

**Expert Report on Ohio K-12 Enrollment and Funding Trends Related to Claims Involving
the Case of *Columbus City School District et al. vs. State of Ohio***

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The Institute for Justice has asked me to provide my expert opinions on matters raised in the *Columbus City School District et al. vs. State of Ohio* lawsuit, specifically the allegations that the EdChoice program threatens the funding of public schools, increases racial segregation in public schools, and undermines the ability of public schools to effectively educate students thus harming the students who remain in those schools. Herewith I provide my opinions along with supporting evidence. My report focuses on facts regarding the student enrollments in and funding of public schools and enrollments in and funding of the EdChoice school voucher program. These facts and opinions bear on the claims made by plaintiffs and defendants in the case.

My report begins with a discussion of my personal background and qualifications. It proceeds to describe the subject of the lawsuit: the Ohio EdChoice program. It then briefly describes the main claims made by the plaintiffs regarding the alleged threat that the EdChoice program poses to the Ohio public school system and the students enrolled in that system. It proceeds with a review of data regarding enrollment levels and trends for the EdChoice program as well as Ohio public and private schools. It continues with a presentation of school funding levels and trends that bear on the plaintiffs' claims, as well as a review of social science evidence regarding the effects of private school voucher programs on the racial integration of schools and the achievement of students in affected public schools. It concludes that key data and academic

research contradict the central claim of the plaintiffs that “The EdChoice Scholarship Program poses an existential threat to Ohio’s public school system.”¹

My opinions are based on my own research, official government data from the National Center for Education Statistics in the Institute of Education Sciences at the U.S. Department of Education and the state of Ohio, EdChoice program data, and my evaluation of the research base produced by myself and others including all relevant social science studies that bear on the claims made in this report, cited herewith. I am being compensated at a rate of \$500/hour for my work on this case.

¹ First Amended Complaint for Declaratory Judgment and Injunctive Relief, *Columbus City School District et al. vs. State of Ohio*, Case No. 22CV000067, Court of Common Pleas, Franklin County, Ohio, hereinafter referred to as *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, p. 1.

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

I am a Distinguished Professor of Education Policy and the 21st Century Endowed Chair in School Choice in the Department of Education Reform at the University of Arkansas's College of Education and Health Professions. At the university, I direct a research center that I founded in 2003 called the School Choice Demonstration Project (SCDP). The SCDP produces non-partisan scholarly evaluations of private school choice programs and public charter schools across the U.S. In my combined 30 years as a faculty member at Columbia University, Georgetown University, and the University of Arkansas, I have authored, co-authored, edited, or co-edited five books and over 200 peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, book reviews, and research reports on various forms of school choice and other public administration and public policy issues. My studies have received 11 scholarly research awards. I have received 43 external grants or contracts totaling over \$23 million in support for my original research projects.

From March 2004 through June 2023, the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences (IES) employed me either directly or indirectly in various research and advisory capacities. Most recently, I served on the Technical Working Group advising the IES Southwest Regional Education Lab from 2012 to 2023. From 2013 to 2018, I produced two studies of public charter schools under contract to IES.² From 2004 to 2011, I was Principal Investigator (PI) of the research team that produced the first evaluation of the federal D.C.

² Wolf, P. J., & Lasserre-Cortez, S. (2018, January). [*Special education enrollment and classification in Louisiana charter schools and traditional schools*](#) (REL 2018–288). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance, Regional Educational Laboratory Southwest. Wolf, P. J., & Lasserre-Cortez, S. (2018, January). [*An exploratory analysis of features of New Orleans charter schools associated with student achievement growth*](#) (REL 2018–287). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance, Regional Educational Laboratory Southwest.

Opportunity Scholarship (Voucher) Program under contract to IES.³ I also served as PI for the research teams that evaluated the Milwaukee Parental Choice (Voucher) Program⁴ and the Louisiana Scholarship (Voucher) Program.⁵ I have testified as an expert witness before committees of the U.S. Congress five times and before the DC City Council and committees of various state legislatures 29 times.

I earned my doctorate in political science from Harvard University's Department of Government in 1995. Prior to attending graduate school, from 1987 to 1988, I worked for the state of Minnesota, setting up a new program to provide access to the telecommunication system for people with communication impairments. In 1987, I graduated from the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota *summa cum laude* with a double-major in political science and philosophy. A current copy of my true and correct *Curriculum Vitae* is attached to this report as Exhibit A.

³ Wolf, P., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O., & Carr, M. (2010, June). [*Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Final report*](#) (NCEE 2010-4018). U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance: Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

⁴ Wolf, P. J. (2012, February). [*The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of final reports*](#) (Milwaukee Evaluation Report #36). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

⁵ Wolf, P. J., Mills, J. N., Sude, Y., Erickson, H. H., & Lee, M. L. (2019, April). [*How has the Louisiana Scholarship Program Affected Students? A Comprehensive Summary of Effects after Four Years*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

II. THE EDCHOICE PROGRAM

The Ohio EdChoice program is a private school choice initiative. It is, specifically, a private school voucher program, as the Ohio state government pays for the tuition vouchers through a government appropriation and provides oversight of the program. Through 2023, 25 school voucher programs operated in 14 different states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.⁶ The key program features of direct government funding and oversight distinguish the EdChoice voucher program from tax-credit scholarship programs, which also support enrollments in private schools but are funded through tax incentivized private donations, not government appropriations, and typically involve less government oversight.⁷ Through 2023, 26 tax-credit scholarship programs operated in 22 states, including the Ohio Tax-Credit Scholarship Program, enacted in 2021.⁸ EdChoice vouchers are limited to covering private school tuition. That feature distinguishes the program from Education Savings Account (ESA) school choice initiatives, which give parents flexibility to direct government-provided funds to a variety of educational products and services in addition to private school tuition. Through 2023, 15 ESA programs operated in 13 states.⁹

The EdChoice program provides tuition vouchers valued at the tuition level of a student's chosen private school, with a ceiling of \$6,166 if the student is in grades K-8 and \$8,408 if they are in grades 9-12 during the current school year ending in 2024.¹⁰ Ohio students originally were

⁶ EdChoice (2024). *The ABCs of school choice: The comprehensive guide to every private school choice program in America*. EdChoice, Indianapolis, IN, pp. 50-51.

⁷ Fellowes, M. C., & Wolf, P. J. (2004). Funding mechanisms and policy instruments: How business campaign contributions influence congressional votes. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(2), 315-24.

⁸ EdChoice (2024). *The ABCs of school choice...*, pp. 102-03, 138-39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ Ohio Department of Education. (nd.) EdChoice Scholarship. <https://education.ohio.gov/Topics/Other-Resources/Scholarships/EdChoice-Scholarship>. Dr. Cowen, on page 9 of his expert report, claims that private schools raise their tuitions when they participate in voucher programs, citing a study of eight programs in five states from 1991-2009 (Hungerman, D. M., & Rinz, K. (2016). Where does voucher funding go? How large-scale subsidy

eligible for an EdChoice voucher if they attended or would have been residentially assigned to a public school graded D or F under the state’s school accountability system. Those awards are referred to as “performance-based” EdChoice vouchers. The “performance-based” component of the EdChoice program operated from the 2006-07 to the 2022-23 school year. Starting with the 2013-14 school year, students also qualified for an EdChoice voucher solely based on their family income. Those awards are referred to as “income-based,” or “EdChoice expansion” vouchers. Initially, only students who had family incomes below 250% of poverty and who were attending public schools were eligible for “income-based” EdChoice vouchers. In 2022, Ohio expanded eligibility to students in families with incomes up to 450% of the poverty level and removed the requirement that the student be attending a public school.¹¹ Thus, the original EdChoice program launched in school year 2006-07, experienced a program expansion in school year 2013-14 (when the “income-based” component was added), and added a significant eligibility expansion in school year 2022-23. The state extended eligibility for EdChoice vouchers to all K-12 students in Ohio starting with the 2023-24 school year.

Beginning in 2021 with the enactment of H.B. 110, the state entirely funds both the “performance-based” and “income-based” EdChoice vouchers. Specifically, the General

programs affect private-school revenue, enrollment, and prices. *Journal of Public Economics*, 136, 62-85). That study has several major limitations. The study is quite dated, as it is based on data from 1991 to 2009. Nine states had statewide private school choice programs during the period studied, but the authors coded four of those nine states, including Ohio, as “0” for statewide school choice, unconvincingly claiming the programs in those four states were “limited in scope.” (p. 64) It also is a statistical problem that only five of the 50 states in the study are coded as having any variation on the variable of “having a statewide private school choice program.” Thus, the effect of program enactment is estimated based on outlier cases. It draws from a partial and selective sample of private schools, completely excluding Catholic schools, which are the largest single provider of education under the Ohio EdChoice program. A much more recent national study, which includes consideration of the effect of the Ohio EdChoice program and many more typical private school choice programs, concludes the opposite: that private school tuition increases are lower in states with private school choice programs than in non-school choice states and that private schools tend not to raise their tuition immediately after joining voucher programs (Bedrick, J., Greene, J., & Burke, L. (2023). [Does school choice affect private school tuition?](#) Heritage Foundation.)

¹¹ Students who are eligible for any of the other three Ohio school voucher programs, because they live in Cleveland, have autism, or have a disability that qualifies them for the Jon Peterson Special Needs Scholarship Program, are not eligible for either “performance-based” or “income-based” EdChoice vouchers.

Assembly appropriates money to the Foundation Fund, from general revenue and other sources, to pay for a host of education programs, including, but by no means limited to, district public schools. It instructs the Ohio Department of Education and Workforce to use independent, enrollment-driven formulas to disburse foundation funds to each of these educational programs, including district public schools and EdChoice vouchers.¹² Although “income-based” vouchers had always been fully funded by the state, “performance-based” vouchers had previously been funded through a deduction mechanism that could, in some circumstances, effectively draw upon a school district’s local education funds.¹³ But beginning with H.B. 110—and continuing with the universalized “income-based” EdChoice program in H.B. 33¹⁴—Ohio now funds both voucher programs using only state funding that is appropriated to, and sourced from, Ohio’s Foundation Fund and distributed pursuant to separate, enrollment-driven formulas.

Since some private schools participating in the EdChoice program charge tuition below these caps, students are not guaranteed the maximum voucher amount, as inaccurately claimed by the plaintiffs.¹⁵ For new participants in the now-universal “income-based” strand of the EdChoice program, only students below 450% of the federal poverty line are eligible to receive the maximum voucher amount.¹⁶ The maximum value of the voucher declines to \$650 in K-8 and \$950 in 9-12 for participating students in families earning 750% of the poverty line or more.

¹² 134th General Assembly of the State of Ohio. (2021, July 1). [Amended House Bill Number 110](#), Sec. 3317.022, pp. 943–56 (outlining formulas); *id.* pp. 2111–14 (education funding line items).

¹³ Fleeter, H. B. (2023, June). *Ohio School Voucher Overview*, Ohio Education Policy Institute Policy Brief, p.3 (explaining prior system and acknowledging that “effective in FY22...all five voucher programs will be fully paid for by the state...”); Legislative Budget Office (2023, October). Catalog of Budget Line Items. Ohio Legislative Service Commission, pp. 236, 238. Smith, Z. (2023, November 12). Ohio ranks near top of states for school voucher spending. Cleveland.com.

¹⁴ 135th General Assembly of the State of Ohio. (2023, July 1). [Amended House Bill Number 33](#), Sec. 3317.022, pp. 1133–45 (outlining formulas); *id.* pp. 5852–54 (education funding line items).

¹⁵ Ohio “must pay \$5,500 for each EdChoice voucher recipient in grades K-8, and \$7,500 for each EdChoice voucher recipient in grades 9-12.” (*Plaintiff’s Complaint*, p. 9, see similar assertions on pp. 24 & 30).

¹⁶ Existing recipients of “income-based” EdChoice Scholarships remain eligible to receive up to \$5,500 for a student in grades K-8, and \$7,500 for a student in grades 9-12. O.R.C. Sec. 3317.022(A)(10)(a)(ii)(I).

Private schools must be chartered by the state of Ohio to accept voucher funds. Parents of eligible students endorse voucher checks over to the chartered private school they have chosen for their child to attend. Regardless of whether the student qualifies for EdChoice under the “performance-based” or “income-based” strands of the program, schools must accept the EdChoice voucher as full payment for educating students with family incomes at or below 200% of the poverty level, even if the school’s tuition level is above the voucher ceiling. Eligible EdChoice participants with family incomes above 200% of poverty who attend schools with tuitions above the voucher amount they receive can be required to “top up” the voucher value with parental payments or in-kind services.

III. KEY CLAIMS CONTAINED IN PLAINTIFFS’ COMPLAINT

The plaintiffs in *Columbus City School District et al. vs. State of Ohio* claim that “The EdChoice Scholarship Program poses an existential threat to Ohio’s public school system.”¹⁷ They assert that the statewide private school voucher program threatens to destroy the system of public schools in Ohio. Plaintiffs further charge that the EdChoice program depletes “Ohio’s...pool of money out of which the state funds Ohio’s public schools...”¹⁸ and that “[It] discriminates against minority students by increasing segregation in Ohio’s public schools.”¹⁹ These claims are inconsistent with a reasonable assessment of the facts surrounding enrollments in and funding of public schools and the EdChoice program in Ohio. The claims also are inconsistent with the racial characteristics of participants in the EdChoice program and the social science research on

¹⁷ *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

the effects of private school voucher programs on racial segregation and public school performance.

IV. EVIDENCE REGARDING PLAINTIFFS' KEY CLAIMS

In this section I review ten key findings that contradict the central claims of the plaintiffs in this case. Whenever I refer to the “EdChoice program” it is to only the “performance-based” program if before school year 2013-14 but to the combined “performance-based” and “income-based” components if after 2013-14.

- Contrary to plaintiff assertions that the EdChoice program “poses an existential threat to Ohio’s public school system,” the data indicate that the private school choice program attracts and enrolls only a small number of students compared to Ohio’s public schools, even after the major program expansions in 2014 and 2023.²⁰
- EdChoice enrollments represent a small proportion of all K-12 students in the state.
- Fluctuations in Ohio public school enrollments are small and largely explained by factors besides the EdChoice program.
- As the EdChoice program has grown, total Ohio public school revenue has increased, not decreased.
- As more students have enrolled in the EdChoice program, per-pupil funding of Ohio public schools has gone up, not down. Adjusting for inflation, real per-pupil public school funding in Ohio is higher than it has ever been.
- The General Assembly appropriates, to Ohio’s Foundation Fund, money for the purpose of paying for the EdChoice program, as well as money to pay for an array of other education programs (including district public schools), and the funding for EdChoice scholarships is then distributed through formulas that are entirely separate from the formulas that finance public schools in Ohio.
- The private school sector in Ohio has shrunk, not grown, since the implementation and various expansions of the EdChoice program.

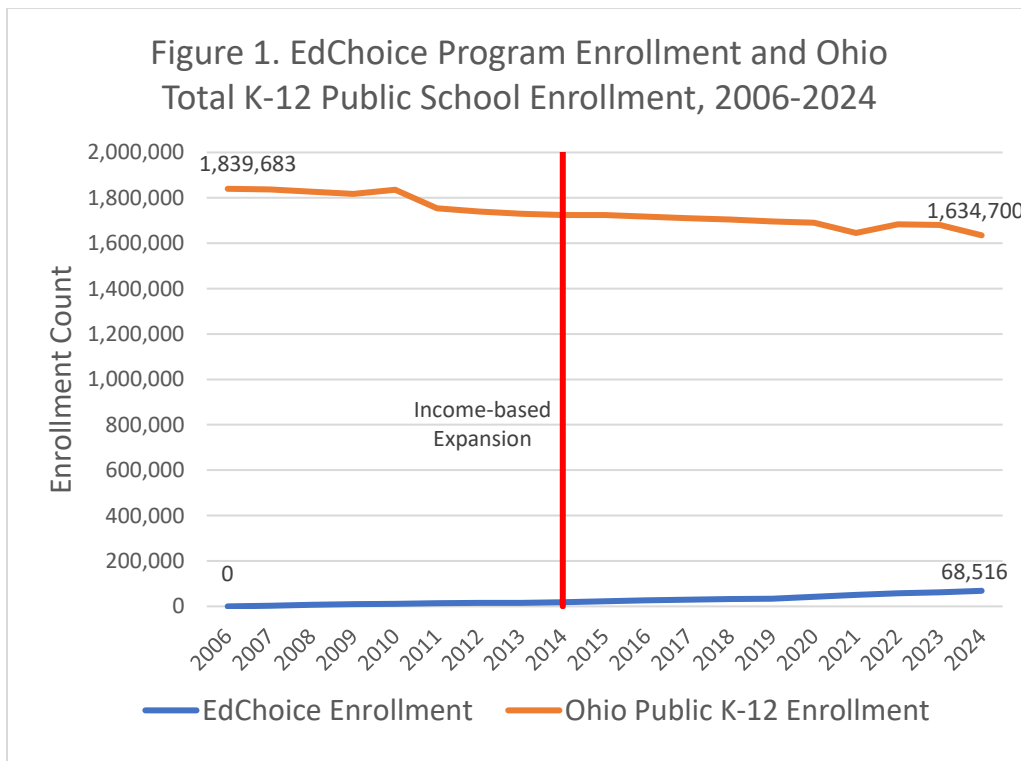
²⁰ From this point forward I will use the end year to designate academic years, much as accounting personnel use the end year to designate fiscal years. Thus, the 2021-22 academic (and fiscal) year will be labeled “2022.” All data presented in the report are aligned to be consistent with this labeling convention. For example, enrollments for the fall of the 2021-2022 academic year are labeled “2022 enrollments.” I anchor graphs of Ohio enrollments or public school funding in the year 2006, the year before the original EdChoice program began, since data from that year could not have been affected by the program. I anchor graphs in annual changes in enrollments in the year 2007, as the change that year was anchored in the baseline year of 2006. I present all available data from the anchor year, either 2006 or 2007, through the most recent year available. Any data that are forecasted and not actual are identified in the table notes.

- The racial demographics of EdChoice students as well as the existing research on the racial integration effects of private school voucher programs in Ohio and elsewhere indicate that the program improves the integration of Ohio schools.
- Finally, the existing rigorous studies of the effects of competition from private school choice programs on the learning outcomes of students who remain in public schools overwhelmingly show that voucher competition either improves or has no effect on student achievement in public schools.

In the remainder of this section, I present and review the data and research that supports these 10 key findings. All data presented in figures and discussed in the text are aligned with academic and fiscal years. Thus, enrollment numbers from the fall semester of the 2019-20 school year will be labeled “2020” data. Funding numbers from the 2019-20 fiscal year also will be labeled “2020” data. This alignment of data is important for matching funding levels to the student enrollments that the dollars are designed to support. All figures that present enrollment or funding levels begin with the 2006 (meaning 2005-06) academic/fiscal year and end with the latest year for which data are available. The 2006 academic/fiscal year was the last year before the launch of the EdChoice program in the 2007 academic/fiscal year. All figures that present enrollment or funding year-over-year changes begin with the change from the 2006 to the 2007 academic/fiscal year, labeled 2007, and end with change to the latest year for which data are available. Thus, each figure begins with a “baseline year” or “baseline change” that was unaffected by the voucher program and shows trends over time as the program has expanded. The “income-based” expansion is highlighted in all time-series figures, to show what happened after the EdChoice program experienced a significant expansion. Data pertaining to the 2023 and 2024 eligibility expansions appear at the far right of most of the time-series graphs, though data are not available for those years in some cases.

A. The Ohio EdChoice Program Enrolls a Comparatively Small Number of Students

The EdChoice statewide private school voucher program serves a modest number of students, especially when compared to the dramatically larger enrollment total for Ohio public schools (Figure 1). The EdChoice program enrolled an estimated 68,516 students in the current 2024 school year, compared to an estimated enrollment of 1,634,700 students in Ohio public schools.²¹ While EdChoice enrollments have grown modestly since the 2014, 2022, and 2023 eligibility expansions, the increases pale in comparison with the massive enrollment in Ohio public schools that persists in the wake of those program expansions. The most prominent drops in Ohio public school enrollment occurred in 2011, in the wake of the Great Recession, and in 2021, in response to the COVID pandemic, neither of which were related to expansion of the EdChoice program.



EdChoice enrollment includes both the “performance-based” and “income-based” components from 2014 on. Source: EdChoice, *The ABCs of School Choice*, 2024, actual data that inform figures on pp. 81 & 85 plus new

²¹ The 2024 enrollments for the EdChoice program are estimated from the organization EdChoice and the 2023 and 2024 public school enrollments are estimated from the U.S. Department of Education. Data for all the other years in Figure 1 are actual enrollments.

forecast data for 2024 provided via data request. Ohio public K-12 enrollment includes all public schools, including public charter schools, and are actual enrollments for all years except forecast enrollment in 2024. Source: U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 203.20, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015.

When the data in Figure 1 are entered into a statistical regression, with total k-12 public school enrollment as the dependent variable, controlling for the annual trend in enrollment independent of the EdChoice program, increased enrollment in the EdChoice voucher program is associated with increased enrollment in Ohio public schools, though the positive association between the EdChoice variable and the public school enrollment variable falls just short of statistical significance.²² The data indicate that time, not expansion of the EdChoice Program, is generating declines in Ohio public school enrollments. These comparative enrollment counts and statistical trends are inconsistent with the claim that the number of EdChoice vouchers “has ballooned” from 2019 to 2021 and that the program poses an “existential threat to Ohio’s public school system.”²³

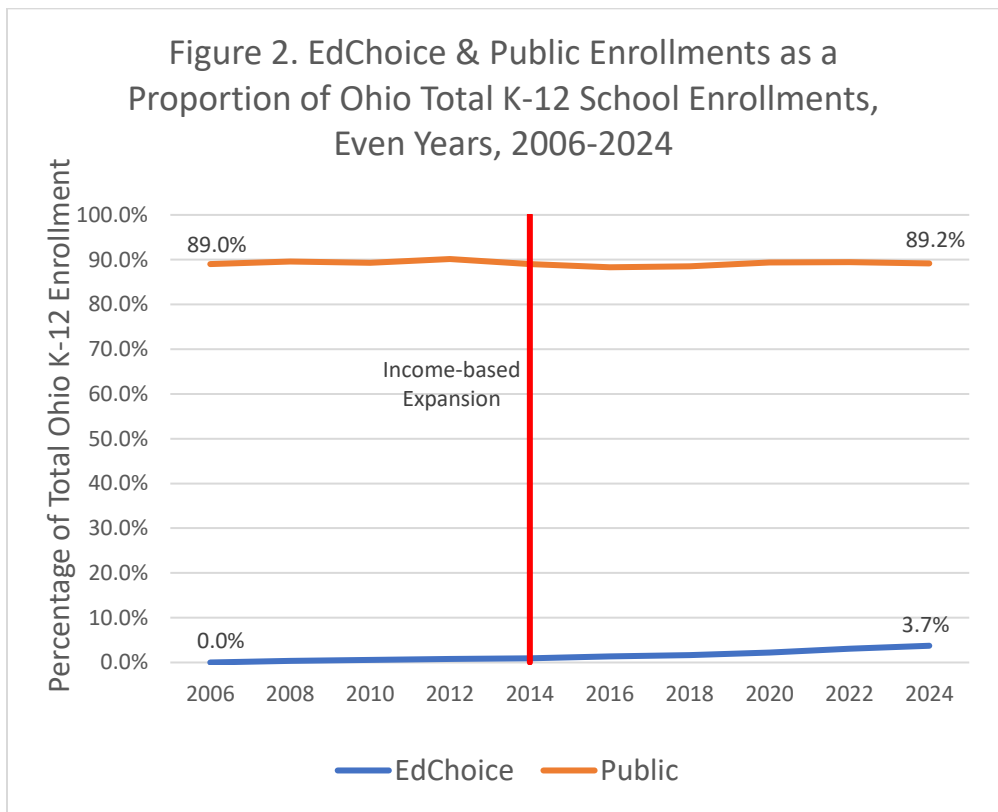
B. A Small Proportion of Ohio K-12 Students Participate in the EdChoice Program

Even after previous expansions, the EdChoice program enrolls a comparatively small percentage of Ohio’s K-12 students (Figure 2). About 3.7% of the state’s school-age children are estimated to be participating in the EdChoice program in 2024. That proportion is up only slightly from the 3.0% of the state’s elementary and secondary school students served by the private school voucher program when eligibility expansion began in 2022. While the small proportion of Ohio

²² The coefficient on the “Year” variable is -16,394, meaning that public school enrollments in Ohio have been declining by an average of just over 16,000 students annually from 2006 to 2024, independent of the EdChoice program. That negative association between “Year” and public school enrollments is statistically significant beyond the 99% confidence level. The coefficient on the “EdChoice Enrollment” variable is 1.56, meaning that an increase of one student enrollment in the EdChoice program is associated with a gain of just over one-and-a-half students in public school enrollment in the state. That positive association between EdChoice enrollments and public school enrollments falls just short of statistical significance at the 90% confidence level.

²³ *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, at Section 62, p. 20, and p. 1.

students in the EdChoice program expanded from 2022 to 2024, the proportion of the state’s students in public schools dropped by 0.2 percentage points, a miniscule amount. The proportion of Ohio K-12 students enrolled in the public school sector is slightly higher in 2024, when the EdChoice program is serving an estimated 68,516 students, than it was in 2006, before the voucher program existed. Neither time nor growth in the proportion of total K-12 students in the EdChoice program are statistically associated with the proportion of total K-12 students in the public school sector in Ohio.²⁴ The public school system in the state continues to serve about the same proportion of the school-age population, 89 percent, as it has consistently over the past 18 years, irrespective of enrollment growth in the EdChoice program.



EdChoice enrollment includes both the “performance-based” and “income-based” components from 2014 on.
 Source: EdChoice, *The ABCs of School Choice*, 2023, actual data that inform figures on pp. 64 & 68 plus new data

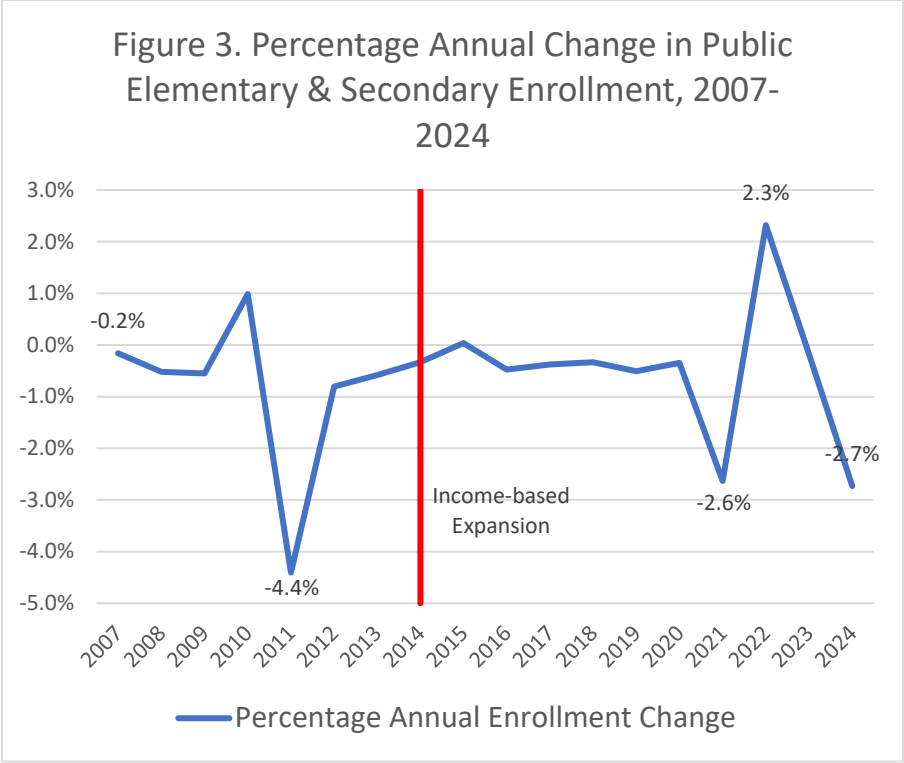
²⁴ The statistical regression on the public school enrollment proportion dependent variable indicates that the share decreases by an average of .001 percentage point annually and that each increase of one percentage point in the K-12 enrollment share of the EdChoice program is associated with a gain of 0.62 percentage point in the public school enrollment share. Neither association is close to statistically significant.

for 2023 & 2024, provided via data request. Public enrollment includes all public schools, including public charter schools. Source: U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 203.20, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015. Ohio total K-12. Ohio total K-12 enrollment includes all public and private schools. Private school enrollment is only provided by U.S. Department of Education for even-numbered academic years. Source: U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 205.80, 2023, 2020, 2015, 2011.

C. Annual Enrollment Losses in the Ohio Public School System are Largely Explained by Factors Besides the EdChoice Program

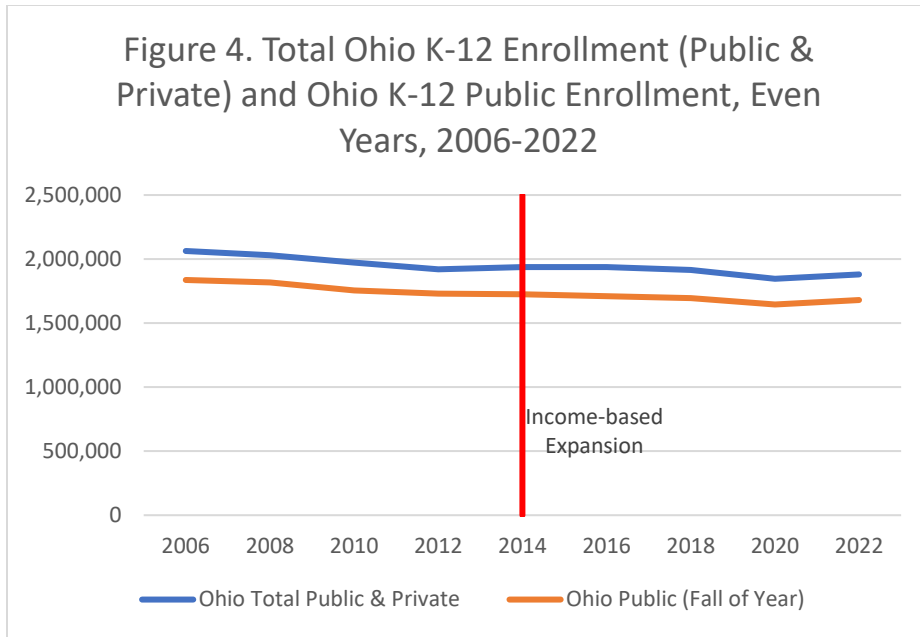
Public school enrollments fluctuate annually for many reasons. The school-age population changes over time due to variation in birth rates, rates of homeschooling, and families with school-age children moving into and out of the state. High school dropout and retention rates vary. Are public school enrollment losses in Ohio driven exclusively by students moving from public to private schools via the EdChoice program or are these other factors primarily responsible for the changes? Enrollment data from the U.S. Department of Education allow us to track annual enrollment changes in Ohio public schools since before the EdChoice program, in annual percentage terms (Figure 3).

The data are noisy and do not reveal any clear trend. In 11 of the past 17 years, public school enrollment in the state either increased or decreased by 0.5 percentage point or less. In a typical year, a large public high school that enrolled 1,000 students suffered a net loss of just 5 students over the summer. In two of the six years when enrollment changes were above 0.5 percentage point, Ohio public schools gained enrollments of 1.0 percentage points in 2010 and 2.3 percentage points in 2022. Even the temporary enrollment loss instigated by the pandemic only amounted to a drop of 2.6 percentage points in public school enrollments in Ohio. Based on the estimate from the National Center for Education Statistics, public school enrollment in Ohio declined by only 2.7 percentage points in the first year of universal eligibility for the EdChoice program in 2024. The percentage drop in public school enrollments in Ohio was much larger in 2011, the year after the Great Recession.



Includes public charter schools. Source: Calculated from U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 203.20, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015.

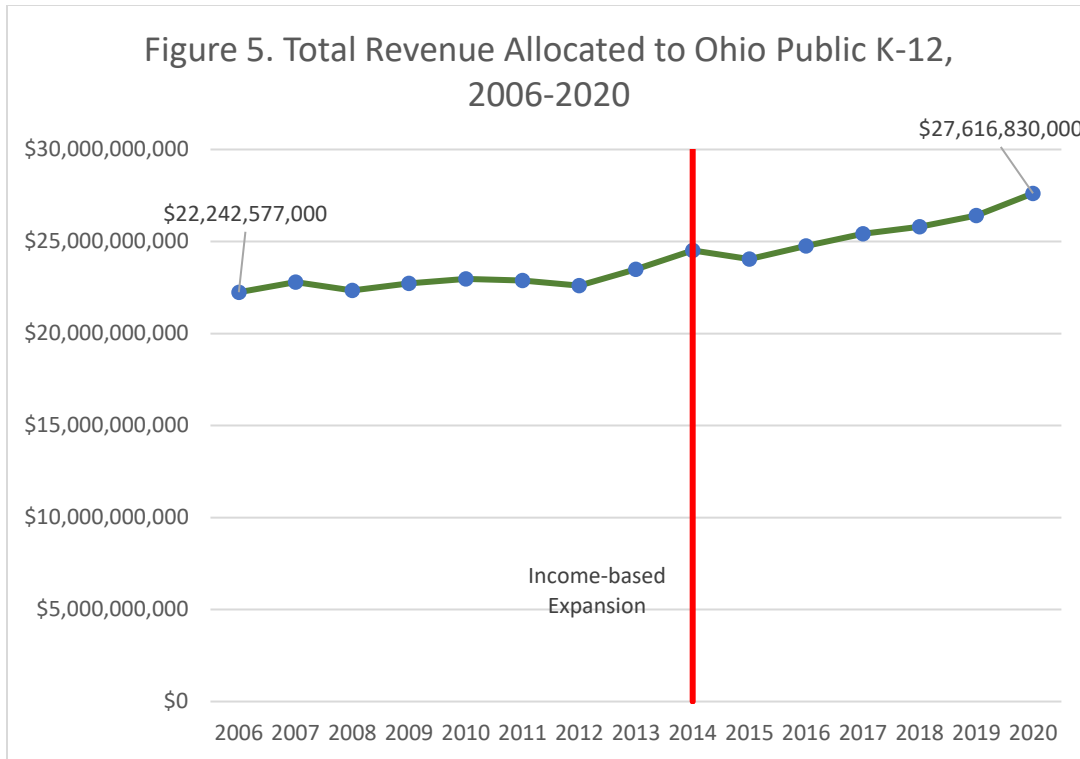
The trend of slight annual declines in public school enrollments over the past 18 years closely mirror the overall decline in total K-12 students in Ohio (Figure 4). Since nearly 90 percent of K-12 students in Ohio continue to enroll in public schools, as goes total K-12 enrollment in the state, so goes public school enrollment. The relationship is essentially mechanical.



Includes public charter schools. Source: Digest of Education Statistics, Table 203.20, NCES, IES, US Dept of Ed, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015; Digest of Education Statistics, Table 205.80, NCES, IES, US Dept of Ed, 2023, 2020, 2015.

D. Total Public School Revenue in Ohio Has Increased as the EdChoice Program Has Expanded

The total amount of funds received by public schools in Ohio has increased substantially from the launch of the EdChoice program in 2007 until 2020, the most recent year for which data are available from the Digest of Education Statistics (Figure 5). I use total public school revenue from all sources as the focus of my analysis here, while Plaintiffs, instead, focus solely on state foundation funding. Total revenue is a superior gauge of fiscal impact to state foundation funding alone, since all the money that a school system receives obviously is more important to its fiscal health than the amount it receives from a single funding stream.



Includes public charter schools. Excludes funding for Pre-K. Source: U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 235.20 & Table 235.30, 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013; Table 204, 2012; Table 182, 2011, 2010.

Ohio public schools received over \$27.6 billion in 2020, an increase of more than \$5 billion over the amount received in 2006. The steady gain in public school funding has been especially steep since the first major EdChoice program expansion in 2014. While the posting of additional, verified U.S. federal government public school funding numbers has been delayed by the pandemic, Ohio public schools received nearly \$7 billion in extra federal government funding to be spent from 2020 through 2024 under the Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief (ESSER) program.²⁵ The most recent legislative expansion of the EdChoice program in 2023 was accompanied by a 12% increase in state funding of district-run public

²⁵ Policy Matters Ohio, [Revisiting ARPA: Ohio's public schools still have federal funds to use but time is running out](#), September 28, 2023.

schools.²⁶ Total revenue for Ohio public schools undoubtedly has increased over the past four years.

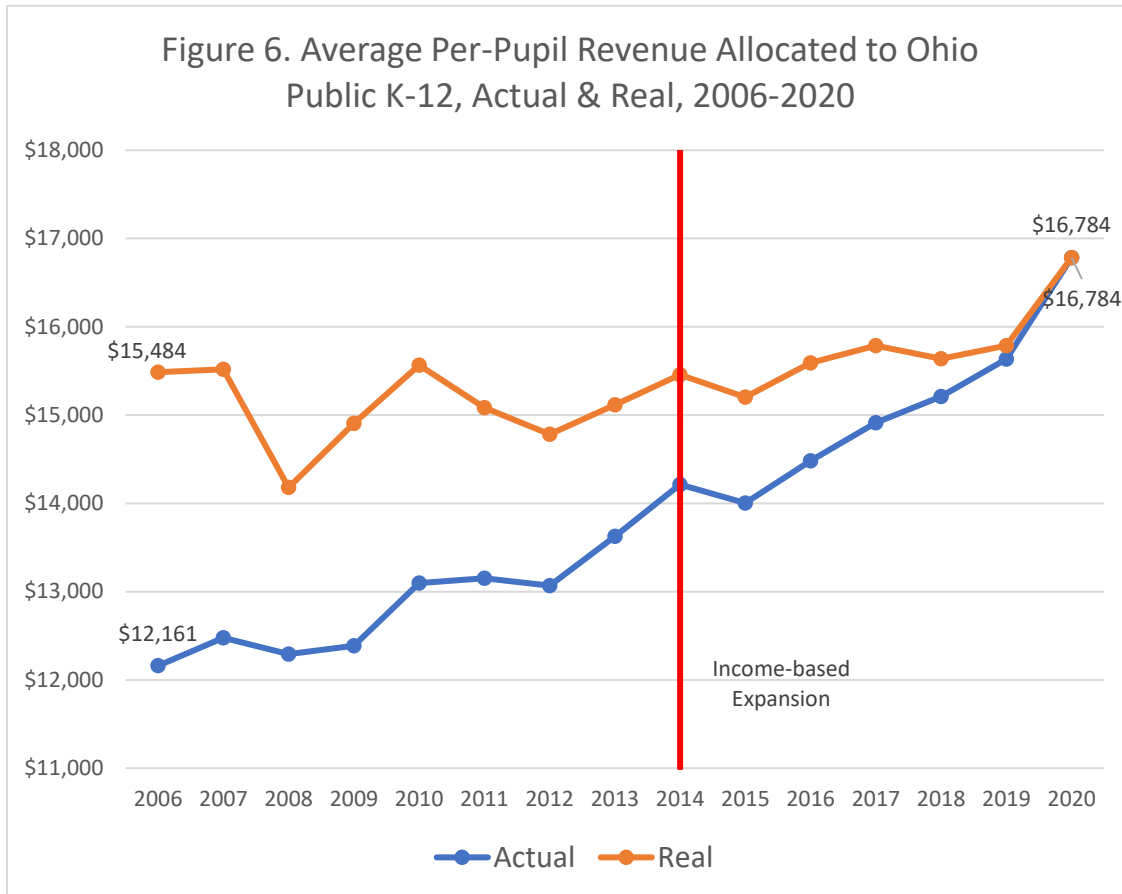
E. Per-pupil Public School Funding Has Increased as the EdChoice Program Has Expanded

We know from the data in Figure 1 that enrollments in Ohio public schools have declined by almost 200,000 pupils since 2006. We also know from the data in Figure 5 that total funding for Ohio public schools has increased by over \$5 billion from 2006 to 2020. Thus, it is no surprise that students in Ohio’s public schools received more resources on a per-pupil basis in 2020 than they did before the launch of the EdChoice program in 2007 (Figure 6, “Actual” series). Actual per-pupil funding in Ohio’s public schools averaged \$12,161 in 2006 but grew to \$16,784 by 2020. Per-pupil funding of public schools in Ohio has been higher in every year since the start of the EdChoice program than it was the year before EdChoice, in 2006. Federal pandemic aid has undoubtedly pushed per-pupil public school spending even higher since 2020, with those official data yet to be reported. State foundation aid to public schools, which the plaintiffs charge the EdChoice program with “depleting,” averaged \$4,333 per pupil in 2022,²⁷ which amounts to less than 30 percent of the total public school per-pupil funding in 2020 and almost certainly an even smaller proportion of per-pupil funding in 2024. Either the operation of the EdChoice program is not depleting the foundation aid fund or any loss of foundation aid has been more than compensated for by increases in public school funding from other sources. What is clear is that growth in the EdChoice program over time has not prevented Ohio public school per-pupil funding to similarly increase consistently over time. In a statistical regression that controls for the “Year” variable, thus accounting for the tendency for funding to increase over time,

²⁶ Mike McShane, [Oh, what a year \(for school choice\)](#), *Forbes*, December 19, 2023.

²⁷ *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, p. 9.

EdChoice enrollments are positively associated with more per-pupil funding of public school students in Ohio, with 95 percent confidence.²⁸ Public school student funding has increased as the EdChoice program has grown.



Inflation adjustment to July 2020 dollars based on the [CPI Inflation Calculator](#), U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Sources: U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 235.20 & Table 235.30, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013, Table 204, 2012; Table 182, 2011, 2010; Table 203.20, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015.

F. Real, Inflation-Adjusted Per-pupil Public School Funding Has Increased as the EdChoice Program Has Expanded

Inflation over the 15 years from 2006 through 2020 has not sapped the value of per-pupil public school funding in Ohio. Converting actual per-pupil funding to constant 2020 dollars, we see that

²⁸ The coefficient from the regression indicates that an increase of 1000 student enrollments in the EdChoice program is associated with an increase of \$100 in per-pupil funding of Ohio public schools.

public school funding in Ohio more than kept up with inflation from 2006 through 2020 (Figure 6, “Real” series). Public school per-pupil funding had a real purchasing value of \$15,484 in 2006 and an even higher purchasing value of \$16,784 in 2020. While the real value of per-pupil funding in Ohio public schools dropped and then recovered several times over the 15-year period, the average resource amount available to public school students in Ohio ended substantially higher in the most recent year available than it was before the EdChoice program began. While the plaintiffs claim that “the amount of per pupil funding authorized by the Ohio Legislature for public school systems has failed **even to keep up with basic inflation**,”²⁹ what really counts for Ohio public school students, total per-pupil funding, has more than kept up with inflation at least through 2020. Statistical regression tells us, with more than 99 percent confidence, that increases in EdChoice enrollments are associated with increases in real, inflation-adjusted, total funding for students in Ohio public schools.³⁰

Of course, the question of whether or not such increased funding of public schools improves student outcomes remains contested in the education policy literature, contrary to the claim of Joshua Cowen in his expert report that “old debates about the impacts of public school spending ended several years ago now.”³¹ The study that Cowen cites as having supposedly settled the matter³² was criticized as seriously flawed throughout its use in a school finance court case in New York.³³ A second study that Cowen cites as allegedly proving that funding cuts harm

²⁹ *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, p. 33, emphasis in original.

³⁰ The regression results indicate that a 1000-student increase in EdChoice enrollment is associated with an increase of \$31 in real, inflation adjusted, per-pupil funding of public schools.

³¹ Report of Dr. Joshua Cowen, Professor of Education Policy, Michigan State University, January 2024, p. 7.

³² Jackson, C. K., & Mackevicius, C. L. (2024). What impacts can we expect from school spending policy? Evidence from evaluations in the US. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 16(1), 412-46.

³³ [Expert Report of Jay P. Greene, Ph.D.](#), *New Yorkers for Students’ Educational Rights, et al. v. The State of New York*, May 21, 2021.

students³⁴ also has had its results seriously called into question.³⁵ One of the premiere public policy journals, the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, recently dedicated its “point/counterpoint” section to lingering disputes over the reliability of those studies and the broader question of whether, how much, and under what circumstances more funding improves student outcomes.³⁶ While I acknowledge that the dispute persists, it is not germane to this case. If increased student funding does consistently and predictably lead to better student outcomes, then public school students are better off now than they were before the launch and expansion of the EdChoice program, as they are receiving higher levels of per-pupil funding. If increased student funding does not consistently and predictably lead to improved student outcomes, then the basis for the harm charged by the plaintiffs does not exist.

G. EdChoice Funding is Entirely Separate from the Funding of Ohio Public School Students

The EdChoice private school voucher program is a state initiative that is funded through Ohio’s Foundation Fund, but using independent, enrollment-driven formulas that are separate from those that govern the disbursement of funds to public schools.³⁷ The Legislature appropriates money to the Foundation Fund to cover the cost of EdChoice scholarships, as well as the cost of various other education programs, including district public schools. Since the enactment of H.B.

³⁴ Jackson, C. K., Wigger, C., & Xiong, H. (2021). Do school spending cuts matter? Evidence from the Great Recession. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 13(2), 304-35.

³⁵ Goldstein, J., & McGee, J. B. (2021, March). [Did spending cuts during the Great Recession really cause student outcomes to decline?](#) *EdWorkingPapers*, Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University.

³⁶ Decker, P., & Kelly, K. (2023). [Does school spending matter?](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 42(4), 1117. Jackson, C. K., & Persico, C. (2023). [School spending: Money matters.](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 42(4), 1118-24. McGee, J. B. (2023). [Yes, money matters, but the details can make all the difference.](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 42(4), 1125-32. Jackson, C. K., & Persico, C. (2023). [Counterpoint – Don’t let the perfect be the enemy of the good.](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 42(4), 1133-35. McGee, J. B. (2023). [Researchers should be cautious when generalizing findings.](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 42(4), 1136-39.

³⁷ 134th General Assembly of the State of Ohio. (2021, July 1). [Amended House Bill Number 110](#), Sec. 3317.022, pp. 943–56 (outlining formulas); *id.* pp. 2111–14 (education funding line items).

110 in 2021, no local government funding goes towards either of the EdChoice vouchers.³⁸ These facts contradict the statement by the plaintiffs that Ohio “funds EdChoice Program Vouchers from the budget appropriation designated for public schools.”³⁹

H. Total Private School Enrollments in Ohio Have Declined Since EdChoice Was Launched

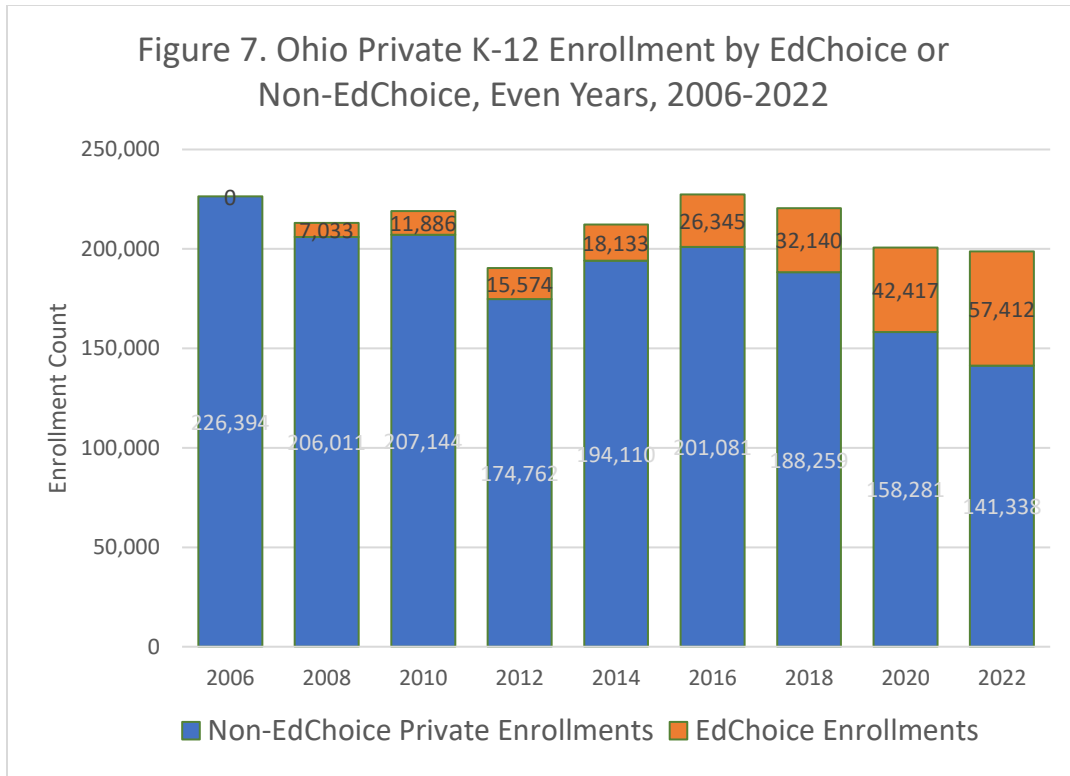
The private school sector in Ohio was larger in 2006 than it was in 2022 (Figure 7). According to federal government data, Ohio private schools enrolled 226,394 students in grades K-12 in 2006 but only 198,750 students in those same grades in 2022. Far from augmenting growth in the private schooling sector in Ohio, the EdChoice program recently has merely served to slow the rate of decline in private school enrollments. From 2016 to 2022, the Ohio private school sector shrunk by almost 13 percent even while EdChoice enrollments grew by 118 percent. These data clearly refute the plaintiff claim that, because of the EdChoice program, private schools in Ohio “expand, build, and grow”⁴⁰ as well as a similar false claim in Dr. Cowen’s report that “the non-public system continues to expand.”⁴¹ While some individual private schools may be growing, in the aggregate, the private school sector in Ohio is shrinking, not expanding.

³⁸ Fleeter, H. B. (2023, June). *Ohio School Voucher Overview*, Ohio Education Policy Institute Policy Brief, “effective in FY22...all five voucher programs will be fully paid for by the state...” p. 3. 134th General Assembly of the State of Ohio. (2021, July 1). [Amended House Bill Number 110](#). Tebben, S. (2021). [‘Fair school funding’ praised in education budget, other parts in need of second look](#). *Ohio Capital Journal*, April 26.

³⁹ *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Plaintiffs’ Complaint*, p. 35.

⁴¹ Dr. Joshua Cowen expert report, p. 11.



Sources: U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Table 205.80, 2023, 2020, 2015; EdChoice, *The ABCs of School Choice*, 2023, actual data that informs figures on pp. 64 & 68.

I. Demographic Data and Academic Studies Show that the EdChoice Program Improves Racial Integration in Ohio Schools

Plaintiffs claim, “A disproportionate percentage of non-minority students have used EdChoice vouchers for years.... As a result, the percentage of minority students in many of Ohio’s public school districts has increased disproportionately relative to the communities where they reside.”⁴² Relatedly, Dr. Cowen claims in his expert report that “EdChoice funding and participation rules have already and will continue to exacerbate white flight from public school districts.”⁴³ Those claims are unsupported and inconsistent with the facts and scholarly research regarding the Ohio EdChoice Program and other school voucher programs around the country.

⁴² *Plaintiff’s Claim*, p. 36.

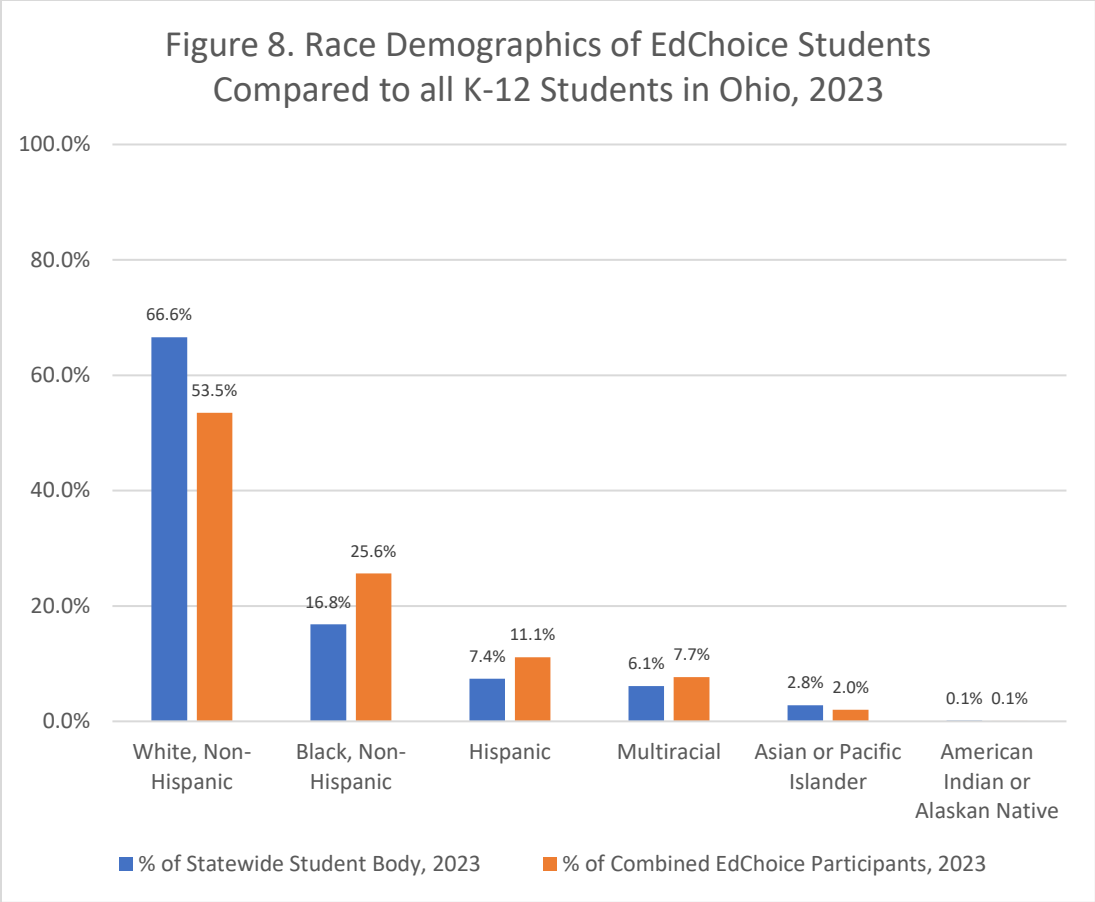
⁴³ Report of Dr. Joshua Cowen, p. 8.

The EdChoice program disproportionately serves racial and ethnic minority students (Figure 8). White students are underrepresented in the EdChoice program relative to their portion of all K-12 students in Ohio. The fact that students of color disproportionately participate in the EdChoice program and white students disproportionately remain in public schools is undeniable and is confirmed by Figure 1 in Dr. Cowen's expert report⁴⁴ in addition to my own data here which, like Dr. Cowen's, is sourced to the Ohio Department of Education.

In 2023, two-thirds of the state's students were white but less than 54 percent of the students participating in the EdChoice program were white. The EdChoice program is especially popular with black students, as almost 26 percent of program participants were black compared to less than 17 percent of the Ohio K-12 population in 2023. Hispanic students also were over-represented in the EdChoice program that year, as over 11 percent of program participants were of Hispanic ethnicity compared to a little over 7 percent of the total K-12 student body in Ohio. This pattern of students of minoritized backgrounds participating in the EdChoice program at higher rates than white students is consistent in state data going back to 2017.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Report of Dr. Joshua Cowen, Figure 1: District and EdChoice Users by Race, FY2014-FY2023, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Calculated from the same primary source data portals as listed for Figure 8 but for school years 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, and 2017.



Source: Calculated from Ohio Department of Education, [Enrollment by Student Demographic \(State\) – Overview](#), 2023 School Year; Ohio Department of Education, [Scholarship Paid Participants \(State\)](#), EdChoice + EdChoice Expansion, 2023 School Year.

Evaluations of private school voucher programs in other states and nationally also report that participants are disproportionately students of color.⁴⁶ In a study of who participated in the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program once it had scaled up to serving over 20,000 students in 2011, a research team including Joshua Cowen reported that black students were significantly overrepresented among voucher participants and white students were significantly underrepresented. Specifically, 67 percent of voucher users were black compared to just 60

⁴⁶ For national results, see Campbell, D. E., West, M. R., & Peterson, P. E. (2005). [Participation in a national, means-tested voucher program](#). *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 24(2), pp. 523-541.

percent in a representative sample of students attending Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS).⁴⁷ Conversely, just eight percent of Milwaukee voucher students were white compared to nearly 15 percent of the MPS student population consisting of white students.⁴⁸ The official federal government evaluation of the District of Columbia Opportunity Scholarship Program, which I led from 2004 to 2011, reported that, even after controlling for Free/Reduced Price Lunch status, applicants to the DC voucher program were significantly more likely to be black compared to non-applicants.⁴⁹ After the Louisiana Scholarship Program expanded statewide in 2013, 80 percent of the voucher participants were black.⁵⁰ In an early study of participation in a national privately-funded school voucher program, researchers reported, “No less than 49 percent of voucher applicants were African American, even though they constituted just 26 percent of the eligible population.”⁵¹

District-run public schools in Ohio are heavily segregated by race.⁵² The data listed above shows that black and Hispanic students disproportionately participate in the EdChoice program, and white students are underrepresented in the program. Thus, it is not surprising that a recent empirical study from Ohio State University scholars Lavertu and Gregg confirm that the EdChoice program improves the racial integration of Ohio public schools. They state:

⁴⁷ Fleming, D. J., Cowen, J. M., Witte, J. F., & Wolf, P. J. (2015, November). [Similar students, different choices: Who uses a school voucher in an otherwise similar population of students?](#) *Education and Urban Society*, 47(7), Table 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Wolf, P., Gutmann, B., Eissa, N., Puma, M., & Silverberg, M. (2005, April). [Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: First year report on participation](#) (ED-01-CO-0082/0016). U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance: Washington, DC: GPO, Table 4-2.

⁵⁰ Egalite, A. J., Mills, J. N., & Wolf, P. J. (2017, Spring). [The impact of targeted school vouchers on racial stratification in Louisiana schools](#). *Education and Urban Society*, 49(3), p. 272.

⁵¹ Howell, W. & Peterson, P. with Wolf, P. & Campbell, D. (2006). [The education gap: Vouchers and urban schools](#) (Rev.ed.). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, p. 62.

⁵² Aliprantis, D., & Jayaram, M. (2023, October 16). [K-12 schools in Ohio are separate and unequal](#). *Economic Commentary Number 2023-16*, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland; Carlson, D. (2021, January 15). [Open enrollment and student diversity in Ohio's schools](#), Thomas B. Fordham Institute.

Racial and ethnic segregation was approximately 10–15 percent lower than it would have been had districts not been exposed to the program. Specifically, as a result of the EdChoice program, Black, Hispanic, and Native American students attended schools with a greater share of White and Asian American students than they would have in the absence of the program.⁵³

Since the operation of the EdChoice program reduces racial segregation in Ohio public schools, eliminating the EdChoice program would increase racial segregation in those schools.

Two studies of the Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program (CSTP) reached conclusions similar to those of the statewide study of EdChoice. One study determined that a higher proportion of CSTP students (19 percent) were in a racially integrated school than were Cleveland Public School (CPS) students (5 percent).⁵⁴ The second study constructed a “Segregation Index” and calculated that the average private school participating in the CSTP scored 18 points lower on that measure of racial segregation than the average CPS.⁵⁵

The four studies of the first urban school voucher program, the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP), all concluded that it had positive or neutral effects on school-level racial integration. The first one found that 30 percent of the students in the MPCP attended racially isolated schools, defined as schools in which over 90 percent of students were of the same race, while 50 percent of Milwaukee Public School (MPS) students attended similarly racially isolated school.⁵⁶ The second study, two years later, determined that the gap had closed somewhat, as 50 percent of MPCP students were in racially isolated schools whereas 54 percent

⁵³ Lavertu, S., & Gregg, J. J. (2022, December). [*The Ohio EdChoice Program's impact on school district enrollments, finances, and academics*](#). Thomas B. Fordham Institute, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Greene, J. (1999). [*The racial, economic, and religious context of parental choice in Cleveland*](#). A Buckeye Institute Policy Report.

⁵⁵ Forster, G. (2006). [*Segregation levels in Cleveland public schools and the Cleveland voucher program*](#). School Choice Issues in the States.

⁵⁶ Fuller, H., & Mitchell, G. (2000). [*The impact of school choice on integration in Milwaukee private schools*](#). Report MU-CAS-CEI-2000-02. Marquette University.

of MPS students were similarly situated.⁵⁷ The third study applied the same “Segregation Index” that was used in the Cleveland study, concluding that the average MPCP student attended a private school that was 13 points lower on the “Segregation Index” than the average MPS student.⁵⁸ The fourth study concluded that the students attending private schools through the MPCP experienced statistically similar levels of racial integration as MPS students.⁵⁹

Two studies of the DC Opportunity Scholarship Program found that participants attended private schools that were better integrated by race than the public schools they left. The first study reported that 47 percent of the private schools serving voucher students were racially isolated compared with 85 percent of DC public schools that were similarly situated.⁶⁰ A follow-up study reported “greater sector-wide levels of integration in private schools, including the [voucher receiving] schools” in the nation’s capital.⁶¹

The claim that private school choice programs increase racial segregation in public schools was central to prior school voucher litigation. In 2013 the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) filed a motion in the long-running court case of *Brumfield et al. v. Louisiana State Board of Education* to enjoin the state of Louisiana from issuing private school vouchers under the Louisiana Scholarship Program (LSP) to students living in public school districts subject to continuing racial desegregation court orders. The DOJ also requested that the state provide it with detailed information about the race and residence of every student participating in the

⁵⁷ Fuller, H., & Greiveldinger, D. (2002). The impact of school choice on racial integration in Milwaukee private schools. Marquette University.

⁵⁸ Forster, G. (2006). [Segregation levels in Milwaukee public schools and the Milwaukee voucher program](#). School Choice Issues in the States.

⁵⁹ Greene, J. P., Mills, J. N., & Buck, S. (2010). [The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program’s effect on school integration](#). SCDP Milwaukee Evaluation Report #20, University of Arkansas.

⁶⁰ Greene, J., & Winters, M. (2007). [An evaluation of the effect of DC’s voucher program on public school achievement and racial integration after one year](#). *Journal of Catholic Education*, 11(1), 83-101.

⁶¹ Levy, M. (2018, March 5). [Washington, D.C. voucher program: Civil rights implications](#). Working paper for the UCLA Civil Rights Project, p. 16.

program. While the case made its way through the courts, the state hired an expert to determine the effect of the voucher program on the racial segregation of Louisiana public schools subject to desegregation orders. She concluded that the LSP “‘had no negative effect on school desegregation in the 34 school districts under a desegregation court order.’”⁶² A separate research team, independent of the state, simultaneously studied the effects of the LSP on racial segregation both statewide and specifically for the 34 public school districts under desegregation orders. With individual-level data on the race of each LSP student and the racial characteristics of the public school they left, the researchers determined that 82 percent of the transfers from public to private school enabled by the LSP improved the racial integration of the public schools that students left, while only 18 percent of the transfers worsened the racial composition of the “sending” public schools.⁶³ Within the districts subject to desegregation orders, 75 percent of student transfers under the LSP improved racial integration in public schools while the remaining 25% worsened it.⁶⁴ In the face of these research findings, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals stated:

[T]he DOJ contends that the state’s voucher program might potentially frustrate the desegregation of public school districts in other pending cases. The DOJ admits that this position amounts to a fishing expedition. Its concession, moreover, that Louisiana public school desegregation has not been adversely affected by the voucher program essentially acknowledges the legal and factual disconnection of the *Brumfield* case from the parish cases.⁶⁵

⁶² *Oless Brumfield, et al., v. Louisiana State Board of Education*, United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, [No. 14-31010](#), November 10, 2015, p. 7.

⁶³ Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, Spring). [The impact of targeted school vouchers on racial stratification in Louisiana schools](#). *Education and Urban Society*, 49(3), pp. 284-285. The study also reported that 45% of participants chose a private school where their enrollment increased integration in the private school, while 55% chose a private school that became less integrated based on their enrollment in it. This study, for which I am a co-author, is the only study to date that has found a racially segregative effect of participant transfers to private schools. That segregative effect was small and dwarfed by the much larger positive integration effect of student transfers for the public schools that they left.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

⁶⁵ *Oless Brumfield, et al., v. Louisiana State Board of Education*, United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, [No. 14-31010](#), November 10, 2015, p. 17.

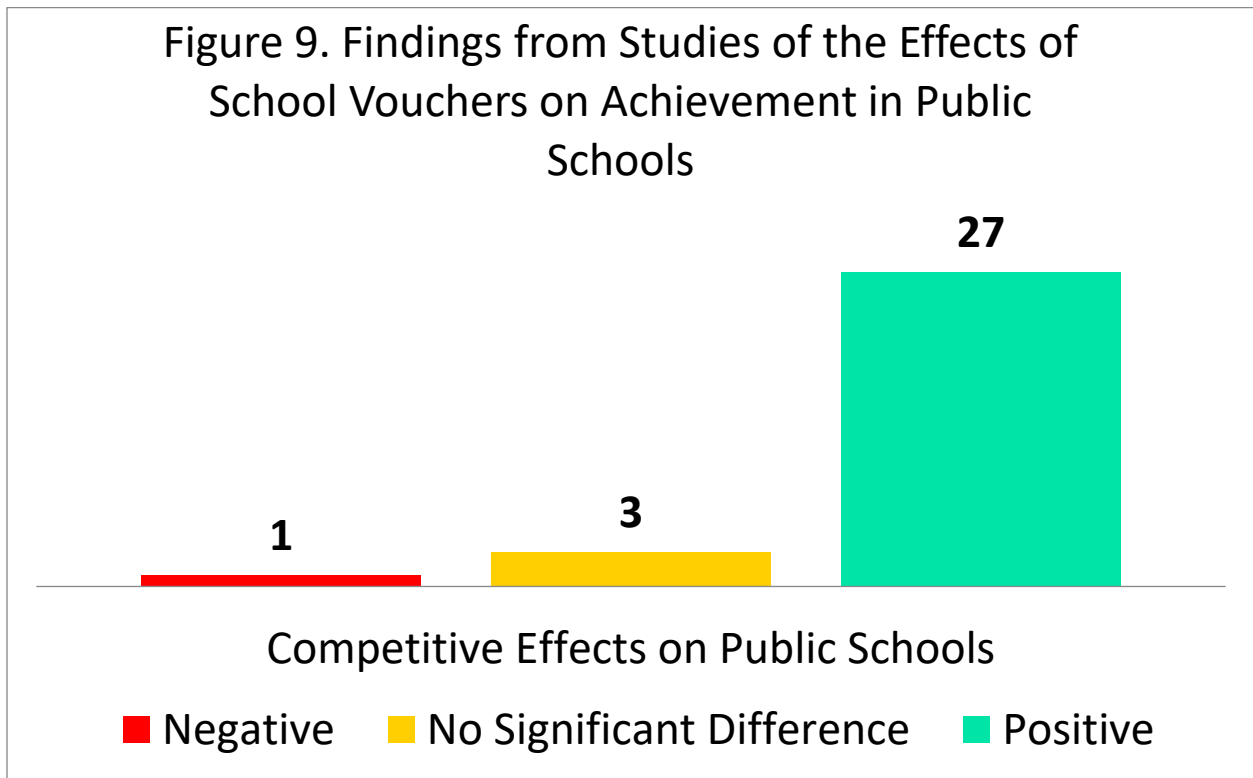
The case was dismissed without any additional regulatory or reporting burdens being placed on the voucher program.

In sum, 10 empirical studies have examined the effect of private school choice programs on the racial integration of affected public schools, participating private schools, or both. The two studies with individual-level data, examining the Ohio EdChoice Program and the Louisiana Scholarship Program, both find that the racial integration of public schools is improved by the student transfers supported by the voucher initiatives, though the Louisiana study also reported that the chosen private schools became slightly less racially integrated as a result of the program. The eight studies that, instead, rely on school-level data are more limited. They only compare the levels of racial integration in voucher-receiving private schools to those in public schools. For those studies, seven conclude that private schools serving voucher students are better integrated by race than comparison public schools. One study, of Milwaukee, finds no significant difference between the levels of racial integration in the private schools in the voucher program compared to the public schools. No empirical study has demonstrated that a school voucher program has an overall negative effect on the racial integration of public schools.

J. Studies Overwhelmingly Show that Student Achievement in Public Schools Improve due to Competition from Voucher Programs

Private school voucher programs not only improve the racial integration of public schools, they also improve public school performance. Thirty-one empirical studies have been conducted on what happens to the test scores of students who remain in public schools when those schools are subjected to competition from a new or expanded school choice program (Figure 9). Twenty-seven of the studies conclude that the effect of voucher competition on public school

performance is positive. Three studies conclude that voucher competition has no effect on public school performance, positive or negative. Only one of the 31 studies reports that the effects of such competition are negative for public school students. The scholars who conducted a meta-analysis of the results from all studies of the effects of all forms of school choice on the performance of affected public schools report “we found small positive effects of competition on student achievement.”⁶⁶



Sources: See subsequent footnotes.

While the overall social science research base confirms that competition from private school choice improves the outcomes of public school students, the evidence in support of that positive competitive effect is especially strong regarding the Ohio EdChoice program.

Researchers have conducted four studies of the competitive effects of the EdChoice program on

⁶⁶ Jabbar, H., Fong, C. J., Germain, E., Li, D., Sanchez, J., Sun, W. L., & Devall, M. (2023). The competitive effects of school choice on student achievement: A systematic review. *Educational Policy*, 36(2), 247-281.

the achievement of students in Ohio public schools. All four studies conclude that the overall effects are positive, and no negative impacts are reported for any student subgroups. The first study reports that, in 2007, “the EdChoice program produced substantial academic improvements in Ohio’s most stubbornly underperforming public schools.”⁶⁷ The second study, also of outcomes in 2007, finds that “the voucher threat created by the EdChoice program is associated with a statistically significant increase in the proficiency rates of schools on the 4th grade reading tests.”⁶⁸ The third study, drawing from data from 2004 through 2013, concludes that:

EdChoice modestly improved the achievement of the *public-school* students who were eligible for a voucher but did not use it. The competition associated with the introduction of EdChoice appears to have spurred these public-school improvements.⁶⁹

Finally, the fourth evaluation of the EdChoice program, analyzing data from 2007 through 2019, reports that “The academic achievement of district students—as measured by the state’s performance index—was significantly higher than it would have been had districts not been exposed to the EdChoice program.”⁷⁰ Four different teams of social scientists have examined the effects of the launch and expansion of the Ohio EdChoice program on the academic well-being of students who remain in Ohio public schools. All four teams report that public school students benefit from the competition delivered by the EdChoice program. Ohio’s private school choice program makes Ohio’s public schools better.

⁶⁷ Forster, G. (2008, August). *Promising start: An empirical analysis of how EdChoice vouchers affect Ohio public schools*. Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, Executive Summary.

⁶⁸ Carr, M. (2011, Spring/Summer). The impact of Ohio’s EdChoice on traditional public school performance. *Cato Journal*, 31(2), p. 272.

⁶⁹ Figlio, D., & Karbownik, K. (2016, July). *Evaluation of Ohio’s EdChoice Scholarship Program: Selection, competition, and performance effects*. Thomas B. Fordham Institute, p. 1, emphasis in original.

⁷⁰ Lavertu, S., & Gregg, J. J. (2022, December). *The Ohio EdChoice Program’s impact on school district enrollments, finances, and academics*. Thomas B. Fordham Institute, p. 6.

The positive effects of school choice on public school performance in Ohio have been confirmed in other states and nationally. Ten rigorous social science studies have concluded that Florida’s various private school choice programs have improved achievement outcomes for the state’s public school students.⁷¹ Six evaluations of the Milwaukee school voucher program have concluded that it has a positive effect on the performance of Milwaukee Public Schools.⁷² Two evaluations of a privately-funded school choice program in San Antonio, Texas, report positive effects on the achievement of students in affected public schools.⁷³ Single studies of Indiana,⁷⁴

⁷¹ Chakrabarti, R. (2013). Vouchers, public school response, and the role of incentives: Evidence from Florida. *Economic Inquiry*, 51(1), 500–26. Figlio, D. N., Hart, C. M. D., & Karbownik, K. (2022). The ripple effect: How private-school choice programs boost competition and benefit public-school students. *Education Next*, 22(1), 48-54. Figlio, D.N., & Hart, C. M. D. (2014). Competitive effects of means-tested school vouchers. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 6(1), 133–56. Figlio, D. N., & Rouse, C. E. (2006). Do accountability and voucher threats improve low-performing schools? *Journal of Public Economics*, 92(1-2), 239–55. Forster, G. (2008). *Lost opportunity: An empirical analysis of how vouchers affected Florida public schools*. Indianapolis, IN: Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice. Greene, J. P. (2001). *An evaluation of the Florida A-Plus Accountability and School Choice Program*. New York, NY: The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. Greene, J. P., & Winters, M. A. (2004). Competition passes the test. *Education Next*, 4(3), 66–71. Rouse, C. E., Hannaway, J., Goldhaber, D., & Figlio, D. N. (2013). Feeling the Florida Heat: How low performing schools respond to voucher and accountability pressure. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 5(2), 251–81. West, M. R., & Peterson, P. E. (2006). The efficacy of choice threats within school accountability systems. *The Economic Journal*, 116(510), 48–62. Winters, M. A., & Greene, J. P. (2011). Public school response to special education vouchers: The impact of Florida’s McKay Scholarship Program on disability diagnosis and student achievement in public schools. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 33(2), 138-158.

⁷² Carnoy, M., Adamson, F., Chudgar, A., Luschei, T. F., & Witte, J. F. (2007). *Vouchers and public school performance: A case study of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. Chakrabarti, R. (2008). Can increasing private school participation and monetary loss in a voucher program affect public school performance? Evidence from Milwaukee. *Journal of Public Economics*, 92(5-6), 1371–93. Greene, J. P., & Forster, G. (2002). *Rising to the challenge: The effect of school choice on public schools in Milwaukee and San Antonio*. New York City: Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. Greene, J. P., & Marsh, R. H. (2009). *The effect of Milwaukee’s Parental Choice Program on student achievement in Milwaukee public schools*. MPCP Report #11. Fayetteville, AR: School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas. Hoxby, C. M. (2002). How school choice affects the achievement of public school students. In Hill, P. T. (Ed.), *Choice with equity: An assessment by the Koret Task Force on K-12 education* (pp. 141-78). Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press. Mader, N. S. (2010). School choice, competition, and academic quality: Essays on the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program. *Unpublished Dissertation*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin.

⁷³ Gray, N. L., Merrifield, J. D., & Adzima, K. A. (2016). A private universal voucher program’s effects on traditional public schools. *Journal of Economics and Finance*, 40(2), 319–44. Greene, J. P., & Forster, G. (2002). *Rising to the Challenge: The Effect of School Choice on Public Schools in Milwaukee and San Antonio*. New York City: Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.

⁷⁴ Egalite, A. J., & Catt, A. D. (2020). [Competitive effects of the Indiana Choice Scholarship Program on traditional public school achievement and graduation rates](#). EdChoice Working Paper 2020-3.

Louisiana,⁷⁵ Maine and Vermont⁷⁶ report positive effects of competition from school choice on public school performance. One national peer-reviewed study that I led examined the effect of an overall index of school choice, as well as its individual components, on state-level student achievement levels and growth. It reported that competition from private school choice is associated with higher student scores and gains on the National Assessment of Education Progress but that the correlation is not significant.⁷⁷ A second recent, national, study published in a peer-reviewed journal finds “strikingly large test score gains for states that have adopted voucher programs and/or Education Savings Accounts (ESAs), swamping the effect of per pupil K-12 spending on test scores.”⁷⁸

A few studies deviate from this otherwise consistent pattern of reporting positive effects of school choice programs on student achievement in public schools. One study of the Florida A+ Accountability Program reports no significant effects of the voucher component of that initiative on public school performance.⁷⁹ A study of the Washington, DC, pilot program, which severely restricted student enrollment in the program and held public schools financially harmless for enrollment losses, finds no effect of the voucher program on the test scores of students in DC public schools.⁸⁰ The only study to report significant negative effects of

⁷⁵ Egalite, A. J., & Mills, J. N. (2021). Competitive impacts of means-tested vouchers on public school performance: Evidence from Louisiana. *Education Finance and Policy*, 16(1), 66-91.

⁷⁶ Hammons, C. W. (2002). [The effects of town tuitioning in Vermont and Maine](#). *School Choice Issues in Depth*, 1(1), Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation. The study “found that test scores were highest in areas with a greater concentration of tuition towns and high schools.” p. 2.

⁷⁷ Wolf, P. J., Greene, J. P., Paul, J. D., & Ladner, M. (2023). [Education freedom and student achievement: Is more school choice associated with higher state-level performance on the NAEP?](#) *Journal of School Choice*, Online First.

⁷⁸ Garen, J. (2023). [Enhancing economic freedom via school choice and competition: Have state laws been enabling enough to generate broad-based effects?](#) *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Online First, May 16, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Bowen, D. H., & Trivitt, J. R. (2014). Stigma without sanctions: The (lack of) impact of private school vouchers on student achievement. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 22(87), 1-19.

⁸⁰ Greene, J. P., & Winters, M., A. (2007). An evaluation of the effect of DC’s voucher program on public school achievement and racial integration after one year. *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 11(1), 83–101.

competition from school choice on public school performance is one of the two studies of the Indiana Scholarship Program.⁸¹

Few questions in education policy have been answered so definitely by scholarly research: Competition from private school choice programs has either neutral or positive effects on the performance of affected public schools. When challenged by the launch or expansion of a school voucher program, public schools deliver a higher-quality education to the students who choose to stay in their public school. In Ohio, Florida, Wisconsin, and across the United States, school choice generates a “rising tide that lifts all boats.”⁸²

Public schools improve their performance in the face of school choice competition because they fear losing students to private schools and therefore losing the portion of student funding that is enrollment based.⁸³ The fact that fear of losing funding is behind the generally positive competitive effects that proliferate in the school choice research base is acknowledged by Dr. Cowen in his expert report for this case.⁸⁴ The fact that school funding has not actually declined while the EdChoice program has grown does not eliminate the threat of enrollment and future funding loss, so public schools remain motivated by competition from EdChoice. As long as the EdChoice program continues to operate, the increases in public school performance documented by Stephane Lavertu and John Gregg in Ohio will be preserved if not expanded.⁸⁵ Ending the EdChoice program, as plaintiffs request, would eliminate the competitive threat of losing students to private schools and thus undo the achievement gains that competition from the EdChoice program has delivered to public school students in Ohio.

⁸¹ Canbolet, Y. (2021). The long-term effect of competition on public school achievement: Evidence from the Indiana Choice Scholarship Program. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 29(97), 1-25.

⁸² Hoxby, C. M. (2001). Rising tide: New evidence on competition and public schools. *Education Next*, 1(4), p. 69.

⁸³ Figlio, D. N., & Hart, C. M. D. (2014). Competitive effects of means-tested school vouchers. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 6(1), 133-56.

⁸⁴ Report of Dr. Joshua Cowen, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Lavertu & Gregg, *The Ohio EdChoice program's...*

V. CONCLUSIONS

Ohio's EdChoice school voucher program has operated for 16 years, providing us with a wealth of data of its effects on the enrollments, finance, racial integration, and academic performance of Ohio public schools. The evidence of EdChoice effects on public schools is consistently neutral or positive. While public school enrollments in Ohio have declined slightly since the EdChoice program launched in 2007, most of those enrollment losses are not attributable to the EdChoice program itself. Private school enrollments in Ohio are lower now than they were in 2008, in spite of the growth in the voucher program, leaving Ohio public schools with a similar share of the K-12 student market (about 89 percent) as it had when the program started. Importantly, total revenue received by public schools in Ohio has increased as the EdChoice program has expanded. The most recent data available indicates that real, inflation-adjusted per-pupil spending in Ohio public schools is higher than it has ever been. Rigorous scholarly research on the EdChoice program concludes that it leads to public schools that are better integrated by race and that produce higher levels of student achievement.



Patrick J. Wolf
Distinguished Professor of Education Policy
University of Arkansas
February 23, 2024

Attachment A: C.V. of Patrick J. Wolf, Ph.D.

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Dr. Patrick J. Wolf is Interim Department Head, Distinguished Professor, and the 21st Century Endowed Chair in School Choice in the Department of Education Reform at the University of Arkansas College of Education and Health Professions. Previously he taught at Columbia and Georgetown University. He has been a Visiting Scholar at the Brookings Institution. Wolf has worked as a pizza deliverer, a state government administrator, an advocate for people with hearing impairments, and a school janitor, though not necessarily in that order. As principal investigator of the School Choice Demonstration Project he has led longitudinal evaluations of school voucher programs in Washington, DC; Milwaukee, WI; Louisiana; and Delhi, India. Research projects he has led or co-led have received 44 research grants and contracts totaling over \$23 million. He has authored, co-authored, edited, or co-edited five books and well over 200 journal articles, book chapters, book reviews, and policy reports on private school choice, public charter schools, civic values, and other topics. Most of his school choice research is at <http://scdp.uark.edu/>.

Dr. Wolf has testified before committees of the U.S. Congress five times and before committees of state legislatures 29 times. He has been interviewed on National Public Radio or its state affiliates 10 times. His school choice research has been discussed on ABC *World News Tonight*, the CNN *Morning Show*, MSNBC, Fox News *Special Report*, *The News Hour*, CSPAN, *The New Republic*, *US News and World Report*, *The Economist*, *The Atlantic*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Examiner*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *The New York Times Review of Books*, *Commentary*, *The New York Sun*, *The New York Post*, *Education Week*, *Education Post*, *The74*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Sunday Times of London*, *The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, *The New Orleans Times-Picayune*, *The St. Paul Pioneer Press*, *The St. Cloud Daily Times*, *The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* and other media venues.

His research has received 11 awards and honors. Most recently, Wolf is one of 150 past and present scholars profiled in [The Palgrave Handbook of Educational Thinkers](#). He ranks [tied for 5th](#) in the production of education studies informed by a large sample N. He received the 2021 Top Cited Article Award from *Social Science Quarterly* for his study of school choice regulation. He received the 2020 Best Paper Award from the Association for Private Enterprise Education for his co-authored article on the effects of the Milwaukee school choice program on the character outcomes of crime and out-of-wedlock births. His 1997 article on Reinventing Government won the national Best Article Award of the Academy of Management, Division on Public and Nonprofit Management. He received the 2011 Significant Research Award of the University of Arkansas College of Education and Health Professions and was one of the 10 Most Outstanding Faculty Members at the University of Arkansas in 2016. His papers have won prizes from the World Research Council, the Global Home Education Conference, and the International School Choice & Reform Conference. The annual Best Paper Award of the International School Choice and Reform Conference is now named in his honor. *Education Week* consistently [ranks him among the most influential education academics](#), most recently 47th. The Arkansas Senate passed a resolution [congratulating him and his departmental colleagues on their achievements](#) from 2020 to 2021.

EDUCATION:

1995	Ph.D.	Harvard University, Government (Political Science)
1993	M.A.	Harvard University, Government (Political Science)
1987	B.A.	University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, MN, Political Science and Philosophy, <i>Summa Cum Laude</i>

FACULTY POSITIONS:

2021 & 2022-2014-	Head of the Department of Education Reform (interim appointments) Distinguished Professor of Education Policy and 21st Century Endowed Chair in School Choice , Education Reform, University of Arkansas
2014-2020	Director of Graduate Studies , Education Policy, University of Arkansas
2006-2014	Professor and 21st Century Endowed Chair in School Choice , Education Reform, University of Arkansas
2004-2006	Associate Professor , Public Policy, Georgetown University
1998-2004	Assistant Professor , Public Policy, Georgetown University
1998-2001	Guest Lecturer , U.S. Dept. of Defense Leadership & Management Program
1995-1998	Assistant Professor , Political Science and Public Affairs, Columbia University
1994-1995	Lecturer , Political Science and Public Affairs, Columbia University

RESEARCH POSITIONS:

2004-23	U.S. Federal Government: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Member, Technical Working Groups, IES, National Center for Education Evaluation (NCEE) (2012-23)• Co-Principal Investigator (via CRA -- Chesapeake Research Associates), Louisiana Charter School Alliance, U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences (IES), Southwest Regional Education Lab (REL) (2013-2017)• Senior Research Associate (via CRA), Scientific Peer Review for the Northeast & Mid-Atlantic RELs, IES (2011-2015)• Member, Scientific Peer Review Boards, IES (2004-2010)• Senior Research Associate (via CRA), Analytic and Technical Support (ATS) to the IES (2006-11)• Member, Expert Advisory Panel, National Head Start Impact Study, U.S. Department of Health & Human Services (2011)• Presidential Nominee, Board of Directors of IES (2008-09)• Member, Methods Issues Working Group, IES, NCEE (2007-09)• Member, Technical Working Group, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Innovation and Improvement (OII) (2003-07)• Senior Research Associate, Data Analyses Addressing Teacher Compensation and Teacher Quality, IES (consultant to CRA) (2005-07)• Member, Advisory Board, <i>Parent Involvement in School Improvement Guide</i>, OII (2005-06)
2003-	Principal Investigator and Director , School Choice Demonstration Project, Georgetown University (2003-06) and University of Arkansas (2006-), leading: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Meta-analyses on school choice & civic outcomes• National Charter School Finance Studies (2012-15; 2015-18; 2019-)• Longitudinal Evaluation of the Louisiana Student Scholarships for Excellence in Education Program (2013-2019)• Collaborative evaluation of the Absolute Return for Kids voucher pilot in Delhi, India (2010-14)• Longitudinal Evaluation of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program mandated by the State of Wisconsin (2006-12)• Grant-supported supplemental evaluations of the DC OSP (2004-2010)

- Initial Technical and Random Assignment Support (2004) and Longitudinal Impact Evaluation of the DC Opportunity Scholarship Program (OSP), U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences (2004-2011)
- 2024- **Member**, Academic Freedom Alliance
- 2023- **Member**, National Association of Scholars
- 2023 **Member**, Advisory Board, Tyton Partners descriptive study of ESAs
- 2023- **Member**, Academic Advisory Board of the [Pioneer Institute](#), Boston, MA
- 2022-23 **Member**, Scientific Advisory Board, *Admission Impossible? School Choice Politics and Policy in Scandinavia*, University of Bergen, Norway
- 2022- **Member**, Blue Ribbon Panel of Judges, [The Yass Prize](#), Center for Education Reform
- 2022- **Member**, Advisory Committee of the [Program on Education Policy & Governance](#) (PEPG), Harvard University
- 2021- **Member**, [Arkansas Education Policy Initiative](#), Winthrop Rockefeller Institute
- 2020- **Member**, [Conservative Education Reform Network](#), AEI
- 2020- **Member**, *Education Week* Edu-Scholar Rankings Advisory Committee
- 2008- **Member**, Future of American Education Project Working Group, AEI
- 2014-17 **Senior Research Associate**, New Orleans Education Research Association (ERA), Tulane University
- 2012-17 **External Advisor**, Voucher Participation, Parent Segmentation, & Ohio EdChoice Studies, Thomas B. Fordham Institute
- 2011-12 **Senior Research Associate**, Qwaku & Associates
- 2010 **Senior Consultant**, Public Impact
- 2003-06 **Member**, Natl. Working Commission on Choice in K-12 Education, Brookings
- 2000-01 **Visiting Scholar**, Governmental Studies, Brookings
- 1999-02 **Director of Field Research**, Washington Scholarship Fund Randomized Field Trial, Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University

PROFESSIONAL HONORS AND SERVICE (35):

A. Research Awards (11)

- EduScholar Top 200 Ranking**, [Education Week/AEI](#), 2011-2024
- Patrick Wolf**, subject of a chapter in [The Palgrave Handbook of Educational Thinkers](#), 2022
- Tied for 5th**, [Large N in Education Leaderboard](#) (for number of studies with N > 1000), 2023
- Top Cited Article 2019-2020**, *Social Science Quarterly*, 2021
- Patrick J. Wolf Best Paper Award** established in 2020 in association with the annual International School Choice & Reform Conference
- Best Paper Award**, *Journal of Private Enterprise*, Association for Private Enterprise Education, 2020
- Best Research Award**, World Research Council, 2019
- Best Article Award**, 1st Place, International School Choice & Reform Conference, 2017
- Best Article Award**, 2nd Place, Global Home Education Conference, 2015
- Significant Research Award**, University of Arkansas College of Education and Health Professions, 2011
- Best Article Award**, Academy of Management, Division on Public and Nonprofit Management, 1997-98

B. Editorial Board Memberships & Positions (8)

Member of the Editorial Board, *Live Handbook on Education Policy*, Association for Education Finance and Policy

Consulting Editor, *Journal of School Choice*, 2012- (**Member of the Editorial Board** 2007-)

Member of the Scientific Committee, *Dirigenti Scuola (Journal of School Leaders)*, 2020-

Member of the Editorial Board, *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, 2019-

Senior Editor, *Education Working Paper Archives*, University of Arkansas, 2006-2010

Book Review Editor, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 2001-2008

Newsletter Editor, Public Admin. Section, American Political Science Association, 2001-04

Member, Executive Committee of the Public Administration Division, American Political Science Association, 1999-2002

C. Professional Service Honors (9)

Member, [LEARNS Act Implementation Work Group, Parental Empowerment](#) – Charter School Subgroup, Arkansas Department of Education

Arkansas Senate Resolution 23: [To Congratulate Dr. Patrick J. Wolf and the Department of Education Reform at the College of Education and Health Professions of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville for their Many Achievements](#), passed unanimously, February 16, 2022

Member, Council of Principal Investigators (for the 20 highest research grant recipients at the University of Arkansas), 2019-21

Mentor, Advanced Graduate Student Advising Program, Association for Policy Analysis and Management, 2019

Mentor, David L. Clark National Graduate Student Research Seminar in Educational Administration & Policy, American Education Research Association, 2019

Co-Chair, Planning Committee, International School Choice and Reform Conference, 2012-15, 2017-20 (**Fundraising Chair** in 2011, 2014, 2015, 2017-20; **Member** 2011-)

Finalist, *Most Outstanding Faculty Member*, University of Arkansas, 2016

Member, New Citizenship Working Group, American Enterprise Institute, 2010

Section Head, Public Administration, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12-15, 2007

D. Graduate & Undergraduate Honors (7)

Mellon Graduate Fellow, Harvard University, 1993-94

Graduate Student Representative, Graduate Program Council, Harvard University Government Department, 1993-94

Jacob Javits Graduate Fellow, U.S. Department of Education, 1989-93

Vice-President, Delta Epsilon Sigma Honor Society, 1986-87

Aquinas Scholars Program, 1983-87

Public Service Award, Minnesota Foundation for Better Hearing and Speech, 1986

Special Service Award, Legislative Coalition for the Hearing Impaired, 1986

RESEARCH GRANTS/CONTRACTS RECEIVED (2002-):

Principal Investigator or Co-PI on 43 research grants or contracts totaling **\$23,563,043**. Grants of \$40,000 or more received from the U.S. Department of Education, Arkansas Department of Education, AFC Growth Fund, Annie E. Casey Foundation, City Fund, Gates Foundation, Joyce Foundation, Kern Family Foundation, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Robertson Foundation, Smith-Richardson Foundation, Urban Institute, and Walton Family Foundation. Also raised over \$600,000 in sponsorships for the

International School Choice and Reform Conference, 2011-2020.

IMPACT OF PUBLICATIONS – SUMMARY STATISTICS (as of February 22, 2024):

Google Scholar Citations:	6,807
h-Index:	47
i10-Index:	121

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS (225):

A. Books (5):

- Wolf, P. (Ed.) (2019). [School choice: Separating fact from fiction](#). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stewart, T. & Wolf, P. (2014). [The school choice journey: School vouchers and the empowerment of urban families](#). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Howell, W. & Peterson, P. with Wolf, P. & Campbell, D. (2006). [The education gap: Vouchers and urban schools](#) (Rev.ed.). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Wolf, P.J. & Macedo, S. (Eds.), with Ferrero, D. & Venegoni, C. (2004). [Educating citizens: International perspectives on civic values and school choice](#). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Howell, W. & Peterson, P. with Wolf, P. & Campbell, D. (2002). [The education gap: Vouchers and urban schools](#). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

B. Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles (48) (quality score, acceptance rate (AR) when available; * designates current or former graduate student):

- Maranto, R.M., Reilly, W., & Wolf, P.J. (2024). [Which police departments make Black lives matter? Administration & Society](#), Online First. [Impact Factor 2.3, AR 67%]
- Wolf, P.J., Greene, J.P., *Paul, J.D., & Ladner, M. (2023). [Education freedom and student achievement: Is more school choice associated with higher state-level performance on the NAEP?](#) *Journal of School Choice*, Taylor & Francis Online [Impact Factor 1.33 (2020), AR 30%]
- *DeAngelis, C.A., *Burke, L.M., Wolf, P.J., & Dills, A.K. (2023). [The effect of regulations on private school choice program participation: Experimental evidence from the United States](#). *Research in Educational Administration & Leadership*, 8(1): 142-186.
- Wolf, P. J., *Cheng, A., Wang, W., & Wilcox, W. B. (2022). [The school to family pipeline: What do religious, private, and public schooling have to do with family formation?](#) *Journal of Catholic Education*, 25(1): 206-233. [AR 25%]
- *Anderson, K. P., & Wolf, P. J. (2022). [How within-study comparisons can inform research and evaluation design for the third sector](#). *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, Online First. [Impact Factor 2.79, 2021].
- *Erickson, H.H., *Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2021). [The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement and college entrance](#). *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*, 14(4): 861-899. [Impact Factor 3.38, 2019].
- *Shakeel, M.D., *Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2021). [The participant effects of private school vouchers around the globe: A meta-analytic and systematic review](#). *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 32(4): 509-542. [Impact Factor 2.25, 2019].
- Bearfield, D., Maranto, R., & Wolf, P.J. (2021). [Making violence transparent: Ranking police departments in major U.S. cities to make black lives matter](#). *Public Integrity* 23(2), 164-180. [Impact Factor 0.46, 2018].

- *DeAngelis, C.A., *Burke, L.M., & Wolf, P.J. (2021). [When being regulated is a choice: The impact of government policies on private school participation in voucher programs](#). *Journal of School Choice* 15(3), 417-440. [Impact Factor 1.33 (2020), AR 30%].
- *DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2020). [Private school choice and character: More evidence from Milwaukee](#). *Journal of Private Enterprise*, 35(3), 13-48. [Impact Factor 0.29 (2018)].
- *Lee, M.H., *Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2020). [Heterogeneous achievement impacts across schools in the Louisiana Scholarship Program](#). *Journal of School Choice*, 14(2), 228-253. [Impact Factor 1.30 (2019), AR 30%].
- Dixon, P., *Egalite, A.J., Wolf, P.J., & Humble, S. (2019). [Experimental results from a four-year targeted education voucher program in the slums of Delhi, India](#). *World Development*, 124 (Suppl-C), 1-13. [Impact Factor 3.9 (2018), AR 12%].
- *DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2019). [Private school choice and crime: Evidence from Milwaukee](#). *Social Science Quarterly*, 100 (6), 2302-2315. [Impact Factor 1.204 (2019)].
- *DeAngelis, C.A., *Burke, L., & Wolf, P.J. (2019). [The effects of regulations on private school choice program participation: Experimental evidence from Florida](#). *Social Science Quarterly*, 100 (6), 2316-2336. [Impact Factor 1.204 (2019)].
- *Foreman, L., *Anderson, K.P., Ritter, G., Wolf, P.J. (2019, November). [Using “broken lotteries” to check the validity of charter school evaluations using matching designs](#). *Educational Policy*, 33(7), 977-1001. [Impact Factor 1.030 (2017)].
- *DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, Summer). [Will democracy endure private school choice? The effect of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program on adult voting behavior](#). *Journal of Private Enterprise*, 34(3), 1-21. [Impact Factor 0.29 (2018)].
- *Sude, Y., *DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, Spring). [Supplying choice: An analysis of school participation decisions in three voucher programs in the United States](#). *Journal of School Choice* 12(1), 8-33. [Impact Factor 0.61 (2018), AR 30%].
- *Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, February 17) [Vouchers in the bayou: The effects of the Louisiana scholarship program on student achievement after two years](#). *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 20 (10), 1-21. [Impact Factor 2.020 (2015), AR 9% (2013)].
- *Egalite, A.J., *Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, Spring). [The impact of targeted school vouchers on racial stratification in Louisiana schools](#). *Education and Urban Society*, 49(3), 271-296. [Impact Factor 0.683].
- *Egalite, A.J., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, Fall). [A review of the empirical research on private school choice](#). *Peabody Journal of Education*, 91(4), 441-454.
- *Cheng, A., *Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, Fall). [Homeschool parents and satisfaction with special education services](#). *Journal of School Choice*, 10(3), 381-398. [Impact Factor 0.260 (2016)].
- *Cheng, A., Trivitt J. R., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, June). [School choice and the branding of Milwaukee private schools](#). *Social Science Quarterly*, 97(2), 362-375. [Impact Factor 0.791 (2016)].
- Fleming, D.J., *Cowen, J.M., Witte, J.F., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, November). [Similar students, different choices: Who uses a school voucher in an otherwise similar population of students?](#) *Education and Urban Society*, 47(7), 785-812. [Impact Factor 0.373 (2013), AR 25% (2013)].
- Bækgaard, M., Baethge, C., Blom-Hansen, J., Dunlop, C., Esteve, M., Jakobsen, M.,... Wolf, P. J. (2015, Spring). [Conducting experiments in public management research: A practical guide](#). *International Public Management Journal*, 18(2), 323-342. [Impact Factor 1.200 (2012)].
- *Kisida, B., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, Spring). [Customer satisfaction and educational outcomes: Experimental impacts of the market-based delivery of public education](#). *International Public Management*

- Journal*, 18(2), 265-285. [Impact Factor 1.200 (2012)].
- Witte, J.F., Wolf, P.J., *Cowen, J.M., Carlson, D., & Fleming, D.F. (2014, December). [High stakes choice: Achievement and accountability in the nation's oldest urban voucher program](#). *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 36(4), 437-456. [Impact Factor 2.020 (2016), AR 9% (2013)].
- *Egalite, A.J., Jensen, L.I., Stewart, T., & Wolf, P.J. (2014, March). [Finding the right fit: Recruiting and retaining teachers in Milwaukee choice schools](#). *Journal of School Choice*, 8(1), 113-140. [Impact Factor 0.20 (2014), AR 50% (2013)].
- Wolf, P.J., *Kisida, B., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Eissa, N.O., & Rizzo, L. (2013). [School vouchers and student outcomes: Experimental evidence from Washington, DC](#). *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 32(2), 246-270. [Impact Factor 1.541 (2012), AR 12% (2012)].
- Maranto, R., & Wolf, P.J. (2013, March/April). [Cops, teachers, and the art of the impossible: Explaining the lack of diffusion of innovations that make impossible jobs possible](#). *Public Administration Review*, 73(2), 230-240. [Impact Factor 0.9 (2012), AR 15% (2012)].
- *Cowen, J.M., Fleming, D.J., Witte, J.F., Wolf, P.J., & *Kisida, B. (2013, Winter) [School vouchers and student attainment: Evidence from a state-mandated study of Milwaukee's parental choice program](#). *Policy Studies Journal*, 41(1), 147-167. [Impact Factor 1.014 (2012), AR 13% (2012)].
- Wolf, P.J., & *McShane, M. (2013, Winter). [Is the juice worth the squeeze? A benefit/cost analysis of the District of Columbia opportunity scholarship program](#). *Education Finance and Policy*, 8(1), 74-99. [Impact Factor 1.07 (2012), AR 20% (2013)].
- *Cowen, J.M., Fleming, D.J., Witte, J.F., & Wolf, P.J. (2012, Spring). [Going public: Who leaves a large, longstanding, and widely available urban voucher program?](#) *American Educational Research Journal*, 49(2), 231-256. [Impact Factor 3.104 (2012), AR 7% (2012)].
- Wolf, P.J., & *Boccardo, J. (2011, Spring). [Vouchers escolares y justicia social: Evidencia de Washington, D.C.](#) *Revista Iberoamericana de Evaluación Educativa*, 4(1), 109-134.
- Trivitt, J., & Wolf, P.J. (2011, Spring). [School choice and the branding of Catholic schools](#). *Education Finance and Policy*, 6(2), 202-245. [Impact Factor 1.07 (2012), AR 20% (2013)].
- *Kisida, B., & Wolf, P.J. (2010, September). [School governance and information: Does choice lead to better-informed parents?](#) *American Politics Research* 38(5), 783-805. [Impact Factor 0.716 (2012), AR 21% (2011)].
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, Spring). [School vouchers in Washington, DC: Achievement impacts and their implications for social justice](#). *Educational Research and Evaluation* 16(2), 131-150. [AR 21-30% (2013)].
- Wolf, P.J. (2009, Fall). [Lost opportunities](#). *Education Next* 9(4), 48-56.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007). [Academic improvement through regular assessment](#). *Peabody Journal of Education*, 82(4), 690-702.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, Summer). [Civics exam: Schools of choice boost civic values](#). *Education Next* 7(3), 66-72.
- Stewart, T., Wolf, P.J., & *Cornman, S.Q. (2007). [Parent and student voices on the first year of the opportunity scholarship program](#). *Peabody Journal of Education* 82(2-3), 311-386.
- Wolf, P.J., & *Hoople, D.S. (2006). [Looking inside the black box: What schooling factors explain voucher gains in Washington, DC](#). *Peabody Journal of Education* 81(1), 7-26.
- *Fellowes, M.C., & Wolf, P.J. (2004, June). [Funding mechanisms and policy instruments: How business campaign contributions influence congressional votes](#). *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(2), 315-24. [Impact Factor 1.116 (2006), AR 12% (2011)].

- Howell, W.G., Wolf, P.J., Campbell, D.E., & Peterson, P.E. (2002, April). [School vouchers and academic performance: Results from three randomized field trials](#). *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 21(2), 191-217. [Impact Factor 1.198 (2006), AR 12% (2012)].
- Howell, W.G., Wolf, P.J., Peterson, P.E., & Campbell, D.E. (2001, May). [Vouchers in New York, Dayton, and D.C.](#) *Education Next*, 1(2), 46-54.
- Nielsen, L.B., & Wolf, P.J. (2001, May). [Representative bureaucracy and harder questions: A response to Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard](#). *Journal of Politics*, 63(2), 598-615. [Impact Factor 1.055 (2006), AR 12% (2011)].
- Wolf, P.J. (1999, March 1). [Neutral and responsive competence: The U.S. Bureau of the Budget, 1939-48, re-visited](#). *Administration & Society*, 31(1), 143-67. [Impact Factor 0.774 (2006), AR 20% (2012)].
- Wolf, P.J. (1997, July). [Why must we reinvent the federal government? Putting historical developmental claims to the test](#). *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 7(3), 353-88. [Impact Factor 1.655 (2006), AR 11% (2012)].
- Wolf, P.J. (1993, April). [A case survey of bureaucratic effectiveness in U.S. cabinet agencies: Preliminary results](#). *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 3(2), 161-81. [Impact Factor 1.655 (2006), AR 11% (2012)].

C. Peer-Reviewed Book Chapters and Working Papers (11)(* designates current or former graduate student):

- *Cheng, A., *Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2017). Homeschool parents and satisfaction with special education services (pp. 144-161). In R. Maranto & D. A. Bell (Eds.), *Homeschooling in the 21st Century: Research and prospects*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wolf, P.J., & *Cheng, A. (2017). Religious school brands as a school choice communication tool. In D. Hiatt-Michael (Ed.), *Family involvement in faith-based schools* (pp. 15-32). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Wolf, P., *Kisida, B., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Eissa, N., & Rizzo, L. (2011). [School vouchers in the nation's capital: Summary of experimental impacts](#). In M. Berends, M. Cannata, & E. Goldring (Eds.), *School choice and school improvement* (pp. 17-33). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Stewart, T., & Wolf, P.J. (2011). The evolution of parental school choice. In F.M. Hess, & B. Manno (Eds.), *Customized schooling* (pp. 91-106). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
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D. Invited Journal Articles, Handbooks & Encyclopedia Entries (28) (* designates current or former graduate student):

Wolf, P. J. (2023, October 26). [Private school choice programs are delivering and not just on test scores](#). *Oklahoma Education Journal*, 1:2.

Wolf, P. J. (2023, May 24). [Realizing school choice](#). *Law & Liberty*.

Wolf, P. J. (2023). [Benjamin Franklin: Lover of liberty and learning](#). In Greir, B. A. (Ed.), *The Palgrave handbook of educational thinkers*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Reilly, W., Maranto, R., & Wolf, P.J. (2022, September). [Did Black Lives Matter save black lives? The data say no](#). *Commentary*, 154(2), pp. 22-25.

Fox, R. A., Buchanan, N., & Wolf, P. J. (2021). [The history of ISCRC from Nova Southeastern to Dublin](#). *Journal of School Choice*, 15(4): 489-495.

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Wolf, P.J. (2019). [What happened in the bayou? Examining the effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program](#). *Education Next*, 19(4): 48-56.

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Wolf, P.J. (2017). [Introduction to the special issue—School choice: Separating fact from fiction](#). *Journal of School Choice*, 11(4), 487-490. Open access [here](#).

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- of *International Development and Education* (pp. 456-71). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Fox, R.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2014). [Introduction to the special issue](#). *Journal of School Choice*, 8(3), 357-61.
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- Wolf, P.J. (2009). [The passing of a gentle giant: A personal tribute to John Brandl](#). *Education Next*, 9(2), 80.
- Wolf, P.J. (2008). [School voucher programs: What the research says about parental school choice](#). *Brigham Young University Law Review*, 2008(2), 415-46.
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- Wolf, P.J. (2005, Spring). [Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: A summary of the first year report on participation](#). *Georgetown Public Policy Review*, 10(2), 85-88.
- Viteritti, J.P., Walberg, H.J., & Wolf, P.J. (2005). School choice: How an abstract idea became a political reality. *Brookings Papers on Education Policy* 8, 137-173.
- Wolf, P.J. (2003, Winter). [Sisyphean tasks](#). *Education Next*, 3(1), 24-31.
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- Wolf, P.J. (1999, Winter). The school voucher debate: An assessment. *Metropolitics* 3(1), 31-34.

E. Invited Book Chapters (15) (* designates current or former graduate student):

- Wolf, P. J., & *DeAngelis, C. A. (2023). [Funding students instead of systems: The case for school choice](#). In Hall, J. C., & Kassans, A. L., *Challenges in classical liberalism: Debating the policies of today versus tomorrow*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wolf, P. J. (2021). Conclusions and recommendations. In Sinicola, C., & Candel, C. S. (Eds.), *A vision of hope: Catholic schooling in Massachusetts* (151-163). Boston, MA: Pioneer Institute.
- Wolf, P. J. (2020). Myth: Public schools are necessary for a stable democracy. In C. A. DeAngelis & N. P. McCluskey (Eds.), *School choice myths: Setting the record straight on education freedom* (39-57). Washington, DC: Cato Institute.
- *DeAngelis, C. A., & Wolf, P. J. (2019). What does the evidence say about education choice? A comprehensive review of the literature. In L. M. Burke & J. Butcher (Eds.), *The not-so-great society* (pp. 175-185). Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation.
- *Shakeel, M. D., & Wolf, P. J. (2019). Poor parents are careful choosers: Dispelling the myth that school choice harms the poor. In P. Dixon & S. Humble (Eds.), [School choice around the world: ... and the lessons we can learn](#) (pp. 131-153). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: IEA Publications.
- *DeAngelis, C. A., & Wolf, P. J. (2019). Improving civil society through private school choice: A review of the U.S. evidence. In P. Dixon & S. Humble (Eds.), [School choice around the world: ... and the lessons we can learn](#) (pp. 71-93). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: IEA Publications.

- *Hitt, C., Wolf, P.J., & *McShane, M.Q. (2018). Achievement versus attainment: Are school choice evaluators looking for impacts in the wrong place? In Berends, M., Waddington, R.J., & Schoenig, J.A. (eds.), *School choice at the crossroads: Research perspectives* (pp. 173-185). New York: Routledge.
- Wolf, P.J., & *Egalite, A.J. (2018). Does private school choice improve student achievement? A review of the evidence. In Berends, M., Waddington, R.J., & Schoenig, J.A. (eds.), *School choice at the crossroads: Research perspectives* (pp. 54-68). New York: Routledge.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014). The school choice program-research nexus. In M.Q. McShane (Ed.), *The supply side of school choice* (pp. 209-34). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
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- Wolf, P.J. (2005). Special education in the San Diego city schools. In F.M. Hess (Ed.), *Urban school reform: Lessons from San Diego* (pp. 283-98). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Wolf, P.J. (2004). Comment on 'school choice: How an abstract idea became a political reality. In D. Ravitch (Ed.), *The Brookings papers on education policy* (pp. 162-68). Washington DC: Brookings.
- Peterson, P.E., Howell, W.G., Wolf, P.J., & Campbell, D.E. (2003). School vouchers: Results from randomized experiments. In C.M. Hoxby (Ed.), *The economics of school choice* (pp. 107-44). National Bureau of Economic Research and the University of Chicago Press.
- Hassel, B.C., & Wolf, P.J. (2001). [Effectiveness and accountability \(Part 2\): Alternatives to the compliance model](#). In C.E. Finn, Jr., A.J. Rotherham, & C.R. Hokanson, Jr. (Eds.), *Rethinking special education for a new century* (pp. 309-33). Washington: Thomas B. Fordham Foundation and Progressive Policy Institute.
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F. Book Reviews (11):

- Wolf, P.J., (2021, Summer). Review of [The Politics of Institutional Reform: Katrina, Education, and the Second Face of Power](#) by T. M. Moe. *Political Science Quarterly*, 136(3).
- Wolf, P.J., (2015, Summer). [Tracking is a district problem: Schools of choice are actually less likely to sue ability tracking](#). Review of *On the same track: How schools can join the Twenty-First-Century Struggle against resegregation* by C. C. Burris. *Education Next*, 15(4).
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, Summer). [Comparing public schools to private](#). Review of *The public school advantage: Why public schools outperform private schools* by C.A. Lubienski & S.T. Lubienski. *Education Next*, 14(3).
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, Spring). Review of [Zero chance of passage: The pioneering charter school story](#) by E.R. Junge. *Journal of School Choice* 7(2), 249-252.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, June). [Missing religion](#). Review of *Does God make a difference? Taking religion seriously in our schools and universities* by W.A. Nord. *First Things*, 214, 57-59.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, June). Review of *Market-based governance: Supply side, demand side, upside, and*

- downside*. Edited by J.D. Donahue & J.S. Nye Jr. *Georgetown Public Policy Review*, 9(1).
- Wolf, P.J. (2002). Review of *Government failure: A primer on public choice* by G. Tullock, A. Seldon, & G.L. Brady. *Georgetown Public Policy Review*, 8(1)
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, Winter). [Democracy in education: America's latest voluntary organization – the charter school](#). Review of *Inside charter schools: The paradox of radical reform* edited by B. Fuller. *Education Next*, 2(1).
- Wolf, P.J. (2000). Review of *City schools and city politics: Institutions and leadership in Pittsburgh, Boston, and St. Louis* by J. Portz, L. Stein, & R.R. Jones. *Political Science Quarterly*, 115(3), 480-481.
- Wolf, P.J. (1997). Review of *Leaders and leadership: An appraisal of theory and research* by M. Rejai & K. Phillips.
- Wolf, P.J. (1993). Review of *Politics and bureaucracy in the modern presidency* by R. Maranto. *Political Science Quarterly*, 110(2), 340-342.

G. Policy Reports (107):

- Johnson, A. H., McGee, J. B., Wolf, P. J., May, J. F., & Maloney, L. D. (2023, December). [Charter school funding: Did initial pandemic relief advance equity in the city?](#) School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Johnson, A. H., McGee, J. B., Wolf, P. J., May, J. F., & Maloney, L. D. (2023, November). [Still a good investment: Charter school productivity in nine cities](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Johnson, A. H., McGee, J. B., Wolf, P. J., May, J. F., & Maloney, L. D. (2023, August). [Charter school funding: Little progress towards equity in the city](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Johnson, A. H., McGee, J. B., Wolf, P. J., Maloney, L. D., & May, J. F. (2023, March). [Charter school funding disparities: Los Angeles, California](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Maranto, R., Reilly, W., Wolf, P., Harris, M. (2022, May). [Which police departments make black lives matter, which don't, and why don't most social scientists care?](#) EDRE Working Paper 2022-05, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- McGee, J. B., Wolf, P. J., & Maloney, L. D. (2022, January). [Charter school funding inequities: Rochester, New York](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P. J. (2021, December). [Whose turn now? The enactment & expansion of private school choice programs across the U.S.](#) EdWorkPaper No. 21-498, Brown University, Providence, RI.
- Rhames, M. A., & Wolf, P. J. (2021, November). [One or the Other: Parent Religiosity or Private School Choice May Reduce Crime and Paternity Disputes in Milwaukee](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Dills, A., Wolf, P. J., DeAngelis, C. A., May, J. F., Maloney, L. D., & Syftestad, C. (2021, October). [Charter school funding: Dispelling myths about EMOs, expenditure patterns, and nonpublic dollars](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Syftestad, C., Wolf, P. J., Tucker, W., & Rhim, L. M. (2021, July). [Charter school funding: Support for students with disabilities](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P. J., Greene, J.P., Ladner, M., & Paul, J.D. (2021, March). [Education freedom and student achievement: Is more school choice associated with higher state-level performance on the](#)

- [NAEP?](#) School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Wolf, P.J., Syftestad, C. Maloney, L.D., May, J.F. (2021, February). [Making it Count: The productivity of public charter schools in seven U.S. cities.](#) School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Wolf, P.J., Maloney, L.D., May, J.F. (2020, November). [Charter school funding: Inequity surges in the cities.](#) School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Paul, J.D., & Wolf, P.J. (2020, October). [Moving on Up? A virtual school, student mobility, and achievement.](#) EdWorkingPapers. Annenberg, Brown University, Providence, RI.
- Cheng, A., Wolf, P.J., Wang, W., & Wilcox, W.B. (2020, September). [The Protestant family ethic: What do Protestant, Catholic, private, and public schooling have to do with marriage, divorce, and non-marital childbearing?](#) Institute for Family Studies, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, July 1). [Private school choice programs: What do we know about their effects on outcomes for disadvantaged students?](#) A background paper for the Hoover Education Success Initiative, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., Kisida, B. (2019, August). [Do voucher students attain higher levels of education? Extended evidence from the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program.](#) EdWorkingPaper: 19-115. Annenberg, Brown University, Providence, RI.
- Chingos, M.M., Kuehn, D., Monarrez, T., Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., & Kisida, B. (2019, July). [The effects of means-tested private school choice programs on college enrollment and graduation.](#) Urban Institute Research Report, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Mills, J.N., Sude, Y., Erickson, H.H., & Lee, M.L. (2019, April). [How has the Louisiana Scholarship Program Affected Students? A Comprehensive Summary of Effects after Four Years.](#) School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). [Do you get cream with your choice? Characteristics of students who moved into or out of the Louisiana Scholarship Program.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-13. Social Science Research Network, April 23.
- Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). [The effect of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on college entrance.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-12. Social Science Research Network, April 23.
- Lee, M.H., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). [Heterogeneous impacts across schools in the first four years of the Louisiana Scholarship Program.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-11. Social Science Research Network, April 23.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, April). [The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after four years.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-10. Social Science Research Network, April 23.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Wolf, P.J., Maloney, L.D., & May, J.F. (2019). [A good investment: The updated productivity of public charter schools in eight U.S. cities.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-09. Social Science Research Network, April 8.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Burke, L., & Wolf, P.J. (2019). [The effects of regulations on private school choice program participation: Experimental evidence from California and New York.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-07. Social Science Research Network, March 12.
- DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, February). [Private school choice and character: More evidence from Milwaukee.](#) EDRE working paper no. 2019-03. Social Science Research Network, February

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- DeAngelis, C.A., Wolf, P.J., Maloney, L.D., May, J.F. (2018, November). [*Charter school funding: \(More\) inequity in the city*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Burke, L., & Wolf, P.J. (2018). [*The effects of regulations on private school choice program participation: Experimental evidence from Florida*](#). EDRE working paper no. 2018-08. Social Science Research Network, October 22.
- Rebarber, T., McCluskey, N., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, September). [*Common Core, school choice & rethinking standards-based reform*](#). White paper #186. Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research, Boston, MA.
- DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2018). [*Will democracy endure private school choice? The effect of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program on adult voting behavior*](#). EDRE working paper no. 2018-03. Social Science Research Network, May 14.
- Hitt, C., McShane, M.Q., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, March). [*Do impacts on test scores even matter? Lessons from long-run outcomes in school choice research*](#). White paper. American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., Kisida, B. (2018, February). [*Do voucher students attain higher levels of education? Extended evidence from the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program*](#). Research report. Urban Institute, Washington, DC.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Wolf, P.J., Maloney L.D., May, J.F. (2018, February). [*Bigger bang, fewer bucks? The productivity of public charter schools in eight U.S. cities*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. Also [*EDRE Working Paper No. 2018-01*](#) via Economics Research Network.
- Wolf, P.J., & Lasserre-Cortez, S. (2018, January). [*Special education enrollment and classification in Louisiana charter schools and traditional schools*](#) (REL 2018–288). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance, Regional Educational Laboratory Southwest.
- Wolf, P.J., & Lasserre-Cortez, S. (2018, January). [*An exploratory analysis of features of New Orleans charter schools associated with student achievement growth*](#) (REL 2018–287). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance, Regional Educational Laboratory Southwest.
- Shakeel, M.D., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, November). [*Does private Islamic schooling promote terrorism? An analysis of the educational background of successful American homegrown terrorists*](#). (EDRE Working Paper No. 2017-20). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Maloney, L.D., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, August). [*Charter school funding: Inequity in New York City*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, June 26). [*How has the Louisiana Scholarship Program affected students? A comprehensive summary of effects after three years*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, June 26). [*The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after three years*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, June 26). [*Special education identification in the Louisiana Scholarship Program*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

- Sude, Y., DeAngelis, C., & Wolf, J.P. (2017, June 26). [*Supplying choice: An analysis of school participation decisions in voucher programs in DC, Indiana, and Louisiana*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., Maloney, L.D., May, J.F., & DeAngelis, C.A. (2017, May). [*Charter school funding: Inequity in the city*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Witte, J.F., & Wolf, P. J. (2017). [*The Wisconsin role in the school choice movement*](#) (EDRE Working Paper No. 2017-12). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2017). [*Does method matter? Assessing the correspondence between experimental and nonexperimental results from a school voucher program evaluation*](#). (EDRE Working Paper No. 2017-10). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- DeAngelis, C., & Wolf, P.J. (2016). [*Whether to approve an education savings account program in Texas: Preventing crime does pay*](#) (EDRE Working Paper No. 2016-20). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, October). [*Boosting graduation rates in Texas through education savings accounts*](#) (EDRE Working Paper 2016-13). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Shakeel, M.D., Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2016). [*The participant effects of private school vouchers across the globe: A meta-analytic and systematic review*](#) (Working Paper 2016-07). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., & Egalite, A.J. (2016, April). [*Pursuing innovation: How can educational choice transform K-12 education in the U.S.*](#) Indianapolis, IN: Friedman Foundation for Education Choice.
- DeAngelis, C., & Wolf, P.J. (2016). [*The school choice voucher: A 'get out of jail' card?*](#) (EDRE Working Paper 2016-03). Economics Research Network, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Mills, J.N., Egalite, A.J., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, February). [*How has the Louisiana scholarship program affected students? A comprehensive summary of effects after two years*](#) (LSP Policy Brief). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, February). [*The effects of the Louisiana scholarship program on student achievement after two years*](#) (LSP Report #1). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Mills, J.N., Cheng, A., Hitt, C.E., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2016, February). [*Measures of student non-cognitive skills and political tolerance after two years of the Louisiana scholarship program*](#) (LSP Report #2). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2016). [*The impact of the Louisiana scholarship program on racial segregation in Louisiana schools*](#) (LSP Report #3). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Batdorff, M., Cheng, A., Maloney, L., May, J.F., & Wolf, P.J. (2015). [*Buckets of water into the ocean: Non-public revenue in public charter and traditional public schools*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Kisida, B., Wolf, P.J., & Rhinesmith, E. (2015, January). [*Views from private schools: Attitudes about school choice programs in three states*](#). Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute.

- Stewart, T., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, January). [*The school choice journey: Parents experiencing more than improved test scores*](#). Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Research Brief.
- Wolf, P.J., Cheng, A., Batdorff, M., Maloney, L., May, J., & Speakman, S. T. (2014, July). [*The productivity of public charter schools*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Batdorff, M., Maloney, L., May, J., Speakman, S., Wolf, P.J., & Cheng, A. (2014). [*Charter school funding: Inequity expands*](#). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, January). [*The school choice program – Research Nexus*](#). Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Research Paper.
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- Stewart, T., & Wolf, P.J. (2012, September). [*Understanding school shoppers in Detroit*](#). Detroit, MI: Qwaku & Associates for Michigan Future Inc.
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- Wolf, P.J. (2011, April). *Promueven la justicia social los vouchers escolares? Estudio de caso en Washington, DC* (Documentos #53). Programa de Promocion de la Reforma Educativa en American Latina y el Caribe (PREAL), Washington, DC.
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- Dean, J.R., & Wolf, P.J. (2010, April). [*Milwaukee longitudinal school choice evaluation: Annual school testing summary report 2008-09*](#) (Milwaukee Evaluation Report #18). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
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- Stewart, T., & Wolf, P.J. (2009, March). [Parent and student experiences with choice in Milwaukee, Wisconsin](#) (Milwaukee Evaluation Report #13). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
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- Kisida, B., Jensen, L., Rahn, J.C., & Wolf, P.J. (2008, February). [The Milwaukee parental choice program: Baseline descriptive report on participating schools](#) (Milwaukee Evaluation Report #3). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2008, February). [The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of baseline reports](#) (Milwaukee Evaluation Report #1). School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Stewart, T., Wolf, P.J., Cornman, S.Q., & McKenzie-Thompson, K. (2007, December). [Satisfied, optimistic, yet concerned: Parent and student voices on the third year of the D.C. opportunity scholarship program](#) (SCDP 07-02). School Choice Demonstration Project, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Rizzo, L., Eissa, N.O., & Silverberg, M. (2007). [Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Impacts after one year](#). U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance: Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, May). [Civics exam: Schools of choice boost civic values](#) (PEPG/07-05). Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Cornman, S.Q., Wolf, P.J., & Stewart, T. (2007, May). [The evolution of school choice consumers: Parent and student voices on the second year of the D.C. opportunity scholarship program](#) (SCDP 07-01). School Choice Demonstration Project, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., & Silverberg, M. (2006). [Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Second year report on participation](#). U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance: Washington, DC: GPO.
- Glazerman, S., Silva, T., Addy, N., Avellar, S., Max, J., McKie, A., Natzke, B., ... Ungerer Greszler, R. (2006, March). [Options for studying teacher pay reform using natural experiments](#), Mathematica Policy Research, Princeton, New Jersey.

- Stewart, T., Wolf, P.J., & Cornman, S.Q. (2005, October). [*Parent and student voices on the first year of the D.C. opportunity scholarship program*](#) (SCDP 05-01). School Choice Demonstration Project, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P., Gutmann, B., Eissa, N., Puma, M., & Silverberg, M. (2005, April). [*Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: First year report on participation*](#) (ED-01-CO-0082/0016). U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance: Washington, DC: GPO.
- Hill, P.T. (Chair) (2003, November). [*School choice: Doing it the right way makes a difference*](#), National Working Commission on Choice in K-12 Education, Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Wolf, P.J., Peterson, P.E., & West, M.R. (2001, August). [*Results of a school voucher experiment: The case of Washington, D.C. after two years*](#) (PEPG/01-05). Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Howell, W.G., Wolf, P.J., Peterson, P.E., & Campbell, D.E. (2000, September). [*Test score effects of school vouchers in Dayton, Ohio, New York City, and Washington, D.C.: Evidence from randomized field trials*](#) (PEPG/00-16). Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., Howell, W.G., & Peterson, P.E. (2000, February). [*School choice in Washington, D.C.: An evaluation after one year*](#) (PEPG/00-08). Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., et al. (1998, April). *Democratic values in New York City schools*. Workshop in applied policy analysis final report. School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York, NY.

COMPLETED DISSERTATIONS SUPERVISED (31)

A. Committee Chair (9) (with initial job placement):

- Rhames, M. A. (2023, July). [*The hidden role of religiosity in contemporary public education in the United States of America*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Post-Doctoral Fellow, Baylor University).
- Sude, Y. (2018, June). [*Participation patterns in private school choice programs in the U.S.: States, schools, students*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Clinical Assistant Professor, Walton College of Business, University of Arkansas).
- DeAngelis, C. A. (2018, May). [*The societal impacts of private school choice around the world*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Education Policy Fellow, Cato Institute).
- Tuchman, S. (2017, April). [*Education policy factors contributing to special education identification*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Senior Research Analyst, University of Washington).
- Cheng, A. (2016, April). [*Teachers and the development of student noncognitive skills*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harvard University).
- Kisida, B. (2015, June). [*The educational benefits of cultural institutions*](#). (Unpublished doctoral

- dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Senior Research Associate, University of Missouri).
- Egalite, A.J. (2014, August). [*Means-tested vouchers: Impacts on public school performance & racial integration*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harvard University).
- McShane, M. (2013, May). [*Does mission matter? Examining the role of organizational mission and religious identity in schools participating in the Milwaukee parental choice program*](#), (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Policy Fellow, American Enterprise Institute).
- Gray, N. (2009, May). [*The systemic effects of the Ohio charter school policy*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. (Assistant Professor, Young Harris College).

B. Committee Member (22):

- Lee, M. H. (2021, March). [*Faith-based education and value formation*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Cornman, S. Q. (2020, November). *Do equity and adequacy court decisions and policies make a difference for at-risk students? Longitudinal evidence from New Jersey*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY.
- Kingsbury, I. (2019, June). [*Schooling and civic behavior: A global perspective*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Holmes, H. (2019, April). [*Expanding outcomes in educational program evaluation: Student outcomes, systemic effects, and policy implications*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Burke, L. M. (2018, October). *Principal perspectives on school participation and non-participation in the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program: An institutional theory analysis*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). College of Education and Human Development, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA.
- Foreman, L. (2018, June). [*Localized teacher supply and demand in Arkansas: An exploration of the supply and demand of teachers in Arkansas school districts*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Shakeel, M. D. (2018, May). [*The private school advantage: Evidence from school vouchers and educational leadership*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Boyd, A. M. (2018, May). [*Who teaches where? A descriptive analysis of similarities and differences between teachers in traditional and charter schools in Pulaski County, Arkansas*](#). (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

- Anderson, K. (2017, August). *[Implementation fidelity and outcomes of school discipline policy: Three studies from Arkansas](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Rhinesmith, E. (2017, April). *[An evaluation of Arkansas' developmental coursework policy at postsecondary institutions](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Hitt, C. (2016, April). *[Character assessment: Three essays](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Moore, S.B. (2015, July). *[A random assignment evaluation of a college and career coaching program](#)*, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Mills, J. (2015, June). *[The effectiveness of cash transfers as a policy instrument in K-16 education](#)*, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Ash, J. (2015, April). *[A promise kept in El Dorado? An evaluation of the impact of the El Dorado promise on K-12 achievement and high school graduation](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Dean, J. (2015, April). *[Comparing schools: From value added to sound policy](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Lueken, M.F. (2014, August). *[Cash on the table? A behavioral analysis of refund claimants and annuitants in the Illinois teachers' retirement system](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Bowen, D. (2013, August). *[Risky business? An analysis of teacher characteristics and compensation preferences](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Shuls, J. (2013, May). *[Do teacher characteristics affect student achievement? Evidence from a rural state](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- McClusky, N. (2013, May). *[Education and social capital maximization: Does decentralization hold the key?](#)* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). School of Public Policy, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA.
- Jensen, N.C. (2012, May). *[Merit pay in Arkansas: An evaluation of the cobra pride incentive program in the Foundation Lake school district](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Carr, M. (2009, May). *[An evaluation of the systemic effects of the Ohio educational choice scholarship program](#)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Ross, L. (2005). *Bureaucratic responsiveness and the administrative presidency*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Political Science, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

GOVERNMENT TESTIMONY (34):

A. United States Congress (5)

D.C. opportunity scholarship program: Making the American dream possible: [Hearing of the Full U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform](#), Archbishop Carroll High School, Washington, DC, (May 14, 2015).

The DC opportunity scholarship program: Keeping the door open: Testimony before the U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Reform, Subcommittee on Health Care, DC, Census, and the National Archives, (March 1, 2011).

The value of education choices: Saving the D.C. opportunity scholarship program: Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, (February 16, 2011).

[The DC opportunity scholarship program: Preserving school choice for all](#): Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, (May 13, 2009).

Rethinking special education: How to reform the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act: Testimony before the U.S. House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Subcommittee on Education Reform, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, (May 2, 2002).

B. State Legislatures & City Councils (29)

The Academic and Civic Effects of Private School Choice, Testimony to the Kansas Special Committee on Education (October 3, 2023)

The Effects of Private School Choice Programs: Written Testimony Submitted to the Texas House Public Education Committee (April 11, 2023).

The Effects of Private School Choice Programs: Written Testimony Submitted to the Texas Senate Committee on Education (March 22, 2023).

[Ensuring that Money Follows the Child, Testimony before the Texas Special Education Funding Commission](#), (May 23, 2022)

[The University of Arkansas Department of Education Reform: Its research and policy implications for Arkansas](#), Testimony before the Education Committee of the Arkansas State Senate, (February 16, 2022)

The Scholarly Research Regarding Private School Choice Programs: Written Testimony Submitted to the Minnesota Senate E-12 Committee, (March 2, 2021).

The research record on private school choice: Testimony before the Revenue Committee of the Nebraska Legislature, (March 7, 2019).

Test-based accountability provisions for private school choice programs: Testimony before the Tennessee House Education Committee, (April 5, 2017).

The Arkansas Parental Empowerment for education Choice Act of 2017: Testimony before the Arkansas House Education Committee, (March 9, 2017).

Private school choice: Higher test scores, more graduates & less crime at lower cost: Hearing of the Texas Senate Committee on Education, (September 14, 2016).

The value of school choice: Hearing of the Tennessee Senate Education Committee, (November 2, 2015).

Arkansas charter schools: Best practices and parental involvement: Interim Study Report to the Joint Committee on Education of the Arkansas Legislature, (December 17, 2014).

The productivity of public charter schools: Interim Study Report to the Joint Committee on Education of the Oklahoma Legislature, (October 15, 2014).

The effects of private school choice: Interim Study Report to the Joint Committee on Education of the Arkansas Legislature, (October 13, 2014).

The academic effects of private school choice programs: Testimony before the Interim Joint Committee on Education, Kentucky State Legislature, (November 10, 2014).

The research on private school choice: Testimony before the Arkansas House Education Committee, (April 2, 2013).

The research on private school choice: Testimony before the Arkansas Senate Tax and Revenue Committee, (March 20, 2013).

The research on private school choice: Testimony before the Alaska Senate Education Committee, (March 29, 2013).

The research on private school choice: Testimony before the Alaska Senate Joint Education, Judiciary, and Fiscal Committee, (February 13, 2013).

The research facts about school vouchers: Testimony before the Georgia Legislative Study Committee, Atlanta, GA, (December 7, 2012).

The latest evidence on private school choice: Testimony before the Minnesota Senate Education Committee, St. Paul, MN, (February 29, 2012).

The research facts about private school choice: Testimony before the Minnesota House Education Finance Committee, St. Paul, MN, (February 29, 2012).

Successful school choice programs nationwide: Testimony before the Texas Senate Education Committee, University of Houston Hilton, Houston, Texas, (October 13, 2006).

What research says about school choice: Testimony before the Select Committee on Public School Finance, Subcommittee on Alternative Methods, Texas House of Representatives, Austin, Texas, (August 22, 2003).

Improving K-12 education in the District of Columbia: Testimony at a Public Roundtable, DC City Council Committee on Education, Libraries, and Recreations, Washington, DC, (March 15, 2003).

Improving the Telecommunications Access for Communicatively Impaired Persons Program: Testimony before the Minnesota House Public Utilities Committee, St. Paul, MN, (February 27, 1988).

Improving the Telecommunications Access for Communicatively Impaired Persons Program: Testimony before the Minnesota Senate Public Utilities Committee, St. Paul, MN, (February 25, 1988).

Providing Telecommunications Access for People with Communication Impairments: Testimony before the Minnesota House Public Utilities Committee, St. Paul, MN, (March 17, 1988).

Providing Telecommunications Access for People with Communication Impairments: Testimony before the Minnesota Senate Public Utilities Committee, St. Paul, MN, (March 10, 1988).

COURT AFFIDAVITS, ADVISORIES AND PUBLIC COMMENTS (3):

Affidavit of Dr. Patrick J. Wolf in Support of Parent-Intervenors' Response to Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction, *Travis Beaver, et al., v. Riley Moore, et al.*, Circuit Court of Kanawha County, WV, Case Nos. 22-P-24, 22-P-26, June 15, 2022.

Patrick J. Wolf, [Comment on the Notice of Proposed Priorities, Requirements, Definitions, and Selection Criteria \(NPP\) for the Charter Schools Program \(CSP\)](#), ED-2022-OESE-0006-26413,

U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC, April 18, 2022.

Patrick J. Wolf, Expert Report on the Performance, Funding, and Fiscal Effects of Public Charter Schools in Shelby County and Metropolitan Nashville, Tennessee, *Shelby County Board of Education, et al., v. William Byron Lee, et al.*, Chancery Court for Davidson County, TN, Case No. 15-1048-III, May 25, 2021.

ACADEMIC PAPERS PRESENTED AT PEER-REVIEWED CONFERENCES (133):

A. International (42):

- Wolf, P.J., McGee, J.B., Johnson, A.H., Maloney, L.D., & May, J.F. (2023, January 13-16). *Charter school funding: Inequity at the dawn of the pandemic*. Paper presented at the 11th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Rhames, M., Wolf, P.J. (2023, January 13-16). *One or the other: Parent religiosity or private school choice may reduce crime in Milwaukee*. Paper presented at the 11th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Shakeel, M.D., Wolf, P.J., Johnson, A.H., Harris, M., Morris, S. (2023, January 13-16). *The public benefits of private schooling: A civic outcomes meta-analysis*. Paper presented at the 11th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Burke, L.M., Wolf, P.J., & Dills, A.K. (2022, January 6-9). *The effects of regulations on private school choice program participation: Experimental evidence from the United States*. Paper presented at the 10th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Dublin, Ireland.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, January 16-18). *Myth: Public schools are necessary for a stable democracy*. Paper presented at the 9th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Virtual.
- Paul, J.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2021, January 16-18). *Moving on up? A virtual school, student mobility, and achievement*. Paper presented at the 9th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Virtual.
- Wolf, P.J., Maloney, L.D., DeAngelis, C.A., & May, J.F. (2021, January 16-18). *Public charter school funding inequities across U.S. cities and over time*. Paper presented at the 9th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Virtual.
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., & Kisida, B. (2020, January 17-20). *Do voucher students attain higher levels of education? Extended evidence from the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program*. Paper presented at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2020, January 17-20). *Effect of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement and college entrance after four years*. Paper presented at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- DeAngelis, C.A., Burke, L.M., & Wolf, P.J. (2020, January 17-20). *The effects of regulations on private school choice program participation in California and New York*. Paper presented at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Lee, M.L., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2020, January 17-20). *Heterogeneous achievement impacts across schools in the Louisiana Scholarship Program*. Paper presented at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2019, January 10-13). *Charter school funding inequity: Magnitude, causes & solutions*. Paper presented at the 7th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Wolf, P.J., Mills, J.N., Sude, Y., Erickson, H.H., & Lee, M. (2019, January 10-13). *Intermediate results of the Louisiana Scholarship Program: Achievement, attainment, impact heterogeneity, and selection*. Paper presented at the 7th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.

- DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, January 10-13). *The effects of regulations on private school choice program participation: Experimental evidence from Florida*. Paper presented at the 7th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.
- DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, January 12-15). *The school choice voucher: A “get out of jail” card?* Paper presented at the 6th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Holmes, H., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, January 12-15). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on high school graduation and college entrance*. Paper presented at the 6th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, January 12-15). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after three years*. Paper presented at the 6th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Kisida, B., Witte, J.F., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, January 12-15). *Do voucher students attain higher levels of education? Extended evidence from the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program*. Paper presented at the 6th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Shakeel, M.D., Anderson, K., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, July 13-14). *The juice is worth the squeeze: A cost-effectiveness analysis of the experimental evidence on private school vouchers around the globe*. Paper presented at the International Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Brussels, Belgium.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, January 3-5). *The effects of the Louisiana scholarship program on student achievement after three years*. Paper presented at the 5th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Honolulu, HI.
- Sude, Y., DeAngelis, C. & Wolf, P.J. (2017, January 3-5). *Who are the participants? Characteristics of schools participating in multi-city private school voucher programs*. Paper presented at the 5th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Honolulu, HI.
- Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, January 3-5). *Do students with disabilities benefit from the Louisiana scholarship program? Third year results*. Paper presented at the 5th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Honolulu, HI.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, January 3-5). *Going private: Political factors shaping the enactment or continuation of private school choice programs*. Paper presented at the 5th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Honolulu, HI.
- Wolf, P.J., Egalite, A.J., & Dixon, P. (2016, June 13-14). *Educational equality for Indian girls: Impacts of a private school voucher experiment in Delhi*. Paper presented at the International Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, London School of Economics, London, England.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, May 5). *Going private: Political factors shaping the enactment and continuation of private school choice programs*. Paper presented at the workshop on Public Opinion and the Political Economy of Education, Ifo Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich and the Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG) at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Shuls, J.V., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, May 9). *School vouchers and racial politics in the U.S.: Explaining the strange bedfellows supporting and opposing private school choice*. Paper presented at the workshop on Public Opinion and the Political Economy of Education, Ifo Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich and the Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG) at Harvard University.
- Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2015, January 16-19). *Revised first year participant effects of the Louisiana scholarship program*. Paper presented at the 4th Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Kisida, B., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2015, January 16-19). *Views from private schools: Attitudes about school choice programs in three states*. Paper presented at the 4th Annual International School

- Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2014, September 29-30). *Private school choice for the lower middle class: Initial participant effects of the Louisiana scholarship program*. Paper presented at the International Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Segovia, Spain.
- Wolf, P.J., & Mills, J.N. (2014, January 17-20). *I won the lottery!' The initial participant effects of the Louisiana school voucher program*. Paper presented at the 3rd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Cheng, A., Trivitt, J. & Wolf, P.J. (2014, January 17-20). *School choice and the branding of Milwaukee private schools*, Paper presented at the 3rd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Wolf, P.J., & Kisida, B. (2013, November 18-19). *Customer satisfaction and educational outcomes: Experimental impacts of the market-based delivery of public education*. Workshop on Experiments in Public Management Research sponsored by the International Journal of Public Management, Aarhus, Denmark, November 18-19, 2013.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, June 20-22). *Is the juice worth the squeeze? A benefit/cost analysis of the District of Columbia opportunity scholarship program*. Paper presented at the 3rd Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association, Barcelona, Spain.
- Witte, J.F., Cowen, J., Fleming, D., Wolf, P.J., & Kisida, B. (2013, June 20-22). *School vouchers and student attainment: New evidence from a state-mandated study of Milwaukee's parental choice program*. Paper presented at the 3rd Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association, Barcelona, Spain.
- Wolf, P.J., Komer, R.D., & McShane, M.Q. (2013, January 18-21). *Blaine it on politics: The (non-) effect of anti-aid amendments on private school choice programs in the U.S. States*. Paper presented at the 2nd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., & Fleming, D.J. (2013, January 18-21). *When rights, incentives, and institutions all clash: The case of school vouchers and special education in Milwaukee*. Paper presented at the 2nd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Wolf, P.J., & Stewart, T. (2012, January 14-17). *Exercising parental choice: Understanding the complexity of school shopping*. Paper presented at the International School Choice and Reform Academic Conference, Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., Dean, A., & Carlson, D. (2012, January 14-17). *Milwaukee independent charter schools study: Report on two- and three-year achievement gains*. Paper presented at the Inaugural International School Choice and Reform Academic Conference, Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Wolf, P.J., & McShane, M. (2011, September 8). *Is the juice worth the squeeze: A benefit/cost analysis of the District of Columbia opportunity scholarship program*. Paper presented at the Intl. Workshop on Economics of Education, University of Barcelona, Spain.
- Wolf, P.J., & Kisida, B. (2011, July 16). *School vouchers and student outcomes: Experimental evidence*. Paper presented at the European Political Science Association Conference, Dublin, Ireland.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, August 25-27). *The effectiveness of private school vouchers: Final results from an experiment in Washington, DC*. Paper presented at the Second Biennial Meeting of the Special Interest Research Group on Educational Effectiveness of the European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction (EARLI), Catholic University, Leuven, Belgium.
- Wolf, P.J. (2009, Marcy 12-14). *The Washington, DC school voucher program: The pattern of achievement impacts and its implications for social justice*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Education Markets, University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Wolf, P.J. (1998, July 10-11). *The politics of public administration in the U.S. federal government: Lessons from the twentieth century*. Paper presented at the Public Policy and Administration at the Turn of the Century, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University, Oxford, England.

B. National (86):

- Daniels, D.L., & Wolf, P.J. (2023, November 10). Does private school choice threaten democracy? Evidence from private and public schools in New York and Dallas. Presentation to the 45th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Policy Analysis & Management, Atlanta, GA.
- Maranto, R., Wolf, P.J., & Reilly, W. (2023, September 2). *Ranking police departments to make black lives matter*. Paper presented at the 119th annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA.
- Shakeel, M.D., Wolf, P.J., Johnson, A.H., Harris, M., Morris, S., Paul, J.D. (2023, April 13-16). *The public purposes of private education: A civic outcomes meta-analysis*. Paper presented at the 80th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J., McGee, J.B., Maloney, L.D., May, J.F., & Heape, A. (2022, November 17-20). *Charter school funding: Inequity at the dawn of the pandemic*. Presentation to the 44th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Policy Analysis & Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Shakeel, M.D., Heape, A., Harris, M., Morris, S., Paul, J.D. (2022, September 15-18). *A meta-analysis of private schooling effects on civic outcomes around the globe*. Paper presented at the 118th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2022, September 15-18). [*Whose turn now? The enactment & expansion of private school choice programs across the U.S.*](#) Paper presented at the 118th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada.
- Syftestad, C., Wolf, P.J., DeAngelis, C., & Dills, A. (2022, April 11). *Charter school funding: Dispelling myths about EMOs, expenditure patterns, & nonpublic dollars*. Paper presented at the 47th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance & Policy, Denver, CO.
- Rhames, M.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2022, April 11). *One or the other: Parent religiosity or private school choice may reduce crime in Milwaukee*. Paper presented at the 47th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance & Policy, Denver, CO.
- Wolf, P.J., Greene, J.P., Ladner, M., & Paul, J.D. (2021, April 11-13). *Education freedom and student achievement: Is more school choice associated with higher state-level performance on the NAEP?* Paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Association for Private Enterprise Education, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Paul, J.D., & Wolf, P.J. (2020, November 11-14). *Moving on up? Virtual schooling, mobility, and student achievement*. Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, staged virtually.
- Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N. & Wolf, P.J. (2020, Apr 17-21). *Effect of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on Student Achievement and College Entrance After Four Years* [Roundtable Session]. AERA Annual Meeting San Francisco, CA <http://tinyurl.com/td6zfx5> (Conference Canceled)
- Witte, J.F., Kisida, B. & Wolf, P.J. (2020, Apr 17-21) *Do Voucher Students Attain Higher Levels of Education? Evidence From the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program* [Roundtable Session]. AERA Annual Meeting San Francisco, CA <http://tinyurl.com/t9pcld9> (Conference Canceled)
- Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J. (2019, November 7-9). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program after four years on student achievement and college entrance*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Denver, CO.
- DeAngelis, C.A., & Wolf, P.J. (2019, November 7-9). *Private school choice and character: More evidence from Milwaukee*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Denver, CO.
- Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J. (2018, November 8-10). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on high school graduation and college entrance*. Paper presented at the 40th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.

- Lee, M., Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J. (2018, November 8-10). *Heterogeneous impacts across schools in the first three years of the Louisiana Scholarship Program*. Paper presented at the 40th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., & Maranto, R.M. (2018, August 30-September 2). *What's in a word? Meanings of educational accountability in a post-modern age*. Paper presented at the 114th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
- Bearfield, D., Maranto, R.M., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, August 30-September 2). *Can police professionalism make black lives matter more?* Paper presented at the 114th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
- Mills, J. N., & Wolf, P. J. (2018, April 14-17). *The effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after three years*. Paper presented at the 2018 American Education Research Association Annual Meeting & Exhibition, New York, NY.
- Wolf, P.J., & Lasserre-Cortez, S. (2018, April 14-17). *Special education longitudinal enrollment study for Louisiana public charter schools*. Paper presented at the 2018 American Education Research Association Annual Meeting & Exhibition, New York, NY.
- Lee, M., Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J. (2018, March 16-18). [Heterogeneous effects across schools in the first year of the Louisiana Scholarship Program](#). Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Portland, OR.
- Erickson, H.H., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2018, March 16-18). [The preliminary effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on college entrance](#). Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Portland, OR.
- Mills, J. N., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, November 2-4). *The experimental effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after three years*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Chicago, IL.
- Anderson, K. P., & Wolf, P. J. (2017, November 2-4). *Evaluating school vouchers: Evidence from a within-study comparison*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Chicago, IL.
- Mills, J. N., & Wolf, P. J. (2017, March 16-18). *Preliminary Effects of the Louisiana Scholarship Program on student achievement after three years*. Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P. J. (2017, March 16-18). *Students with disabilities and the Louisiana Scholarship Program: Effects on academic achievement and identification*. Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, March 16-18). *The experimental-quasi-experimental divide: Can quasi-experimental design methods approximate randomized controlled trial impacts in a school voucher study*. Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, March 16-18). *Stayers and leavers: Characteristics of students who move into or out of a school choice program*. Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Shakeel, M.D., Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, March 2-4). *A benefit/cost analysis of the experimental evidence on private school vouchers across the globe*. Paper presented at the Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Spring 2017, Washington, DC.
- Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2017, March 2-4). *The experimental-quasi-experimental divide: Can quasi-experimental design methods approximate randomized controlled trial impacts in a school voucher study*. Paper presented at the Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Spring 2017, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, March 17-19). *Using student matching strategies to approximate intent-to-treat and treatment on treated effects of school choice: A case study from the evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Association for

- Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Ritter, G., Wolf, P.J., Anderson, K.P., & Foreman, L. (2016, March 17-19). *Analyzing the impacts of charter schools using matching designs: Evidence from a U.S. state*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, March 17-19). *Do students with disabilities benefit academically from the Louisiana scholarship program? Second year results*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Anderson, K.P., Shakeel, M.D., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, March 17-19). *The participant effects of private school vouchers across the globe: A meta-analytic and systematic review*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, March 17-19). *Who are the participants? Characteristics of schools participating in the Louisiana scholarship program*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Shakeel, M.D., Anderson, K.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, March 3-5). *A meta-analysis of the literature on the effect of charter schools on student achievement*. Paper presented at the Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Spring 2016, Washington, DC.
- Mills, J.N., Sude, Y., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, November 12-14). *An evaluation of cognitive and non-cognitive skills in the Louisiana scholarship program*. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Miami, FL.
- Witte, J.F., Kisida, B., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, November 12-14). *School choice, college enrollment, and persistence: Evidence from the Milwaukee parental choice program*. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Miami, FL.
- Wolf, P.J., Anderson, K., Ritter, G.W., & Foreman, L. (2015, November 12-14). *The sensitivity of charter school effect estimates to sampling and analysis choices: Evidence from a U.S. state*. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Miami, FL.
- Tuchman, S., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, February 26-28). *Do students with disabilities benefit academically from the Louisiana scholarship program?* Paper presented at the 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Kisida, B., Wolf, P.J., & Rhinesmith, E.T. (2015, February 26-28). *The supply side of school choice: A survey of school leaders in three states*. Paper presented at the 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Rhinesmith, E.T., & Wolf, P.J. (2015, February 26-28). *Do parents get what they choose for?* Paper presented at the 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Egalite, A.J., Wolf, P.J., Mills, J.N., & Greene, J.P. (2014, November 6-8). *Effects of a Statewide Targeted School Voucher Program on Racial Integration*. Paper presented at the 36th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Albuquerque, NM.
- Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2014, November 6-8). *Updated achievement impacts of the Louisiana scholarship program after one year*. Paper presented at the 36th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Albuquerque, NM.
- Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2014, August 28-September 2). *When outsourcing fails: An experimental evaluation of the Louisiana scholarship program first-year impacts on student achievement*. Paper presented at the 110th Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Shuls, J.V., & Wolf, P.J. (2014, August 28-September 2). *School vouchers and racial politics in the U.S.: Explaining the strange bedfellows supporting and opposing private school choice*. Paper presented at the 110th Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Egalite, A.J., Wolf, P.J., Mills, J.N., & Greene, J.P. (2014, April 3-7). *Systemic effects of the Louisiana*

- scholarship program: Updated analyses of competitive effects and impacts on racial integration. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Batdorff, M., Maloney, L., May, J., Wolf, P.J., & Cheng, A. (2014, April 3-7). *Charter school funding: A decade of inadequacy*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N., Greene, J.P., & Wolf, P.J. (2014, March 13-15). *Systemic effects of the Louisiana scholarship program: Competitive effects and impacts on racial integration*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, San Antonio, TX.
- Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2014, March 13-15). *First year participant effects of the Louisiana scholarship program*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, San Antonio, TX.
- Cheng, A., & Wolf, P.J. (2014, March 13-15). *A return-on-investment calculation of U.S. charter schools*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, San Antonio, TX.
- Tuchman, S., Mills, J.N., & Wolf, P.J. (2014, March 13-15). *First year participant effects for students with disabilities in the Louisiana scholarship program*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, San Antonio, TX.
- Wolf, P.J., & Cowen, J.M. (2014, March 13-15). *Who chooses what & how? School shopping in Detroit*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, San Antonio, TX.
- Cowen, J.M., Witte, J.F., Wolf, P.J., Fleming, D.F., & Kisida, B. (2013, November 7-9). *Does choosing change your choices? An analysis of educational attainment differences between school voucher students and students in public schools*. Paper presented at the 35th Annual Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Egalite, A.J., Mills, J.N., Wolf, P.J., & Greene, J.P. (2013, November 7-9). *Competitive and participant effects of the Louisiana scholarships program: First year impacts*. Paper presented at the 35th Annual Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., & Cowen, J.M., Fleming, D.J., Witte, J.F., & Kisida, B. (2013, March 14-16). *School vouchers and student attainment: Evidence from a state-mandated study of Milwaukee's parental choice program*. Paper presented at the 38th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance & Policy, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., & Fleming, D.J. (2013, March 14-16). *When rights, incentives, and institutions all clash: The case of school vouchers and special education in Milwaukee*. Paper presented at the 38th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance & Policy, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J., Komer, R.D., & McShane, M.Q. (2012, August 29-September 2). *Blaine it on politics: The (non-) effect of anti-aid amendments on private school choice programs in the U.S. states*. Paper to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA. (Cancelled due to hurricane).
- Wolf, P.J., Witte, J.F., & Fleming, D.J. (2012, August 29-September 2). *When rights, incentives, and institutions all clash: The case of school vouchers and special education in Milwaukee*. Paper to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA. (Cancelled due to hurricane).
- Wolf, P.J., & Kisida, B. (2011, November 3-5). *Oh the places you'll go: School vouchers and educational attainment in Washington, DC*. Paper presented at the 33rd Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2011, April 10). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Final report*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

- Maranto, R., & Wolf, P.J. (2010, September 2-5). *Cops, teachers, and the art of the impossible: Explaining the lack of diffusion of innovations that seem to make impossible jobs possible*. Paper presented to the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2010, April 30-May 4). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Summary of experimental impacts after three years*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Denver, CO.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, April 30-May 4). *The Washington, DC school voucher program: The pattern of achievement impacts and their implications for social justice*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Denver, CO.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2009, November 5-7). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Summary of experimental impacts after three years*. Paper presented at the 31st Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2008, November 6-8). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Summary of experimental impacts after two years*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy and Management, Los Angeles, CA.
- Witte, J.F., Cowen, J., Fleming, D., & Wolf, P.J. (2008, November 6-8). *The 'effect' of parental choice on student outcomes: Methodological approaches in a new longitudinal study of school vouchers in Milwaukee*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy and Management, Los Angeles, CA.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O., & Silverberg, M. (2007, November 8). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Summary of experimental impacts after one year*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC, November 8, 2007.
- Wolf, P.J., Eissa, N., & Gutmann, B. (2005, November 3-5). *Who chooses, who uses? Initial evidence from the D.C. opportunity scholarship program*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., & Fellowes, M. (2004, September 2-5). *On-the-take at any margin? Seniority, electoral marginality and vote-buying in the U.S. Congress*. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2003, August 28-31). *Looking inside the black box: What school factors explain voucher gains in Washington, D.C.?* Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, August 29-September 1). *School choice and civic values: A Review of the Empirical Evidence*. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., & Nielsen, L. (2002, August 29-September 1). *Assessing educational achievement gaps for Blacks and Hispanics: What are the relevant public policies?* Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
- Kim, L., & Wolf, P.J. (2002, March 23-26). *Reinvention vs. general management: Which approach has the largest positive effect on employee morale?* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, Phoenix, AZ.
- Moini, J., & Wolf, P.J. (2002, March 23-26). *GPR: The more you know, the more you wonder*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, Phoenix, AZ.
- Wolf, P.J. (2001, August 30-September 2). *We should have known: Political environments and the contingency of agency reinvention*. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

- Wolf, P.J. (2000, August 31-September 2). *The difference that independent status makes for U.S. federal agencies: A preliminary analysis*. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.
- Howell, W.G., Wolf, P.J., Peterson, P.E., & Campbell, D.E. (2000, August 31-September 2). *Test-score effects of school vouchers in Dayton, Ohio, New York City, and Washington, D.C.: Evidence from randomized field trials*. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (1999, December 4-5). *The-outcome-operations-measurement problem in the scientific study of bureaucracy*. Paper presented at the Fifth National Public Management Conference, Texas A & M University, College Station, TX.
- Wolf, P.J. (1998, October 29-31). *Private schooling and political tolerance*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, New York, New York.
- Wolf, P.J. (1998, September 3-6). *Explaining political autonomy in U.S. federal agencies: The relative importance of leadership, professionalism, and specialization*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
- Wolf, P.J. (1997, November 6-8). *Case meta-analysis: Systematically learning by example*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington D.C.
- Wolf, P.J. (1997, August 28-31). *Rethinking the leadership-institutional nexus: A meta-analytical analysis of agency effectiveness*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (1997, April). *Institutions, information, and budgetary politics in New York City*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (1995, November). *Iron triangles, issue networks, and the budgetary process: The case of New York City*. Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Washington D.C.
- Wolf, P.J. (1995, August). *Politics, institutions, and bureaucratic development in the United States: Old theories meet new data*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hilton Towers, Chicago, IL.

C. Regional (5):

- Sude, Y., & Wolf, P. J. (2023, January 11-14). *Whose turn now? The enactment and expansion of private school choice programs across the U.S.* Paper presented at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Conference, St. Pete Beach, FL.
- Rhames, M.A. & Wolf, P.J. (2021). [*One or the Other: Parent Religiosity or Private School Choice May Reduce Crime and Paternity Disputes in Milwaukee*](#). Paper prepared for presentation at the Mid-South Education Research Association Annual Conference, November 9-12, 2021.
- DeAngelis, C., & Wolf, P.J. (2016, January 7-9). *School vouchers: A 'get out of jail' card?* Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR.
- Wolf, P.J., & Kisida, B. (2007, April 12-15). *School governance and information: Does choice lead to informed parents?* Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (1995, April). *What history advises about reinventing government: A case meta-analysis of bureaucratic effectiveness*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL.

SERVICE AT PEER-REVIEWED ACADEMIC CONFERENCES (62):

A. International (22):

- Moderator. (2023, January 13-16). *Raising the impact factor of a journal*. Panel at the 11th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Discussant. (2023, January 13-16). *Systemic effects of charter schools and effectiveness of virtual charter schools*. Panel at the 11th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Moderator. (2021, January 16-18). *America's voucher politics: How elites learned to hide the state*. Book roundtable at the 9th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Virtual.
- Discussant. (2020, January 17-20). *A comparative analysis of trends in achievement gaps*. Panel at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Chair. (2020, January 17-20). *A comparative analysis of trends in achievement gaps*. Panel at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Chair. (2020, January 17-20). *Unpacking the effects of private school vouchers on student achievement using school effectiveness indicators*. Panel at the 8th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Discussant. (2019, January 10-13). *The geneology of school choice policies in the west*. 7th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Discussant. (2019, January 10-13). *Charter schools II*. 7th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Chair. (2019, January 10-13). *Symposium on the future of school funding in the United States: Creating a more equitable system and expanding educational freedom*. 7th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Chair. (2018, January 12-15). *Symposium on school choice and non-cognitive skills*. 6th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Moderator. (2017, January 3-5). *Symposium on the politics of education reform in the U.S.* 5th International School Choice & Reform Conference, Honolulu, HI.
- Discussant. (2016, May 5). *The comparative politics of education: Teachers unions and education systems around the world*. Workshop on Public Opinion and the Political Economy of Education, Ifo Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich and the Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG) at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Discussant. (2015, May 9). *Trade-offs between social investment and passive transfers in the new welfare state: New political coalitions in European welfare states?* Workshop on Public Opinion and the Political Economy of Education, Ifo Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich and the Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG) at Harvard University.
- Chair (2015, January 16-19). *Regulating voucher schools*. 4th Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Chair (2015, January 16-19). *A city of choice: Research perspectives from post-Katrina New Orleans*. 4th Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Chair (Plenary Session). (2014, January 17-20). *The many forms of school choice*. 3rd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.

- Discussant (2013, November 18-19). *Putting public policy defaults to the test: A survey experiment in organ donor registration*. Workshop on Experiments in Public Policy Research, Aarhus, Denmark.
- Chair & Discussant. (2013, June 20-22). *The political economy of taxation*. 3rd Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association, Barcelona, Spain.
- Chair (Plenary Session). (2013, January 18-21). *The politics of school choice*. 2nd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Chair (2013, January 18-21). *Public and private school choice*. 2nd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Chair (Plenary Session). (2012, January 14-17). *School vouchers at a crossroads: What's next for policy and evaluation?* Inaugural International School Choice and Reform Academic Conference, Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Discussant. (2011, July 18). *Health care and politics*. European Political Science Association Conference, Dublin, Ireland.

B. National (37):

- Discussant. (2023, November 10). *Social capital and public policy*. Panel at the 45th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Policy Analysis & Management, Atlanta, GA.
- Chair. (2023, November 10). *The civic and systemic effects of school choice*. Panel at the 45th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Policy Analysis & Management, Atlanta, GA.
- Chair. (2023, April 13-16). *Schools, society, and educational opportunities*. Panel at the 80th Annual Research Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Chair. (2022, November 17-20). *Public school finance equity in the era of Covid*. Panel at the 44th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2020, November 11-14). *Virtual schooling before, during, and after the Covid Crisis: Student outcomes, school approaches, and public opinion*. Panel at the 42nd Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, staged virtually.
- Chair. (2020, November 11-14). *Inputs and outputs of school choice*. Panel at the 42nd Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, staged virtually.
- Chair. (2020, April 5-9). *Making sense out of recent mixed results from private school voucher evaluations*. Roundtable accepted to the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association (cancelled due to Covid-19).
- Faculty Mentor. (2019, November 7-9). Doctoral Student Advisory Workshop. 41st Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Denver, CO.
- Chair. (2019, November 7-9). *Examining the consequences of school choice*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Denver, CO.
- Chair. (2019, November 7-9). *The latest evidence on private school choice: Cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes*. 41st Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Denver, CO.
- Discussant. (2018, August 30-September 2). *Corruption and public administration*. 114th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.
- Chair. (2017, March 16-18). *Information and school choice*. 42nd Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.

- Chair. (2017, March 2-4). *Effects of educational policies: Two paths to change: school turnaround and student choice*. Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Spring 2017, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2017, March 2-4). *Effects of educational policies symposium: Social effects of school choice programs*. Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Spring 2017, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2016, March 17-19). *The community effects of school intervention programs*. 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Discussant. (2016, March 17-19). *School choice, enrollment policies and impacts*. 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Denver, CO.
- Chair. (2016, March 3-5). *Summaries of the latest research on charter schools, school vouchers, and magnet school choice*. Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Spring 2016 Conference, Washington, DC.
- Senior Scholar Advisor. (2015, February 26-28). *Junior scholar network advising*. 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Discussant. (2015, February 26-18). *School governance and choice*. 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2015, February 26-18). *School governance and choice*. 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2015, February 26-28). *Parental school choice: Supply meets demand?* 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2014, November 6-8). *Schooling and character: Non-cognitive skills and educational outcomes*. 36th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Albuquerque, NM.
- Chair. (2014, November 6-8). *New perspectives on school choice*. 36th Annual Fall Research Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Albuquerque, NM.
- Discussant. (2014, April 3-7). *School voucher policy & implementation: Lessons from Indiana & Tennessee*. Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Chair & Discussant. (2014, March 13-15). *School choice and charter schools*. 39th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy, San Antonio, TX.
- Chair & Discussant. (2013, November 7-9). *A comprehensive view on school choice*. 35th Annual Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Discussant. (2013, November 7-9). *Charter schools and school choice*. 35th Annual Meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Discussant. (2013, March 14-16). *Funding policy and disadvantaged students*. 38th Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance & Policy, New Orleans, LA.
- Chair. (2013, January 18-21). *The politics of school choice in the U.S.* 2nd Annual International School Choice & Reform Conference, Ft. Lauderdale, FL.
- Discussant. (2009, November 5-7). *School choice and student outcomes*. 31st Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Discussant. (2008, November 6-8). *Accountability as incentives: Understanding the effects of accountability regimes*. Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy and Management, Los Angeles, CA.
- Discussant. (2008, August 28-31). *Does better administration lead to better governance?* Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.

- Chair. (2005, September 1-4). *Challenges in achieving a representative bureaucracy*. Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Discussant & Chair. (2004, September 2-5). *Education policy and politics*. Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- Discussant. (2004, April 12-16). *Re-conceptualizing equity through promoting choice: Findings from federal evaluations examining four choice programs*. Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, San Diego, CA.
- Discussant. (2003, November 7). *Test-based accountability and student outcomes*. Annual Research Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Chair. (2003, August 31). *The changing demography of the American bureaucracy*. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Discussant. (1998, October 29-31). *When implementation works and when it doesn't*. Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, New York, New York.

C. Regional (3):

- Panel Discussant. (2016, January 7-9). *Education policy, politics, and practice*. Annual Meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR.
- Panel Discussant. (2007, April 12-15). *Networking: Implications for agency behavior*. Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Association, Chicago, IL.
- Panel Discussant. (2007, April 12-15). *The Civil Service: Careers, motivations, and reform*. Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Association, Chicago, IL.

INVITED/SPECIAL CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (50):

- Wolf, P.J., Panel Moderator (2024, February 7). Arkansas Education Freedom Accounts: Where we are, where we plan to go, and what it means for parents and students. *Educate to elevate: A year of change and growth*, University of Arkansas Department of Education Reform/Office of Education Policy, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2023, March 30). *The case for parental choice: God, family, and educational liberty*. Book launch sponsored by University of Notre Dame Press, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J., Session Presenter (2022, September 29). What happens when parents have more choices? *Student Focused Teacher Led Conference*, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2022, May 19). School choice and school reform. *Conversations about education in a federal system*, Program on Education Policy & Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., Presenter (2022, April 29). Exigencies, incrementalism, equity & experimentation: The development and effects of private school choice in the U.S. *Admission impossible: School choice in Northern Europe*, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2021, November 19). What does the latest research tell us about school choice in the United States? *School choice in the post-pandemic era*, Program on Education Policy & Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2020, November 20). Charter school funding inequities: Resources, facilities, and policy change. Independent Charter School Virtual Conference.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2020, March 3). Studying the Effectiveness of Classical Education. National Classical Education Symposium. Institute for Classical Education, Phoenix, AZ.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2018, November 14-15). Making schools work for all children: The debate

- on education reform in the South. *The Politics of Equity: Navigating a Path for Public Education*. The Southern Education Foundation, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant (2018, November 14-15). Money matters: Ensuring resource equity in public education. *The Politics of Equity: Navigating a Path for Public Education*. The Southern Education Foundation, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., Hitt, C., & McShane, M.Q. (2018, April 19). [Exploring the achievement-attainment disconnect in the effects of private school choice programs](#). Learning from the long-term effects of school choice in America. Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., Discussant (2017, September 29). Empirical research on school choice. *The Future of School Choice*. Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Participant. (2017, June 27). Making sense of new evidence on private school vouchers. The Urban Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Keynote Address. (2017, January 26). *School choice in the U.S.* School Choice & Education Funding Summit, The College of New Jersey, Ewing Township, NJ.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Roundtable Participant. (2017, January 26). *Education savings accounts in New Jersey*. School Choice & Education Funding Summit, The College of New Jersey, Ewing Township, NJ.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Roundtable Participant. (2017, January 24). The Center for Education Policy. The Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Discussant. (2017, January 11-13). *Education savings accounts: A solution for Texas?* Texas Public Policy Foundation Annual Conference, Austin, TX.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Discussant. (2016, November 14). *The life you save: Catholic schooling & the liberal arts in the 21st century*. Pioneer Institute, Boston, MA.
- Maranto, R., Bearfield, D., Wolf, P.J., & Matthews, A. (2016, January 29-30). *Can police professionalism make Black lives matter more?* Mini-conference on Policing and Race, Cincinnati, OH.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Discussant. (2015, June 18-20). *Competition between charter, private, and traditional public schools*. The urban education future? Lessons from New Orleans 10 years after Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2015, February 26). *The transformative power of private school choice*. Conservative Political Action Committee Annual Policy Conference, National Harbor, MD.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, June 9-10). *School choice research: Are we looking for love in all the wrong places?* Crossroads of America: The Intersection of Research and Policy in the Indiana School Choice Ecosystem, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, January 30). *The school choice – Research nexus*. Conference on School Choice Markets, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, September 20-21). *Competition in K-12 education in the U.S. in 2012: Status and impact*. Conference on School Productivity, Bush Center for Public Policy, Dallas, TX.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, March 8-10). *Who is likely to benefit from school vouchers? An exploration of theory and evidence*. Annual Conference of the Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, February 27). *The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of final year reports*. Presentation at a paper release conference, Milwaukee, WI.
- Wolf, P.J., Chair. (2011, February 26). *Creating intentional choice environments: Identifying need and*

- building supply*. Voluntary Public School Choice Project Directors Conference, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2010, November 11). [Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Experimental impacts after at least four years](#). Education Program Meeting of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Federal Reserve Bank, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, June 28-30). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Final report*. Presentation to the Fifth Annual Institute of Education Sciences Research Conference, National Harbor, MD.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2009, October 26-27). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Summary of experimental impacts after three years*. Conference on School Choice and School Improvement: What have we learned? Sponsored by the National Center on School Choice at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Kisida, B., Rizzo, L., & Eissa, N.O. (2009, June 7-9). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Impacts after three years*. Annual Research Conference of the Institute for Education Sciences, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2009, March 28). *Religion and citizenship: Who's afraid of American religious schools?* Presentation to the Conference on Religion and the State, Lubar Institute for the Study of the Abrahamic Religions, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, October 23). *Research findings on school voucher programs: Applications to Utah*. Presentation to the Conference on Educational Choice: Emerging Legal and Policy Issues, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
- Wolf, P.J., Gutmann, B., Puma, M., Rizzo, L., Eissa, N.O., & Silverberg, M. (2007, July 19). *The DC opportunity scholarship program: Impacts after one year*. Conference on School Choice in the Nation's Capital, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Eissa, N.O., Wolf, P.J., & Marsh, R. (2007, July 19). *Who chooses and uses? Evidence from the opportunity scholarship program*. Conference on School Choice in the Nation's Capital, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, October 20). *Academic improvement through regular assessment*. Annual Conference of the Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Kauffman Conference Center, Kansas City, MO.
- Wolf, P.J., Discussant. (2006, May 22). *The influence of class size research on state and local education policy*. Brookings Papers on Education Policy, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Discussant. (2005, July 21). *What America can learn from school choice in other countries*. CATO book forum, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Panel Discussant. (2004, May 12). *School choice: How an abstract idea became a political reality*. Brookings Papers on Education Policy, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Roundtable Presenter. (2003, November 6). *The integrated policy exercise and the thesis/practicum in the MPP core curriculum*. Annual Research Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J., Discussant. (2002, October 17-18). *Government and religious schools in historical and comparative perspective*. Conference on "What's next for school vouchers?" Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J., Peterson, P.E., & West, M.R. (2001, August 30-September 2). *Results of a school voucher experiment: The case of Washington, D.C. after two years*. Poster session presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

- Wolf, P.J. (2001, January 27). *The state of research on school vouchers*. Presentation to the National Invitational Conference on School Choice & Urban Education Reform, Institute on Education Law & Policy, Rutgers University, Newark, NJ.
- Wolf, P.J., Howell, W.G., & Peterson, P.E. (2000, March 9). *School choice in Washington, D.C.: An evaluation after one year*. Conference on Vouchers, Charters, and Public Education, Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Released as PEPG/00-08, February 2000.
- Wolf, P.J., Greene, J.P., Kleitz, B., & Thalhammer, K. (2000, March 10). *Private schooling and political tolerance: Evidence from college students in Texas*. Conference on Vouchers, Charters, and Public Education, Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Released as PEPG/00-14, February 2000.
- Wolf, P.J., Roundtable Presenter. (1999, September 1-4). *Public administration in the twenty-first century*. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA.
- Wolf, P.J. (1998, February 20). *Hercules or Prometheus? The influence of administrative leadership on agency effectiveness*. Distinguished Visiting Lecture Series in Public Policy, Department of Political Science and Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A & M University, College Station, TX.
- Wolf, P.J. (1996, February 29). *What history advises about reinventing government*. Research presentation to the Political Science Department, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

INVITED LECTURES & POLICY BRIEFINGS (Selected List – **Featured Events in Bold**) (143):

- Johnson, A.H., & Wolf, P.J. (2024, January 19). Still a good investment: The productivity of public charter schools in nine cities. School Choice Collaborative Call, ExcelinEd, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. (2024, January 18). Public dollars, private choices: School choice in 2024. Homeroom with Education Leaders Webinar, The Hunt Institute, NC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, November 2). The benefits of school choice: What does the research say? Presentation to the Van Lunen 2.0 Conference, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, October 24). Learn about LEARNS: Education Freedom Act Q & A. Webinar sponsored by The Reform Alliance, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, August 26). School choice myths debunked. ACE Scholarships Founders Circle Summit, Denver, CO.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, June 12). LEARNS Act Town Hall with **Governor Sanders & Secretary Oliva**. Participant/questioner. Siloam Springs, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, May 4). The academic and civic effects of school choice. **Briefing to Illinois Legislators**, Springfield, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, April 27). Exigencies, incrementalism, equity and experimentation: The development of private school choice in the U.S. Guest lecture at the Institute of Education, **University College London**, United Kingdom.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, February 13). Dispelling myths about school choice. Empower education tour, sponsored by Americans for Prosperity, Gravette, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, February 9). Dispelling myths about school choice. Empower education tour, sponsored by Americans for Prosperity, DeQueen, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, February 7). Dispelling myths about school choice. Empower education tour, sponsored by Americans for Prosperity, Benton, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, February 6). School choice facts. Dinner discussion for Members of the Education Committees, sponsored by EdChoice, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2023, January 13). [School choice: Past, present and future](#). Panel moderated by Director Condoleezza Rice, Hoover Institution, **Stanford University**, Stanford, CA.

- Wolf, P.J. (2022, December 5). Discussing school choice. Americans for Prosperity, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2022, October 18). Dispelling myths about school choice. Arkansas Coalition for Racial Equity in Education, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2022, May 20). The five miracles of Ozark Catholic Academy: A graduation address. The Jones Center, Springdale, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2022, March 24). A tale of two classical schools: The founding of Anthem Classical Academy and Ozark Catholic Academy with a focus on the appreciation of beauty. *National Symposium for Classical Education*, Phoenix, AZ.
- Wolf, P.J. (2022, March 22). The effects of private school choice. Presentation to The City Fund (virtual).
- Wolf, P.J. (2022, March 14). The character effects of school choice. Annual Board Meeting of the Council for American Private Education, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P. J., & Rees, N. S. (2022, January 26). [The year of school choice](#). *The Report Card Podcast*. American Enterprise Institute.
- Wolf, P.J. (2022, January 11). What school choice is and could do for Arkansas. Conservative Women of Washington County, Springdale, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, September 30). The character effects of school choice. American Federation for Children National Policy Summit, Nashville, TN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, September 14). The academic & civic effects of school choice. School Choice in America Legislature Training, EdChoice, Charleston, NC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, September 9). [Research deep dive: The impact of school voucher programs](#). *The Education Gadfly Show*, Ep. #786, Fordham Institute.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, August 16). The academic & civic effects of school choice. School Choice in America Legislature Training, EdChoice, Charleston, NC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, April 23). [Three empirical studies on school choice and student outcomes](#). Challey Institute, College of Business, **North Dakota State University**, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. (2021, January 27). [A vision of hope: Catholic schooling in Massachusetts](#). Panelist for book release webinar, Pioneer Institute, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, December 2). [Staying up-to-date on the education choice literature – A review from leading experts](#). *EdPalooza*, Foundation for Excellence in Education, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, November 25). [The Protestant school-to-family pipeline](#). *Are You Kidding Me?* Podcast Episode 26. American Enterprise Institute.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, November 23). [Gap in funding grows between charters, traditional public schools](#). [Education Exchange Podcast](#), *Education Next*.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, July 20). The challenges facing private schools due to Covid. *The C4 and Bryan Nehman Podcast*. WBAL Radio.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, July 2). [Has the Supreme Court just ended religious discrimination in public education funding?](#) Citizen Ed, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. (2020, June 26). [School choice, Espinoza, & student civic prep](#). The Learning Curve podcast. Pioneer Institute, Boston, MA, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. & Sikkink, D. (2020, June 11). [Webinar on homeschooling](#). Institute for Family Studies, University of Virginia, virtual.
- Wolf, P.J. (2019). The civic effects of private school choice programs. American Federation for Children Policy Summit, May 2, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2019, March 21). *School choice and crime*. Political Open-Mic Forum on Crime and Social Justice. Bridge the City, Milwaukee, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2019, March 20). *Homeschooling students with special needs*. The Spectrum of Developmental

- Disabilities XLI. Continuing education for care providers. **The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine**, Baltimore, MD.
- Wolf, P.J. (2019, January 23). [*The D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program at 15: Impacts, Experiences, and the Path Forward*](#), **Featuring the Honorable Betsy DeVos, 11th U.S. Secretary of Education**. Panel discussion. Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2019, January 21). *Partner with me community meeting on school choice*. Panel discussion. The Reform Alliance, Friendship Aspire Academy, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J., & Lasserre-Cortez, S. (2018, October 12). [*The special education enrollment gap in Louisiana: Charter versus traditional schools*](#). Research-to-Practice Bridge Event, **Regional Educational Laboratory Southwest**, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2018, May 16). *Understanding public school segregation data. Panel discussion*. 71st National Seminar of the Education Writers Association, Los Angeles, CA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2018, April 18). *School choice in urban America: Prospects and challenges*. Keynote debate speaker. Sesquicentennial Event College of Education Symposium, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2018, April 4). *Do impacts on test scores even matter? Lessons from long-run outcomes in school choice research*. Facebook Live Presentation, CATO Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2018, February 28). *The research on school choice*. The Future of Education, Institute for Humane Studies, Charleston, SC.
- Wolf, P. J. (2018, January 23). National School Choice Week town hall. Mosaic Church, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P. J. (2018, January 23). National School Choice Week Lunch and Learn. Association of County Governments, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P. J. (2017, December 1). *The academic, civic, & integration effects of private school choice*. Foundation for Excellence in Education 10th Annual Policy Summit, Nashville, TN.
- Wolf, P. J. (2017, June 26). [*Making sense of new evidence on private school vouchers*](#). Presentation and panel discussion, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC.
- Mills, J. N., & Wolf, P. J. (2017, June 23). [*How has the Louisiana Scholarship Program affected students? A comprehensive summary of effects after three years*](#). Report Release and Panel Discussion, Education Research Alliance for New Orleans and School Choice Demonstration Project, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2017, May 1). [*School vouchers: Friend or foe?*](#) Askwith Debate, **Harvard University Graduate School of Education**, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2017, March 20). *Benefits of norm-referenced over criterion-referenced tests for private school choice accountability*. Briefing to Tennessee House Education Committee Chairman Harry Brooks, (via speakerphone).
- Wolf, P.J. (2017, March 14). *Benefits of norm-referenced over criterion-referenced tests for private school choice accountability*. Briefing to Tennessee Speaker of the House Beth Harwell, (via speakerphone).
- Wolf, P.J. (2017, January 13). *Private school choice: Effects and policy design issues*. **U.S. Office of Management & Budget**, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, August 18). *Private school choice: What we know and don't know*. Nicole Stelle Garnett Lecture Series on Education Policy, Notre Dame University.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, August 12). *State charter school funding model: How other states fund*. Ohio Charter School Summit, Office of State Auditor Dave Yost, Columbus, OH.

- Wolf, P.J. (2016, August 3). *Private school choice: Higher test scores, empowerment, more graduates & less crime*. **School Choice Briefing on Enhancing Education Opportunity**, Republican Policy Committee, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, August 2). *Private school choice: Higher test scores, more graduates & less crime*. [Milton Friedman's Voucher Idea at 61](#), Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC. Broadcast live on CSPAN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, July 29). *Private school choice: Higher test scores, empowerment & less crime*. Milton Friedman Day Celebration, Americans for Prosperity Foundation, Rogers, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, March 4). *School choice regulation: Friend or foe?* Policy Forum, Cato Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, February 22). *The future of school vouchers in Louisiana*. Report Release and Panel Discussion, Education Research Alliance for New Orleans and School Choice Demonstration Project, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, January 28). *School choice as an alternative model in urban education*. Alternative Models in Urban Education, **Johns Hopkins University Institute for Education Policy**, Baltimore, MD.
- Wolf, P.J. (2016, January 28). *Effect of school choice on parental satisfaction with special education services*. New Research on School Choice: Considerations for Scholars and Policymakers, Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2015, June 21). *Research findings on private school choice*. Advocates for Parental choice Symposium of the Alliance for Catholic Education, Notre Dame University, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2015, January 28). *Lessons from the school choice journey*. Presentation at the Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2015, January 27). *The school choice journey: School vouchers & the empowerment of urban families*. American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2015, January 12-14). *School choice, How far have we come and where are we going?* Panel for the Portfolio Network Meeting, Center for Reinventing Public Education, Memphis, TN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, October 17). *School choice*. Presentation to the Workshop on Education Reform 101, Thomas B. Fordham Foundation and 50CAN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, August 18). *The civic & attainment effects of private school choice programs*. Presentation to State Legislators at Workshop on School Choice in the Midwest, Friedman Foundation, Minneapolis, MN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, August 11). *The civic & attainment effects of private school choice programs*. Presentation to State Legislators at Workshop on School Choice in the Far West, Friedman Foundation, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, June 22). *Research findings on private school choice*. Advocates for Parental choice Symposium of the Alliance for Catholic Education, Notre Dame University, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, June 12). *What the research says about school choice*. **Briefing to Bruce Rauner, candidate for Governor of Illinois**, Chicago, IL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2014, May 20-21). *School choice research: Are we looking for love in all the wrong places?* Presentation at the national policy summit #EdRevolution: Breaking down barriers to choice, American Federation for Children, Orlando, FL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, October 14). *School vouchers in Washington, DC: Lessons for Massachusetts*. Presentation at the symposium on Urban School Models: Choice and Charter Lessons from DC

- and New Orleans, Pioneer Institute, Boston, MA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, September 22-24). *The research facts about private school choice*. Presentation to the Conference on Catholic School Financing, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, July 30). *The research facts about school choice*. Presentation to AEI Education Policy Academy, Denver, CO.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, June 17). *Latest research findings on school vouchers*. Alliance for Catholic Education Parental Choice Symposium, Notre Dame University, Milwaukee, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, May 2). *Who chooses what & how? School shopping in Detroit*. Presentation at Great Schools Summit, San Francisco, CA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, January 30). *The research facts about school choice*. Keynote address to the Minnesota School Choice Coalition, Minneapolis, MN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2013, January 29). *What we know about school choice*. **Panel presentation at the School Choice Summit, Little Rock, AR.**
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, August 16). *The school choice experience in Washington, DC*. Briefing to the Governor's Task Force on Opportunity Scholarships, Nashville, TN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, August 16). *The research record on school vouchers*. **Briefing to Honorable Bill Haslam, Governor of Tennessee, State Capitol, Nashville, TN.**
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, June 17). *Latest research findings on school vouchers*. Alliance for Catholic Education Parental Choice Symposium, Notre Dame University, Milwaukee, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, June 14). *Three state-level education reform recommendations*. Presentation to the Women in Government K-12 Education Reform Task Force, Memphis, TN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, June 13). *The research facts about charter schools and vouchers*. Presentation at School Choice in America's Great Northwest, Missoula, MT.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, May 3). *Recent research findings on school vouchers*. Presentation to the American Federation for Children 2012 Policy Summit, Jersey City, NJ.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, January 31). *School choice: A speech and commentary*. With Clark Neily of the Institute for Justice, Federalist Society, University of Arkansas Law School, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2012, January 27). *The research facts about school choice*. Presentation for National School Choice Week to the Arkansas Parent Network, Little Rock, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, December 1). *Experimental evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program*. Presentation to the CLASS Seminar Series, College of Education and Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, November 15). *The research facts about charter schools and vouchers*. **Presentation to the Mayor's Education Summit, Anchorage, AK.**
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, October 24-25). *School choice roundtable*. Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, Indianapolis, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, August 22). *The research facts about school vouchers*. **Briefing to Honorable Bill Haslam, Governor of Tennessee, State Capitol, Nashville, TN.** (via speakerphone).
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, July 12). *Four star debate: School vouchers*. National Center for Policy Analysis, Oklahoma Christian University, Edmond, OK.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, June 26). *Research findings on school vouchers in DC and Milwaukee*. Advocates for Parental Choice Symposium, Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, May 5). *An overview of charter schooling in the United States*. **Presentation to the**

Arkansas Department of Education Conference on "Quality Leadership for Quality Choice," North Little Rock, AR.

- Wolf, P.J. (2011, April 28). *What educators need to know about school choice*. Presentation to the National Catholic Education Association Annual Conference, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, March 30). *The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of fourth year reports*. Presentation at the Center for the Study of Liberal Democracy, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2011, March 16). *The anti-aid amendments and school choice*. Presentation to the forum on "Dumping the know-nothing amendments: Church, state, and school reform," Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research, Boston, MA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, November 5). *Effective grant writing*. Guest Lecture, Education Technology Graduate Program, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, October 1). *What the research says about public charter schools*. **Presentation to the 62nd Annual Conference of Southwest Foundations**, Vail, CO.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, August 17). *Governmental and philanthropic grants*. Guest Lecture, Education Technology Graduate Program, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, June 28). *The DC opportunity scholarship program: What the research shows*. Presentation sponsored by the American Federation for Children, United States Capitol, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, June 27). *New quantitative research on school vouchers in DC and Milwaukee*. Guest Lecture, Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2010, April 7). *The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of third year reports*. Presentation at the LaFollette School of Public Policy, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2009, July 8). *New research on school vouchers in DC and Milwaukee*. Guest Lecture, Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2009, May 28). *New lessons about school vouchers from DC and Milwaukee*. **Panel Presentation of the Alliance for School Choice, National Press Club**, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2009, March 26). *The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of second year reports*. Presentation to the Public Policy Forum Eye Opener Breakfast, Milwaukee, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2008, November 19). *The policy implications of school vouchers*. Guest Lecture, Notre Dame University, South Bend, IN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2008, September 10). *The latest school voucher research: DC and Milwaukee*. Presentation to the State Policy Network Summit on K-12 Education, Scottsdale, AZ.
- Wolf, P.J. (2008, April 7). *Road map for school voucher programs*. **Briefing to the South Carolina State Superintendent of Education**, Columbia, SC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, February 25). *The comprehensive longitudinal evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program: Summary of baseline reports*. Presentation at the Wisconsin State Capitol, Madison, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, December 5). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Summary of experimental impacts after one year*. **Presentation to the Program in Education Policy and Governance, Education Policy Colloquia Series, Harvard University**, Cambridge, MA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, November 5). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Strategies, challenges, and results after one year*. **Presentation to the University of Pennsylvania**

Graduate School of Education, Philadelphia, PA.

- Wolf, P.J. (2007, October 19). *The opportunity scholarship program: Second year impacts*. **Briefing to the senior staff of the Institute for Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education**, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, July 24). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: Strategies, challenges, and results after one year*. Presentation to the U.S. Department of Education Regional Education Labs Director's Meeting, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2007, June 5). *The U.S. experience with education accountability*. **Keynote address to the International Seminar on Education Accountability, PREAL**, Mexico City, Mexico.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, December 1). *New education consumers: Second year report on parent and student voices on the opportunity scholarship program*. Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, November). *The opportunity scholarship program evaluation: An update*. **Briefing to the Senior Staff of the Senate Education and the Workforce Committee**, Washington, DC. (via conference call).
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, October 12). *The opportunity scholarship program: First year impacts*. Briefing to the senior staff of the Institute for Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, September 19). *The U.S. experience with education reform*. **Dinner discussion with the Right Honorable Alan Johnson, Secretary of State for Education and Skills, Great Britain, hosted by Sir David Manning, Ambassador to the United States**, British Embassy, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, March 29). *Student achievement in Milwaukee: Our plan for a hard look at the data*. Presentation to the Philanthropy Roundtable, Milwaukee, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, March 11). *Responsible research and reporting on school vouchers*. Presentation to the Knight Seminar for Education Editors and Supervisors, sponsored by the Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media, The Johnson Foundation, Racine, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, January 26). *School choice and civic values*. Panel presentation on Getting choice right: Ensuring equity and efficiency in education policy, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2006, January 19). *Plan for an independent evaluation of the Milwaukee parental choice program*. Briefing to legislators and staff, Wisconsin State Capitol, Madison, WI.
- Wolf, P.J. (2005, September 28). *The effect of private schooling on student achievement*. **Keynote address to the Private School Leadership Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Innovation and Improvement**, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2005, May 18). *Special education in the San Diego city schools*. Panel presentation on urban school reform: Lessons from San Diego, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2005, May 11). *Key issues in U.S. education reform*. **Keynote address to the Annual Advisory Board Dinner of the Inter-American Dialogue**, Coral Gables, FL.
- Wolf, P.J. (2005, April 21). *Evaluation of the DC opportunity scholarship program: First year report on participation*. Georgetown Education Awareness Day, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2005, March 16). *School vouchers*. Debate sponsored by the Society for Civic Engagement, University of Loyola, New Orleans, LA.
- Wolf, P.J. (2005, November 16). *The politics of the budgetary process*. Presentation to executive officials of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC.

- Wolf, P.J. (2004, November 9). *Education policy and politics*. Panel presentation to a delegation of students from the College of William and Mary, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2004, June 3). *Community colleges and vocation education in the U.S. Lunch discussion with Rt Hon Alan Johnson, MP, Minister of State for Great Britain for Lifelong Learning and Higher Education*, British Embassy, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2004, March 1). *Doing school choice right*. Presentation to the Congressional Advocacy Days Conference, U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2004, January 8). *The latest evidence on the effects of school choice*. Presentation to the Parental Options Meeting, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2003, July 30). *The real impact of school choice: What does the research say?* Presentation to the 30th Annual Meeting of the American Legislative Exchange Council, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2003, March 26). *Narrowing the education gap: Vouchers and urban schools*. Presentation to the Math 10/Public Policy Consortium, Macalester College, St. Paul, MN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2003, March 18). *Will school vouchers make low-income students in high poverty schools better off?* Third Annual Public Policy Symposium/Debate (with John Witte), St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.
- Wolf, P.J. (2003, January 29). *School choice. Panel Presentation for the 78th Legislature Policy Orientation, Texas Public Policy Foundation*, Four Seasons Hotel, Austin, TX.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, October 11). *Funding the individuals with disabilities education act*. Meet the Experts Policy Lunch, sponsored by the Heritage Foundation, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, July 25). *Narrowing the education gap: Final results of the voucher experiments in New York, Dayton, and DC*. Presentation to the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Annual Data Conference, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, July 22). *How to successfully implement a results-based accountability system in special education*. Presentation to the Workshop on Maximizing Accountability and Performance of Charter and Public Schools, National Institute for Government Innovation, Washington Plaza Hotel, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, June 25). *No child left behind: Moving beyond compliance*. Public Forum of the District of Columbia State Education Agency, The World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, May 17). *Education reform in the U.S.: Lessons for Britain. Policy briefing delivered to Dr. David Halpern, Senior Policy Advisor in the Forward Strategy Unit of Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain*, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, March 4). *School choice: What does the research show?* Presenter on a Congressional Advocacy Days panel sponsored by the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Capital Hill Hyatt, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2002, February 26). *Education reform in the U.S. Briefing delivered to the Rt. Hon. Stephen Timms, MP and Minister for Schools in Great Britain*, Washington, DC.
- Wolf, P.J. (2001, October 12). *School choice: Where are we now?* Panel discussion at the Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.
- Wolf, P.J. (2000, March 2). *School choice in Washington, D.C.: An evaluation after one year. Briefing to Andrew Rotherham, Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, The White House*.
- Wolf, P.J. (1996, July 5-6). *The internal and external politics of administrative reform*. Four lectures to the MPA Mid-Career Program, University of Externada, Bogota, Colombia.

REFEREE FOR:

Administration & Society
AERA Open
American Education Research Association (Division L & School Choice SIG)
American Education Research Journal
American Journal of Education
American Journal of Political Science
American Political Science Review
American Politics Research
Catholic Education
Columbia University Press
Department for International Development, Economic and Social Research Council
Economics of Education Review
Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis
Education Finance and Policy
Education Next
Educational Policy
Educational Researcher
Evaluation Review
Frontiers in Sociology
Georgetown Public Policy Review
Georgetown University Press
Governance
International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership
Journal of Education
Journal of Education Policy
Journal of Policy Analysis and Management
Journal of Politics
Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory
Journal of School Choice
Management Science
Mathematica Policy Research
Palgrave Press
Pioneer Institute
Policy Studies Journal
Public Management Review
Quarterly Journal of Political Science
RAND Corporation
Smith-Richardson Foundation
Social Forces
Social Science Quarterly
Social Science Research
Sociological Spectrum
Teacher's College Press
Thomas B. Fordham Foundation
University of Kansas Press
What Works Clearinghouse of the U.S. Department of Education

COURSES TAUGHT (Graduate level unless otherwise indicated):

Research Seminar in Education Policy, 2022
Program Evaluation and Research Design, 2009-2022
Seminar in School Choice, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2022
Education Accountability and Reform, 2001-02, 2004
Organizational Theory, 1999, 2001, 2003-05
Public Management, 2003, 2005
Innovation/Leadership in Public Management, 2003, 2004, 2005
Innovations in Public Management, 1998-99, 2001-03
Research Practicum and Writing Tutorial, 1998-2001, 2002-03
Financial Management in Government, 1995-99, 2002
Education Policy, 1998
Workshop in Policy Analysis, 1995-98
Bureaucracy and Politics (undergraduate), 1994-97
Workshop in Public Management, 1994-97

UNIVERSITY SERVICE (Selected List):

Interim Head, Department of Education Reform, University of Arkansas, May-December, 2021; August 2022-

Member, Search Committee for Department Head and Endowed Chair, Department of Education Reform, University of Arkansas, August 2022-

Member, Search Committee for a Departmental Research Associate, Department of Education Reform, University of Arkansas, 2021

Chair, Search Committee for a Departmental Chief of Staff, Department of Education Reform, University of Arkansas, 2021

Member, Council of Principal Investigators, University of Arkansas, 2019-

Member, Research Reproducibility and Replicability Group, University of Arkansas, 2019-21

Member, Committee on Promotion to Distinguished Professor, University of Arkansas, 2018-19 (**Acting Chair** 2019)

Member, Search Committee for an Assistant Professor of Education Policy, University of Arkansas, 2017

Member, Search Committee for an Interim Dean of COEHP, University of Arkansas, 2016

Chair, Committee on Promotion to Distinguished Professor, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions (COEHP), University of Arkansas, 2014

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Education Reform, College of Education and Health Professions (COEHP), University of Arkansas, 2013-20

Member, Committee on Compensation for Summer Dissertation Advising, College of Education and Health Professions (COEHP), University of Arkansas, 2013

Chair, Committee on Tenure and Promotion to Associate Professor, College of Education and Health Professions (COEHP), University of Arkansas, 2011 (**Member** 2010, 2012, 2014)

Chair, Committee on Promotion to Full Professor, COEHP, University of Arkansas, 2006-2007, 2010 (**Member** 2009, 2012)

Member, Committee on Administrative Reorganization, COEHP, 2009-10

Faculty Advisor, Students for Life, 2011-20

Departmental Liaison, Arkansas University Libraries, 2007-

Member, Honors Council, COEHP, University of Arkansas, 2007-2009

Member, Governance and Structure Task Force, COEHP, University of Arkansas, 2006-07

Member, Faculty Council, COEHP, University of Arkansas, 2006-07

Practicum Director -- Core faculty member in charge of supervising the nine adjunct professors who advise our master's students on their thesis work, Georgetown University Public Policy Institute (GPPI),

2002-03, 2004-06

Member, GPPI Strategic Planning Committee, 2004-05

Member, GPPI Self-Study Committee, 2003-04

Member, Committee to Plan the Seventh Public Management Research Association Conference at Georgetown University, 2002-2003

Member, Committee to Oversee the Executive MPM Program at GPPI, 2002-

Evaluator, Government Department Comprehensive Exams in American Politics, Georgetown University, 1999-

Advisor, Joint MBA/MPP Degree Program at Georgetown University, 1998-

Co-Director, Public Management and Nonprofit Studies Track at GPPI, 1998-2002, 2005-06

Member, Public Economist Search Committee, GPPI, 2001-2002

Member, Graduate Fellowships Committee, GPPI, 2002, 2004

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee, GPPI, 1999, 2001

Member, Chair in Catholic Social Thought Search Committee, Georgetown University 2001-2002

Member, Georgetown delegation to the meeting on Commitment to Justice in Jesuit Higher Education and co-author of "The Justice Mission at Georgetown University," 2000-2001

Member, Committee to Recommend Criteria for the Chair in Catholic Social Thought, Georgetown University, 1999-2000