How has the Louisiana Scholarship Program Affected Students? A Comprehensive Summary of Effects after Four Years

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Louisiana Scholarship Program Evaluation Policy Brief
School Choice Demonstration Project

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School choice reforms comprise a broad category of policies aimed at improving public education through the introduction of market forces that expand customer choice and competition between schools. Here we summarize our four technical reports from the fourth and final year of research on the effects of a large statewide school voucher initiative, the Louisiana Scholarship Program (LSP), and draw the following conclusions:

- Overall, participating in the LSP had a statistically significant negative impact on student English Language Arts (ELA) and math scores across most years of the evaluation, including the fourth year, and across most samples of students studied.

- The achievement impacts of the LSP varied significantly based on the specific criterion-referenced test used and the accountability stakes attached to it. The negative test score impacts of the LSP were half as large in Year 1 when the test taken was the iLEAP, which is less aligned to the public school curriculum, than when it was the LEAP, which is more aligned. The impacts were not statistically significant in the third year of the evaluation, when no accountability stakes were assigned to the test scores.

- The achievement effects of the LSP varied based on student characteristics. African American students experienced significantly less negative impacts of voucher usage after four years relative to non-African American students.

- The achievement effects of the LSP varied based on the characteristics of the chosen schools. Students whose most-preferred schools were larger, charged higher tuition, and had longer school days experienced more favorable achievement impacts from participating in the LSP relative to their LSP peers who did not list such schools as their first choice. In some cases, test score impacts were positive and statistically significant for students choosing schools with these characteristics.

- The effects of the LSP on college enrollment rates were neutral. Students who participated in the LSP in grades 7-12 starting in the fall of 2012 enrolled in college by 2018 at a rate of 60.0 percent compared to a rate of 59.5% for members of the experimental control group. The difference of 0.5 percentage points between the two groups is not statistically significant. The results were similar for students enrolling in 2-year or 4-year colleges.

- Students applying to the LSP were disproportionately African American and low-income, compared to non-applicants. No consistent evidence indicates that the LSP is "cream skimming" or "pushing out" students based on their family social status or initial test scores. However, among LSP applicants, students with disabilities are less likely than students without disabilities to use a voucher initially.

Combined with prior evidence, these results are informative about both the specific design of voucher and other choice policies as well as how the effects of choice vary across different outcomes and contexts.

Introduction

School choice has long been a subject of robust debate. Private school vouchers—programs providing public funds for students to attend K-12 private schools—tend to be the most contentious form of school choice. Over the past three years, our research team has released a series of reports examining how the LSP has affected key student and community conditions. In this brief, we summarize results from our final technical reports on the following questions:

1. How did LSP voucher use affect student achievement after four years?

2. Did the achievement effects of the LSP differ significantly based on the characteristics of the private schools preferred by students?

3. How did LSP voucher use affect student educational attainment?

4. What types of students applied to the program and used an LSP voucher initially and persistently?

The Louisiana Scholarship Program

Student performance on standardized tests in Louisiana has trailed national averages for decades. In an effort to turn things around, the state began offering students publicly financed vouchers to attend private schools in New Orleans in 2008. This pilot version of the LSP was expanded statewide in 2012. A total of 9,736 students applied to the program that year, with 5,296 receiving vouchers. The program awarded 6,909 vouchers in 2017-18, a drop of 6% from its enrollment peak of 7,362 in 2015-16.

The LSP is a statewide private school voucher program available to moderate- to low-income students in low-performing public schools. To qualify, children must have family incomes at or below 250% of the federal poverty line and either be entering kindergarten or be attending a public school that was graded C, D, or F for the prior school year by the state's school accountability system. The majority of the program's first year applicants applied from outside of New Orleans. This 2012-13 LSP applicant cohort is the subject of our evaluation.

The voucher value is limited to 90% of the amount the state and local government provides in student funding to the local school system or the tuition charged by the student's chosen private school, whichever is less. Average tuition at participating private schools ranges from $2,966 to $8,999, with a median of $4,925, compared to average per pupil spending of $8,500 in Louisiana's public schools in the baseline year of 2012-13.

To participate in the program, private schools must meet certain criteria related to: enrollment, financial practices, student mobility, and the health, safety and welfare of students. Participating schools are prohibited from being selective in their enrollment of voucher students and must administer the state's accountability tests annually to voucher students in grades 3 through 8 and grade 10.

Nearly 60% of applicants received vouchers for the 2012-13 school year. Of these recipients, 86% used their vouchers to enroll in private schools in the first quarter of 2012-13.

Roughly 87% of the applicants are African American, with 8% white and 3% Hispanic. Prior to applying to the LSP, students performed below the state average in ELA, math, science, and social studies by around 20 percentile points on the state accountability test. Applicants to the program in 2012-13 were concentrated in the earlier grades, with one-third entering Kindergarten through third grade.

Louisiana offers three private school choice programs in addition to the LSP. First, the state offers taxpayers a tax deduction of up to $5,000 per child for education expenses, including private school tuition. Over 100,000 Louisianans received the deduction in 2012. Second, 1,703 Louisiana students received a scholarship from a privately-funded School Tuition Organization to attend private school through the state's Tuition Donation Rebate Program in 2017-18. Finally, the state offers a separate voucher program for students with disabilities, the School Choice Program for Certain Students with Exceptionalities (SCPCSE). Launched in 2011, the SCPCSE is intended to expand the educational options for students with unique educational needs. SCPCSE vouchers are restricted to the lesser of the private school's tuition or 50 percent of the state funds that would have been spent on the student, which means the vouchers can be worth less than an LSP voucher depending on the severity of a student's disability. In 2017-18, the average SCPCSE voucher was worth $2,500. Eligibility is limited to parishes (a.k.a. counties) with at least 190,000 residents. The program only enrolled 394 students in the 2017-18 school year.

We are not able to evaluate the effects of these other private school choice programs on student achievement because student achievement data are not collected for their participants and two of them are small. Our evaluation is therefore limited to the LSP and does not capture the effects of the state's subsidized private school choice in general.

Prior findings

One of the themes of this brief is that the voucher landscape and research are quickly evolving. In a series of reports we released in 2016 and 2017, we focused on earlier test scores results, the effect of the program on students with disabilities, private school participation in the program, as well as results for non-academic outcomes, competitive pressures on public schools, and racial integration. From that work, we drew the following conclusions:

- Overall, participating in the LSP has no statistically significant impact on student English Language Arts (ELA) or math scores after using an LSP voucher for three years. Achievement impacts varied over time. The effects were particularly negative after the first year and were slightly less negative after two years.

- The subgroup of students who were lower achieving before applying to the program did show significant gains in ELA after three years of voucher usage. Students applying to lower grades demonstrated significant losses in math.

- Students participating in the LSP were less likely than their control group peers to be identified as having a disability after two or three years and were more likely to be de-identified as having a disability after two years in the program.

- The private schools that chose to participate in the LSP were disproportionately Catholic, had low tuitions that were close to the voucher amount, and served a high percentage of minority students.

- We found no evidence that the LSP impacted students' non-academic skills, such as conscientiousness and grit, due in part to unreliable measures of these traits.

- Achievement of students in Louisiana public schools facing increased competitive pressures from the LSP was either unaffected or modestly improved as a result of the program's statewide expansion in 2012-13.

- The majority of LSP transfers improved integration in students' former public schools; however, LSP transfers slightly worsened integration in new private schools. The net effect of the program was positive, as more transfers helped than harmed integration, especially in districts subject to court orders for prior racial segregation.

- The majority of public school districts in Louisiana would be squeezed, fiscally, if the LSP was ended and the program's students returned to traditional public schools.

Vouchers and other forms of school choice raise many questions and require comprehensive program evaluations. The research that follows builds on these earlier studies, providing one of the most comprehensive evaluations of any voucher program in the country.

These prior LSP reports and our latest set of studies all can be found at https://scdp.uark.edu/louisiana-scholarship-program-evaluation/.

How did LSP voucher use affect student achievement after four years?

The first report in this series, by Jonathan Mills and Patrick Wolf, examines how LSP voucher use affects student achievement. Achievement plays an important role in how the Louisiana Department of Education monitors the LSP's success, as private schools receive sanctions for continually low performance. Thus, we follow in a long tradition of evaluating the effect of school voucher programs in part by analyzing student test scores.

We determine the impact of LSP voucher use on student achievement by comparing students who received vouchers through randomized lotteries. The LSP was oversubscribed in the first year of the program and used a matching algorithm to allocate open seats in private schools to students. When LSP applicants exceeded the number of seats available in a given school, the program awarded voucher placements to that specific school by lottery. Our analysis focuses on this subset of eligible applicants whose voucher receipt was determined randomly so that any differences in outcomes between LSP awardees and non-awardees can be attributed to the program.

We examine how the LSP effects vary over time for two samples of students: a sample restricted to students with baseline test scores (BA) and a larger sample that is not limited to students with baseline test scores (NBA). Our prior research indicates large negative impacts on ELA and math in the first year of participation that appear to diminish somewhat by Year 2 and are not statistically significant by Year 3. Figures 1 and 2 present regression estimates for ELA and math LSP effects for Years 1 through 4 for consistent samples of students in the study. Figure 1 presents results for students in the BA Sample and Figure 2 focuses on students in the larger and broader NBA Sample.

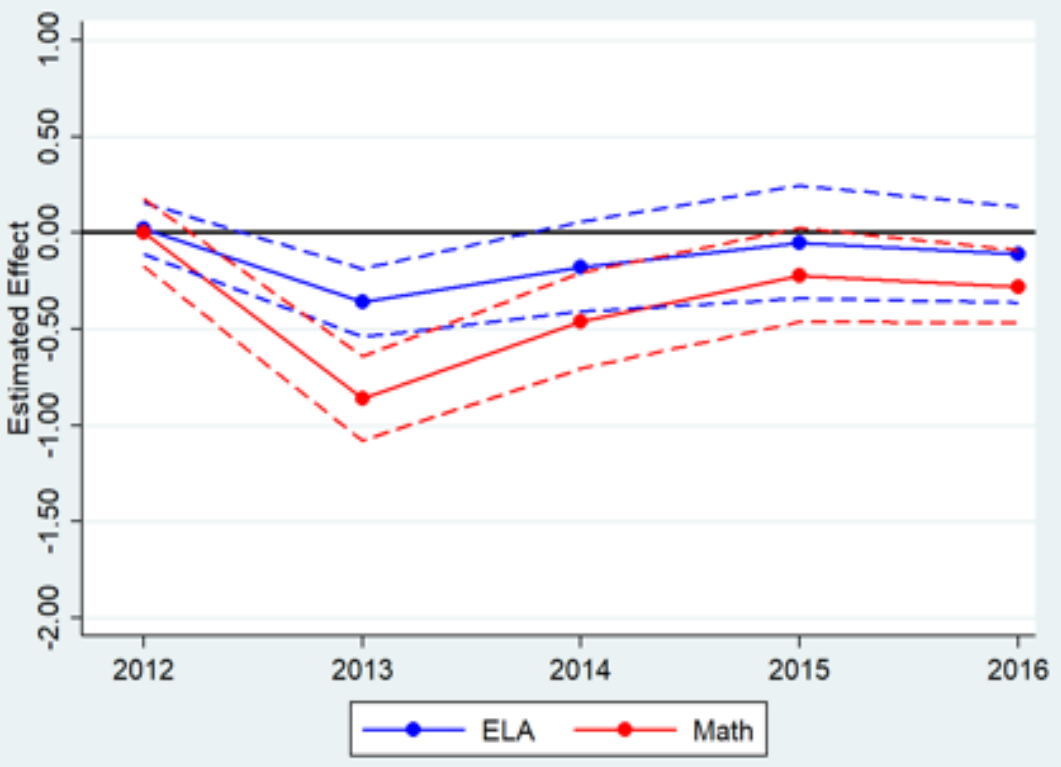

Figure 1. Estimated effect of ever using an LSP Voucher over time for BA sample.
Figure presents point estimates from fully specified models for 2011-12 (baseline) through 2015-16 for ELA and math. Results are presented for a consistent sample of students with Spring 2016 outcome data. ELA and math results are based on student achievement on the Louisiana state assessments (LAA) in 2011-12 through 2013-14, PARCC assessments in 2014-15, and LAA in 2015-16. Dashed lines represent 90% confidence intervals for the performance averages.

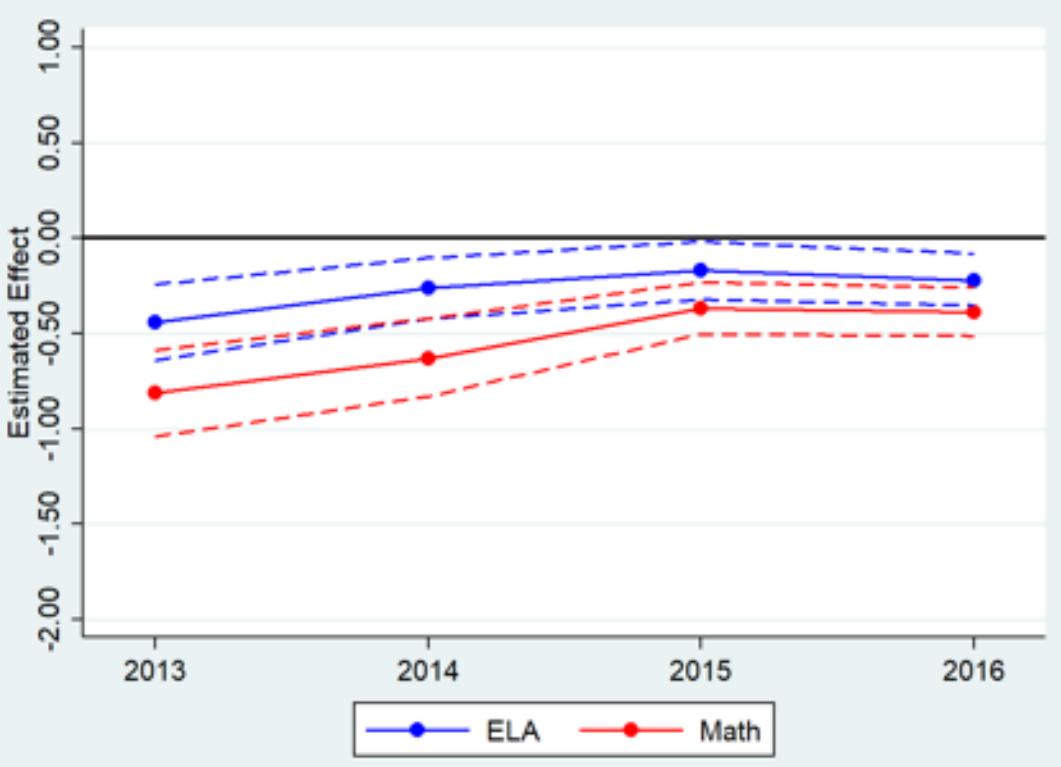

Figure 2. Estimated effect of ever using an LSP Voucher over time for NBA sample.
Figure presents point estimates from fully specified models for 2013-14 through 2015-16 for ELA and math. Results are presented for a consistent sample of students with Spring 2016 outcome data. ELA and math results are based on student achievement on the Louisiana state assessments (LAA) in 2012-13 through 2013-14, PARCC assessments in 2014-15, and LAA in 2015-16. Dashed lines represent 90% confidence intervals for the performance averages.

Consistent with our prior work, we observe large declines in ELA and math performance in the first year of voucher usage that become less negative in Years 2 and 3. Effects are generally worse in math than in ELA. By Year 4, however, we observe a direction reversal for the voucher usage effect estimates. Effects are slightly more negative in magnitude in Year 4 relative to Year 3 across all tests and samples and are statistically significant for math in both samples and ELA in the NBA sample only.

In general, we do not observe consistent evidence that LSP voucher usage achievement effects differ by gender. In contrast, we do observe evidence suggesting effects were experienced differently by students of different racial backgrounds (Figure 3). The achievement effects of the LSP are generally less negative for African American students relative to students of other races and ethnicities. Previous voucher evaluations have reported similar evidence of achievement effects being relatively more favorable for African Americans. Year 4 is the first time we have observed such evidence for the LSP.

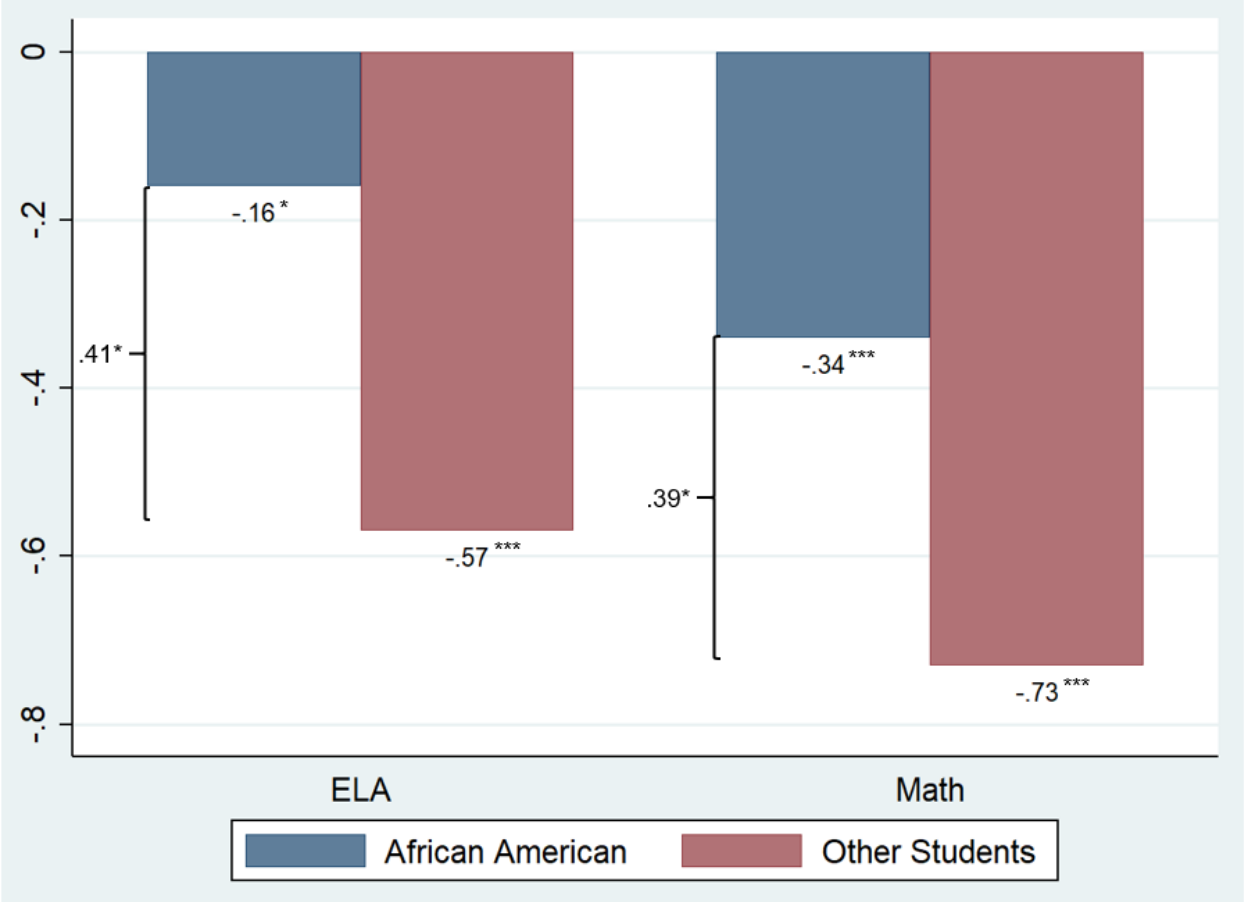

Figure 3. Differential effects of LSP usage by race for NBA sample.
Figure presents separate estimates of the impact of ever using an LSP voucher to attend a private school between 2012-13 and 2015-16 for African American students and students of other races and ethnicities for ELA and math. Models are fully specified. *** - p<.01, ** - p<.05, * - p<0.10.

Did the achievement effects of the LSP differ significantly based on the characteristics of the private schools preferred by students?

Some prior studies have found that the test score effects of school choice programs can vary based on key features of the specific schools that are chosen. Our study builds on this previous work with an exploratory analysis of the variation in LSP achievement effects across 13 school characteristics in the first four years of the program. By Year 4, our analytic method was too imprecise to yield any clear results, so we concentrate on results from the first three years.

In general, we do not observe effect heterogeneity across school characteristics, though we find evidence suggesting students who preferred larger schools, schools with higher tuition, and schools with longer school days experienced more favorable impacts from participating in the LSP relative to their peers who did not prefer such schools (Figure 4). Students whose first-choice private school was in the top third of the distribution for total K-12 enrollment actually experienced a positive LSP math impact in 2014-15.

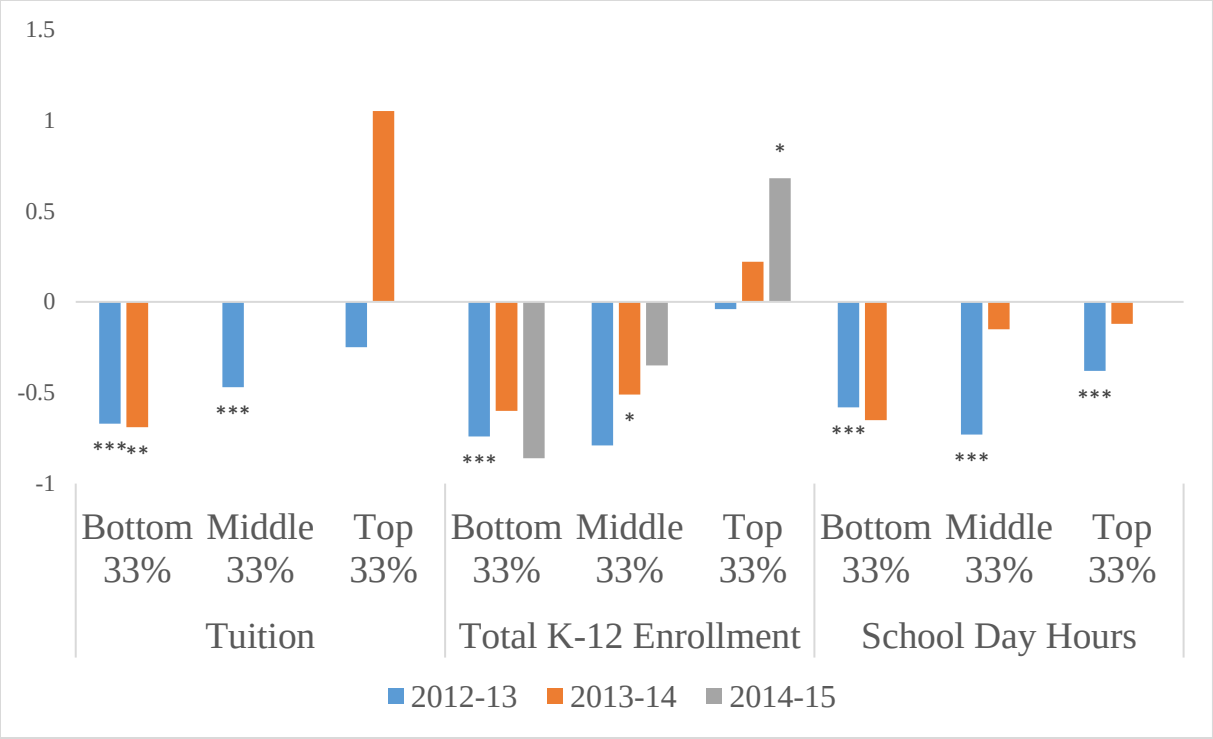

Figure 4. Variation in LSP math impacts across terciles of school tuition charged, total school enrollment, and school day hours, 2012-13 through 2014-15.

Notes. Figure presents point estimates from regression models for 2012-13 through 2014-15 for standardized math impacts of ever using an LSP voucher placement. Estimates in 2014-15 for tuition and school day hours, as well as 2015-16 generally, failed a reliability test and therefore are not presented. *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<0.10.

Several private school characteristics did not appear to influence the achievement impacts of the LSP. These included the school's religious status, coeducational status, urbanicity, student-teacher ratio, length of school year, total instructional hours, and racial and ethnic composition.

How did LSP voucher use affect student educational attainment?

How long a student remains engaged in school greatly influences his or her later life outcomes. As a result, researchers increasingly study the impacts of education programs on student rates of high school graduation and college enrollment, persistence, and completion. Too few students in our experimental sample are old enough to have graduated from college for us to examine that important outcome. However, over 1000 students who faced LSP lotteries are old enough to have enrolled in college. Did the negative test score effects of the LSP decrease their rates of college-going?

We find that the LSP had no statistically significant effect on college entrance for students. As described in Figure 5, students who received an LSP voucher were more likely to enter college by 0.5 percentage points compared to students who did not win a voucher lottery. The estimated effect was small and statistically insignificant, with large standard errors surrounding a near-zero average effect.

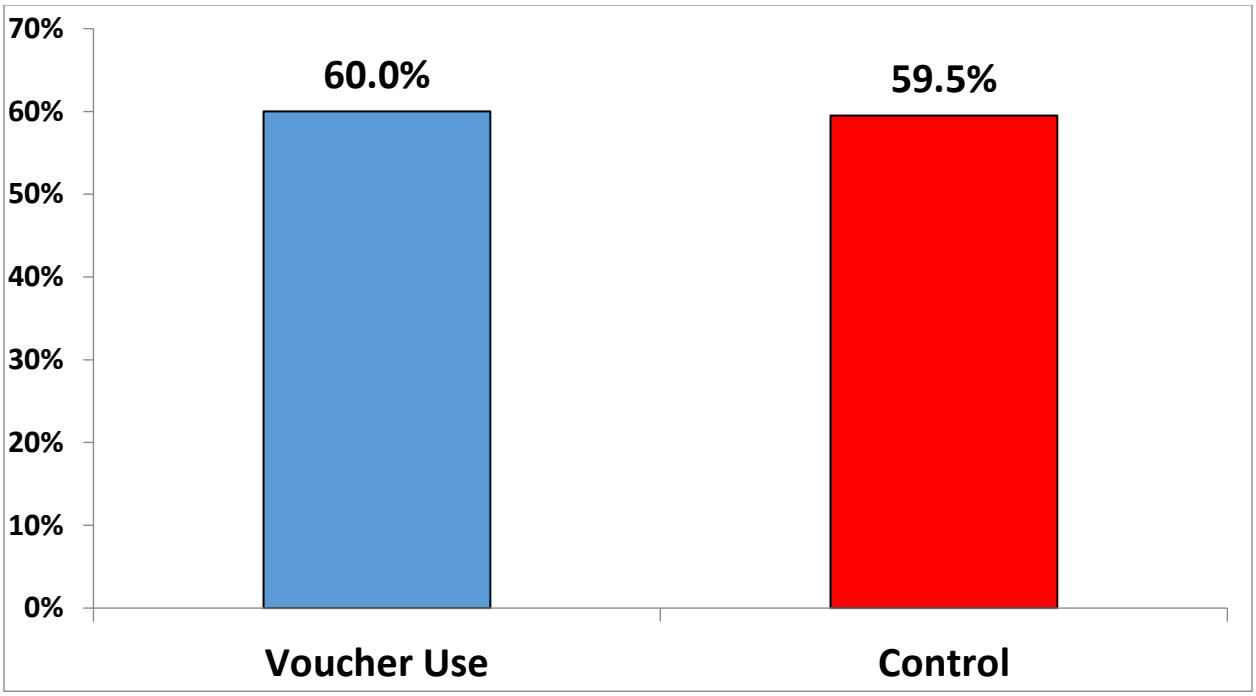

Figure 5. Regression-adjusted college enrollment rates for students who ever used an LSP voucher and students in the control group.

Enrollment rate is for enrolling in any two-year or four-year institution of higher education at any time between 2013 and 2018. Regression adjusted for student and family demographic characteristics.

The majority of students in the analysis enrolled in college, with 59.5% of control students and 60.0% of treatment students having entered college by 2018. That college-going rate is particularly high given that students who applied for the program came from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. These higher than average college enrollment rates could be a result of other efforts Louisiana has made to expand access to college, such as the Taylor Opportunity Program for Students (TOPS) scholarship.

We also estimated the likelihood of participating students entering two-year or four-year institutions. We found that the LSP had no significant effect on the rate at which students chose a four-year over a two-year post-secondary institution. For four-year colleges, LSP students enrolled at a rate that was 2 percentage points higher than control students, but the difference was not statistically significant.

What types of students applied to the program and used an LSP voucher initially and persistently?

Private school choice programs often are accused of failing to serve disadvantaged students. Instead, critics claim that participating private schools "skim the cream off the top" by admitting only the best students and "push out" students who are the most difficult to teach. This study tested student selection hypotheses in the context of the Louisiana Scholarship Program (LSP).

Applicants to the program disproportionately had low test scores and came from disadvantaged populations (Table 1). We found that LSP applicants were less advantaged than their public

school peers regarding their family social status and initial test scores. No consistent evidence indicated that the LSP is "cream skimming" or "pushing out" students based on their family social status or initial test scores. However, students with disabilities were less likely than students without disabilities to use a voucher initially. Students in districts with lower per-pupil spending and fewer charter school options also were more likely to use an LSP voucher initially and persistently.

Table 1. Student, private school, and public school district characteristics that influenced LSP application and voucher use

Characteristic	Application	Initial Use	Persistent Use	Year 3 User v. Non-applicant
Student				
Low-income	+			+
African American	+			+
Hispanic	+			
Early grades	+		+	+
Lower initial scores	+		+	
No IEP		+		
NOLA Pilot		+		
Attended magnet		+		
Did not attend charter		+		
Female			+	+
Private School				
Lower minority enrollment		+	+	
Higher tuition		+		
Shorter distance from home		+	+	
Not first-choice of student				
Public School District				
Lower per-pupil spending		+	+	
Fewer charters		+		

Students with lower initial test scores were more likely to remain in the LSP than were students with higher initial test scores. Students who were placed in LSP private schools farther from their homes or that served a larger minority population were more likely to leave their LSP schools than LSP students placed in schools closer to their home or that served smaller minority populations. Finally, after all of these patterns of student selection played out, the LSP students still using vouchers after three years were more likely to have entered the program in the early grades, have a low family income, be African American, and be female than the population of non-applicants to the program.

What do these results mean for private school choice?

Before considering what these impacts mean for private school choice, it is important to realize the Louisiana Scholarship Program's uniqueness. The LSP is one of only three statewide private school choice programs that combines parental choice of school with results-based accountability driven by scores on the state test. The Indiana Scholarship Program and the

Wisconsin Parental Choice Program are the other such programs. Among these programs, the LSP is the only statewide voucher program that combines that state testing requirement with an open admissions mandate for the private schools. Therefore, the results from this evaluation may not apply to the 55 other private school choice programs across the country that differ from the LSP regarding that combination of design features.

Moreover, it is important to consider the uniqueness of our analytical sample when considering the applicability of our findings. Our reports were limited to the experiences of the initial cohort of LSP applicants for the 2012-13 school year. Subsequent cohorts of program participants, all of which were much smaller than the first cohort, may have had different experiences in the LSP than the original group.

Some evidence from our reports suggests that the curricular alignment of the state test and the stakes attached to it may have influenced the pattern of LSP test score effects we found. The negative achievement impacts of the LSP were larger for grades administered the LEAP test, which is more aligned to the public school curriculum, than for grades administered the iLEAP test, which is less aligned. The negative impacts also were larger in Years 1, 2 and 4, when the state accountability test was high-stakes for the public schools, but smaller (and even insignificant in one of our samples) in Year 3, when a new state test did not count towards accountability ratings.

Moreover, in spite of scoring lower than their control group peers, especially in math, students who participated in the LSP were accepted to and enrolled in college at a rate that was statistically similar to the students who lost their LSP placement lottery. One possible explanation for those divergent results is that private schools in the LSP are teaching students content and skills that help them get accepted to college but are not measured by the state test.

While the LSP appears to have negatively impacted student scores on the state test and had little impact on the likelihood of a student attending college, there is more to this story. The transfer of almost 5,000 students out of public schools and into private schools in the first year of the program left those public schools better racially integrated. African American participants in the LSP experienced much smaller achievement losses from the program in Year 4 compared to students of other races and ethnicities, though they still experienced losses. Students whose first-choice private schools were relatively high in school enrollment, tuition charged, and the length of the school day scored as well on the state test as their control group peers in most years and subjects, even demonstrating a positive LSP impact in math in Year 3 for students in higher-enrollment LSP schools. If we think that school enrollment is a reasonable measure of parent demand, and tuition price is a rough measure of school quality, the students who won lotteries to higher-demand and higher-quality private schools in the LSP did not experience significant achievement losses, on average.

The LSP was designed to provide private school options for disadvantaged families. The evidence indicates it accomplished that goal. Program applicants were disadvantaged relative to the average Louisiana student. Their patterns of using an LSP voucher placement initially and persistently, if awarded one, provide no consistent evidence of cream-skimming or push-out on the part of the private schools. While students with disabilities were less likely to use a voucher

if offered one, students with lower initial test scores were more likely to continue in the program through three years. Students also remained in the program longer if their district public schools received less funding and there were fewer public charter school options nearby.

Finally, it is important to remember that Louisiana is a unique context in which to launch a statewide private school voucher program. Its Elementary and Secondary School Tuition Deduction policy permits parents to deduct up to $5,000 per child off their state taxable income for tuition and fees paid to private K-12 schools. Over 100,000 taxpayers benefited from the deduction in 2012. That tax policy makes it easier for Louisiana families to afford to send their children to private schools, and the schools themselves face no additional regulations as a result. It might be especially challenging to persuade many private schools to participate in a means-tested voucher program when their tuition-paying families already are being aided through such a generous tax deduction.

These reports conclude our longitudinal evaluation of the Louisiana Scholarship Program. We have uncovered a mix of negative, positive, and null effects of this unique private school choice program on participating students, non-participating students, and schools. We appreciated the opportunity to bring this evidence to bear on current and future public debates about private school choice in the Pelican State.

About the authors

Patrick J. Wolf is a Distinguished Professor of Education Policy and 21st Century Endowed Chair in School Choice at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. He has authored, co-authored, or co-edited five books and over 150 journal articles, book chapters, and policy reports on school choice, civic values, public management, special education, and campaign finance. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Harvard University in 1995.

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About the SCDP

Housed within the Department of Education Reform at the University of Arkansas, the School Choice Demonstration Project (SCDP) is an education research center dedicated to the non-partisan study of the effects of school choice policy. Led by Dr. Patrick J. Wolf, the SCDP's national team of researchers, institutional research partners and staff are devoted to the rigorous evaluation of school choice programs and other school improvement efforts across the country. The SCDP is committed to raising and advancing the public's understanding of the strengths and limitations of school choice policies and programs by conducting comprehensive research on what happens to students, families, schools and communities when more parents are allowed to choose their child's school. All reports from SCDP studies are available at https://scdp.uark.edu/.

Louisiana Scholarship Program Evaluation Reports and Publications

Year 4 Reports

Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). *Do you get cream with your choice? Characteristics of students who moved into or out of the Louisiana Scholarship Program*. EDRE working paper no. 2019-13. Social Science Research Network, April 23.

Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). *The effect of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on college entrance*. EDRE working paper no. 2019-12. Social Science Research Network, April 23.

Lee, M.H., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). *Heterogeneous impacts across schools in the first four years of the Louisiana Scholarship Program*. EDRE working paper no. 2019-11. Social Science Research Network, April 23.

Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after four years*. EDRE working paper no. 2019-10. Social Science Research Network, April 23.

Year 3 Reports

Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, June 26). *How has the Louisiana Scholarship Program affected students? A comprehensive summary of effects after three years*. School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, June 26). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after three years*. School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, June 26). *Special education identification in the Louisiana Scholarship Program*. School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Sude, Y., DeAngelis, C., & Wolf, J.P. (2017, June 26). *Supplying choice: An analysis of school participation decisions in voucher programs in DC, Indiana, and Louisiana*. School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Year 2 Reports

Mills, J.N., Egalite, A.J., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, February). *How has the Louisiana scholarship program affected students? A comprehensive summary of effects after two years* (LSP Policy Brief). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, February). *The effects of the Louisiana scholarship program on student achievement after two years* (LSP Report #1). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR, published as Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, February 17) Vouchers in the bayou: The effects of the Louisiana scholarship program on student achievement after two years. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *20* (10), 1-21.

Mills, J.N., Cheng, A., Hitt, C.E., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2016, February). *Measures of student non-cognitive skills and political tolerance after two years of the Louisiana scholarship program* (LSP Report #2). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, February). *The impact of the Louisiana scholarship program on racial segregation in Louisiana schools* (LSP Report #3). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR, published as Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, Spring). The impact of targeted school vouchers on racial stratification in Louisiana schools. *Education and Urban Society*, *49*(3), 271-296, also published as Egalite, A.J., & Mills, J.N. (2014, Winter). The Louisiana Scholarship Program: Contrary to Justice Department claims, student transfers improve racial integration. Education Next, 14(1), 66-69.

Egalite, A.J. (2016, February). *The competitive effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on public school performance (LSP Report #4).* School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR, published as Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N. (2019). Competitive impacts of means-tested vouchers on public school performance: Evidence from Louisiana. *Education Finance and Policy*, Online first.

DeAngelis, C.A., & Trivitt, J.R. (2016, August). *Squeezing the public school districts: The fiscal effects of eliminating the Louisiana Scholarship Program*. EDRE Working Paper 2016-10, Social Science Research Network.