#### Low-Performing Student Responses to State Merit Scholarships

Christopher Erwin Postdoctoral Fellow Auckland University of Technology



# Motivation

- Since the early 1990s, over half of U.S. states appealed to meritbased scholarships to reduce college costs for qualified resident students
- Programs generally reward in-state students with "free" college provided they meet certain eligibility criteria
  - Typically based on high school GPA, standardized test scores, class rank, or some combination
  - New Mexico Legislative Lottery Scholarship (NMLLS) in 1997
    - NMLLS only program where eligibility based on college performance



# Motivation

- Resident students qualify if they:
  - graduate from a NM high school (or earn GED in NM)
  - enroll in a public institution in the next regular semester
  - earn 12 credits with a 2.5 GPA in their first semester of college, which is fully subsidized by the Bridge to Success Scholarship
    - hereafter referred to as the "qualifying semester"



# Motivation

- Continued eligibility:
  - complete at least 12 new credit hours each term, maintain 2.5 cumulative GPA
- Funding capped at 8 semesters *after* qualifying semester
- LATE estimated for students around the 2.5 qualifying semester GPA



## Literature

- Studies using administrative data find no completion effects (Sjoquist and Winters 2012, 2015; Jia, 2019)
- Studies using administrative data produce different findings (Scott-Clayton, 2011; Cohodes and Goodman, 2014; Erwin and Binder, 2018)
- Substantial variation in state program design drives different findings
- Recent study finds that program features matter (Jia, 2019)
  - Programs with lenient eligibility requirements are associated with higher bachelor's degree completion rates



### Literature

- Contribution to literature:
  - estimates LATE for lower ability students that responded to the policy change
    - Other studies focus on higher ability students
  - Unique program structure allows for observation of select manipulation strategies during the cutoff
    - Can be used as the basis for a simple bounding exercise to account for potential selection bias



# Preview of Findings

- Low-performing students:
  - no overall effect on college completion
  - are more likely to graduate within the program's funding cap (i.e., shorter time to degree)
- Some students successfully manipulate qualifying semester eligibility requirements by registering for fewer courses or dropping more courses
  - These students are low-ability, and their manipulation attenuates average completion outcomes for NMLLS recipients



**H INSTITUTE** 

#### Data

- Administrative data on all first-time, full-time University of New Mexico (UNM) resident students over the period 1997 1999
- 3,499 resident students
  - residents earning a high school equivalency in NM
  - enrolled at UNM in next regular semester
  - earned at least 12 credits during the qualifying semester
  - Meet all criteria except the 2.5 qualifying semester GPA
- Sample period chosen to avoid a confounding intervention introduced in 2000 (descriptives <u>here</u>)



- Fuzzy regression discontinuity (FRD) using minimum 2.5 qualifying semester GPA
- Why not sharp RD?
  - Policies allow exceptions for medical conditions and military service
  - Some students not meeting GPA requirement can petition on "special circumstances" grounds
  - NMLLS structured as a last dollar scholarship



• 1<sup>st</sup> stage:

 $NMLLS_{i} = \alpha_{0} + \alpha_{1}Above_{i} + \alpha_{2}GPAgap_{i} * Below_{i} + \alpha_{3}GPAgap_{i} * Above_{i} + X\theta + v_{i}$ 

• 2<sup>nd</sup> stage:

 $Y_i = \pi_0 + \tau_{FRD} N \widehat{MLLS}_i + \pi_1 GPAgap_i * Below_i + \pi_2 GPAgap_i * Above_i + X\Gamma + \varepsilon_i$ 

- *X* includes gender, HSGPA, ACT, race-ethnicity, family income, and whether remedial coursework was required (upon admission)
- Outcomes are college completion, cumulative credits earned, and cumulative course withdrawals after each year



ARCH INSTITUTE

- Three standard falsification tests are performed
  - 1. McCrary's (2008) test for density continuity
    - results <u>here</u>
  - 2. Models using false cutoffs
    - results <u>here</u>
  - 3. Using predetermined covariates as outcomes (placebo treatment effects)
    - results <u>here</u>



**H INSTITUTE** 

• Heaps occur at multiples of 1/3 and 1/4, so estimates for nonheaped students are presented as the baseline





H INSTITUTE

- Manipulation by taking fewer courses or dropping courses
- Investigated by estimating additional placebo treatment effects (graphical results <u>here</u>)

Outcome	
qualifying semester credits registered	685*
standard error	.369
$N_W^-   N_W^+$	416   811
h	.484
qualifying semester credits earned	-1.151***
standard error	.438
$N_W^- N_W^+$	414   809
h	.451
qualifying semester credits withdrawn	.231*
standard error	.119
$N_W^-   N_W^+$	528   1181
h	.668





EW ZEALAND ORK RESEARCH INSTITUTE

- Removing suspected manipulators:
  - a. NMLLS recipients
  - b.  $2.5 \leq$  qualifying semester GPA  $\leq 2.75$
  - c. Registering for the minimum number of credits (12) for eligibility during the qualifying semester

#### OR

Registering for the standard 15 credit hours and dropping at least one credit during the qualifying semester

- Also consider qualifying semester GPAs  $\leq 3.0$ 
  - This removes approximately 3-6 percent of the sample



#### **Graphical Results**



qualifying semester GPA



**ARCH INSTITUTE** 



SEARCH INSTITUTE

# **Empirical Results**

	Degree Completion		Credits Earned		Credits Withdrawn	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Baseline	Less manipulators	Baseline	Less manipulators	Baseline	Less manipulators
In 4 Years	.108**	.172***	8.91	18.58**	1.54	3.52
SE	(.046)	(.062)	(6.54)	(9.49)	(3.87)	(6.75)
$\overline{Y}$	.173	.176	90.89	91.36	6.89	6.87
In 4.5 Years	.142*	.136*	8.22	17.00**	1.43	3.48
SE	(.075)	(.073)	(6.71)	(8.67)	(3.94)	(7.49)
$\overline{Y}$	.299	.301	98.26	98.72	7.43	7.42
In 5 Years	.082	054	7.41	15.66**	1.52	3.45
SE	(.127)	(.176)	(5.48)	(8.69)	(3.80)	(8.63)
$\overline{Y}$	.469	.471	102.60	103.09	8.05	8.04
In 6 Years	.017	075	9.21	20.95**	1.20	.91
SE	(.114)	(.210)	(6.21)	(8.69)	(5.13)	(11.91)
$ar{Y}$	.571	.574	107.85	108.34	9.53	9.51
Observations					2,653	2,578



# **Empirical Results**

- 7.4 percentage points (45%) and 12.7 percentage points (44%) more likely to graduate within 4 and 4.5 years, respectively
  - Suggests shorter time to degree but no overall change in completion
- Removing suspected manipulators increases magnitude and significance of effects on completions and credits earned
  - Supports notion that only low-ability students find it necessary to manipulate a relatively "low-bar" GPA cutoff



# Conclusions

- Eligibility rules matter
  - funding caps may serve as an effective policy lever when trying to incentivize low-performing students to complete college in a timely manner
  - Students may take the minimum number of hours during a qualifying period when program eligibility is based on college performance
- Caveat: unobserved cutoff manipulation strategies may still be biasing results (e.g., taking easier courses during the qualifying semester)
- It is important to consider cutoff manipulation whenever financial aid eligibility rules are well known to students, even when passing "standard" tests for such responses



# Job Opportunity

- We are hiring a postdoctoral fellow at the New Zealand Work Research Institute
- Requirements:
  - Ph.D. Economics
  - Applied person specializing in labor, health, education, or urban economics
  - Willingness to relocate to New Zealand for a two-year appointment
- Job posting <u>here</u> (closes April 19<sup>th</sup>)
- Contact me for details: <u>christopher.erwin@aut.ac.nz</u>



## Conclusions

- Thank you for your time
- Questions?
- Contact the author at:
  - christopher.erwin@aut.ac.nz



H INSTITUTE