Peer Effects in Disadvantaged Primary Schools: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment

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Abstract

We use data from a well-executed randomized experiment in seven states to examine the effect of peer achievement on students' own achievement in primary schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Contrary to the existing literature, we find that the average classroom peer achievement *adversely* influences own student achievement in math and reading. While extending our analysis to take into account the potential nonlinearity in peer effects leads to non-negligible differences along the achievement distribution, we continue to find an adverse relationship between peer achievement and students' own achievement. In addition, using a unique feature of our data and a secondary data source, we provide tentative evidence that our focus on students in primary schools in *disadvantaged* neighborhoods may potentially be the driving force behind the divergence in our results and the results in the existing literature. Finally, we show that these different peer dynamics in disadvantaged neighborhoods can potentially be explained by the frame of reference and the invidious comparison models.

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Key Words: Peer Effects; Student Achievement; Random Assignment; Disadvantaged Schools

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1. Introduction

Throughout the past several decades there has been a nation-wide debate focusing on how to improve student achievement in the United States. The debate was fueled by the influential Coleman Report of 1966 which questioned the long-standing belief that school funding was a key determinant of student achievement.[1] The report instead highlighted the importance of alternative determinants—e.g., family background and socio-economic status, teacher quality, and peer quality—which could have differential effects on students in schools in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods relative to students in schools in more economically advantaged neighborhoods (Coleman 1966). Not surprisingly, the report spawned a flurry of new research among social scientists, as well as a shift in policy-makers' education goals. However, it continues to be the case that there is little, if any, agreement about which specific education policies are more effective in improving student achievement (for reviews of the literature see Hanushek 2006; Hanushek and Rivkin 2006). One set of education policies that have received substantial attention are those that result in a change in the mix of one's peers (e.g., ability tracking, school choice programs, and racial and economic integration). Intuitively, it is unclear if this change in peers will impact student achievement for all students equally or if it will have differential effects on student achievement depending on a student's own achievement and background (e.g., gender, race, socio-economic status). This uncertainty highlights the importance of understanding the influence of peers on student achievement.

[1] This debate has gained further momentum in the last decade as American students' test score outcomes continue to lag behind their counterparts from many other developed countries (Fleischman et al. 2010).

The estimation of the causal effect of peers however is plagued with difficulties. In particular, any study attempting to measure the causal effect of peer quality on student achievement has to deal with two important identification issues. First, it is a well-known fact that students are not randomly assigned to schools or classrooms largely because of families, school administrators, or teachers (see for example, Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor 2006; and Kane et al. 2011). This identification issue is often referred to as the selection problem (Sacerdote 2001). Failure to account for non-random sorting of students in a regression framework would result in biased coefficient estimates of peer effects as there are likely to be observable and unobservable factors that affect both student achievement and peer quality. Second, it is often difficult to disentangle the impact that the peer group has on the student from the impact the student has on the peer group. A regression of, say, own achievement on contemporaneous average achievement of peers is problematic as these outcomes are jointly determined and peer achievement is likely to be endogenous in the model. This is usually referred to as the endogeneity or the reflection problem (Manski 1993; Moffitt 2001; Sacerdote 2001).

The existing literature on peer effects and student outcomes in grades K through 12 (henceforth referred to as the existing literature) generally relies on panel or repeated cross-sectional data sets and uses within-school/grade variation in achievement or some other school/grade characteristics to measure peer effects to overcome the threats to identification (see for example, Hanushek et al. 2003; Vigdor and Nechyba 2007; Lavy, Silva, and Weinhardt 2012; Lavy, Paserman, and Schlosser 2012; and Burke and Sass 2013). To the extent that the within-school or grade variation is random, the coefficient estimates on peer measures produce reliable estimates of peer effects. There are also a handful of studies trying to solve the identification problems by exploiting natural experiments and/or the random assignment of students to groups (see for example, Hoxby and Weingarth 2006; Duflo, Dupas, and Kremer 2011; Imberman, Kugler, and Sacerdote 2012; Sojourner 2012; and Jackson 2013) Apart from the identification concerns, data constraints usually compel many studies to focus on only one state and/or school district.[2] Finally, with the exception of Hoxby and Weingarth (2006), Duflo, Dupas, and Kremer (2011), Imberman, Kugler, and Sacerdote (2012), and Lavy, Paserman, and Schlosser (2012), the existing literature has primarily focused on documenting the existence of peer effects as opposed to formally identifying the underlying models of peer effects.

The findings in the existing literature are mixed at best. While some studies find positive and significant effects of average peer achievement on students' own achievement (see for example, Hoxby 2000; Boozer and Cacciola 2001; Hanushek et al. 2003; Betts and Zau 2004; Hoxby and Weingarth 2006; Vigdor and Nechyba 2007; Carman and Zhang 2012; and Lavy, Paserman, and Schlosser 2012), others find small to no effects (see for example, Lavy, Silva, and Weinhardt 2012; Imberman, Kugler, Sacerdote 2012; and Burke and Sass 2013). The common perception from several of these studies is that it is not only the high ability students but also those at the bottom of the achievement distribution who seem to benefit from higher achieving peers. With that said, the peer effects estimates are not identical across different achievement groups and the impacts generally exhibit nonlinearities with no consensus on who benefits the

[2] For example, Burke and Sass (2013) examine public school students in grades 3-10 in Florida; Hoxby and Weingarth (2005) examine the Wake County Public School district in North Carolina; Betts and Zau (2004) examine the San Diego Unified School District in California. In contrast, Imberman, Kugler and Sacerdote (2012) examine primary schools in two states: the Houston Independent School District in Texas and Louisiana.

most from better peers (see for example, Imberman, Kugler, and Sacerdote 2012; Lavy, Silva, and Weinhardt 2012; Jackson 2013; and Burke and Sass 2013).[3,4]

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the existing literature on the effect of peer achievement on students' own achievement in primary schools in the following ways. First, this is the first study to the best of our knowledge that explicitly examines peer effects and achievement in primary schools in *disadvantaged* neighborhoods, as well as focuses on more than one state/school district. Our focus on these disadvantaged neighborhoods is deliberate. Specifically, it is well-documented that students in disadvantaged neighborhoods have lower achievement levels relative to their affluent counterparts (see for example, Hanushek and Raymond 2005, Curto and Fryer 2013; and Sass et al. 2012). As such, this is the segment of the population that is in the need of the most help and has been the target of many policy initiatives including the Obama Administration's Race to the Top Program. Therefore focusing on

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[3] There is also a large literature examining the effect of peers on student outcomes in college. The results from these studies are again mixed. Studies either find small positive effects (Sacerdote 2001; Zimmerman 2003), large positive effects (Stinebrickner and Stinebrickner 2006; Carrell, Fullerton, and West 2009), or no effects (Foster 2006; Lyle 2007). Moreover, there are a number of recent studies that examine peer effects in labor markets (see for example, Arcidiacono and Nicholson 2005; Bandiera, Barankay and Rasul 2005; Falk and Ichino 2006; Mass and Moretti 2009; Guryan, Kroft, and Notowidigdo 2009; and Brown 2011) and on social and behavioral outcomes (see for example Case and Katz 1991; Gaviria and Raphael 2001; Ludwig, Duncan and Hirsfield 2001; and Kling, Ludwig, and Katz 2005).

[4] For a detailed review of the empirical peer effects literature see Sacerdote (2011) and of the theoretical peer effects literature see Epple and Romano (2011).

disadvantaged neighborhoods allows us to take a closer look at the influence of peers on student achievement in a setting where the problems with the education system in the United States are most evident and arguably more important from a policy perspective. Moreover, many studies highlight the fact that the returns to inputs in the educational production function (such as, parental involvement, teacher qualifications and class size) vary considerably for children from disadvantaged neighborhoods compared to those from affluent neighborhoods (see for example, Krueger and Whitmore 2001, Clotfelter, Ladd and Vigdor 2006 and Sass et al. 2012). Given this, there is no a priori reason to believe that peer interactions—which are another input in the education production function—will operate the same way in environments that differ economically.

Second, our data comes from a well-executed randomized experiment which helps us avoid the aforementioned selection problem, and thus allows us to measure the causal effect of peer quality on student achievement.[5] Third, unlike many existing studies, we measure peer achievement at the classroom level which is arguably a better approximation of the peer interactions in primary schools than the grade level peer achievement measure traditionally employed.[6] In particular, children spend at least six hours a day for roughly 180 days a year with

[5] Unlike the Tennessee's Project STAR data, which was also used to estimate the effect of peers (see for example, Sojourner 2012), we can observe students' baseline test scores and this feature of our data gives us a significant comparative advantage in terms of identification.

[6] Most of the studies in the peers effect literature prefer to use grade level peer measures as a further breakdown of the peer interactions to say classrooms requires one to control for the potential nonrandom sorting of students to classrooms. Notable exceptions are Hoxby and Weingarth (2006) and Burke and Sass (2013).

their classmates while the time they interact with their other schoolmates is rather limited and usually only occurs during the recess. Finally, following Hoxby and Weingarth (2006) and Imberman, Kugler, and Sacerdote (2012), we also examine how peer effects might work in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Specifically, we focus on four potential models of peer effects: the monotonicity model (i.e., the effects of peers on student achievement is increasing in peer quality); the invidious comparison model (i.e., higher ability peers adversely influence the outcomes of students who are moved to a lower position in the local achievement distribution), the ability grouping (boutique) model (i.e., student performance is highest when their peers are similar to themselves), and the frame of reference model or the reverse big fish in a little pond model (i.e., higher ability peers adversely influence the outcomes of students due to a lower academic self-concept).

Contrary to the existing literature, we find that the average classroom peer achievement *adversely* influences own student achievement irrespective of subject or group, although the effect is imprecisely estimated for certain subgroups. Extending our analysis to take into account the potential nonlinearity in the peer effects leads to non-negligible differences along the achievement distribution. Focusing first on reading test scores, we find that an improvement in peer quality for the full sample substantially hurts students both at the bottom and top of the achievement distribution but does not seem to affect middle ability students. Turning to math test scores, we find negative effects of peer quality for the full sample over the entire achievement distribution, although the coefficient estimates are imprecisely estimated. The subgroup patterns for students in all achievement groups in general mirror those found for the full sample, however the effects are estimated more (less) precisely for certain subgroups.

In an attempt to reconcile our results with those in the previous literature, we use a unique feature of our data and exploit cohort-to-cohort variation in peer achievement within the same school and grade to identify the peer effects, as well as allow for differences in the level of peer aggregation. While we find that the importance of identifying the salient peer group cannot be understated in estimating peer effects, our overall findings from these exercises suggest that neither the potentially confounding effects in repeated cross-section data nor the use of a classroom level peer measure (as opposed to a grade level measure) appear to be valid explanations. Moreover, we examine the influence of peer achievement on own student achievement using a secondary data source on primary school students in disadvantaged neighborhood that also uses a randomized experiment and we find similar patterns. Taken together, these exercises provide tentative evidence that our focus on students in primary schools in *disadvantaged* neighborhoods may potentially be the driving force behind the divergence in our results and the results in the existing literature. Finally, we show that these different peer dynamics in disadvantaged neighborhoods can potentially be explained by the frame of reference and the invidious comparison models.

2. Data and Tests for Random Assignment

2.1 Data

We use data from the Mathematic Policy Research, Inc. (MPR) Teachers Trained Through Different Routes to Certification (TTTDR) Private Use File. TTTDR is a randomized study of primary school students, which was conducted to assess the effectiveness of different teacher certifications on student outcomes. MPR began in 2003 by identifying as many schools with alternatively certified (AC) teachers as possible where AC teachers are those who become a classroom teacher prior to completing all required coursework and without having to complete a period of student teaching.[7] In order to be eligible for the study, (i) schools had to have had at least one alternative certification (AC) and one traditional certification (TC) teacher in the same grade (i.e., kindergarten through grade 5); (ii) both AC and TC teachers had to have had five or fewer years of experience, and (iii) both AC and TC teacher must have taught in regular classes and must have delivered both math and reading instruction to all their own students.[8]

MPR identified 170 schools meeting the eligibility criteria for the study. Among this compiled list of eligible schools, a stratified random sample of 60 schools was selected. Specifically, in the spring of 2004 the study administrators contacted schools to search for a suitable pair of teachers who could potentially be in the study for the 2004-2005 school year and these efforts yielded a sample of 20 AC and 20 TC teachers in 20 schools. For the 2005-2006 school year, MPR retained as many teachers as possible from the first year (10 teachers) and recruited additional teachers from the same school (10 schools total), as well as from schools in the same school district and from new school districts. It is important to note that retained teachers teach the same grade in both the first year and the second year but they have new

[7] The AC programs differ on the selectivity criteria of their admission requirements. For instance, AC programs such as the Teach for America require a minimum GPA of 3.0 from the applicants. The AC teachers in the TTTDR sample come from programs with less selective entrance requirements by design as this maintained a fairer comparison between AC and TC teachers. We further note that the TTTDR study did not find any difference in the end of the academic year test scores between students taught by AC and TC teachers.

[8] Even though the requirements for teachers who pursue alternative routes to certification vary by state and district, the AC programs, on average, require significantly less education coursework than TC programs (see Constantine et al. 2009 for more details on AC and TC teachers).

classrooms with randomly assigned students. The final sample included 90 AC and 90 TC teachers and more than 2,800 students that were selected in seven states between 2004 and 2006.[9,10]

This data is ideal for our purposes because, within each school, all students in the same grade were randomly assigned to either an AC or a TC teacher before the start of the academic year. Therefore, the randomization is done at the block level such that each block represents classrooms in the same grade level in any given school. This process not only ensured that those students in AC and TC classrooms are comparable but also that the baseline achievement of own students and the average baseline achievement of their peers in each classroom are not correlated (this is discussed in further detail in Section 2.2). We have a total of 90 blocks of which 94 percent are pairs (1 AC and 1 TC classroom), 4 percent are trios (3 classrooms with at least one being an AC and one being a TC classroom), and 2 percent are quartets (2 AC and 2 TC classrooms). As discussed further below, it is unlikely for our peer effects estimates to be confounded by any potential teacher effects given our peer achievement measures come from the beginning of school year.

After the random assignment and before the start of the academic year, the students were given math and reading tests based on the grade they completed in the previous year (which we

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[9] Due to the confidential nature of the data agreement, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.

[10] The states included in the TTTDR sample are California, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, New Jersey, Texas and Wisconsin. There were 20 school districts in the effective sample; 5 districts from California, 7 districts in total together from Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana and Wisconsin, 3 districts from New Jersey and 5 districts from Texas.

call *baseline* outcome variables); then at the end of the academic year in which the study was conducted the students re-took math and reading tests based on the grade they just completed (which we call endline outcome variables). We use Normal Curve Equivalent (NCE) points in math and reading as our measures of baseline and endline test scores.[11] The NCE scale has a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 21 nationally.

The sample attrition in TTTDR data set is relatively small, but we still lose roughly 7 (8) percent of the initial reading (math) sample because of missing test scores.[12] After dropping these observations, our estimation sample consists of 2,610 (2,580) students for the reading (math) test score sample from classes taught by 180 teachers. To ensure the student composition was unaffected by the sample attrition, Constantine et al. (2009) show the attrition rates in the AC and TC samples were almost identical and did not differ significantly between the two types of classrooms (Appendix A, pp. A13, Table A3 in Constantine et al. 2009).[13]

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[11]The students were administered two reading tests (reading comprehension and vocabulary). The sum of scores from these two tests establishes total reading score and our measure of student achievement in reading. There were also two different tests in math (math concepts and applications and math computation). Unlike reading, however, students in kindergarten and grade 1 were not administered math computation test. Thus our measure in math achievement is scores from math concepts and applications only.

[12] Students test scores are missing either because they moved out of school district or they did not take endline tests.

[13]Ideally, we would like to run a regression of the non-response indicator on an AC classroom dummy along with the baseline characteristics. Even the restricted version of the data set,

Besides test scores and the type of classroom (AC or TC classroom) the data set also contains information on the student's gender, race/ethnicity, and eligibility for free lunch. Table 1 present some features of the TTTDR student sample. Specifically, 34.5 (47.0) percent of the student body is black (Hispanic), while 9.2 percent is white.[14] Moreover, students tend to come from low income families; roughly 75 percent of the effective sample is eligible for free lunch as opposed to 40 percent nationwide. Finally, the average baseline test scores for reading and math are roughly 39 and 42 NCE points for the full sample, respectively. Compared to the national average, the reading (math) scores are roughly 0.5 (0.4) of a standard deviation lower in the TTTDR sample. Overall, it is evident that the TTTDR sample consists of lower achieving students from highly disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The second and third columns of Table 1 report the average baseline characteristics of students in AC and TC classrooms, respectively. Under the assumption that the random assignment is implemented correctly, baseline characteristics of students in AC and TC classrooms must be similar. To test this, as in Krueger and Whitmore (2001), we run a regression of the AC indicator variable on each baseline characteristic conditional on block fixed effects (the dependent variable taking the value of one if the student is in a AC classroom and zero otherwise). The fourth column of Table 1 displays the coefficient estimates from this exercise. None of the coefficient estimates are statistically significant at conventional levels. By the nature of randomization in TTTDR, it is important to note that we include the block fixed

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however, does not include any information on those moving out of the school district and on students not taking the test.

[14] The remaining 9.3 percent of the student body indicated "other" race. The survey instrument does not provide details on what this category includes.

effects in all of our specifications throughout the paper. The use of conditional randomization is a very common practice in the education literature (see for example, Sacerdote 2001; Carrell, Fullerton, and West 2009; and Duflo, Dupas and Kremer 2011).

Finally, TTTDR includes information on teacher characteristics including gender, race/ethnicity, teaching experience, hours of instruction for certification, and SAT Composite Score. Not surprisingly given our sample is comprised of primary schools, roughly 90 percent of teachers are female (see Column 1 of Appendix Table A1), however AC teachers are less likely to be female relative to their TC counterparts (see Columns 2 and 3 of Appendix Table A1). TC teachers are less racially/ethnically diverse than their AC counterparts. Specifically, roughly 72 (45) percent of TC (AC) teachers are white. By construction AC and TC teachers have similar levels of teaching experience, roughly 3 years. Finally, TC teachers have roughly 2 times more teaching training than their AC counterparts, although this difference is somewhat less pronounced for math.

2.2 Are Peers Randomly Assigned?

Although we have shown some preliminary evidence on the random assignment of students within two types of classrooms, it is imperative for the purpose of our study to validate the random assignment of peers (absence of sorting) within blocks. The common practice in the peer effects literature to test for randomization is to run an OLS regression of student *i*'s pre-determined achievement on the pre-determined average achievement of *i*'s peers controlling for any variable on which randomization was conditioned on (see for example, Sacerdote 2001; Foster 2006, and Carrell, Fullerton, and West 2009). Specifically, the test for randomization is given by

$$TS_{icb}^{base} = \pi_0 + \pi_1 \overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base} + \eta_b + u_{icb} \tag{1}$$

where TS_{icb}^{base} is the subject-specific baseline test score for student *i* in classroom *c* and block *b*, is the average peer baseline subject-specific test score in classroom *c* and block b excluding $\overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base}$ student *i*, η_b is a set of block fixed effects (i.e., classrooms in the same grade level in any given school), and u_{icb} is the error term. Under the assumption that peers are randomly assigned, one would expect the estimate of π_1 to be equal to zero.

Guryan, Kroft, and Notowidigdo (2009) however recently showed that the mechanical relationship between own ability and average ability of peers (i.e., peers of high achieving students are chosen from a block with a slightly lower mean achievement than peers of low achieving students) may cause the aforementioned falsification exercise to produce negative and statistically significant coefficient estimates for π_1. Random assignment may not appear random, while positive sorting of students to classrooms may appear random.[15]

Given the bias is a by-product of the differences in the average achievement level of the group once the student *i* is withdrawn, the proposed solution in Guryan, Kroft, and Notowidigdo (2009) is to control for this relevant group mean in the falsification regressions. Specifically, the revised falsification test equation is given by

$$TS_{icb}^{base} = \pi_0 + \pi_1 \overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base} + \pi_2 \overline{TS}_{-i,b}^{base} + \eta_b + u_{icb} \tag{2}$$

[15] It is also important to note that as the size of the randomization group (block in our case) grows the contribution of each student to the average ability goes down and the magnitude of the bias from the falsification exercise is also reduced. The average classroom and block sizes in our study are 15.1 and 32, respectively.

where $\overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base}$ is the mean achievement of students in block b and all other variables are as previously defined. Using simulations, Guryan, Kroft, and Notowidigdo (2009) show that equation (2) is a well-behaved randomization test and if the student assignment to classrooms is truly random, we would expect the coefficient estimate $\hat{\pi}_1$ to be equal to zero.

Table 2 presents our results from various falsification tests. The first and second columns of Table 2 report the results from estimating equation (1) for baseline reading and math test scores, respectively, while the third and fourth columns report the results from estimating equation (2). In the absence of the correction, the correlation between own and peers' baseline achievement is negative and statistically significant for both the reading and math test score samples. As previously noted, however, ignoring the bias in the randomization tests leads to the erroneous conclusion that students are negatively sorted within each block. Once we do the correction however the coefficient estimates on average peer baseline test scores are insignificant and almost equal to zero in magnitude irrespective of subject.

To further examine the integrity of the experiment, we also replace the student's own baseline achievement in equation (1) with several student and classroom characteristics. Column 1 (2) of Table 3 presents the results using average peer reading (math) achievement. Out of all these separate simple regressions (14 in total) there is only one statistically significant coefficient (i.e., the effect of average peer baseline achievement on the white student indicator) which suggests that there does not appear to be any credible evidence against randomization in our data.

3. Empirical Methodology and Results

3.1 Empirical Methodology

Having provided strong evidence that students are randomly assigned to classrooms, we now turn to the estimation of peer effects on student achievement. To begin with, we first analyze the peer effects using linear-in-means models, where we regress endline test scores on average peer baseline test scores along with students' own baseline scores and block fixed effects. In a randomized experiment setting, it is a well-known fact that controlling for the baseline characteristics does not affect the consistency of the estimates; however, it helps increase efficiency (Frölich and Melly, 2013). To this end, we estimate the following equation for the full sample and by subgroups (i.e., student gender, student race/ethnicity, and student free lunch eligibility status):

$$TS_{icb}^{end} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base} + \beta_2 TS_{icb}^{base} + SC_{icb}^{'}\delta + TC_{cb}^{'}\gamma + \eta_b + e_{icb} \tag{3}$$

where TS_{icb}^{end} is the subject-specific endline test score for student *i* in classroom *c* and block *b*. *SC* is a set of student characteristics (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, and free lunch status), *TC* is a set of teacher characteristics (i.e., AC/TC status, gender, race/ethnicity and years of teaching experience), TS_{icb}^{base}, $\overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base}$, and η_b are as previously defined. It is important to note that the peer effects estimates are reduced form in the sense that equation (3) does not separately identify the effects of peer outcomes (endogenous effects) and peer background characteristics (contextual effects).

We also estimate two versions of equation (3) for the full sample and by subgroups to address the potential nonlinearity in the peer effects. The first version is given by

$$E(TS_{icb}^{end} \mid Q_k^{base}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \overline{TS}_{-i,cb}^{base} + \beta_2 TS_{icb}^{base} + SC_{icb}^{'}\delta + TC_{cb}^{'}\gamma + \eta_b + e_{icb} \tag{4}$$

where Q_k^{base} is the student *i*'s grade and subject-specific baseline achievement quartile *k* (*k* = top 25%; middle 25-75%; bottom 25%) and all remaining variables are as previously defined. We estimate equation (4) separately for each quartile. The second version specifies a slightly different measure of peer quality and the estimation equation is given by

$$E(TS_{icb}^{end} \mid Q_k^{base}) = \beta_0 + \beta_{k,bottom} P_{-i,cb}^{bottom} + \beta_{k,top} P_{-i,cb}^{top} + \beta_2 TS_{icb}^{base} + SC_{icb}^{'}\delta + TC_{cb}^{'}\gamma + \eta_b + e_{icb} \qquad (5)$$

where $P_{-i,cb}^{bottom}$ and $P_{-i,cb}^{top}$ represent the fraction of the bottom 25% and the top 25% of peers in classroom *c* and block b, respectively, based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. The omitted category in equation (5) is peers in the middle ability group in classroom c and block b. All other variables are defined as previously. Finally, we report the standard errors clustered at the block-level beneath each coefficient estimate. Inference remains intact if we instead cluster the standard errors at the school level.

Before we present our results, it is important for us to re-emphasize that our measures of peer achievement are based on achievement tests that focused on the curriculum from the previous year and were given to students after the random assignment but before the start of the academic year. As such, it is not possible for the peer effects estimates to be contaminated by any teacher effects.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Linear-in-Means Results

Column 1 of Panel A and B of Table 4 present our linear-in-means estimations for reading test scores and math test scores, respectively, for the full sample. Specifically, the coefficient estimate on average classroom peer baseline reading achievement is negative and statistically significant (-0.18); a one standard deviation increase in peer achievement is associated with roughly one-ninth of a standard deviation decrease in own endline reading scores. Similarly, the coefficient estimate on average classroom peer baseline math achievement is (-0.24) suggesting that a one standard deviation increase in peer achievement decreases math test scores by around one-ninth of a standard deviation as well. For both reading and math test scores, we find very similar results if we exclude teacher characteristics only or if we exclude both student and teacher characteristics (see Columns 1 through 3 of Appendix Table A2).[16] This provides further evidence that the assignment is truly random at the block level as the additional controls simply add precision to the model. Moreover, we also estimate a specification that adds average block baseline peer achievement in addition to average classroom peer baseline achievement (see Column 4 of Appendix Table A2). The coefficient estimate on average block peer achievement is not different than zero and the average classroom peer baseline achievement remains virtually unchanged.

To further explore these findings, we extend our analysis to test for the presence of heterogeneous effects along a number of dimensions. We first focus on student gender. While we continue to find a negative effect of average classroom peer achievement, irrespective of subject or student gender, the magnitude of the peer effect is substantially larger for male students and is imprecisely estimated for female students (see Column 1 of Tables 5 and 6 for female and male students, respectively). These gender differences may stem from the fact that

[16] We run a regression of subject-specific endline test scores on subject-specific average peer baseline achievement excluding student's own baseline test scores. The coefficient estimates for endline reading and math test scores from this exercise are -0.824 (0.166) and -0.742 (0.183), respectively.

female students tend to be more cooperative and more level even in the presence of ability differences with their peers (see for example, Croson and Gneezy 2009 and Bertrand 2010).

Our next set of results pertains to student free-lunch status, which proxies for family income. We noted earlier that roughly 75 percent of the effective sample is eligible for free-lunch and students from wealthier families are disproportionately distributed at the top of the achievement group. This leaves us with only a limited number of observations at the bottom quartile for students that are not eligible for free-lunch which is particularly important when we allow for nonlinearities. As such, we focus our discussion on free-lunch eligible students only. We again find that, irrespective of subject, that average classroom peer baseline achievement adversely influences own endline test scores (see Column 1 of Tables 7).

Our final set of results pertains to student race/ethnicity. We focus on black and Hispanic students only because, as noted earlier, white students make up only 9 percent of our estimation sample. For both black and Hispanic students, we continue to find a negative effect of average classroom peer achievement for reading and math test scores, although the effects are imprecisely estimated (see Column 1 of Tables 8 and 9 for black and Hispanic students, respectively).

3.2.2 Nonlinearities in Peer Effects

In the previous section, we assume the peer effects are linear. There is, however, substantial evidence against the linear-in-means model (see for example, Hoxby and Weingarth 2006; Sacerdote 2011; and Imberman, Kugler, and Sacerdote 2012). Moreover, from a policy point of view, if the peer effects were to be linear, there would be no gain or loss in sorting and tracking students. To examine the potential nonlinearities in peer effects, we first estimate the effect of average classroom subject specific peer baseline achievement on own subject specific endline test scores separately by the grade and subject-specific baseline achievement quartile k (k = top 25%; middle 25-75%; bottom 25%) for student i for the full sample and by subgroups (see equation 4 in Section 4.1).[17] The patterns for the full sample generally extend to all subgroups under consideration therefore for the sake of brevity we focus our discussion on the full sample results.

We observe a negative and significant impact of average classroom peer baseline reading achievement for students at the bottom quartile of the achievement distribution (-0.453); a one standard deviation increase in peer achievement is associated with roughly one-fourth of a standard deviation decrease in own reading test scores (see Column 3, Panel A of Table 4). The coefficient estimate on peer effects for the middle achievement group, on the other hand, is almost equal to zero in magnitude (-0.067) and is insignificant (see Column 5, Panel A of Table 4), while the effect for the students in the top quartile is negative (-0.269) although imprecisely estimated at conventional levels (see Column 7, Panel A of Table 4). Pair-wise comparisons indicate that the peer effects coefficient for the lowest achievement group is significantly different than the one for middle achievement group (p-value 0.02). Turning to the math test score results (see Column 3, 5, and 7 of Panel B of Table 4), the coefficient estimates are negative and similar in magnitude for all achievement groups, although imprecisely estimated at

[17] We discuss alternative cut-off points to describe the bottom and top achievement groups in Section 3.2.5. However, we are unable to examine cut-off points based on the top 5 (10) % and bottom 5 (10) % due to data limitations (i.e., our sample size does not allow us to cut the data that finely).

conventional levels. We fail to reject the null of equality across all pair-wise comparisons of peer effects coefficient estimates.

To further delve into the complexity of the effect of peers on student achievement we replace average classroom peer baseline achievement with the fraction of peers in classroom *c* in the bottom 25% and top 25% of the grade and subject-specific pre-treatment test score distribution (the omitted category is peers in the middle ability group) for the full sample and by subgroups. We again focus our discussion on the results for the full sample for the sake of brevity.

If we hold student *i*'s placement in baseline grade and subject-specific achievement distribution fixed (see Column 2 Table 4), we find that a 1 percentage point increase in the proportion of peers in the top quartile (therefore the proportion of peers in the middle quartile decreases by 1 percentage point) is associated with a 0.048 (0.018) points decrease (increase) in endline reading (math) test scores, although the effects are imprecisely estimated. Similarly, if the proportion of peers in the bottom quartile increases by 1 percentage point relative to the middle quartile, then endline reading (math) test scores go up by 0.047 (0.115) points, the effect however is statistically insignificant at conventional levels for reading test scores.

If we now also allow student *i*'s placement in the baseline grade and subject specific achievement distribution to vary, for students in the bottom quartile we find that if you increase the proportion of peers in the top (bottom) quartile by 1 percentage point relative to the middle quartile, then endline reading tests scores decrease (increase) by 0.06 (0.14) points (see Column 4, Panel A of Table 4), the effect however is statistically insignificant at conventional levels for the top peer quartile relative to the middle quartile. For students in the top quartile we find that if you increase the proportion of peers in the top (bottom) quartile by 1 percentage point relative to the middle quartile, then endline reading tests scores decreases (increases) by 0.05 (0.06) points (see Column 8, Panel A of Table 4), although the effects are imprecisely estimated. Finally, for students in the middle quartile the effect of changing the proportion of peers in the top or bottom quartiles relative to the middle quartile is much smaller in magnitude and statistically insignificant. The patterns for endline math test scores essentially mirror those found for endline reading test scores with the following exception. Unlike endline reading tests scores, the coefficient estimates on the proportion of peers in the top quartile are positive for students in the bottom and middle quartiles, although the effects are imprecisely estimated (see Columns 4 and 6, Panel B of Table 4).

3.2.3 Robustness Checks

We undertake several sensitivity checks to examine the robustness of our results. First, following Foster (2006) we replace the average baseline peer achievement with the median baseline achievement level of the classroom and re-run all the specifications. The results from this exercise are qualitatively similar to those presented in the paper. Second, we added the standard deviation of the baseline peer achievement along with average baseline peer achievement. The coefficient estimates on the dispersion measure are not different than zero in any of the specifications. Third, we tried including average peer reading and math achievement scores simultaneously to subject-specific achievement equations. Average peer effect coefficients for both subjects on endline scores remain almost intact. They are, however, less precisely estimated. This may not be surprising given the high correlation between these two peer achievement measures.

Fourth, to examine the potential differential effects of peer quality at different grades, we divide the sample into lower grades (kindergarten and first grade) and upper grades (second through fifth). The peer effect coefficient estimates from the lower versus the upper grades do not indicate any discernible pattern. Fifth, rather than splitting the sample within each achievement group based on selected student characteristics, we run fully interacted models (e.g., the female indicator variable interacted with all covariates) within each achievement group. We also repeated a similar exercise within each subgroup and run fully interacted models in ability (i.e., baseline achievement indicator variables—top, middle, and bottom—interacted with all covariates). The precision of our results from these robustness checks are very similar to those presented in the paper. Sixth, we choose different cut-off points to describe the bottom and top achievement groups (i.e., one-third). Doing so does not alter our conclusions. Finally, the results are similar, although slightly more precisely estimated, if we instead cluster at the classroom level. All these results are available upon request.

3.2.4 Can We Reconcile Our Results with the Previous Literature?

Our findings presented so far appear to be generally at odds with those found in the existing peer effects literature. What can account for this divergence in results? One possibility is that it may be because of the differences in the level of peer aggregation (i.e., classroom-level vs. grade-level). Alternatively, it may be because of the differences in the peer effects identification strategies. Even though the existing peer effects literature based on grades K through 12 carefully addresses the identification problems in the estimation of peer effects, they may not be able to fully account for all the potential confounding effects in survey data. Finally, it may be because of the differences in our estimation sample. We are focusing on students from highly disadvantaged neighborhoods and, as noted at the outset of the paper, peer interactions may differ by socio-economic status and family background (see for example, Ludwig, Duncan and Hirsfield 2001).

Ideally, we would like to test the sensitivity of our results based on all three potential explanations. Due to the nature of our dataset, however, we cannot say much about what the peer effect estimates would be if we had used the same identification strategy and the same peer measure in a nationally representative sample of students (discussed further below). That being said, we can still exploit the unique features of the TTTDR data set to shed some light on how our use of classroom level peer achievement and our use of randomized data affect our findings.

As discussed Section 2.1, 10 schools were present in the study for both 2004-2005 and 2005-2006 with a total of 760 student observations (see Appendix Table A4 for summary statistics). Within these schools, teachers were either retained from the first year or new teachers were added in the second year. For the purpose of this analysis it is also important to recall that teachers who were retained in the second year continue to teach the same grade they taught in the first year but have new classrooms of randomly assigned students. The repeated cross-section nature of the subset of TTTDR data set allows us to identify the peer effects from cohort-to-cohort variation in peer achievement within the same grade and school. Specifically, we estimate the following equation

$$TS_{icgst}^{end} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \overline{TS}_{-i,cs}^{base} + \beta_2 \overline{TS}_{icgst}^{base} + SC_{icgst}^{'}\delta + TC_{cgst}^{'}\gamma + \alpha_g + \theta_s + \lambda_{gt} + \nu_{icgst} \quad (6)$$

where *i* denotes individuals, *c* denotes the classroom, *g* denotes the grade (block), *s* denotes school, *t* denotes time α_g , θ_s , λ_{gt} are grade, school, and grade by year fixed effects respectively; β_1 represents the effect of average peer achievement on student achievement, and all other variables are as previously defined. For comparative reasons, we re-estimate equation (3) for the same subset of the TTTDR data set.

In this simple set-up, any potential divergence in the coefficient estimates of average peer achievement from equation (3) and equation (6) are likely to be a by-product of non-random sorting of students (i.e., pre-existing trends). Columns 1 and 2 of Panel A (B) of Table 10 present the reading (math) classroom level peer achievement estimates from equations (3) and (6), respectively. The peer effects coefficient estimates for reading and math test scores from the specification where we use the cohort-to-cohort variation (randomization) in peer achievement are -0.398 (-0.437) and -0.221 (-0.277), respectively. While using the cohort-to-cohort identification strategy reduces the magnitudes of both the reading and math coefficient estimates relative to using the randomized nature of the data, the discrepancy between them is not large enough to rule out random statistical error. As such, it appears that there is no compelling evidence suggesting that identification of peer effects by using cohort-to-cohort variation in peer achievement within the same grade and school generates biased coefficients.

Next we replace classroom level peer achievement with the grade (block) level peer achievement in equation (6). In this revised set up, any potential discrepancy between the peer effects estimates using peer achievement at the classroom level and the grade level would reflect differences in level of peer aggregation.[18] Column (3) of Panel A (B) in Table 10 displays the peer effects estimates for reading (math) test scores using grade level peer achievement in equation (6). The coefficient estimate on reading peer achievement is about half the size of the

[18] It is important to note that we are able to compare the estimates based on classroom level peer achievement and grade (block) level peer achievement given students are randomly assigned at the grade level across classrooms.

specification where we use classroom level peer achievement (Column 2 of Panel A in Table 10). As for math, the corresponding coefficient (Column 3 of Panel B in Table 10) is again smaller in magnitude but the decrease in the coefficient estimate is smaller than the one we observe for reading achievement.[19] These results suggest that the importance of identifying the salient peer group in estimating peer effects cannot be understated.

Stepping back and viewing these two exercises, it appears that neither the potentially confounding effects in repeated cross-section data nor the use of a classroom level peer measure (as opposed to a grade level measure) are valid explanations. As noted above, although we cannot directly test whether peer dynamics in primary schools in highly disadvantaged neighborhoods differ from peer dynamics in general, we can employ another randomized experiment with similar features to see if our results are robust. Doing so not only helps us to gain further insights into peer effects in highly disadvantaged neighborhoods but also reinforces the validity of our peer effects estimates.

Our additional evidence comes from the Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. (MPR) National Evaluation of Teach for America (NETFA) Public Use File. In terms of the implementation of the randomization process, NETFA is very similar to TTTDR, as are the students in terms of their socio-economic and racial/ethnic backgrounds (see Antecol et al 2013 for details). The linear-in-means peer effects estimates using the NETFA data are very similar

[19] Ideally, we would like to extend these two exercises to own achievement groups but a further break down of the repeated cross-section sample leads to a very limited number of observations and a limited number of blocks. As such, random statistical error is likely to contribute to the variation in the peer effect estimates. Nevertheless, the patterns are qualitatively similar if re-estimate equation (6) by own achievement to those presented in the paper.

to the peer effects estimates presented in Table 3 using the TTTDR sample. Specifically, the linear-in-means peer effects coefficients (standard errors) for reading achievement and math achievement are -0.136 (0.095) and –0.243 (0.121), respectively. Turning to nonlinearities in peer effects, we find that the patterns observed for the middle and top quartiles in the TTTDR sample are mirrored in the NETFA data, while the peer effects estimates at the bottom quartile of the achievement distribution are imprecisely estimated and are less negative in the NEFTA data.[20] This divergence may be due to the positive selection bias we find in the NETFA using the falsification tests outlined in Section 2 (results are available upon request).[21]

Taken together, our results in this section provide tentative evidence on different peer dynamics in primary schools in highly disadvantaged neighborhoods. In the remainder of the paper, we investigate whether any of the existing models of peer effects can help shed light on the observed patterns in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

3.2.5 Testing the Models of Peer Effects

Thus far, we have solely focused on estimating the peer effects on student achievement. It is equally important to formally identify the underlying models of peer effects, especially in light of the fact that peer interactions appear to differ in disadvantaged neighborhoods. As such,

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[20] We observe similar patterns if we exclude NCE equivalent scores of 0 from the analysis.

[21] We recently became aware of a preliminary and incomplete working paper examining peer effects using the NETFA data (Bietenbeck 2014). While this paper generally also finds negative peer effects, they tend to be imprecisely estimated. We argue Bietenbeck's results differ from ours because they use a combined measure of achievement (i.e., combined reading and math achievement).

we test the predictions of the four potential models through which peer effects might work. First, we examine the monotonicity model which implies that the effects of peers on student achievement are increasing in peer quality. Using equation (5) we test for two versions of the monotonicty model: weak monotonicity states $\beta_{k;top} > \beta_{k;bottom}$ *and* strong monotonicity states $\beta_{k;top} > \beta_{k;middle}$ and $\beta_{k;middle} > \beta_{k;bottom}$. for *k* = *top; middle; bottom*.

Second, we examine the invidious comparison model (proposed in Hoxby and Weingarth 2006) which states that higher ability peers adversely influence the outcomes of students who are moved to a lower position in the local achievement distribution, perhaps because of a fall in their self-esteem. Note that this model does not say anything about the impact of peers at the same ability level. Using equation (5) we test for the invidious comparison model as follows: for *k* = *top; middle; bottom* and *j* = *top; middle; bottom*, the invidious comparison model states $\beta_{kj} < 0$ for $j > k$ and $\beta_{kj} > 0$ for $k > j$ where *j* denotes the grade and subject-specific baseline achievement quartile of peers.

Third, we examine the ability grouping (boutique) model (proposed in Hoxby and Weingarth 2006) which states that student performance is highest when their peers are similar to themselves. Using equation (5) we test for the ability grouping model as follows: for *k* = *top; middle; bottom* and *j* = *top; middle; bottom*, the ability grouping model states $\beta_{kk} > \beta_{kj}$ for $j \neq k$.

Finally, we examine the frame of reference model which relies on social comparison theory (Marsh and Parker 1984; Marsh 1987). In an educational setting, the theoretical model underlying the frame of reference model states that students compare their own academic achievement with the achievement of their peers and use this social comparison to form their own academic self-concept (i.e., one's knowledge and perceptions about one's academic ability).

In this context, academic self-concept depends not only on one's own achievement but also on the achievement of a reference group. Consider a high achieving student in a regular classroom who is then assigned to a gifted classroom; the student in this new environment may become an average student relative to their peers. According to Marsh and Hau (2003), this then can have adverse effects on the student's academic self-concept as they are no longer “a big fish in a small pond” (regular class) but are now “a little fish in a big pond” (gifted class). According to the frame of reference model, academic self-concept will be affected positively with individual achievement but will also be negatively affected by the average achievement of the reference group. Thus the frame of reference model predicts a negative impact of an improvement in peers' achievement on student's own achievement.

Taking this a step further, if the proportion of peers in the top (bottom) 25% increases, then average peer achievement must improve (decline) which will result in a negative (positive) impact on own student achievement. In other words, the frame of reference model predicts that all students are hurt from high-achieving peers and benefit by low-achieving peers (i.e., the inverse of the monotonicity model). We test models of both the weak and strong frame of reference as follows: for *k* = *top; middle; bottom*, the weak frame of reference states $\beta_{k;top} < \beta_{k;bottom}$ and for *k* = *top; middle; bottom*, the strong frame of reference states $\beta_{k;top} < \beta_{k;middle}$ and $\beta_{k;middle} < \beta_{k;bottom}$.[22]

[22] Hoxby and Weingarth (2006) outline a number of other potential models including the bad apple model (i.e., one disruptive student has a detrimental effect on the outcomes of all students irrespective of where they are in the achievement distribution); the shining light model (i.e., one excellent student has a positive effect on the outcomes of all students irrespective of where they are in the achievement distribution); the focus model (i.e., homogeneous classrooms are good

Specifically, based on the nonlinear results for the full sample where both own student and peer achievement are allowed to vary by placement in the subject-specific achievement distribution (i.e., Columns 4, 6, and 8 of Table 4), we count the number of tests that predict the model under question in the correct direction and the number of tests that predict the model under question in the opposite direction. This is a variant of the inference procedure employed in Imberman, Kugler, and Sacerdote (2012). Given the relatively small size of our sample, we take any test in the correct (opposite) direction to be consistent (inconsistent) with the model under question irrespective of statistical significance. While we focus our discussion on sign based tests, our conclusions are substantially similar if we instead focus on significance based tests (See Appendix Table A3).

The results from this exercise are presented in Table 11. We find that all the tests go in the opposite direction predicted by the weak monotonicity model for both reading and math test scores. While the same is true for the strong monotonicity model for reading, for math all but 2 of the 6 tests go in the opposite direction predicted by the model. For the invidious comparison model we find that 4 (2) out of the 4 tests go in the direction predicted by the model for reading (math) test scores. For the ability grouping model we find that 3 (4) out of 6 tests go in the opposite direction predicted by the model for reading (math) test scores. It is also important to note that the evidence for the ability grouping model only comes from the bottom quartiles of the reading achievement distribution both. Finally, for the weak frame of reference model all the tests go in the direction predicted by the model irrespective of test subject while for the strong

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irrespective of student *i*'s ability relative to their homogeneous peers); and the rainbow model (i.e., heterogeneous classrooms benefit all students).

frame of reference model all (4) of the 6 tests go in the direction predicted by the model for reading (math) test scores.

Taken together, we appear to find no support for the weak and strong monotonicity models and little evidence in favor of the ability grouping model. However, we appear to find stronger support for the invidious comparison and frame of reference models. Our study is not the first one in the economics literature to present evidence supporting the frame of reference model and/or invidious comparison model. For instance, Pop-Eleches and Urquiola (2013), using survey data from Romanian secondary schools, show that children admitted into more selective schools by scoring just above a cut-off point perform worse potentially due to a reduction in their confidence and self-esteem due to their exposure to better peers. Bui, Craig, and Imberman (2013) also find some evidence supporting the invidious comparison and/or the frame of reference models in magnet schools. Specifically, the authors provide tentative evidence that students who are marginally eligible to enroll in magnet schools and therefore are exposed to higher achieving peers then they would have been in a regular public school tend to perform worse in terms of their own achievement. Finally, Lavy, Silva, and Weinhardt (2013), using survey data from England, propose the frame of reference and/or invidious comparison model as a potential explanation for the negative impact of high performing male peers on the achievement of male students.

Finally our findings may also shed some light on the channels through which peer effects in primary school in disadvantaged neighborhoods operate. It may be the case that high quality peers in the classroom depresses the academic performance of all students presumably through the frame of reference model or the invidious comparison model. In this case, negative peer effects result from the interactions across students. Alternatively, as noted in Lavy, Paserman, and Schlosser (2012), an increase in the overall achievement of the classroom may force teachers to raise the level more towards higher ability students and this may hurt some students. The negative peer effects here result from a change in teaching practices and methods. With our data, it is not possible to directly see whether the teacher raises the level of teaching more towards higher ability students. That said, however, if the peer effects were to stem from changes in teachers' pedagogical practices, then we should not observe negative peer effects at the top of the reading achievement distribution coupled with no effect at the middle of the reading achievement distribution as we do. In other words, a teacher raising the bar so high that even students in the top quartile are hurt does not appear to be a valid explanation as we would also need to observe negative peer effects for students in the middle of the reading achievement distribution and we do not.

4. Conclusion

For decades, there has been a flurry of research by social scientists trying to pinpoint the underlying determinants of student achievement, particularly since the Coleman Report was released in 1966. Despite this, we still know very little about which specific education policies are more effective at improving student achievement outcomes. This paper further analyzes how to improve student achievement with a particular interest on the effect of peers on student achievement.[23]

We use data from a well-executed randomized experiment which allows us to measure the causal effect of peer quality, as well as affords us a large sample of primary schools, students,

[23] In a companion paper, we examine in details the contextual peer effects (see Antecol, Eren, and Ozbeklik 2013).

teachers, and states. Furthermore, our data comes from a disadvantaged part of the student population which allows us to take a closer look at peer effects in a setting where the influence of family background may be particularly less pronounced and peer dynamics might differ from those in a nationally representative sample of students given students in this population may be particularly sensitive to peer interactions.

Unlike the existing literature which generally finds positive and significant effects or small positive to no effects, we find that the average classroom baseline peer achievement *adversely* influences student's own endline achievement. The linear-in-means model, however, masks a great deal of information. We therefore extend our analysis to take into account nonlinearities in peer effects which reveals substantial heterogeneity across the achievement distribution. Specifically, we consistently find negative peer effects at the bottom and the top of the reading achievement distribution for the full sample. Peer effects estimates on reading achievement for middle ability students, on the other hand, are essentially zero for the full sample. Turning to math test scores, we find that peer quality adversely affects student achievement for the full sample over the entire achievement distribution, although the effects are imprecisely estimated. The full sample patterns generally extend to all subgroups, although they are (more) less precisely estimated for certain subgroups. Taken altogether, direct peer effects as opposed to teacher responses to student compositional changes appear to be driving our results.

Furthermore, in an attempt to reconcile our results with the existing literature we use a unique feature of our data to investigate how sensitive our results are to our use of random data for identification of peer effects and to differences in the level of peer aggregation. We find suggestive evidence that our focus on students in primary schools in *disadvantaged* neighborhoods may explain the discrepancy between our results and those found in the existing literature as neither the potentially confounding effects in repeated cross-section data nor the use of a classroom level peer measure (as opposed to a grade level measure) change our peer effect coefficients enough to be valid explanations. Moreover, we find the influence of peer achievement on own student outcomes is similar when we employ a secondary data source on primary students in *disadvantaged* neighborhoods that also uses a randomized experiment. Finally, we find that the frame of reference and the invidious comparison models can potentially explain the observed peer interactions in these disadvantaged primary schools. We end by noting that more research focusing on peer interactions in disadvantaged schools would be beneficial as it would further our understanding of the peer dynamics in a setting where the problems with the education system in the United States are most evident and arguably more important from a policy perspective.

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Table 1: Student Summary Statistics and Basic Randomization Regressions

	TTTDR Students	AC Students	TC (Control) Students	Coefficient (Standard Error)
	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)	**AC**
Endline Reading Test Score (NCE)	38.59	39.07	38.13	…..
	(20.21)	(20.38)	(20.03)	
Endline Math Test Score (NCE)	42.43	42.59	42.28	…..
	(22.66)	(22.83)	(22.51)	
Baseline Reading Test Score (NCE)	38.93	39.86	38.05	0.00
	(20.87)	(20.92)	(20.80)	(0.00)
Baseline Math Test Score (NCE)	42.55	42.93	42.18	-0.00
	(21.28)	(21.06)	(21.49)	(0.00)
Female (1=Yes)	0.45	0.46	0.44	0.01
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.01)
Race				
White	0.09	0.09	0.08	-0.02
	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.03)
Black	0.35	0.34	0.35	-0.03
	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.02)
Hispanic	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.01
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.02)
Free/Reduced Lunch (%)	0.75	0.74	0.77	-0.04
	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.41)	(0.03)
Sample Size	2,610	1,280	1,340	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. NCE scale has a mean 50 and standard deviation 21.06 nationally. Randomization regression tests control for block fixed effects. The standard errors clustered at the block level are reported. AC indicator takes the value of one if the student is taught by a AC teacher and takes the value of zero if the student is taught by a TC teacher. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.

Table 2: Randomization Tests Using Student Baseline Test Scores

Dependent Variable: Own Baseline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)			
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
Average Peer Baseline Reading Achievement	-0.864***	…..	0.018	…..
	(0.169)		(0.034)	
Average Peer Baseline Math Achievement	…..	-0.722***	…..	-0.063
		(0.168)		(0.053)
Average Block Baseline Reading Achievement	…..	…..	-25.478***	…..
			(0.716)	
Average Block Baseline Math Achievement	…..	…..	…..	-25.783***
				(0.754)

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors clustered at the block level are reported. Randomization regressions control for block fixed effects. Average peer subject-specific baseline achievement measured at the classroom level.
** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 3: Randomization Tests Using Student and Classroom Characteristics

	Average Peer Baseline Reading Achievement	Average Peer Baseline Math Achievement
Dependent Variables:	Coefficients (Standard Error)	
Female	0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Free Lunch	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.001)
Hispanic	0.002	0.000
	(0.002)	(0.001)
Black	0.001	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)
White	-0.002**	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Class Size	-0.009	0.028
	(0.034)	(0.031)
AC Teacher	0.015	-0.006
	(0.013)	(0.011)

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors clustered at the block level are reported. Randomization regressions control for block fixed effects. Average peer subject-specific baseline achievement measured at the classroom level.
** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 4: Estimates of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)							
Panel A: Reading Test Scores					**Own Student Baseline Achievement**			
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.182***		-0.453***		-0.067		-0.269	
	(0.069)		(0.164)		(0.089)		(0.196)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.048		-0.060		-0.029		-0.050
		(0.032)		(0.086)		(0.040)		(0.077)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.047		0.140***		0.022		0.061
		(0.030)		(0.047)		(0.046)		(0.080)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.632***	0.634***	0.544***	0.562***	0.726***	0.728***	0.552***	0.564***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.02							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.44							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.33							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.03		0.04		0.40		0.31
Sample Size	2,610		640		1,290		680	
Panel B: Math Test Scores					**Own Student Baseline Achievement**			
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75%**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.236**		-0.281		-0.194		-0.198	
	(0.103)		(0.181)		(0.119)		(0.192)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		0.018		0.058		0.052		-0.032
		(0.036)		(0.086)		(0.054)		(0.089)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.115**		0.117		0.089*		0.160*
		(0.045)		(0.083)		(0.051)		(0.093)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.627***	0.630***	0.555***	0.565***	0.654***	0.661***	0.520***	0.530***
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.068)	(0.066)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.080)	(0.080)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.67							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.73							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.99							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.09		0.62		0.61		0.13
Sample Size	2,580		670		1,250		660	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include gender, race/ethnicity and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level. The proportion of top 25% and bottom 25% of peers in a classroom are based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 5: Estimates of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level for Female Students

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)							
Panel A: Reading Test Scores					**Own Student Baseline Achievement**			
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.118		-0.428		-0.025		-0.207	
	(0.094)		(0.265)		(0.153)		(0.247)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.012		-0.071		0.006		-0.085
		(0.037)		(0.124)		(0.055)		(0.099)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.048		0.133*		0.037		-0.036
		(0.041)		(0.079)		(0.086)		(0.109)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.608***	0.609***	0.562***	0.573***	0.623***	0.621***	0.452***	0.460***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.112)	(0.113)	(0.080)	(0.081)	(0.076)	(0.075)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.18							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.53							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.52							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.27		0.16		0.76		0.73
Sample Size	1,190		290		580		330	
Panel B: Math Test Scores					**Own Student Baseline Achievement**			
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75%**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.037		0.144		0.009		-0.343	
	(0.124)		(0.221)		(0.182)		(0.332)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		0.030		0.129		0.067		-0.158
		(0.057)		(0.161)		(0.089)		(0.158)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.074		0.009		0.051		0.146
		(0.062)		(0.138)		(0.087)		(0.168)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.641***	0.638***	0.625***	0.613***	0.641***	0.636***	0.552***	0.563***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.099)	(0.009)	(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.128)	(0.127)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.62							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.22							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.36							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.60		0.57		0.89		0.18
Sample Size	1,170		310		580		280	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include race/ethnicity and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level. The proportion of top 25% and bottom 25% of peers in a classroom are based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 6: Estimates of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level for Male Students

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)							
Panel A: Reading Test Scores			**Own Student Baseline Achievement**					
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.224**		-0.446**		-0.171		-0.596*	
	(0.094)		(0.198)		(0.133)		(0.344)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.080**		-0.092		-0.063		-0.057
		(0.040)		(0.121)		(0.061)		(0.118)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.055		0.135*		0.043		0.142
		(0.040)		(0.079)		(0.060)		(0.133)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.642***	0.643***	0.498***	0.515***	0.759***	0.765***	0.535***	0.572***
	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.127)	(0.123)	(0.082)	(0.079)	(0.077)	(0.073)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.25							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.70							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.24							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.01		0.11		0.21		0.26
Sample Size	1,420		360		710		350	
Panel B: Math Test Scores			**Own Student Baseline Achievement**					
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75%**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.441***		-0.574**		-0.360**		-0.454	
	(0.130)		(0.241)		(0.180)		(0.299)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.011		0.010		0.062		-0.041
		(0.049)		(0.120)		(0.073)		(0.138)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.151***		0.186*		0.133*		0.260**
		(0.056)		(0.108)		(0.071)		(0.130)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.612***	0.620***	0.489***	0.512***	0.654***	0.666***	0.436***	0.460***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.086)	(0.085)	(0.106)	(0.110)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.48							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.74							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.79							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.02		0.27		0.48		0.11
Sample Size	1,410		360		670		380	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include race/ethnicity and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level. The proportion of top 25% and bottom 25% of peers in a classroom are based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 7: Estimates of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level for Free-Lunch Eligible Students

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)							
Panel A: Reading Test Scores				**Own Student Baseline Achievement**				
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.157*		-0.459**		0.005		-0.546**	
	(0.096)		(0.191)		(0.123)		(0.256)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.019		-0.045		0.003		-0.036
		(0.038)		(0.094)		(0.049)		(0.113)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.061*		0.146***		0.028		0.163
		(0.033)		(0.053)		(0.050)		(0.110)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.633***	0.634***	0.544***	0.563***	0.797***	0.797***	0.510***	0.544***
	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.081)	(0.080)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.05							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.77							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.05							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.11		0.07		0.72		0.20
Sample Size	1,980		570		1,040		360	
Panel B: Math Test Scores				**Own Student Baseline Achievement**				
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75%**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.218*		-0.243		-0.060		-0.236	
	(0.128)		(0.212)		(0.123)		(0.281)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		0.016		0.038		0.079		-0.016
		(0.048)		(0.093)		(0.067)		(0.185)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.112**		0.086		0.078		0.185
		(0.049)		(0.091)		(0.051)		(0.122)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.639***	0.641***	0.538***	0.546***	0.619***	0.622**8	0.527***	0.539***
	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.075)	(0.072)	(0.083)	(0.082)	(0.119)	(0.120)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.45							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.97							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.57							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.16		0.71		0.99		0.36
Sample Size	1,950		570		990		400	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include gender and race/ethnicity. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level. The proportion of top 25% and bottom 25% of peers in a classroom are based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 8: Estimates of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level for Black Students

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)							
Panel A: Reading Test Scores					**Own Student Baseline Achievement**			
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.082		-0.319		0.051		-0.351	
	(0.108)		(0.313)		(0.141)		(0.291)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		0.032		0.150		0.034		-0.010
		(0.056)		(0.137)		(0.069)		(0.118)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.072**		0.198**		0.047		0.110
		(0.032)		(0.082)		(0.075)		(0.153)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.652***	0.653***	0.747***	0.760***	0.678***	0.675***	0.460***	0.484***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.124)	(0.122)	(0.100)	(0.101)	(0.102)	(0.099)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.28							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.94							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.21							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.55		0.76		0.89		0.53
Sample Size	900		180		500		220	
Panel B: Math Test Scores					**Own Student Baseline Achievement**			
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75%**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.240		-0.367		-0.050		0.062	
	(0.186)		(0.310)		(0.208)		(0.489)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		0.029		0.070		0.040		0.162
		(0.059)		(0.131)		(0.098)		(0.170)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.110		0.143		0.029		0.126
		(0.072)		(0.140)		(0.070)		(0.161)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.668***	0.672***	0.514***	0.520***	0.625***	0.629***	0.633***	0.614***
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.165)	(0.162)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.39							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.45							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.83							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.38		0.70		0.92		0.87
Sample Size	900		230		470		210	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include gender and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level. The proportion of top 25% and bottom 25% of peers in a classroom are based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 9: Estimates of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level for Hispanic Students

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)							
Panel A: Reading Test Scores				**Own Student Baseline Achievement**				
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.080		-0.361		0.044		-0.204	
	(0.160)		(0.341)		(0.223)		(0.438)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.048		-0.096		-0.034		-0.054
		(0.051)		(0.122)		(0.069)		(0.121)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.048		0.135*		0.017		0.055
		(0.056)		(0.074)		(0.079)		(0.191)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.621***	0.618***	0.480***	0.497***	0.812***	0.806***	0.402***	0.416***
	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.101)	(0.099)	(0.081)	(0.080)	(0.112)	(0.113)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.32							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.77							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.61							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.20		0.10		0.62		0.62
Sample Size	1,230		400		610		220	

Panel B: Math Test Scores				**Own Student Baseline Achievement**				
	All		**Bottom 25%**		**Middle 25%-75%**		**Top 25%**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.205		-0.219		-0.370**		0.365	
	(0.128)		(0.300)		(0.185)		(0.450)	
Proportion of Peers in Top 25%		-0.012		0.063		-0.041		0.049
		(0.057)		(0.156)		(0.095)		(0.256)
Proportion of Peers in Bottom 25%		0.089		0.094		0.152*		-0.079
		(0.065)		(0.128)		(0.085)		(0.245)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.609***	0.611***	0.551***	0.562***	0.768***	0.784***	0.690***	0.676***
	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.076)	(0.075)	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.181)	(0.180)
Bottom vs. Middle (p-value)	0.66							
Bottom vs. Top (p-value)	0.28							
Middle vs. Top (p-value)	0.13							
Top Proportion vs. Bottom Proportion (p-value)		0.24		0.87		0.13		0.71
Sample Size	1,200		370		580		250	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include gender and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level. The proportion of top 25% and bottom 25% of peers in a classroom are based on the grade and subject-specific baseline test score distribution. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 10: Estimates of Peer Effects by Identification Strategy and Peer Aggregation for the Repeated Cross-Section Sample

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores			
	Randomization Specification (Class Level Peer Achievement)	Repeated Cross-Section Specification (Class Level Peer Achievement)	Repeated Cross-Section Specification (Grade Level Peer Achievement)
Panel A: Reading Test Scores	(1)	(2)	(3)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.437***	-0.398***	-0.235
	(0.114)	(0.100)	(0.155)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.635***	0.638***	0.645***
	(0.039)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Sample Size		760	
Panel B: Math Test Scores	(3)	(4)	(5)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.277	-0.221**	-0.158*
	(0.204)	(0.103)	(0.082)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.601***	0.606***	0.606***
	(0.036)	(0.042)	(0.042)
Sample Size		710	

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. The repeated cross-section sample includes the 10 schools that were present in both 2004-2005 and 2005-2006. Column (1) controls for block fixed effects and Columns (2) and (3) control for grade, school, and grade by year fixed effects. Student controls include gender, race/ethnicity and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level in columns (1) and (2) and the grade level in column (3). Due to the confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table 11: Tests of Peer Effects Models

	Endline Reading Test Scores		Endline Math Test Scores	
	Tests			
Models (Number of Tests)	Number of Estimates in Direction the Model Suggest	Number of Estimates in Opposite Direction	Number of Estimates in Direction the Model Suggest	Number of Estimates in Opposite Direction
Weak Monotonicity (3)	0	3	0	3
Strong Monotonicity (6)	0	6	2	4
Invidious Comparison (4)	4	0	2	2
Ability Grouping (6)	3	3	2	4
Weak Frame of Reference (3)	3	0	3	0
Strong Frame of Reference (6)	6	0	4	2

NOTES: See text for further details on the models and the tests conducted. The tests are based on the coefficients on the proportion of peers in the top 25% and bottom 25% from the full sample when own student varies by grade and subject specific placement in the baseline distribution.

Table A1: Teacher Summary Statistics

	All Teachers	AC Teachers	TC Teachers
	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)
Female	0.90	0.87	0.93
	(0.29)	(0.33)	(0.25)
Race			
White	0.59	0.45	0.72
	(0.49)	(0.50)	(0.44)
Black	0.24	0.35	0.12
	(0.43)	(0.48)	(0.33)
Hispanic	0.17	0.20	0.15
	(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.36)
Experience	3.29	3.10	3.36
	(1.59)	(1.59)	(1.59)
Hours of Instruction for Certification			
Total	462.06	296.91	623.69
	(253.57)	(150.76)	(228.64)
Reading	89.28	61.32	116.65
	(57.31)	(44.95)	(55.02)
Math	33.15	25.44	40.85
	(23.18)	(23.14)	(20.61)
SAT (or SAT Equivalent) Composite Score	972.40	960.76	982.91
	(161.98)	(179.35)	(145.01)
# of Teachers	180	90	90

NOTES: Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.

Table A2: Estimations of Peer Effects by Own Student Baseline Achievement at the Grade Level: With and Without Controls for Student and Teacher Characteristics

Dependent Variable: Endline Test Scores	Coefficients (Standard Error)			
Panel A: Reading Test Scores		**All**		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.176***	-0.178***	-0.182***	-0.181***
	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.069)	(0.069)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.638***	0.632***	0.632***	0.623***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.062)
Average Block Baseline Achievement				-0.244
				(1.574)
Other Controls:				
Student	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Teacher	No	No	Yes	Yes
Panel B: Math Test Scores				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Average Peer Baseline Achievement	-0.214**	-0.211**	-0.236**	-0.236**
	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.103)	(0.104)
Own Baseline Test Score	0.635***	0.629***	0.627***	0.627***
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Average Block Baseline Achievement				1.404
				(1.661)
Other Controls:				
Student	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Teacher	No	No	Yes	Yes

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. Standard errors are clustered at the block level. All specifications control for block fixed effects. Student controls include gender, race/ethnicity and eligibility for free lunch. Teacher controls include teacher's type: AC or TC, gender, race/ethnicity and teaching experience. Average peer subject-specific achievement measured at the classroom level.
* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table A3: Additional Tests of Peer Effect Models

	Endline Reading Test Scores		Endline Math Test Scores	
	Tests			
Models (Number of Tests)	Number of Estimates Significant in Direction the Model Suggest	Number of Estimates Significant in Opposite Direction	Number of Estimates Significant in Direction the Model Suggest	Number of Estimates Significant in Opposite Direction
Weak Monotonicity (3)	0	1	0	0
Strong Monotonicity (6)	0	1	0	2
Invidious Comparison (4)	0	0	2	0
Ability Grouping (6)	2	0	0	1
Weak Frame of Reference (3)	1	0	0	0
Strong Frame of Reference (6)	1	0	2	0

NOTES: See text for further details on the models and the tests conducted. The tests are based on the coefficients on the proportion of peers in the top 25% and bottom 25% from the full sample when own student varies by grade and subject specific placement in the baseline distribution using 10% significance level.

Table A4: Student Summary Statistics for the Repeated Cross-Section Sample

	TTTDR Students	AC Students	TC (Control) Students
	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)
Endline Reading Test Score (NCE)	37.65	38.51	36.80
	(18.99)	(19.28)	(18.70)
Endline Math Test Score (NCE)	40.59	41.07	40.12
	(21.77)	(22.19)	(21.37)
Baseline Reading Test Score (NCE)	37.97	39.69	36.28
	(19.31)	(19.41)	(19.08)
Baseline Math Test Score (NCE)	41.08	41.95	40.22
	(20.74)	(20.32)	(21.13)
Female (1=Yes)	0.44	0.44	0.45
	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.50)
Race			
White	0.05	0.05	0.05
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)
Black	0.28	0.29	0.27
	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)
Hispanic	0.60	0.60	0.62
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)
Free/Reduced Lunch (%)	0.85	0.82	0.87
	(0.36)	(0.39)	(0.33)
Sample Size	760	380	380

NOTES: All test scores are expressed in NCEs. NCE scale has a mean 50 and standard deviation 21.06 nationally. The repeated cross-section sample includes the 10 schools that were present in both 2004-2005 and 2005-2006. Due to confidential nature of the data, the sample sizes are rounded to the nearest tenth.