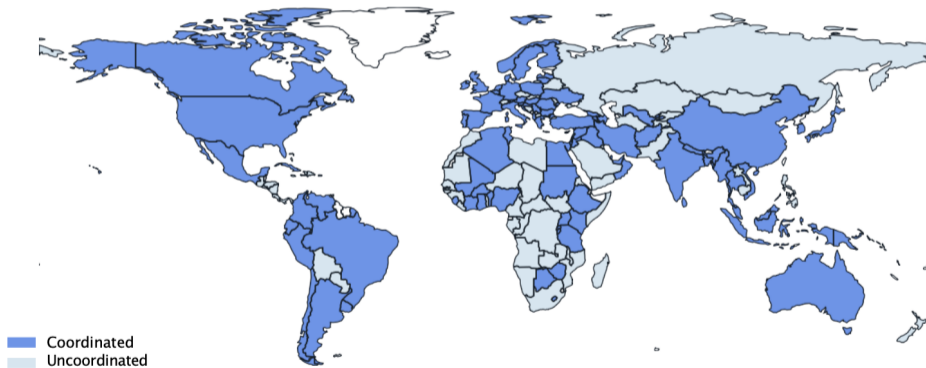
- Last week: school choice initiatives can produce supply-side effects, but results seem to be fragile and market-dependent
  - Abdulkadiroğlu et al. (2020): parents value school quality, but demand is imperfectly aligned with effectiveness
  - Campos & Kearns (2024): introducing choice raised achievement, but effects depended on the competitive environment and information available to families
- This week: The assignment mechanism, the information environment, and the participation rule all shape who benefits
  - How do different design choices translate into welfare and outcomes? How should we design markets? And how have they actually been designed in practice?
  - We begin with the global picture – a massive expansion of coordinated choice and assignment systems (CCAS) over the past two decades

# The Global Rise of Coordinated Systems

- In education markets, equilibrium prices rarely determine allocation – societies instead develop rules and regulations to allocate access
- A coordinated choice and assignment system (CCAS) requires three conditions:
  - Applicants submit a ranked list of preferences
  - An external agency coordinates enrollment across institutions
  - The system makes a single offer based on predefined rules and criteria
- Neilson (2024) reviews 149 countries across primary, secondary, and higher education
- 60 percent of countries now use some form of CCAS to determine access to education
- Adoption is positively correlated with income, urbanization, and government transparency – but 57 low- and middle-income countries also use coordinated mechanisms

# CCAS Adoption Around the World

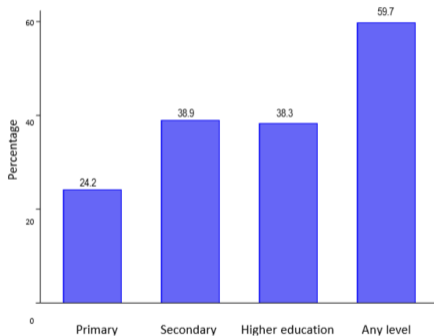
**Map 1 Countries with at least one coordinated system**



Source: Original calculations for the *World Development Report 2024*.

## CCAS Adoption Around the World

Figure 1 Percentage of countries with coordinated systems by education level

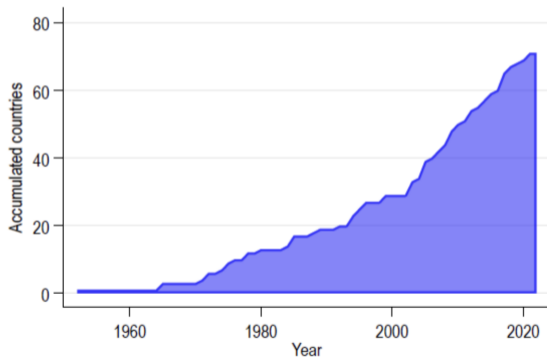


Source: Original calculations for the *World Development Report 2024*.

- CCAS more common at secondary (38.9%) and higher education (38.3%) than primary (24.2%)
- Standardized tests at higher levels facilitate priority-based assignment
- Primary systems require alternative criteria (e.g., distance, siblings)

## Rapid and Accelerating Adoption

**Figure 2** Number of accumulated countries with a CCAS



- Higher education was the early adopter — coordinated university admissions have existed for decades
- Primary and secondary adoption has accelerated sharply since 2000

## Significant Heterogeneity “In the Wild”

- There is vast heterogeneity in policy choices “in the wild” and often do not align with theoretical best practices
- Key design dimensions that vary across systems:
  - Assignment mechanism: Immediate Acceptance, Deferred Acceptance, Serial Dictatorship, Top Trading Cycles, or other
  - Preference list length: some systems cap the number of ranked options
  - Priority criteria: academic performance, distance, socioeconomic equity, siblings, gender, special needs
  - Information provision: what families know about schools, cutoffs, and admissions probabilities
  - Off-platform options: aftermarket frictions, penalties for rejecting offers
- Many of these design choices have been studied individually but most real systems combine features in configurations that have not been thoroughly studied
- The more modern theory poses assignment of students to schools (in choice environments) as an engineering problem

## The School Choice Problem

- A set of students  $I = \{i_1, \dots, i_n\}$  and a set of schools  $S = \{s_1, \dots, s_m\}$
- Each school  $s$  has a capacity  $q_s$  (maximum enrollment)
- Each student has strict preferences over schools (a complete ranking)
- Each school has a strict priority ordering over students
  - Priorities are *not* preferences – they are set by law or policy
  - Typical priority categories: sibling at school > walk zone > lottery number
- A matching assigns each student to one school; no school exceeds capacity
- Important definitions:
  - A mechanism is *strategy-proof* if no student can ever benefit from misreporting her preferences
  - A matching is *Pareto efficient* if no student can be made better off without making another worse off
  - A matching is *stable* if no student–school pair  $(i, s)$  exists such that  $i$  prefers  $s$  to her assignment and  $s$  either has empty seats or ranks  $i$  above some admitted student

## The Boston Mechanism (Immediate Acceptance)

- The mechanism used in Boston (since 1999), Columbus, Minneapolis, Seattle, and many other districts
- Round 1: Each student applies to her *first* choice
  - For each school: accept applicants one at a time by priority until capacity is filled
  - Accepted students are permanently assigned. Seats are final
  - Remaining applicants are rejected
- Round 2: Rejected students apply to their *second* choice
  - Schools with remaining seats accept by priority; reject the rest
- Round  $k$ : Continue with  $k$ th choices at schools with remaining seats
- Algorithm terminates when all students are assigned or no seats remain
- Key design feature: Some families may have incentives to “misreport” their preferences

## Boston Mechanism: The Strategic Problem

- A student with high priority at school  $s$  loses that priority unless she lists  $s$  first
- Consider a concrete example:
  - Family prefers School A (popular, oversubscribed) but has high priority at School B (sibling attends)
  - If they list A first and get rejected in Round 1, they apply to B in Round 2
  - But B may have already filled its seats with Round 1 applicants
  - The family's priority advantage at B is *wasted*
- Rational response: list B first even though they prefer A
- The mechanism forces families to play a complicated admissions game:
  - Which schools are oversubscribed? What are my odds?
  - Should I "waste" my first choice on a reach school?
- Sophisticated families with better information may gain an advantage
- Pathak & Sönmez (2008): removing the strategic burden "levels the playing field" — disadvantaged families benefit most from strategy-proof mechanisms

## Boston Mechanism: Formally Not Strategy-Proof

- The Boston mechanism is not strategy-proof: there exist preference profiles under which a student strictly benefits from misreporting
- The mechanism gives “very strong incentives to students and their parents to misrepresent their preferences by improving ranks of those schools for which they have high priority”
- Two consequences:
  - Unfairness: families who misread the strategic environment are punished – they “waste” their top choice and lose priority elsewhere
  - Inefficiency: since families misrepresent, the mechanism operates on distorted inputs. The resulting matching is unlikely to be Pareto efficient

## Deferred Acceptance (Student-Proposing Gale-Shapley)

- Interpret school priorities as preferences → apply the Gale-Shapley (1962) college admissions algorithm
- Step 1: Each student proposes to her first choice
  - Each school tentatively holds the highest-priority applicants up to capacity
  - Remaining applicants are rejected
  - Key: holds are tentative, not final!
- Step  $k$ : Each rejected student proposes to her next choice
  - Each school considers *new proposers together with currently held students*
  - Keeps the top applicants by priority up to capacity; rejects the rest
- Algorithm terminates when no student is rejected (no new proposals)
- Each student is assigned her final tentative hold
- The difference from Boston: a student held at step  $k$  can still be displaced at step  $k + 1$  by a higher-priority applicant → priorities are not “wasted”

## Deferred Acceptance: Properties

- Student-proposing DA Pareto-dominates any other mechanism that eliminates justified envy (Gale and Shapley 1962)
  - It is student-optimal among all stable matchings
- DA is strategy-proof (Roth 1982)
  - Truthful preference revelation is a *weakly dominant strategy*
  - Families never benefit from misreporting
- DA eliminates justified envy (stability):
  - No unmatched pair  $(i, s)$  where student  $i$  prefers  $s$  to her assignment and has higher priority at  $s$  than some student assigned there
- Limitation: DA is not “problem free” because stability can conflict with Pareto efficiency
  - There exist preference profiles where the DA outcome is Pareto-dominated

## Top Trading Cycles (TTC)

- An alternative that prioritizes efficiency over stability
- Step 1: Each student points to her favorite school. Each school points to its highest-priority student. Since the graph is finite, at least one cycle forms.
  - Execute all cycles: assign each student in a cycle to the school she points to
  - Remove assigned students; reduce school counters by one
- Step  $k$ : Repeat among remaining students and schools with available seats
- TTC is Pareto efficient
  - Any student who leaves at step  $k$  gets her top choice among remaining schools – no one can be made better off without hurting someone who left earlier
- TTC is strategy-proof
  - Intuition: at each step, cycles that form before you leave are unaffected by your report. Truthfully pointing to your best remaining option weakly dominates.
- Not stable: TTC does not eliminate all justified envy – a student may envy another's assignment even when she has higher priority

## Three Mechanisms: IA, DA, and TTC

- Immediate Acceptance (IA / Boston): Process rounds by student ranks; rejected students lose seats permanently
- Deferred Acceptance (DA / Gale-Shapley): Rejections are tentative – students can displace others in later rounds
- Top Trading Cycles (TTC): Students “trade” priority claims; cycles of mutual improvement are executed

Property	IA	DA	TTC
Strategy-proof	×	✓	✓
Pareto efficient	×	×	✓
Eliminates justified envy (stable)	×	✓	×

- IA punishes naïve families who rank truthfully – sophisticated families strategically avoid listing competitive schools
- DA vs. TTC depends on how policy makers interpret priorities:
  - Priorities as hard constraints (fairness/legal) → DA
  - Priorities as soft signals (tradeable opportunity) → TTC
- Does all of this matter in practice?

## Abdulkadiroğlu, Agarwal & Pathak (2017): Welfare Effects of Coordinated Assignment

- NYC high school assignment had a multi-offer, uncoordinated system until 2003
- Pre-2003 *uncoordinated* mechanism:
  - Students rank at most 5 programs; schools see the full rank-order list
  - Schools independently admit, waitlist, or reject; students may receive multiple offers
  - 3 rounds of offers/acceptances – insufficient to clear the market
  - Some schools only consider students who ranked them first
- Result: 37% of students administratively placed at schools near home after the main round
- Only half of students placed in the main round; high-achieving and Manhattan students overrepresented in early rounds
- In fall 2003, NYC adopted a coordinated mechanism based on student-proposing DA: rank up to 12 programs, schools cannot see rankings, single lottery breaks ties

## AAP (2017): Descriptive Evidence on the Reform

- Under DA, 82% of students assigned in the main round (vs. 48% under old system)
- Administrative assignments fall from 37% to 11%
- Administratively assigned students experience severe mismatch:
  - Ranked schools avg 5.1 miles from home; assigned to schools 1.6 miles away
  - Math achievement gap of 4.4 pp; ranked schools have 400+ fewer 9th graders
- Average distance to assigned school *increases* by 0.69 miles under the new mechanism
- But exit rates fall (8.5% → 6.4%) and enrollment at non-assigned schools falls (18.6% → 11.4%)
- The new mechanism distributes access more evenly across boroughs, races, and achievement levels
- How does this all translate to welfare?

## AAP (2017): Demand Model

- DA is strategy-proof  $\Rightarrow$  treat submitted rankings as truthful preferences
- Utility of student  $i$  from program  $j$ :

$$u_{ij} = \delta_j + \sum_l \alpha^l z_i^l x_j^l + \sum_k \gamma_i^k x_j^k - d_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

with  $\delta_j = \mathbf{x}_j \beta + \xi_j$ ,  $\gamma_i \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \Sigma_\gamma)$ ,  $\varepsilon_{ij} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_\varepsilon^2)$

- Distance  $d_{ij}$  enters with coefficient  $-1$  (numeraire): welfare measured in miles of willingness to travel
- Key identifying assumption:  $(\gamma_i, \varepsilon_{ij}) \perp d_{ij} \mid \mathbf{z}_i, \mathbf{x}_j, \xi_j$
- Estimation via Gibbs sampling using full rank-order data
- Findings: high-achieving families students value achievement more; minority students less attracted to high-%-white schools; substantial unobserved heterogeneity via random coefficients
- With an estimated demand system, AAP can then calculate welfare for numerous counterfactual environments

## AAP (2017): Mechanism Design Tradeoffs

- Welfare measured as  $\bar{W}(\mu) = \frac{1}{|Z|} \sum_i E[u_{i\mu(i)} \mid \mathbf{r}_i]$  in distance units
  - Why not  $\bar{W}(\mu) = \frac{1}{|Z|} \sum_i u_{i\mu(i)}$ ?
- Two benchmarks define the welfare range:
  - *Neighborhood assignment* (closest school subject to capacity): lower bound
  - *Utilitarian optimum* ( $\max \sum u_{ij} a_{ij}$  s.t. capacity): upper bound
  - Range: 18.96 miles
- Where do different mechanisms fall?
  - DA (coordinated mechanism):  $-3.73$  miles from optimum  $\Rightarrow$  80% of range
  - Student-optimal stable (Erdil & Ergin 2008): additional 0.11 miles (0.6%)
  - Pareto efficient (TTC): additional 0.62 miles total (3.3%)
- Simply having coordinated choice captures the vast majority of welfare; algorithmic refinements are second-order

## AAP (2017): Coordinated vs. Uncoordinated Mechanism

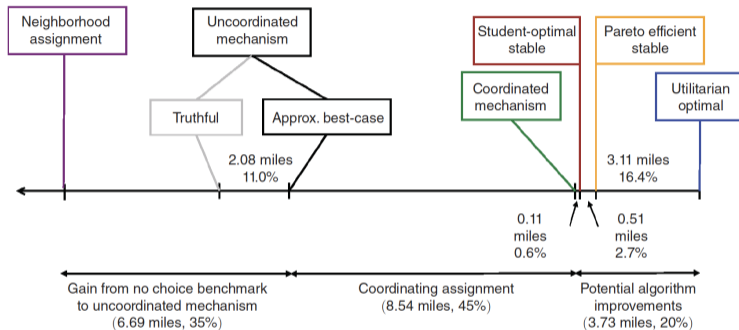


FIGURE 5. COORDINATING ASSIGNMENTS VERSUS ALGORITHM IMPROVEMENTS

- Coordination alone represents  $\sim 45\%$  of the total welfare range (8.54 miles)
- This is more than double the possible gain from all algorithm improvements (20% of range)
- Gains positive for every subgroup; new mechanism assigns students further from home but to much more preferred schools

## AAP (2017): Who Benefits?

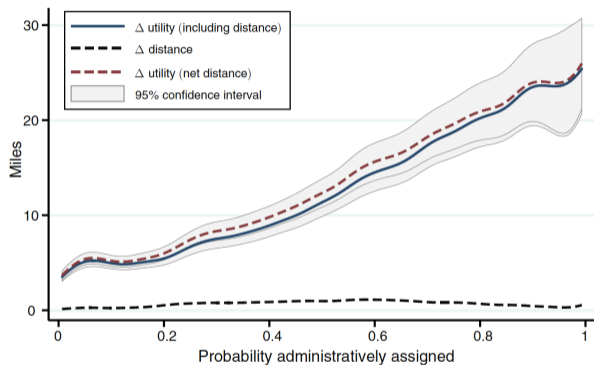
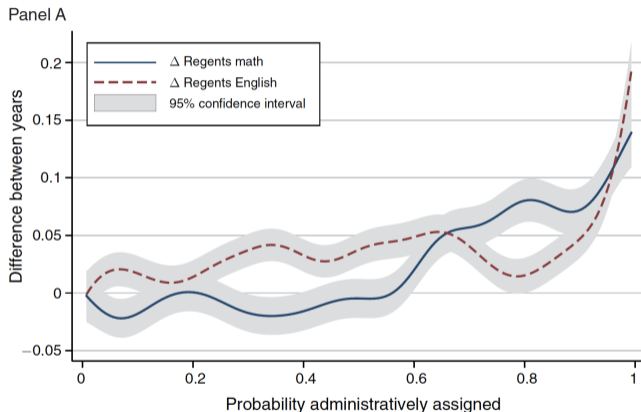


FIGURE 6. CHANGE IN STUDENT WELFARE BY PROPENSITY TO BE ADMINISTRATIVELY ASSIGNED IN THE UNCOORDINATED MECHANISM

- Construct admin-assignment propensity score from student demographics and census tract FEs
- The welfare impacts across this propensity score are increasing: those most likely to be administratively assigned had largest welfare gains

## AAP (2017): Who Benefits?



- Similar exercise like before but now consider student achievement instead of welfare
- Cross-cohort comparisons of future outcomes, holding constant risk of administrative assignment
- Suggestive evidence that those who faced largest admin. assignment risk, also had the largest achievement gains

## AAP (2017): Takeaways

- Uncoordinated assignment generated severe congestion: 37% of students administratively placed at undesirable schools
- The coordinated DA mechanism achieves 80% of the welfare range from neighborhood assignment to the utilitarian max
- Coordinating admissions (~45% of range) dwarfs potential gains from algorithm refinements (~3.3% of range)
- The largest beneficiaries are students most likely to have been administratively assigned
- Allocative improvements are mirrored by suggestive gains in test scores and graduation for the most affected students
- The theory assumes families know their preferences, know their admissions chances (when relevant), know all of their options, etc. What happens if some of this is not true?

**Design Details Matter**

## Kapor, Neilson, and Zimmerman (2020): Heterogeneous Beliefs and School Choice Mechanisms

- Setting: New Haven, CT – a low-income, majority-minority district
  - Centralized school choice since at least 1997
  - Mechanism closely resembles the Boston / Immediate Acceptance mechanism
  - Rising 9th graders choose among 12 high schools; can list up to 4
- Theoretical debate: which mechanism is better?
  - Boston mechanism lets families express cardinal preference intensity through strategic ranking
  - DA is strategy-proof but loses this expressiveness channel
  - Under rational expectations, theory is ambiguous – an *empirical* question
- The key innovation: original household survey of 417 rising 9th graders
  - In-person interviews at parents' homes (2015 and 2017)
  - Elicit *preferences, beliefs about admissions chances, and strategic sophistication*
  - Link survey data to administrative records of the choice process
- First paper to collect belief data from school choice participants

## Families Don't Understand the Mechanism

- Belief errors are enormous:
  - Mean absolute error between subjective beliefs and rational-expectations admissions probabilities: 37 percentage points
  - Respondents are 8 pp more optimistic on average, with wide spread
- Misunderstanding is systematic:
  - Only 3.4% correctly identified both the priority group ordering *and* the role of ranking in determining admissions
  - Families are 42 pp more optimistic about second-ranked options than first-ranked — they don't understand how much *ranking position* matters
- Strategic behavior is common but often mistaken:
  - 32% of respondents play strategically (list a non-favorite school first)
  - But 48% of strategic players are "mistaken strategic" — they would have been better off listing their true favorite first
  - These families attempt to game the system but do so based on wrong beliefs
- Subjective beliefs predict behavior; rational expectations do not

## Incorporating Real Beliefs Reverses the Policy Conclusion

- Whether DA beats Boston depends *entirely* on what you assume about beliefs

	Baseline	DA	DA – Baseline	No survey DA – Baseline
Mean welfare	14.42	18.35	+3.93 (27% of mean)	–1.80 (reversal)

Welfare in miles-traveled equivalents. "No survey DA" imposes rational expectations.

- With real belief data: switching Boston → DA increases welfare by 3.9 miles
- With rational expectations assumption: switching decreases welfare by 1.8 miles
- The difference is 5.7 miles – equal to 40% of mean welfare at baseline
- Incorporating real beliefs flips the policy recommendation

# Takeaways

- The theoretical literature frames Boston vs. DA as a tradeoff:
  - Boston: rewards strategic play, allows expression of cardinal preferences
  - DA: strategy-proof, but sacrifices the expressiveness channel
- KNZ's contribution: this tradeoff depends on *how informed families actually are*
  - If families have rational expectations  $\Rightarrow$  Boston does better (expressiveness  $>$  mistakes)
  - If families have heterogeneous, error-prone beliefs  $\Rightarrow$  DA performs better (mistakes  $>$  expressiveness)
- KNZ provide a nice welfare analysis but like all papers has some limitations
  - Beliefs are from a selected sample; representative of the typical NH family? Are they understating or overstating the importance of biased beliefs?
  - Model-based results lack policy variation. Can we find a natural experiment?

## Terrier, Pathak, and Ren (2026): From Immediate Acceptance to Deferred Acceptance

- England assigns students to secondary schools (age 11) through 152 local authorities (LAs)
- Before 2008, LAs could use either Immediate Acceptance (IA) or Deferred Acceptance (DA)
  - 16 “pure IA” LAs: all schools use First Preference First (FPF) criterion
  - 49 “pure DA” LAs: all schools use Equal Preference (EP) criterion
- The 2007 School Admissions Code banned IA/FPF nationwide, effective September 2008
  - Motivated by equity concerns: “those who get it wrong or don’t understand, lose out”
- Key institutional features:
  - Parents rank 3–6 schools; all IA LAs limited lists to 3
  - Selective schools (grammar schools) admit via test scores – parents did not know results before submitting preferences
  - Distance-based priorities at non-selective schools ⇒ residential segregation maps into priority segregation

## Conceptual Framework: Two Competing Effects

- Under IA, sophisticated (high-SES) parents strategically avoid ranking oversubscribed schools where admission is uncertain
- **Competition-for-top-schools effect:** Sophisticated parents' strategic avoidance reduces competition for popular schools, benefiting sincere (low-SES) applicants who rank truthfully
- **Trickle-down effect:** Sincere parents who are rejected from their first choice lose priority at second/third choices under IA (because other students ranked those schools first)
- The net effect for low-SES students depends on:
  - Uncertainty in admission chances (amplifies strategic mistakes)
  - Level of competition for top schools (amplifies competition effect)
  - Oversubscription at lower-ranked schools (amplifies trickle-down)
  - Availability of outside options / private schools (dampens strategic incentives)

## Conceptual Framework: Two Competing Effects

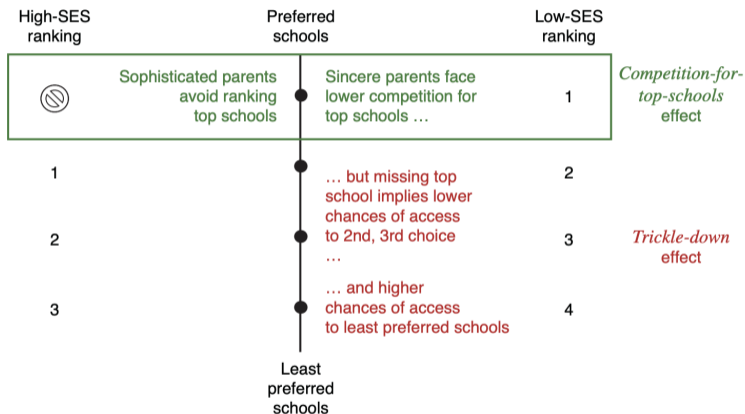


FIGURE 1. ILLUSTRATION OF THE *COMPETITION-FOR-TOP-SCHOOLS* AND *TRICKLE-DOWN* EFFECTS

## Research Design and Data

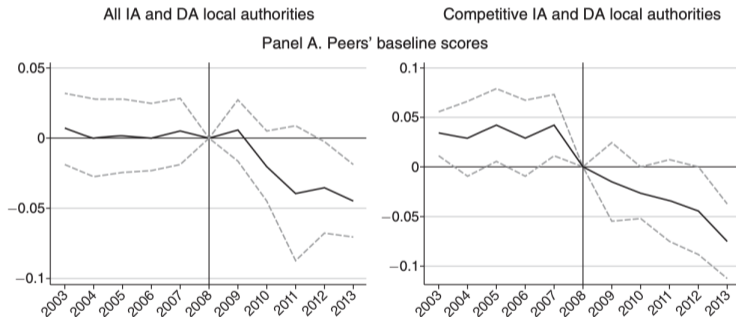
- Difference-in-differences: Compare outcomes in 16 IA LAs (treated) vs. 49 DA LAs (control), before and after the 2008 ban
- Triple-difference specification to estimate heterogeneous effects by SES:

$$Y_{ilt} = \mu + \alpha \cdot IA_l + \beta \cdot Post_t + \phi \cdot LowSES_i + \gamma \cdot IA_l \cdot Post_t + \eta \cdot IA_l \cdot Post_t \cdot LowSES_i + \delta X_{ilt} + \varepsilon_{ilt}$$

- $\gamma$ : effect on high-SES students in IA LAs relative to DA
- $\eta$ : differential effect for low-SES vs. high-SES (key parameter)
- Data: National Pupil Database, 2002–2014: universe of English students
  - KS2 scores (age 11, pre-assignment), KS3 (age 14), GCSE (age 16)
  - School VA computed from GCSE outcomes with EB shrinkage

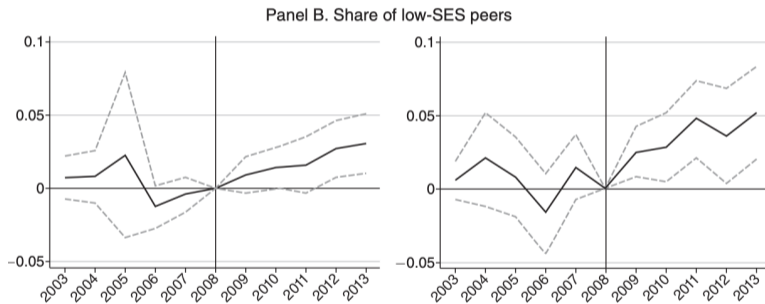
# The IA-to-DA transition **widened the SES gap** in school quality measures

*Enroll in schools with lower achieving students*



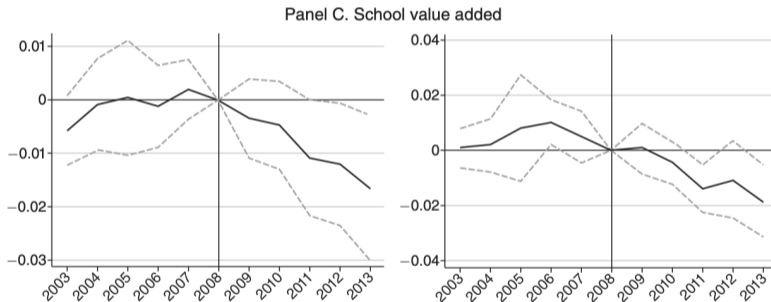
## The IA-to-DA transition **widened the SES gap** in school quality measures

*Enroll in schools with higher concentration of low-SES students*



## The IA-to-DA transition **widened the SES gap** in school quality measures

*Enroll in lower quality schools*



## Takeaways

- Although low-SES students enroll in worse schools, no achievement impacts are found
- Strategy-proofness is not automatically equity-enhancing
  - Under IA, sophisticated parents' strategic mistakes inadvertently benefited low-SES students
  - DA removes this "accidental equity" channel by encouraging truthful reporting from all
- The competitive environment matters: effects are concentrated where schools are vertically differentiated and oversubscribed
- Not in this paper, but Akbarpour et al. (2022) find that the presence of outside options further distorts who benefits from IA-to-DA transitions.
  - Families with better outside options are more likely to report truthfully
- Policy implication: transitioning to DA may require complementary policies (de-screening, reserves for disadvantaged groups) if one wants to preserve or improve equity
- What other mistakes or inefficiencies can arise in these environments?

## Artega et al. (2022): Smart Matching Platforms

- The canonical school choice model assumes applicants know which schools are available to them
- In reality, learning about schools is costly sequential search:
  - Internet research, school visits, phone calls, word of mouth
- If a family is overoptimistic about placement at listed schools, the perceived value of searching for backups falls → she stops too early
- Result: short application portfolios, high nonplacement risk, worse matches
- Strategy-proofness solves the problem *inside* the mechanism but not the search problem that *precedes* it
- Can “smart matching platforms” alleviate this concern and increase efficiency in centralized assignment systems?

# A Model for Searching Schools with Biased Beliefs

## Preliminaries

- Applicants start with consideration set  $\mathcal{C}_0 = \{1, 2, 3, \dots, N_0\} \subset \mathcal{J}$  where  $\mathcal{J}$  is the set of all schools
- Applicants receive utility  $u_j$  from placement at  $j$
- Assume  $u_1 > u_2 > \dots > u_{N_0} > 0$  measured relative to an outside option with utility 0
- Applicants know the  $u_j$  for each  $j \in \mathcal{C}_0$  and have subjective beliefs about their admission chances  $p_j$
- Applicants ignore correlation of admissions probabilities across schools

## Searching

- Applicants may choose to pay a cost  $\kappa$  to add a school to  $\mathcal{C}_0$
- If they choose to do so, the subjective probability and utility are drawn from  $F_{p,u}(p, u)$
- Applicants therefore learn about a new school's  $u_s$  and have a subjective belief about their admission chances  $p_s$

## The Value of Learning About a School

Let  $R_j = 1 - p_j$  be the subjective risk of non-placement at  $j$ . The value of the optimal portfolio given  $\mathcal{C}_0$  in the absence of searching is

$$V(\mathcal{C}_0) = p_1 u_1 + p_2 u_2 R_1 + \cdots + p_{N_0} u_{N_0} \prod_{j < N_0} R_j$$

The value of the optimal portfolio given a consideration set with an augmented school  $s$ ,  $\mathcal{C} = \mathcal{C}_0 \cup \{s\}$  is

$$V(\mathcal{C}) = \underbrace{\sum_{j=1}^{r-1} p_j u_j \prod_{j' < j} R_{j'}}_{\text{Schools preferred to } s} + \underbrace{p_s u_s \prod_{j' < r} R_{j'}}_{\text{New school } s} + \underbrace{\sum_{j=r}^{N_0} p_j u_j R_s \prod_{j' < j} R_{j'}}_{\text{Schools less preferred than } s}$$

The value of searching is therefore

$$V(\mathcal{C}) - V(\mathcal{C}_0) = p_s (u_s - \Gamma_r) \prod_{j < r} R_j$$

where

$$\Gamma_r = \sum_{j=r}^{N_0} p_j u_j \prod_{j'=r}^{j-1} R_{j'}$$

is the expected value of schools with rank  $r = \min\{j \in \mathcal{C}_0 : u_j < u_s\}$  or greater

## How Optimism Influences Value of Adding Schools

- Assume belief errors are multiplicative,  $R_j = (1 - a)R_j^*$ , where  $R_j^*$  is the true risk. Similarly, let  $p_j^* = 1 - R_j^*$  denote the true admission chances at  $j$ .
- As  $a$  gets larger, people assume their admissions chances at schools are higher than they really are
- Taking logs of the value of search we have

$$\log(V(C) - V(C_0)) = \log(1 - (1 - a)R_s^*) + \log(u_s - \Gamma_r) + \sum_{j < r} (\log(1 - a) + \log(R_j^*))$$

- The derivative with respect to  $a$ :

$$\frac{d \log(V(C) - V(C_0))}{da} = \underbrace{\frac{1 - r}{1 - a}}_{\text{Value of adding } s; < 0} + \underbrace{\frac{R_s^*}{1 - R_s^*(1 - a)}}_{\text{Additional expected utility due to optimism; } > 0} + \underbrace{\frac{d\Gamma_r}{da} \frac{1}{\Gamma_r - u_s}}_{\text{Effect on expected value of being ranked below } s; < 0}$$

# Intervention Design

## Setting

- Chile adopts a centralized assignment system for their K-12 system in 2016
- DA assignment system without any list length limits
- Sibling, school employee, and alumni priorities + random tiebreaker used to ration access at oversubscribed schools
- Applicants apply during August each year; platform open for roughly one month

## Policy Motivation and Intervention

- Nonplacement risk was a major concern for education policy makers in Chile ( 21 % unplaced in the first round of admissions)
- Worked with policymakers to design an intervention to “warn” applicants of their nonplacement risk (using pop-ups or reminders) and encourage adding more schools to their application

# Intervention Design

## Pop-ups

- Compute a predicted risk for each applicant
- Applications with nonplacement risk exceeding 30% flagged as “risky” and receive a pop-up
- Flagged applicants receive a warning message encouraging them to add more schools

## Reminders

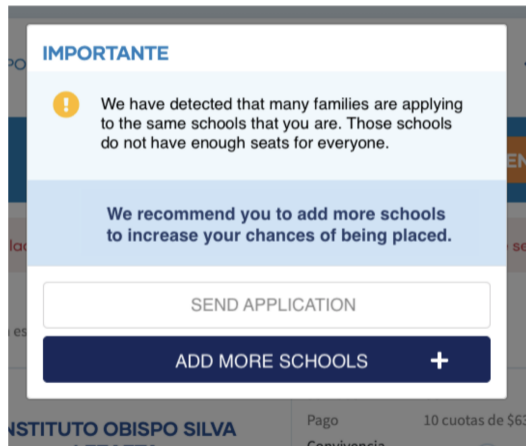
- In 2018, the Chilean Ministry of Education sent an SMS message to all risky students four days before the application deadline
- In 2019, no reminders were sent
- In 2020, three reminders are randomized to risky applicants

## Survey

- Mineduc contacts applicants in 2020; 13% response rate
- Modules about preferences, beliefs, and search designed to provide context for the interventions

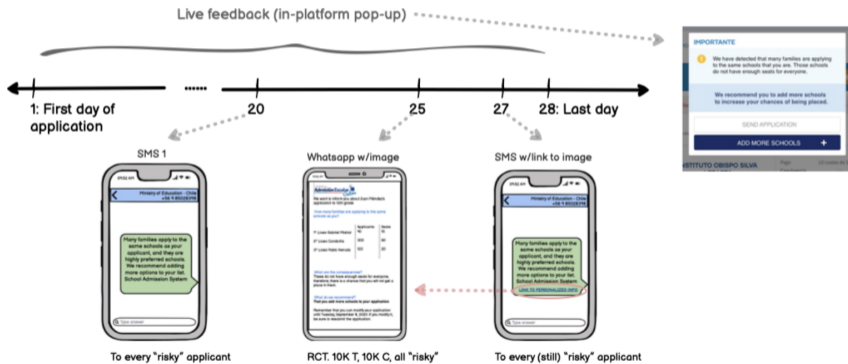
## Pop-up Example

Figure B.I  
Platform Pop-Up Intervention– 2018 and 2019



# Reminder Timeline

Figure B.II  
Timeline of Feedback Interventions– 2020



# Survey Evidence

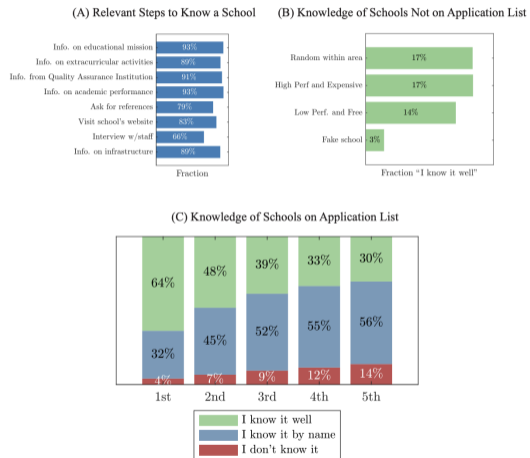
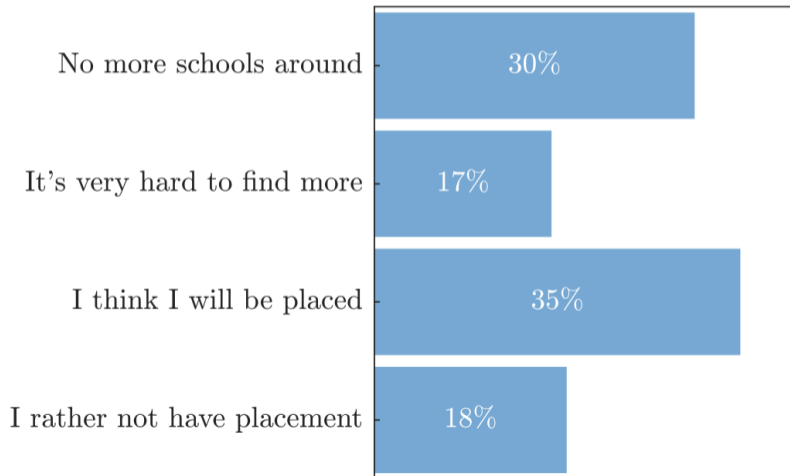


FIGURE II

Knowledge of and Search for Schools

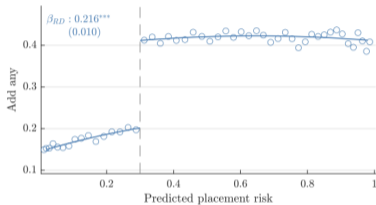
## Survey Evidence

### (A) Stated Reason for Not Adding More Schools

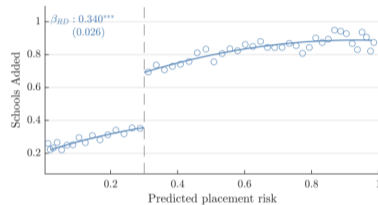
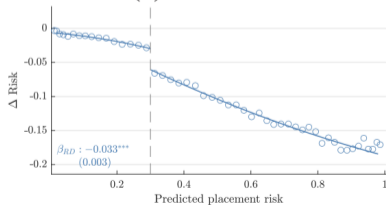


## RD Evidence

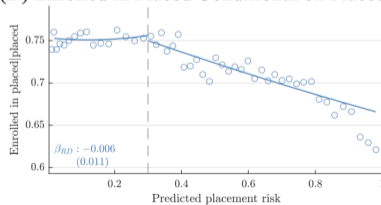
(A) Add at Least One School



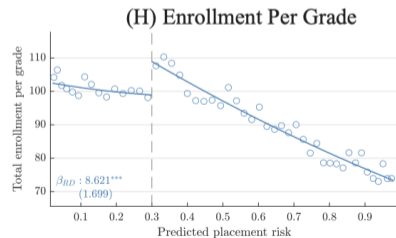
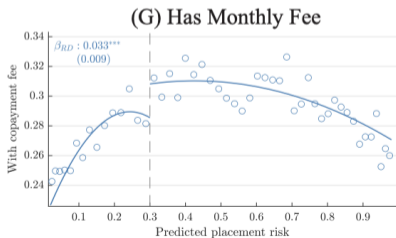
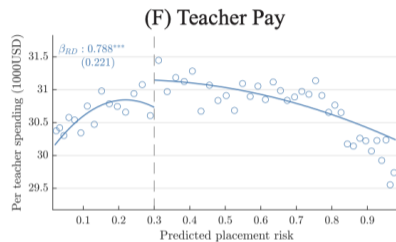
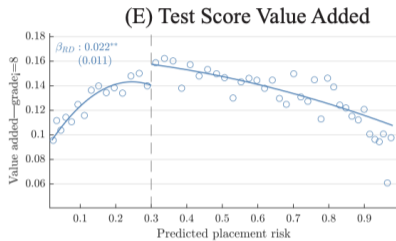
(B) Schools Added

(C)  $\Delta$  Risk

(D) Enrolled in Placed Conditional on Placed



## RD Evidence



## Effects on Beliefs

TABLE V  
RD ESTIMATES OF PLATFORM POP-UP EFFECTS ON SUBJECTIVE BELIEFS

	2020 (1)	$E[Y X = 0.3^-]$ (2)
Panel A: Survey takeup and completion		
Survey take-up	-0.020 (0.010)	0.173
Answered expectation questions	-0.013 (0.010)	0.150
Panel B: Application behavior in survey sample		
Add any	0.196 (0.033)	0.265
$\Delta$ Risk	-0.016 (0.008)	-0.027
Panel C: Subjective beliefs		
Subjective $P$ (not assigned to any)	0.036 (0.017)	0.165
Subjective $P$ (assigned to 1st)	-0.049 (0.021)	0.754
Panel D: Stated preferences		
Satisfaction if assigned to 1st choice (1-7)	-0.017 (0.047)	6.855
$N$ to the left of the cutoff	1,381	
$N$ to the right of the cutoff	1,500	

## Testing the Impacts of Personalization

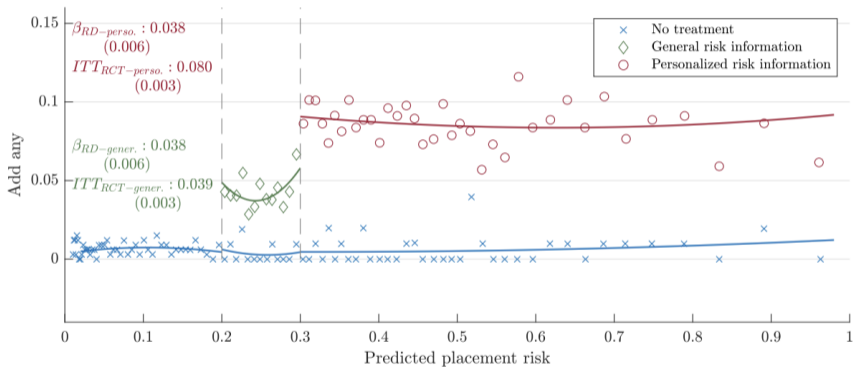


FIGURE VII

## Arteaga et al. (2022) Takeaways

- The mechanism design literature focuses on what happens *after* families submit their lists
- But the hardest part of school choice may be what comes *before*: finding schools, learning about them, and building a portfolio
- Strategy-proofness → no need to misrepresent preferences
- But strategy-proofness does *not* solve:
  - The search problem: which schools exist and are worth listing?
  - The beliefs problem: how likely am I to be placed?
  - The information problem: what are these schools actually like?

## Transition: From Welfare to Outcomes

- We have shown that:
  - Mechanism choice matters for welfare (Abdulkadiroğlu, Agarwal & Pathak 2017)
  - Beliefs matter for behavior and welfare rankings (Kapoor, Neilson & Zimmerman 2020)
  - Changing mechanisms affects allocation of students to schools, potentially hurting low-SES students but the details matter (Terrier, Pathak, and Ren 2026)
  - Search frictions matter (Arteaga et al. 2022)
- These papers show that the allocation of students to schools is changes and as a consequence we should expect changes in outcomes
- But we have limited evidence on how system design choices map to student achievement outcomes
- Campos & Kearns (2024) is one exception but natural experiments are hard to find
- To formally assess how market-level design features shape outcomes – who participates, who benefits, and by how much – we need to combine quasi-experimental variation with structural modeling that characterizes the distribution of treatment effects
- This motivates our next detour: selection models

# Self-Selection

# Self-Selection

- Last lecture we took a discrete choice detour: tools to measure what families want
- Now we need a self-selection detour: tools that help us characterize who benefits
- A core problem: in the most compelling designs (lotteries), we are limited to the set of families that apply to oversubscribed schools
  - Families self-select into applying
  - It is likely their benefits differ from the typical student
  - Observational comparisons between applicants and non-applicants are unlikely to isolate causal effects
  - We are therefore unable to say much about what benefits would look like for non-participants
- This is a class of selection problem (Heckman 1974, 1979)
- Why this is important in general?
  - A useful balance of external vs internal validity
  - Relevant anywhere there's self-selection with heterogeneous returns (job training, insurance take-up, migration, college major)
  - Useful to answer richer counterfactual and system/market-level questions

## The Selection Problem: Setup

- Potential outcomes (e.g., test scores with/without a choice school):

$$Y_i(1) = \alpha_1 + X_i' \beta_1 + \epsilon_{i1}$$

$$Y_i(0) = \alpha_0 + X_i' \beta_0 + \epsilon_{i0}$$

where  $E[\epsilon_{it} | X_i] = 0$

- Selection rule (e.g., applies to a choice school):

$$D_i = \mathbf{1}\{X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi - \eta_i > 0\}$$

where  $Z_i$  shifts participation but is excludable from potential outcomes

- We observe  $Y_i = D_i Y_i(1) + (1 - D_i) Y_i(0)$ , so each potential outcome is observed on a selected sample
- The bias: If  $\text{Cov}(\epsilon_{it}, \eta_i) \neq 0$ , comparing mean outcomes across  $D_i = 1$  and  $D_i = 0$  confounds the causal effect with the selection effect:

$$E[Y_i(1) | X_i, D_i = 1] - E[Y_i(0) | X_i, D_i = 0] \neq ATE$$

## Correcting for Selection

- One approach is to assume  $E[\epsilon_{it} | X_i, \eta_i] = \delta_t \eta_i$  (linearity of each potential outcome error in the selection error)
- Under normality of  $\eta_i$ , the CEFs of observed outcomes are:

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] = \alpha_1 + X_i' \beta_1 + \rho_1 \sigma_1 \cdot \lambda^-(X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi)$$

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 0] = \alpha_0 + X_i' \beta_0 + \rho_0 \sigma_0 \cdot \lambda^+(X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi)$$

- The selection correction terms are

$$\lambda^-(v) = \frac{\phi(v)}{\Phi(v)}, \quad \lambda^+(v) = \frac{\phi(v)}{1 - \Phi(v)}$$

- The two-step procedure is *semiparametric*—it requires linearity of  $E[\epsilon_{it} | \eta_i]$ , not full joint normality or homoskedasticity
- Joint normality buys us a known functional form for  $\lambda(\cdot)$ , but the bias-correction logic doesn't depend on it

## Two-Sided Heckit

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] = \alpha_1 + X_i' \beta_1 + \rho_1 \sigma_1 \lambda^-(v_i)$$

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 0] = \alpha_0 + X_i' \beta_0 + \rho_0 \sigma_0 \lambda^+(v_i)$$

- We can estimate this model in two steps: first estimate a probit for  $D_i$ , then selection-correct *both* the treated and untreated samples
- Under valid exclusion restrictions and the maintained functional-form assumptions, this delivers mean potential-outcome objects such as ATE, TOT, and TUT
- But what *identifies* the selection correction separately from the causal parameters?

## What Identifies the Selection Correction?

- To see the issue clearly, consider one side with no covariates:

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \rho_1 \sigma_1 \cdot \lambda^-(\hat{\pi}) + u_i = \psi + u_i$$

The constant identifies  $\psi$ , but  $\alpha_1$  and  $\rho_1 \sigma_1$  are not separately identified

- With covariates, suppose outcome and selection are both saturated in  $X_i$ :

$$\begin{aligned} Y_i &= \sum_k \beta_k \mathbf{1}\{X_i = k\} + \rho_1 \sigma_1 \cdot \sum_k \lambda^-(\hat{\gamma}_k) \mathbf{1}\{X_i = k\} + u_i \\ &= \sum_k \underbrace{[\beta_k + \rho_1 \sigma_1 \cdot \lambda^-(\hat{\gamma}_k)]}_{\text{not separately identified}} \mathbf{1}\{X_i = k\} + u_i \end{aligned}$$

- $X_i$  main effects and the Mills ratio are collinear when both are unrestricted functions of  $X_i$

## Functional Form Is Not Enough

- With a linear (non-saturated) specification in  $X_i$ :

$$Y_i = X_i' \beta_1 + \rho_1 \sigma_1 \cdot \lambda^-(X_i' \hat{\gamma}) + u_i$$

$X_i' \beta_1$  is linear and  $\lambda^-(X_i' \hat{\gamma})$  is nonlinear, so they are technically separable

- A selection model with the same variables in both steps is identified *only by functional form restrictions*
- The same logic applies to both sides: without additional variation,  $\alpha_t$  and  $\rho_t \sigma_t$  are not separately identified on either

## Exclusion Restrictions Solve the Problem

- Include variables  $Z_i$  in the selection equation that are excluded from potential outcomes:

$$D_i = \mathbf{1}\{X_i'\gamma + Z_i'\pi - \eta_i > 0\}, \quad E[\epsilon_{it} | X_i, Z_i] = 0$$

- The corrected outcome equation (treated side) becomes:

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] = \alpha_1 + X_i'\beta_1 + \rho_1\sigma_1 \cdot \lambda^-(X_i'\gamma + Z_i'\pi)$$

- If  $\pi \neq 0$ , variation in  $Z_i$  separately identifies the selection term, even if  $X_i$  is saturated
- The requirements for  $Z_i$  are the same as for a good instrument:
  - *Relevance*:  $Z_i$  shifts the probability of participation ( $\pi \neq 0$ )
  - *Exclusion*:  $Z_i$  doesn't belong in the potential outcome equations
- This should be familiar: control function and IV are methods for solving the same problem

## Other Functional Forms

- Normality is not the only distributional assumption one can make
- Consider the one-sided model

$$Y_i = X_i' \beta + \epsilon_i$$
$$D_i = \mathbf{1}\{X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi - \eta_i > 0\}$$

- We can assume

$$E[\epsilon_i \mid X_i, Z_i, \eta_i] = \delta \eta_i \quad \text{and} \quad \eta_i \mid X_i, Z_i \sim U(0, 1)$$

- Also assume interior support:

$$0 \leq X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi \leq 1$$

so the implied selection probability stays inside the unit interval

## LPM Selection

- The first stage is now a linear probability model:

$$P(D_i = 1 | X_i, Z_i) = X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi$$

- The selected CEF for the LPM selection model is

$$\begin{aligned} E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] &= X_i' \beta + \delta E[\eta_i | X_i, Z_i, \eta_i < X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi] \\ &= X_i' \beta + \frac{\delta}{2} (X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi) \end{aligned}$$

- With no instrument  $Z_i$ , the selection correction is a second linear function of  $X_i$ —exactly the collinearity problem from earlier
- Exclusion restrictions are needed for identification regardless of the distributional assumption

## General Approach

- More generally, assume  $\eta_i \mid X_i, Z_i$  has some arbitrary distribution function  $F_\eta(\cdot)$
- We can write the selected outcome CEF:

$$\begin{aligned} E[Y_i \mid X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] &= X_i' \beta + E[\epsilon_i \mid X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] \\ &= X_i' \beta + E[\epsilon_i \mid X_i, Z_i, \eta_i < X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi] \\ &= X_i' \beta + E[\epsilon_i \mid X_i, Z_i, F_\eta(\eta_i) < F_\eta(X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi)] \\ &= X_i' \beta + g\left(F_\eta(X_i' \gamma + Z_i' \pi)\right) \\ &= X_i' \beta + g(\Pr[D_i = 1 \mid X_i, Z_i]) \end{aligned}$$

- The selection bias is some unknown function of the probability of selection

## General Approach

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] = X_i' \beta + g(\Pr[D_i = 1 | X_i, Z_i])$$

- Linear selection model uses  $g(p) = \delta p$
- Heckit model uses  $g(p) = \delta \lambda(\Phi^{-1}(p))$
- Semiparametric approach: flexible model for  $g(\cdot)$
- In all cases, identification of  $\beta$  separately from  $g(\cdot)$  requires that  $Z_i$  generates variation in  $\Pr[D_i = 1 | X_i, Z_i]$  beyond what  $X_i$  alone provides

## What Does the Selection Correction Tell Us?

- We've established that the selection bias is some function of the propensity score:

$$E[Y_i | X_i, Z_i, D_i = 1] = X_i' \beta + g(p(X_i, Z_i))$$

- So far we've treated  $g(\cdot)$  as a *nuisance*—something to control for
- But  $g(\cdot)$  is substantively informative: it encodes how unobserved determinants of outcomes covary with the propensity to participate
- In particular, consider the local effect of expanding participation by marginally raising  $p$ :

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial p} E[Y_i | X_i, D_i = 1, P_i = p] = g'(p)$$

- The derivative  $g'(p)$  tells us how outcomes change as we move along the population in terms of their proclivity to self-select into treatment
- This is the key idea behind the marginal treatment effect and has close connection to the selection framework we have outlined

## Moving beyond mean effects

- Suppose a policymaker wants to *expand* a school choice program. The relevant question is not the average effect for current participants: it is what happens to the *next* student brought in?
- A two-sided selection model targets several mean objects:
  - $ATE = E[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0)]$  – average for the entire population
  - $TOT = E[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0) \mid D_i = 1]$  – average for participants
  - $TUT = E[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0) \mid D_i = 0]$  – average for non-participants
- Positive selection on gains ( $TOT > ATE > TUT$ ): those who benefit most are more likely to participate
  - Expanding access brings in students who benefit *less*  $\Rightarrow$  average gains fall
- Negative selection on gains ( $TUT > ATE > TOT$ ): those who benefit most are less likely to participate
  - Expanding access brings in students who benefit *more*  $\Rightarrow$  average gains rise
- But this is still coarse: TOT and TUT average over heterogeneous groups. We want to know what happens at the margin and as we vary that margin

## The Marginal Treatment Effect

- Recall from the general approach:  $g(\cdot)$  operates on  $F_\eta(X_i'\gamma + Z_i'\pi)$
- Define  $U_i = F_\eta(\eta_i) \sim U[0, 1]$
- Rewrite the selection rule:

$$D_i = \mathbf{1}\{P_i \geq U_i\}, \quad P_i = \Pr[D_i = 1 \mid X_i, Z_i]$$

- Low  $U_i$ : eager participants (low unobserved resistance)
- High  $U_i$ : reluctant participants (high unobserved resistance)
- For a given propensity score  $P_i = p$ , the marginal student is the one with  $U_i = p$
- If policy raises  $p$  by changing  $Z_i$ , the newly induced students are exactly those at  $U_i = p$
- So the key object for evaluating a policy expansion is the marginal treatment effect:

$$E[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0) \mid X_i = x, U_i = p]$$

## Marginal Treatment Effects under the Normal Model

- The marginal treatment effect is

$$MTE(x, u) = E[Y_i(1) - Y_i(0) \mid X_i = x, U_i = u]$$

- Under the normal control-function model,

$$MTE(x, u) = \underbrace{x'(\beta_1 - \beta_0) + (\alpha_1 - \alpha_0)}_{ATE(x)} + (\rho_1\sigma_1 - \rho_0\sigma_0)\Phi^{-1}(u)$$

- All standard parameters are weighted integrals of  $MTE$ :

$$ATE(x) = \int_0^1 MTE(x, u) du = x'(\beta_1 - \beta_0) + (\alpha_1 - \alpha_0)$$

$$LATE(x, p \rightarrow p') = \frac{1}{p' - p} \int_p^{p'} MTE(x, u) du = ATE(x) + (\rho_1\sigma_1 - \rho_0\sigma_0) \cdot \frac{\phi(\Phi^{-1}(p)) - \phi(\Phi^{-1}(p'))}{p' - p}$$

- Positive selection on gains means  $(\rho_1\sigma_1 - \rho_0\sigma_0) < 0$ , so  $MTE(x, u)$  declines in  $u$ 
  - $ATE$  averages over the full unit interval, so  $\Phi^{-1}(u)$  integrates to zero
  - $LATE$  averages over  $[p, p']$ —it captures effects for *compliers* induced by a specific shift in the instrument
- Given a selection model and its assumptions, we can derive the model-implied MTE and recover any treatment-effect parameter as some weighted average (see Heckman, Urzua, and Vytlačil 2006)

# **System Design and Outcomes**

## The U.S. Landscape: Decentralized and Poorly Documented

- Education in the U.S. is highly decentralized: ~13,000 districts, no federal mandate for how school districts are run or organized
- Some districts adopted coordinated DA following Abdulkadiroğlu & Sönmez (2003):
  - NYC redesigned its high school match in 2003–04
  - Boston abandoned the Boston Mechanism in 2005
- But what about the other thousands of districts?
- Until very recently, there was no systematic documentation of how districts have actually implemented choice systems
- The examples we know – NYC, Boston, New Haven, Charlotte – come from a handful of districts. They are not representative
- We lack even the most basic facts: what fraction of districts use algorithms? Require participation? Provide clear information?

## Filling the Gap

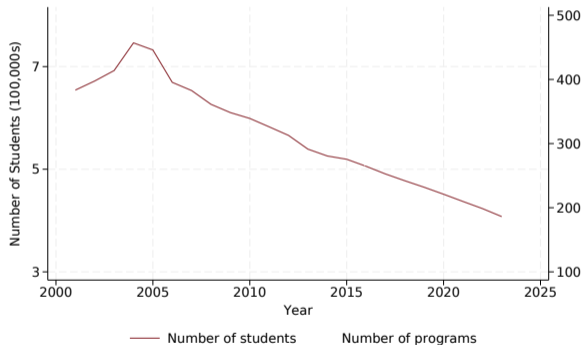
- We need two things:
  1. A systematic catalog of how large U.S. districts have designed their choice systems – moving beyond the handful of well-studied cases
  2. A structural framework that links system design to student achievement – allowing us to evaluate counterfactual designs, not just the status quo
- Campos, Bruhn, Chyn & Vazquez (2026) fill both gaps:
  - Original data collection from the 150 largest U.S. districts
  - A deep-dive case study in LAUSD – the largest opt-in system in the country
  - A generalized Roy model linking applications, enrollment, and achievement
  - Counterfactual simulations of alternative system designs

# Who Chooses and Who Benefits?

## The Design of Public School Choice Systems

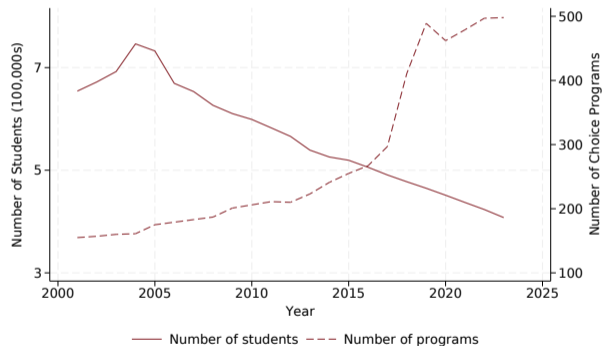
Campos, Bruhn, Chyn & Vazquez (2026)

## Enrollment Decline in Urban U.S. School Districts



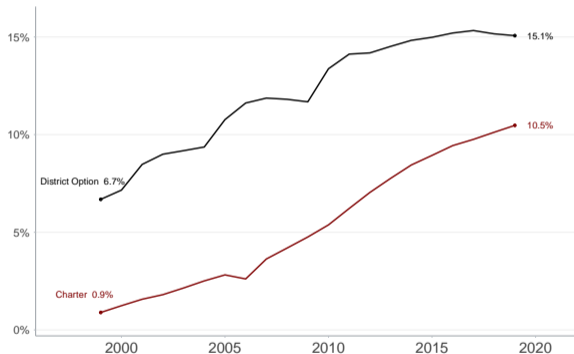
- There has been pronounced enrollment decline in urban U.S. school districts
- In Los Angeles, roughly a 50% drop in enrollment from the peak in 2004
- Primarily driven by demographic shifts and charter expansion
- Patterns are not unique to LA – similar trends across large urban districts

## Districts Are Responding by Expanding Public School Choice



- Districts have responded by expanding public school choice offerings – magnets, themed schools, dual-language, affiliated charters
- In LAUSD, the number of choice programs more than doubled in two decades
- Patterns are not unique to Los Angeles
- Motivating question: How have school districts organized public education markets as they expand public school choice?

## District-Run Choice Has More Than Doubled



- Enrollment in district-run choice schools has more than doubled in two decades
- District choice enrollment (~15%) now exceeds charter enrollment (~10.5%) by over 40%
- Districts have responded competitively to the charter sector by expanding their own choice portfolios
- Introducing more options into a system with neighborhood based assignment poses an access and market design problem

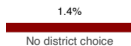
## Original Data Collection: 150 Largest Districts

- First systematic catalog of how large U.S. districts design their school choice systems
- Sample: 150 largest school districts, covering 27% of all U.S. public school students
- Key design dimensions documented:
  - Does the district offer intra-district choice at all?
  - Is there a centralized algorithm for assignment?
  - Is participation mandatory or opt-in?
  - How difficult is the system to navigate?
- Goal: uncover unknown facts about the variation in design across districts

We survey the 150 largest school districts (25% of public enrollment nationwide)...

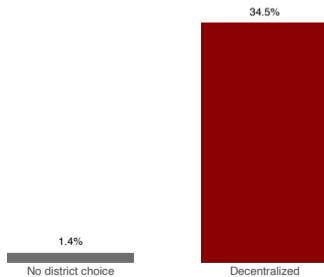
## Nearly all offer some kind of intra-district choice

Choice system type (% of districts)



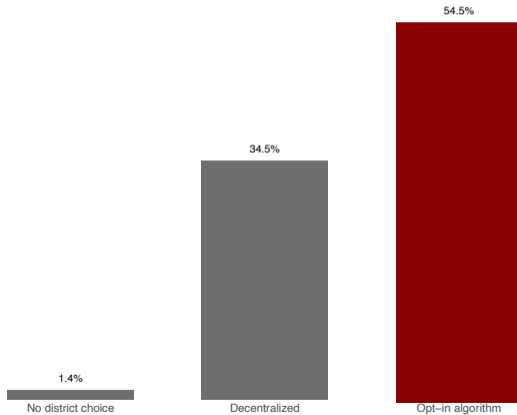
One third are decentralized i.e., have not adopted a centralized assignment system

Choice system type (% of districts)



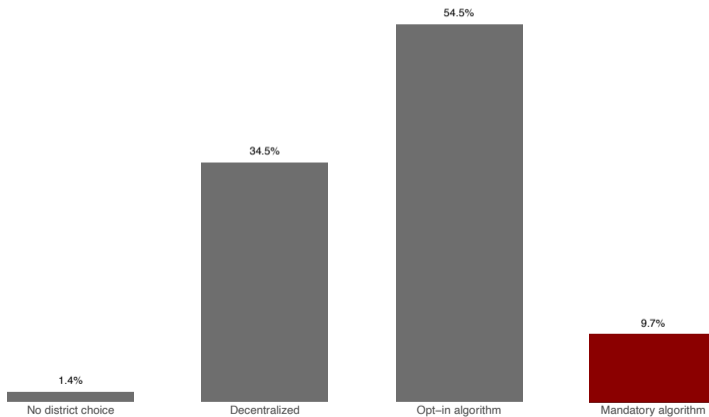
## A majority of districts with centralized clearinghouses have an “opt-in” design

Choice system type (% of districts)



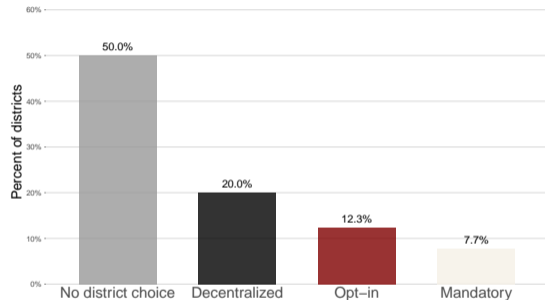
## De facto mandatory systems—commonly studied in the literature—are rare

Choice system type (% of districts)



## Centralization Reduces Barriers and Broadens Access

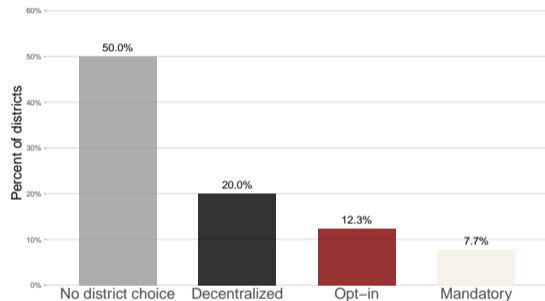
Navigation difficulty by system type



- 50% of no-choice districts are difficult to navigate → only 7.7% of mandatory systems
- More centralized → easier to find and use

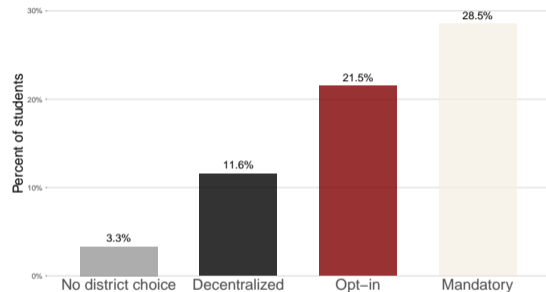
## Centralization Reduces Barriers and Broadens Access

Navigation difficulty by system type



- 50% of no-choice districts are difficult to navigate → only 7.7% of mandatory systems
- More centralized → easier to find and use

Low-SES enrollment by system type



- Low-SES enrollment: 3.3% (no choice) → 28.5% (mandatory)
- Navigation difficulty and low-SES enrollment exhibit an inverse pattern

## Two Primary Questions

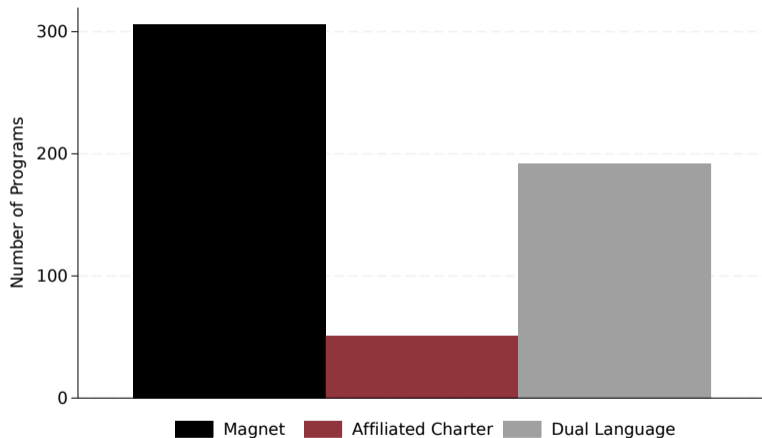
### Two primary questions:

1. What are the implications of opt-in choice systems for aggregate achievement and inequality?
  - **Who** opts in to LAUSD's voluntary choice system?
  - **The What:** Are LAUSD's choice options vertically differentiated, high-return programs?
  - **The How:** How do application costs, travel, and preferences shape participation and who benefits?
2. How do alternative market designs or policy interventions change who benefits from public school choice?
  - Holding constant the participation architecture, how far can policies that expand access go?
  - What are the effects of decentralized markets and de facto participation mandates (e.g., NYC-style deferred acceptance)?

## The Largest Opt-In System in the US

- LAUSD would be the 35th largest school district in the country if its choice sector were its own district
- In 2024, there were roughly 500 programs/schools students could apply to
- Participation rates have increased:
  - In 2000, roughly 10% of families participated
  - In 2024, roughly 25% of families participated
- Between 2000–2013, applicants could rank at most one option; in more recent years an immediate acceptance mechanism is used to allocate students to schools
- If a student does not participate, they are defaulted to their neighborhood school
- Oversubscribed programs ⇒ randomized lotteries by priority groups (geographic, sibling, waiting list)

## School Choice Offerings in Los Angeles

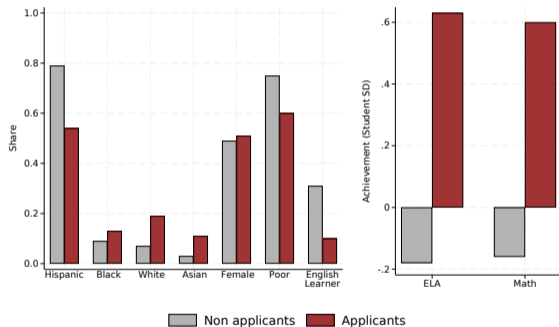


Type of choice offerings have evolved over the past twenty years – magnets, dual-language immersion, STEM-focused, affiliated charters

# Data

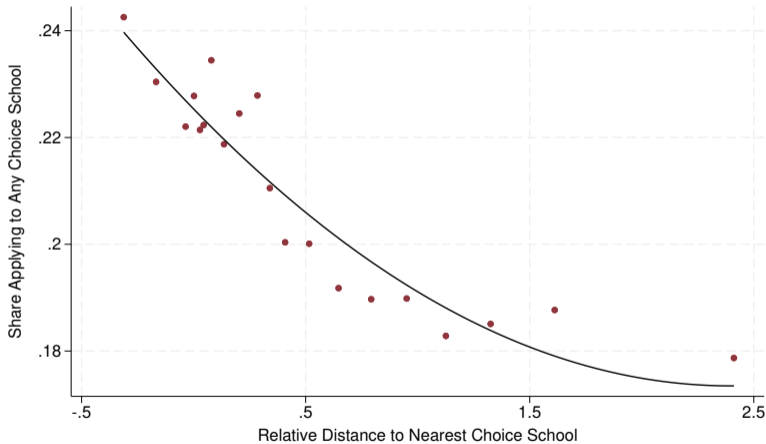
- Administrative student records (2000–2017):
  - Demographics, addresses, and test scores
- Choice program records (2004–2017):
  - Applications, program capacities, admission records
- Three analysis samples:
  - Baseline sample (2004–2017): all fifth grade students
  - Lottery sample (2004–2017): restricts to students who apply to oversubscribed choice middle schools
  - Structural sample (2004–2013): restricts to students with addresses who enroll in LAUSD middle schools and for whom at least one test score outcome is observed

## Applicants Are Positively Selected on Baseline Achievement



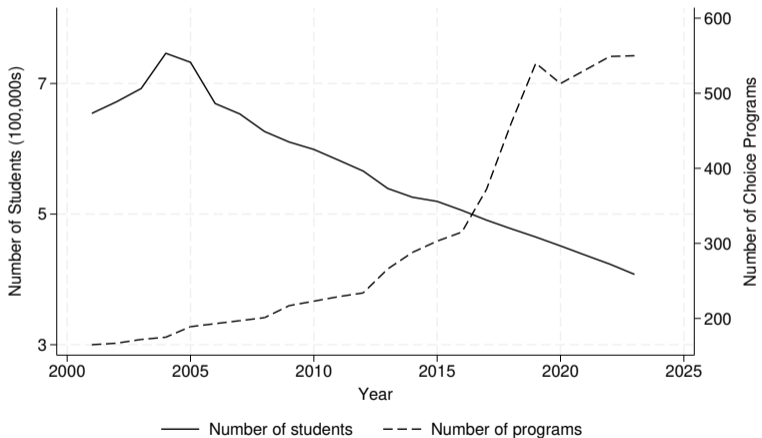
- Only 20% of 5th graders submit an application
- Applicants are  $0.8\sigma$  higher in baseline achievement
- Applicants are 14 pp less likely to be low-income
- Applicants are 21 pp less likely to be English Learners
- Applicants are more racially diverse (more Black, White, Asian; fewer Hispanic)
- Next: How does proximity and access shift participation over time?

## Distance Predicts Participation

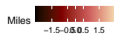
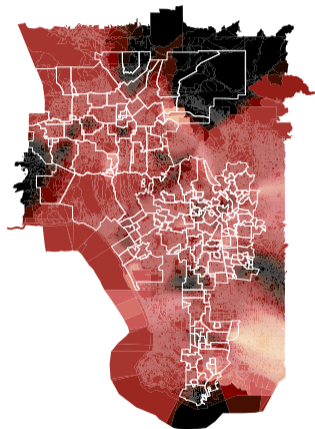


Distance to the nearest choice school is a strong predictor of whether families participate — a cost shifter that is useful for identification later

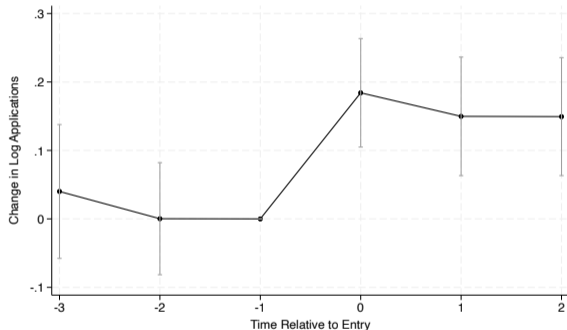
## Access Has Evolved Over Time



## Changes in Access Across Space



## Choice School Entry Induces More Applications

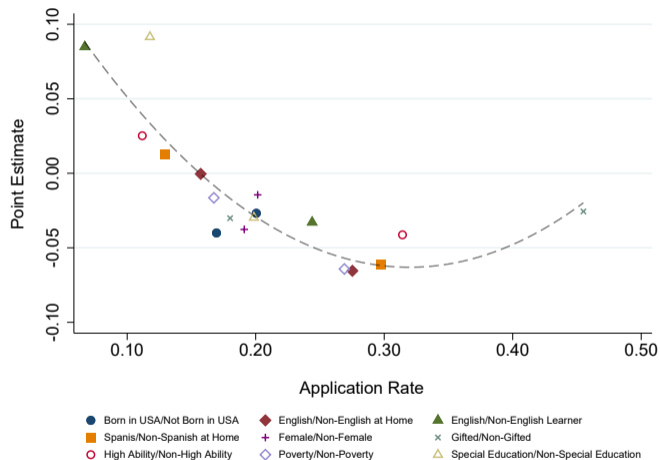


- LAUSD's choice portfolio more than doubled in the 2000s — creating quasi-experimental variation in geographic access
- Stacked event study: “treated” neighborhoods experience a reduction in distance to nearest choice program; “control” neighborhoods do not
- Result: a ~20% jump in neighborhood applications precisely timed with choice school entry
- *Changes* in access/distance are cost shifters for participation
- If the distance margin shifts who applies, does it also predict who benefits when an offer arrives?

## Reduced Form Exercises

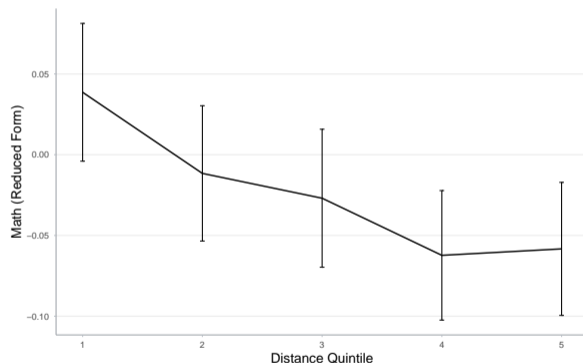
- **Key Question: Does demand predict treatment effect heterogeneity?**
- Use oversubscribed admission lotteries to estimate reduced form offer effects
- Two reduced form exercises to assess this:
  1. Lottery Effects Against Application Rates by Group
  2. Lottery Effect Heterogeneity by Distance

## Lottery Effects and Application Rates by Group



Groups with lower application rates tend to experience larger lottery effects – a first indication of negative selection on gains

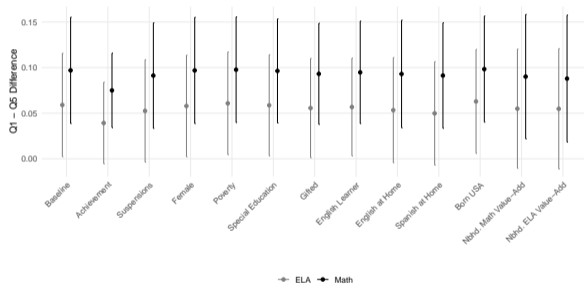
## Distance Strongly Predicts Treatment Effects



H0 All Equal p-value: 0.009  
H0 Jointly Zero p-value: 0.002

- Nearest quintile (Q1):  $+0.05\sigma$  in math
- Farthest quintile (Q5):  $-0.05\sigma$  in math
- Difference:  $\sim 0.10\sigma$
- First-stage offer effects are comparable across quintiles (0.38–0.45) – heterogeneity is not driven by differential take-up

## Distance Effects Not Explained by Other Observables



- Could the distance pattern be driven by treatment effect heterogeneity with other observables correlated with distance?
- Augment model with interactions between  $X_i$  and  $Z_i$  and report the Q1–Q5 distance difference
- The distance gradient persists after controlling for baseline achievement, poverty, race, English Learner status, and neighborhood school quality

## Understanding treatment effect heterogeneity

**Two pieces of evidence *suggest* latent preferences are associated with causal effects:**

- Can we further isolate the relationship between preference heterogeneity and causal effects?

# Understanding treatment effect heterogeneity

## Two pieces of evidence *suggest latent preferences are associated with causal effects*:

- Can we further isolate the relationship between preference heterogeneity and causal effects?

## Beyond Lottery Effects

- Our approach: Model preferences, application decisions, enrollment decisions, and outcomes which allows us to:
  - Characterize selection into application *enrollment*
  - Estimate and validate reduced form causal effects, e.g., LATE
  - Extrapolate causal effects beyond the lottery sample
- Identification will require instruments that affect application and enrollment decisions but do not directly influence outcomes
  - Offers to choice programs
  - Policy-induced *changes* in distance

# Understanding treatment effect heterogeneity

## Two pieces of evidence *suggest latent preferences are associated with causal effects*:

- Can we further isolate the relationship between preference heterogeneity and causal effects?

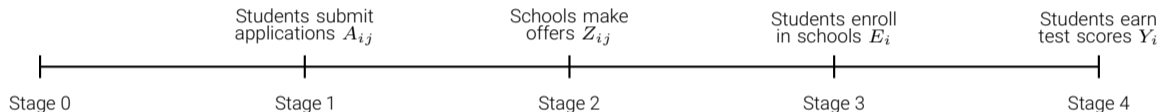
## Beyond Lottery Effects

- Our approach: Model preferences, application decisions, enrollment decisions, and outcomes which allows us to:
  - Characterize selection into application *enrollment*
  - Estimate and validate reduced form causal effects, e.g., LATE
  - Extrapolate causal effects beyond the lottery sample
- Identification will require instruments that affect application and enrollment decisions but do not directly influence outcomes
  - Offers to choice programs
  - Policy-induced *changes* in distance

**This approach allows us to better understand “The What” and “The How” and evaluate counterfactual policies of interest**

## Model Overview: Timeline

- Goal: recover the distribution of treatment effects for the entire population – not just lottery participants
- Generalized Roy model linking four stages:



- Framework allows us to model selection into application and enrollment and selection-correct
- Identification from two sources of exogenous variation:
  - Lottery offers at oversubscribed programs (randomized within strata)
  - Quasi-experimental distance variation from the expansion of LAUSD's choice school portfolio

## Model Overview: Application and Enrollment Stages

### Application Stage:

- Decision to apply depends on school utility  $U_{ij}(X_i, \theta_i, D_{ij})$  and application cost  $c(A_i, X_i, \eta_i)$
- School utility depends on: school popularity  $\delta_j$ , student observables  $X_i$ , relative distance  $D_{ij}$ , idiosyncratic choice school taste  $\theta_i \sim F(\theta)$ , and preference shock  $\epsilon_{ij}$
- $\theta_i$  is drawn from a finite mixture of normals with  $K$  types – some families love choice schools, others strongly prefer their neighborhood school
- Application costs  $c$  depend on observables  $X_i$  and cost shock  $\eta_i$

### Enrollment Stage:

- If applied and received an offer, student chooses between choice school and neighborhood school based on school utilities  $v_j(X_i, \theta_i, D_{ij})$  plus post-lottery shock  $\xi_{ij}$
- Students without offers (or who did not apply) default to neighborhood school

## Potential Outcomes

We assume the following restrictions on mean potential outcomes ( $Y_{ij}$ ):

$$E[Y_{ij} \mid X_i, D_i, \tau_i, E_i = j] = \quad j = 1, \dots, J$$

## Potential Outcomes

We assume the following restrictions on mean potential outcomes ( $Y_{ij}$ ):

$$E[Y_{ij} \mid X_i, D_i, \tau_i, E_i = j] = \gamma'_x X_i \quad j = 1, \dots, J$$

- $X_i$  is a mean-zero vector of student attributes

## Potential Outcomes

We assume the following restrictions on mean potential outcomes ( $Y_{ij}$ ):

$$E[Y_{ij} \mid X_i, D_i, \tau_i, E_i = j] = \alpha_j + \gamma'_x X_i \quad j = 1, \dots, J$$

- $X_i$  is a mean-zero vector of student attributes
- $\alpha_j$  is the average achievement at school  $j$  for the average student in the district

## Potential Outcomes

We assume the following restrictions on mean potential outcomes ( $Y_{ij}$ ):

$$E[Y_{ij} \mid X_i, D_i, \tau_i, E_i = j] = \alpha_j + \gamma'_x X_i + \gamma'_{cx} X_i \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\} \quad j = 1, \dots, J$$

- $X_i$  is a mean-zero vector of student attributes
- $\alpha_j$  is the average achievement at school  $j$  for the average student in the district
- $\gamma'_{cx} X_i \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\}$  allows for heterogeneity in gains with respect to  $X_i$  at choice schools

## Potential Outcomes

We assume the following restrictions on mean potential outcomes ( $Y_{ij}$ ):

$$E[Y_{ij} \mid X_i, D_i, \tau_i, E_i = j] = \alpha_j + \gamma'_x X_i + \gamma'_{cx} X_i \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\} + h_j(\tau_i) \quad j = 1, \dots, J$$

- $X_i$  is a mean-zero vector of student attributes
- $\alpha_j$  is the average achievement at school  $j$  for the average student in the district
- $\gamma'_{cx} X_i \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\}$  allows for heterogeneity in gains with respect to  $X_i$  at choice schools
- $h_j(\tau_i)$  models selection which depends on a student's latent type  $\tau_i \in \{1, \dots, K\}$

## Potential Outcomes

We assume the following restrictions on mean potential outcomes ( $Y_{ij}$ ):

$$E[Y_{ij} \mid X_i, D_i, \tau_i, E_i = j] = \alpha_j + \gamma'_x X_i + \gamma'_{cx} X_i \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\} + h_j(\tau_i) \quad j = 1, \dots, J$$

- $X_i$  is a mean-zero vector of student attributes
- $\alpha_j$  is the average achievement at school  $j$  for the average student in the district
- $\gamma'_{cx} X_i \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\}$  allows for heterogeneity in gains with respect to  $X_i$  at choice schools
- $h_j(\tau_i)$  models selection which depends on a student's latent type  $\tau_i \in \{1, \dots, K\}$

We model selection in the following way:

$$h_j(\tau_i) = \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_k T_{ik} + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_{ck} T_{ik} \times \mathbf{1}\{j > 0\}$$

- $T_{ik}$  are indicators for belonging to type  $k \in \{1, \dots, K\}$
- $\gamma_k$  allow for  $k$ -specific differences in achievement levels
- $\gamma_{ck}$  allow for  $k$ -specific differences in achievement gains at choice schools ( $j > 0$ )

## Empirical Outcome Model

- Equipped with model estimates, we can estimate the posterior individual-specific type probabilities

[▶ Details](#)

$$p_{ik}^* = E[T_{ik} \mid X_i, D_i, A_i, Z_i, E_i]$$

- $p_{ik}^*$  serves two roles:
  - $p_{ik}^*$  serves as a control function to account for selection
  - We allow for flexible heterogeneity by group membership

## Empirical Outcome Model

- Equipped with model estimates, we can estimate the posterior individual-specific type probabilities

[▶ Details](#)

$$p_{ik}^* = E[T_{ik} \mid X_i, D_i, A_i, Z_i, E_i]$$

- $p_{ik}^*$  serves two roles:
  - $p_{ik}^*$  serves as a control function to account for selection
  - We allow for flexible heterogeneity by group membership
- For expositional purposes, let  $C_i$  be an indicator for choice school attendance and let  $E[X_i] = 0$ . Our empirical outcome model is:

## Empirical Outcome Model

- Equipped with model estimates, we can estimate the posterior individual-specific type probabilities

► Details

$$p_{ik}^* = E[T_{ik} \mid X_i, D_i, A_i, Z_i, E_i]$$

- $p_{ik}^*$  serves two roles:
  - $p_{ik}^*$  serves as a control function to account for selection
  - We allow for flexible heterogeneity by group membership
- For expositional purposes, let  $C_i$  be an indicator for choice school attendance and let  $E[X_i] = 0$ . Our empirical outcome model is:

$$Y_i = \underbrace{X_i' \gamma_x + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_k p_{ik}^*}_{\text{Ability}}$$

## Empirical Outcome Model

- Equipped with model estimates, we can estimate the posterior individual-specific type probabilities

[▶ Details](#)

$$p_{ik}^* = E[T_{ik} \mid X_i, D_i, A_i, Z_i, E_i]$$

- $p_{ik}^*$  serves two roles:
  - $p_{ik}^*$  serves as a control function to account for selection
  - We allow for flexible heterogeneity by group membership
- For expositional purposes, let  $C_i$  be an indicator for choice school attendance and let  $E[X_i] = 0$ . Our empirical outcome model is:

$$Y_i = \underbrace{X_i' \gamma_x + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_k p_{ik}^*}_{\text{Ability}} + \underbrace{\beta C_i}_{\beta = ATE}$$

## Empirical Outcome Model

- Equipped with model estimates, we can estimate the posterior individual-specific type probabilities

[Details](#)

$$p_{ik}^* = E[T_{ik} \mid X_i, D_i, A_i, Z_i, E_i]$$

- $p_{ik}^*$  serves two roles:
  - $p_{ik}^*$  serves as a control function to account for selection
  - We allow for flexible heterogeneity by group membership
- For expositional purposes, let  $C_i$  be an indicator for choice school attendance and let  $E[X_i] = 0$ . Our empirical outcome model is:

$$Y_i = \underbrace{X_i' \gamma_x + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_k p_{ik}^*}_{\text{Ability}} + \underbrace{\beta C_i}_{\beta = ATE} + C_i \times \underbrace{\left[ X_i' \delta_x + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_{ck} p_{ik}^* \right]}_{X_i \text{ and } \theta_i \text{ TE heterogeneity}} + e_i$$

## Empirical Outcome Model

- Equipped with model estimates, we can estimate the posterior individual-specific type probabilities

[Details](#)

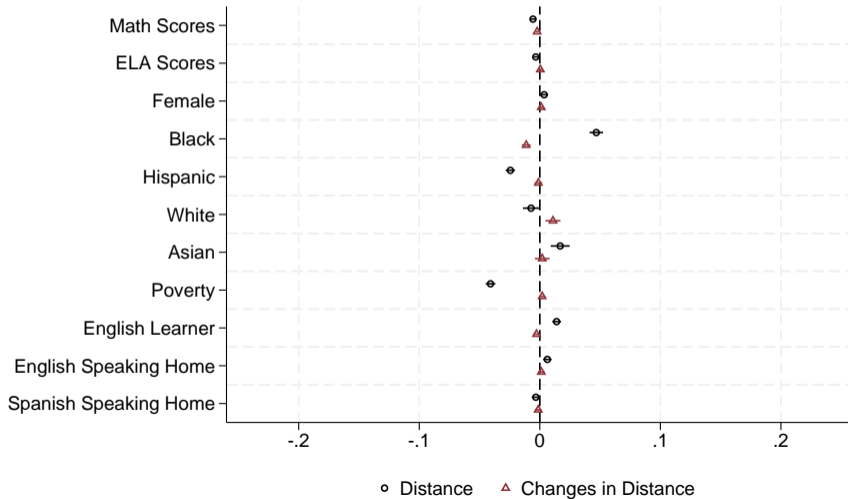
$$p_{ik}^* = E[T_{ik} \mid X_i, \mathbf{D}_i, A_i, \mathbf{Z}_i, E_i]$$

- $p_{ik}^*$  serves two roles:
  - $p_{ik}^*$  serves as a control function to account for selection
  - We allow for flexible heterogeneity by group membership
- For expositional purposes, let  $C_i$  be an indicator for choice school attendance and let  $E[X_i] = 0$ . Our empirical outcome model is:

$$Y_i = \underbrace{\mu_{n(i)} + \mu_{t(i)}}_{\text{Block and Time Effects}} + \underbrace{X_i' \gamma_x + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_k p_{ik}^*}_{\text{Ability}} + \underbrace{\beta C_i}_{\beta = ATE} + \underbrace{C_i \times \left[ X_i' \delta_x + \sum_{k \neq 1} \gamma_{ck} p_{ik}^* \right]}_{X_i \text{ and } \theta_i \text{ TE heterogeneity}} + e_i$$

## Distance Balance

*Cross-sectional distance is not balanced, but policy-induced changes are mostly balanced*



## Summary of Demand Estimates

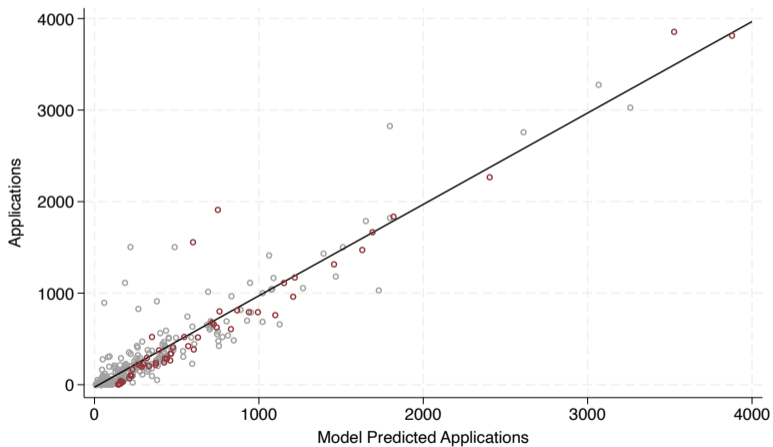
- **Model Fit:** The model produces forecast unbiased school-by-group application and enrollment rates in a holdout sample [▶ Evidence](#)
- **Type Heterogeneity:** The data suggest a model with  $K = 3$  types [▶ Evidence](#)

$$\mu = \begin{pmatrix} -0.88 \\ -0.43 \\ 2.75 \end{pmatrix}, \quad \sigma = \begin{pmatrix} 0.19 \\ 0.13 \\ 0.54 \end{pmatrix}, \quad p = \begin{pmatrix} 0.44 \\ 0.49 \\ 0.07 \end{pmatrix}$$

- **Dominant Friction:** Application costs are substantially higher than travel costs [▶ Evidence](#)

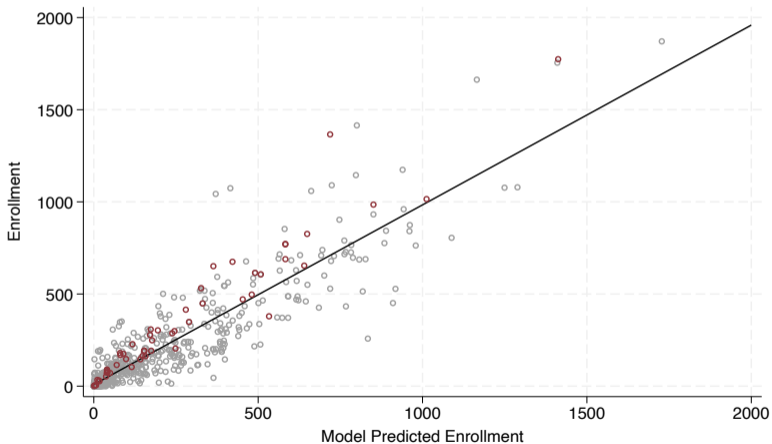
## Model Fit

*Out-of-sample predicted application decisions are forecast unbiased*

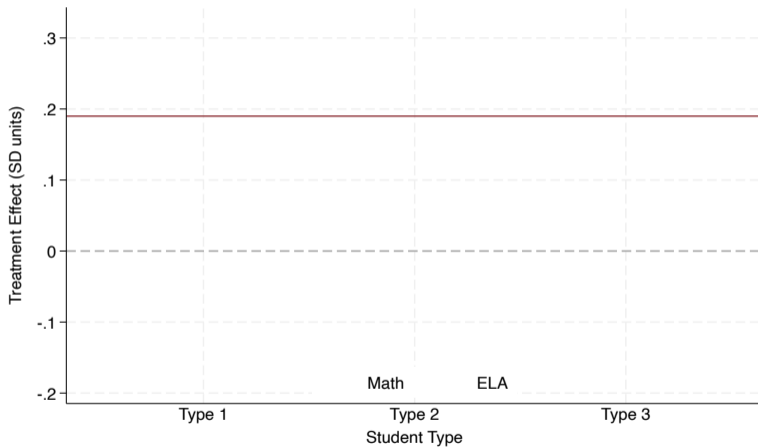


## Model Fit

*Out-of-sample predicted enrollment decisions are forecast unbiased*

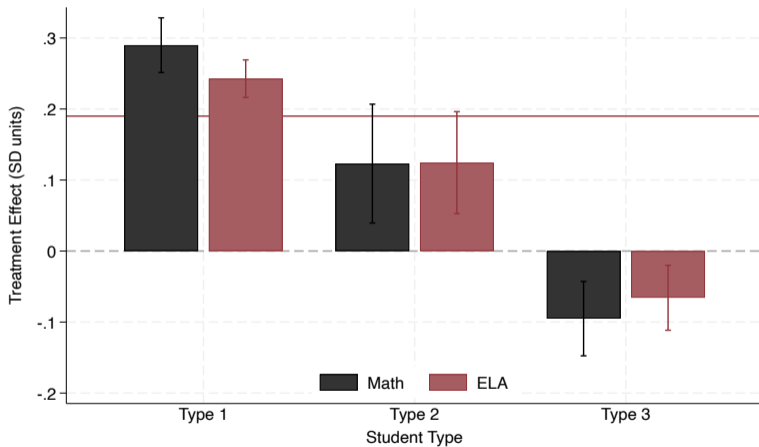


## Choice schools are effective for the average student



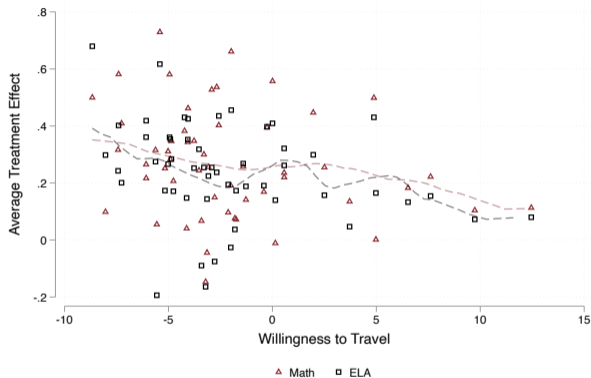
► Validation Exercise

## Evidence of negative selection on gains



► Validation Exercise

## Demand for School Effectiveness Is Imperfectly Aligned



- Negative association between school popularity and causal effects
- Families' preferences reflect a mix of academic, social, and locational factors — the demand-based allocation does not coincide with the achievement-maximizing one

## Three Types of Students

- Type 1: Would gain the most but do not participate
  - Face largest barriers—lack of information, less parental motivation
- Type 2: Would benefit but many are screened out
  - Relatively high potential gains from attending a choice school
  - Rarely apply  $\Rightarrow$  never treated  $\Rightarrow$  gains are left on the table
- Type 3: Participate but benefit little
  - Low treatment effects, but strong preferences for choice schools
  - Occupy seats that could generate larger gains if allocated to Type 1 or Type 2 students

Policy can change the participation architecture and as a consequence change who benefits and by how much

What Would Happen Under  
Alternative System Designs?

## Counterfactual Policies of Interest

- **Policies that expand access:**

- Information nudge: 50% of students receive a boost to  $\theta_i$  at the application and enrollment stages
- Generous busing: effectively eliminates travel costs

- **Alternative market designs:**

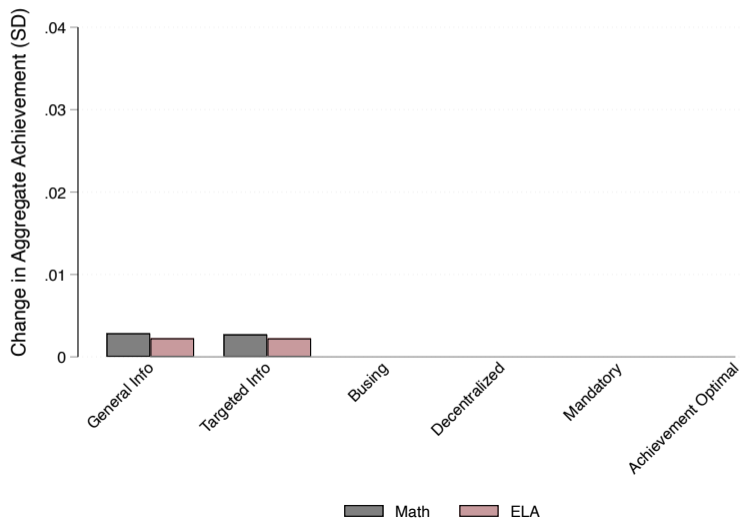
- Decentralized markets: families can apply to many schools and receive many offers ( $\approx 35\%$  of districts)
- Mandatory participation with deferred acceptance and list-length limits:  $c(a \mid X_i, \eta_i) = 0$ , but families can still rank their neighborhood school first (NYC/Boston/Denver-style)

- **What we hold fixed vs. what varies:**

- Fixed across policies: menu of programs, capacities, school effectiveness
- Varying across policies: application costs, travel costs, participation rule, assignment mechanism

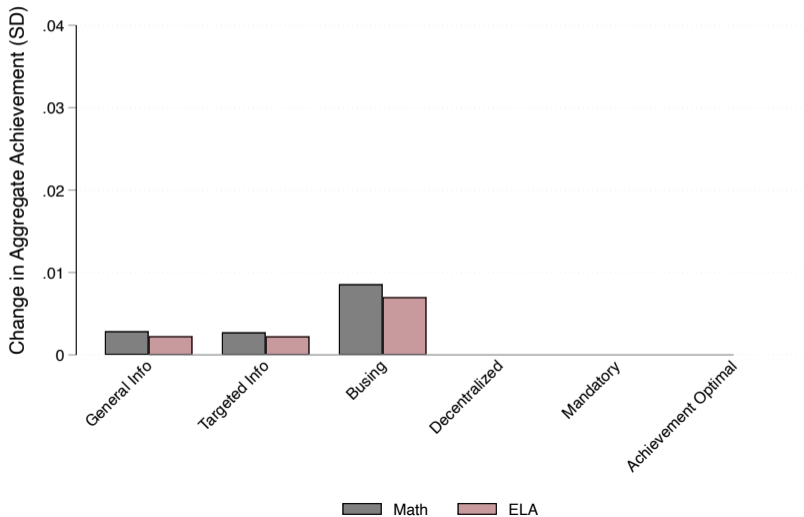
## Changes in District-level Average Achievement

*Information nudges moderately improve aggregate achievement*



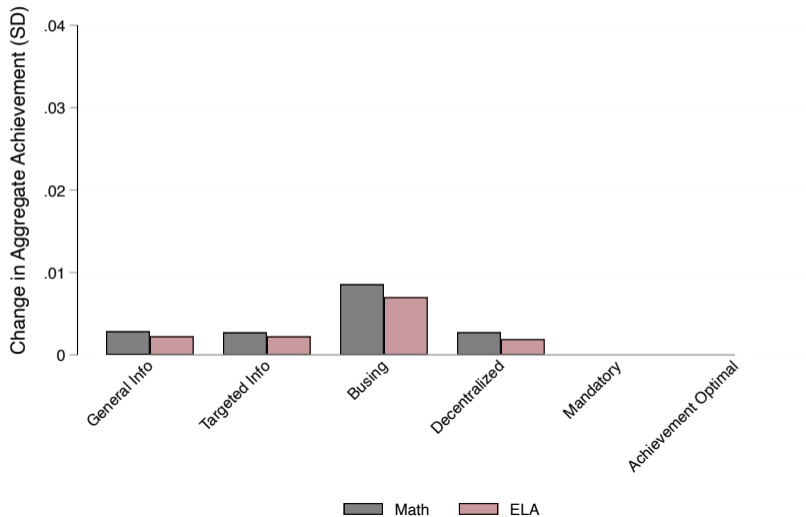
## Changes in District-level Average Achievement

*Fiscally unrealistic busing policies do better*



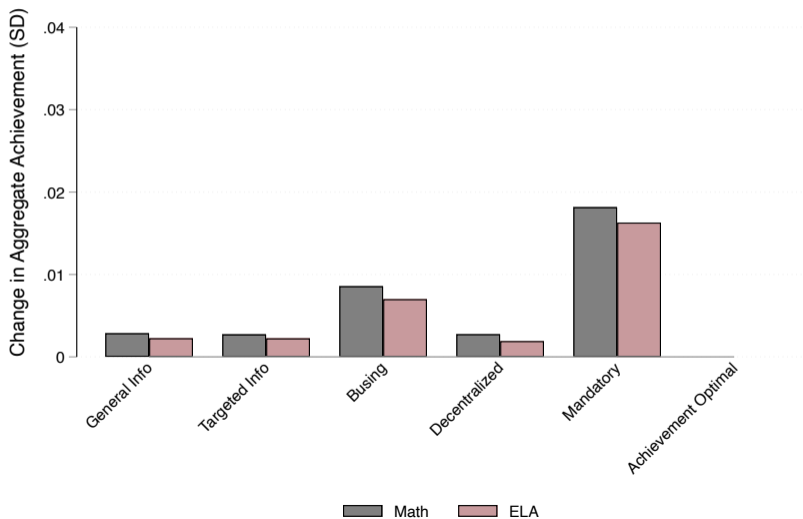
## Changes in District-level Average Achievement

*Decentralized markets do moderately better*



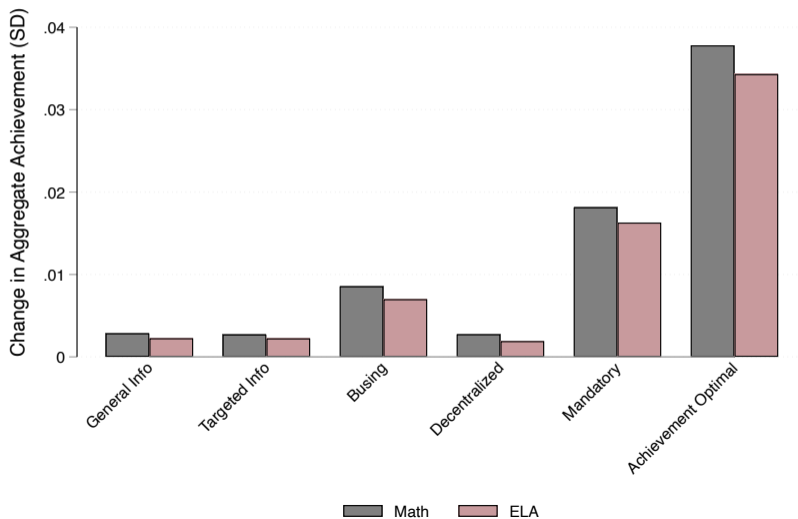
## Changes in District-level Average Achievement

*Mandatory, single-offer coordinated systems does substantially better*

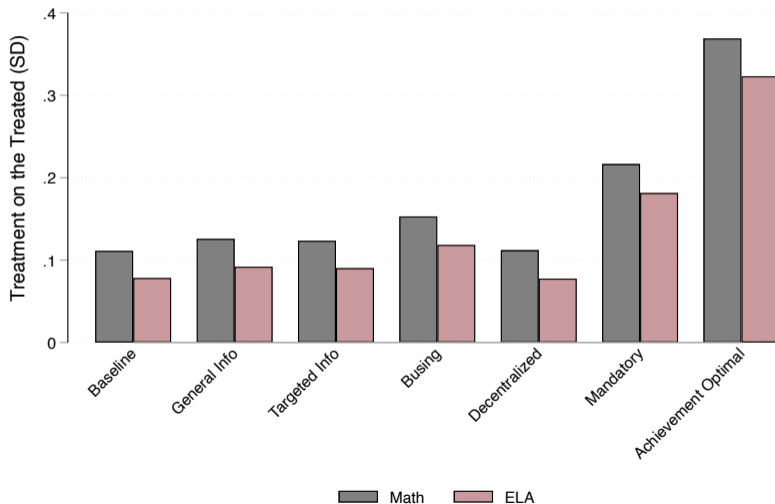


## Changes in District-level Average Achievement

*Even the best design captures only ~55% – demand for quality does not fully align with effectiveness*

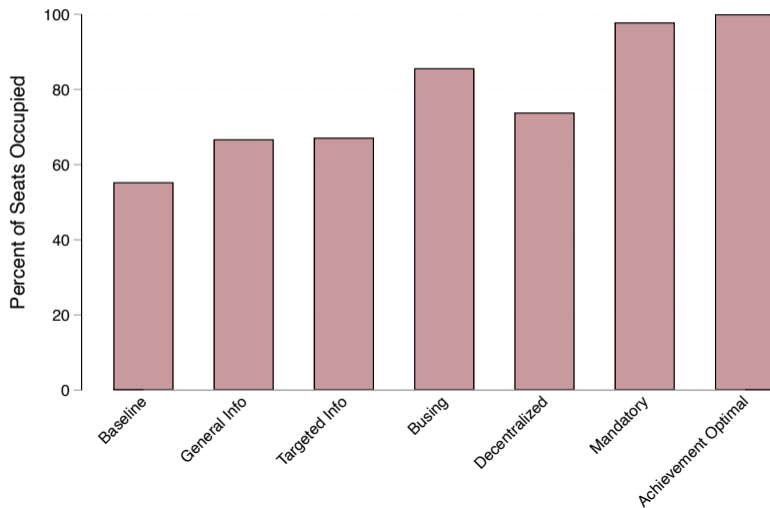


## System Design Affects the TOT



## Many seats are unfilled with opt-in design

*The "first-mile problem" – getting students to apply – is a first-order barrier to the effectiveness of public school choice*



## The Punchline

- New fact: Opt-in is the most common way school districts have organized their choice offerings
- Who: Opt-in systems tend to segment the public education system based on achievement
- What: The average student has a sizable treatment effect ( $\approx 0.19\sigma$ )
- How: Negative selection on gains interacts with opt-in design to produce an allocative inefficiency in achievement
- Takeaways and implications for policy:
  - Mandatory participation with DA raises district-level achievement by  $\approx 0.016-0.019\sigma$ ; TOT doubles
  - Information and busing help at the margins, but the largest gains come from changing the participation architecture
  - If opt-in is the political constraint, the task is to design systems that deliver gains despite it

System design — not school effectiveness alone —  
shapes who benefits from public school choice

## Lecture Takeaways

- Market design has real welfare effects (Abdulkadiroğlu, Agarwal & Pathak 2017)
- The participation rule (opt-in vs. mandatory) is a first-order design dimension that the theoretical literature has largely overlooked
- Negative selection on gains: opt-in systems screen out the students who would benefit most  $\Rightarrow$  centralizing participation is the most effective lever but politically challenging option
- Alignment of demand tends to be a limiting factor: as long as families' preferences don't fully align with school effectiveness, there are limits to what can materialize from choice initiatives