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# School Track Decisions and Teacher Recommendations: Evidence from German State Reforms

Elisabeth Grewenig



Leibniz Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich

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# School Track Decisions and Teacher Recommendations: Evidence from German State Reforms\*

# Abstract

I study the effects of selective admission policies in the context of school tracking. Depending on the federal state in Germany, either teachers or parents have the discretion to decide which secondary school track a child may attend after primary school. Applying a differences-in-differences approach, I exploit variation in the implementation and abolition of binding teacher recommendations across states and over time. Using data from large-scale assessments, I find that binding teacher recommendations significantly improve student achievement in fourth grade, i.e., prior to track assignment. Effects persist into ninth grade, several years after track assignment. Further analyses show that these effects are driven by increased time investments in students' skill development. Overall, my results suggest that selective admission policies can lead to permanent improvements in students' educational performances.

JEL Code: I21, I28, J24 Keywords: School tracking, admission policies, student performance

> Elisabeth Grewenig ifo Institute – Leibniz Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich, University of Munich Poschingerstr. 5 81679 Munich, Germany grewenig@ifo.de

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# 1 Introduction

Many educational systems around the globe employ some sort of school tracking, i.e. the streaming of students into different school tracks according to their career goals or educational needs (e.g., Betts, 2011; OECD, 2013). While some countries, like Germany or Austria, separate students into different schools as early as age 10, other countries, e.g. Ireland or the Netherlands, do so at later ages. Yet others, like the U.S. or the U.K., have a more comprehensive schooling system but still stream students into different tracks within schools.

Common to these tracking systems is that they need to rely on admission or placement policies that govern the allocation of students into the different tracks. Some placement polices are non-selective, ensure free choice of school tracks and students sort themselves into the different streams according to their preferences. Other placement policies are highly selective, base track admission on prior performance and students may only attend higher tracks if they show proof of academic accomplishments.<sup>1</sup> Surprisingly, we know very little about the impact of selective placement policies for school track assignment despite their common and diverse usage.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I study how changes in admission polices influence students' educational outcomes in the short and medium run.

To that end, I exploit German state-level variation in the tracking procedure. In Germany, tracking takes place early, at the transition from primary to secondary schools (at age 10). While all students receive a recommendation by their primary school teacher on which school track she advises the child to pursue, the extent to which this recommendation is used as necessary criterion for being admitted to academic schools (the highest track) varies by state.<sup>3</sup> States with binding teacher recommendations enact quite selective placement policies since children can only attend academic schools if they have a recommendation to do so. States with non-binding recommendation but may attend any school regardless of the recommendation outcome. Over time, several states reformed the binding nature of teacher recommendations, with some moving from non-binding to binding, some from binding to non-binding and others moving back and fourth. Thus, the reforms induce between-state variation over time in whether

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>43 percent of students in OECD countries attend selective schools whose admission depends on prior achievements, mostly in the form of good academic performances or recommendations of feeder schools. The respective share varies heavily by country ranging from more than 90 percent in the Netherlands and Japan to less than five percent in Spain and Finland. (e.g. OECD, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>So far, the tracking literature has mainly focused on investigating the impact of earlier vs. later tracking. The main take-away from this literature is that students' educational outcomes depend more on parental background if tracking takes place early (e.g., Meghir and Palme, 2005; Hanushek and Woessmann, 2006; Malamud and Pop-Eleches, 2011; Pekkala Kerr et al., 2013; Matthewes, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The use of teacher recommendation is not Germany-specific. Other countries, such as Italy or the Netherlands, also employ teacher recommendations to facilitate school track assignment (e.g., Checchi and Flabbi, 2013; Timmermans et al., 2018).

teacher recommendations are used as selection criterion for school track admission. As all students in all states always receive a recommendation by their primary school teacher, the reforms allow me to isolate the effect of their binding nature from any informational values that recommendations may also have.

There are several reasons why selective placement polices, such as binding teacher recommendations, affect students' outcomes in the short to medium run. First—while still attending primary school—binding recommendations can serve as incentive for children and parents to increase students' academic performance in order to be accepted to the academic schools (see e.g., Benabou and Tirole, 2000; Lindo et al., 2010, for a more general discussion on performance standards). Second, if teachers are better able to asses a child's academic potential than parents, binding recommendations may lead to a more efficient allocation of students to the different school tracks. Over time, achievements gains from early incentive provision can develop further in secondary schools as skill formation is a dynamic process (e.g., Cunha et al., 2006; Cunha and Heckman, 2007). Both would lead to improved educational outcomes for students in the longer run. On the other hand, hidden psychological costs from incentivizing students, e.g. crowding out of intrinsic motivation, may also dominate—especially in the longer run (see e.g., Benabou and Tirole, 2000). Likewise, parents may be better informed about their child's ability and use this information as basis for their decision. Then, binding recommendations would lead to worse educational outcomes.

To analyze the reform effects empirically, I combine information on state reforms which took place during the 1990s and 2000s with several data sources. First, I use individual student-level data on fourth graders, stemming from the 2001 and 2006 extensions of the Progress in International Literacy Study (IGLU-E) as well as the 2011 and 2016 National Assessment Studies (NAS) to analyze short-term effects on students' achievement in primary school, i.e. *prior to* track assignment. Second, I use administrative school data from the German Statistical Offices to analyze medium-term effects on academic school attendance in grades five to nine, i.e. *after* track assignment. I complement the analyses with individual student-level data of ninth graders, stemming from the 2000, 2003 and 2006 extensions of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) as well as the 2009, 2012 and 2015 NAS to investigate academic school attendance and performance of students attending ninth grade.

Using a differences-in-differences approach that controls for fixed differences between states and years, I investigate the effect of selective placement polices by comparing outcomes of students attending school in states that reformed the bindingness of teacher recommendations to outcomes of students attending school in states that did not implement such reforms. I find that binding teacher recommendations have a substantial impact on students' academic achievement in primary school before track assignment. Conditional on state and school-year fixed effects as well as a rich set of sociodemographic controls, reading (math) achievement is 5.6 (12.2) percent of a standard deviation higher for students who require a teacher recommendation for academic school attendance than for students who have free choice of secondary schools.

Detailed time-use data for 9–10 year old children from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) allow me to shed some light on the mechanisms underlying these effects. I find that children spend significantly more time with reading as well as with activities deemed as being rather *conducive* for child development, such as doing sports or making music, which suggests that the achievement effects are likely due to increased time investments. Similarly, children spend more time with their family, suggesting that parents respond accordingly by supporting their child more often after the reforms. Parents also consult their child's teacher more frequently which likely indicates increased 'lobbying' for academic track recommendations.

Next, I show that binding teacher recommendations affect educational outcomes of students in secondary schools as well. Under binding recommendations, students are slightly less likely (albeit not statistically significantly) to attend academic schools in fifth grade. Beyond that, I show that these small and negative effects—measured immediately after tracking—mask important positive effects in the medium run. In particular, reform effects gradually *increase* throughout grades and ninth grade academic track attendance is significant 1.8 percentage points *higher* under binding recommendations. This pattern suggests that the reforms reduce the rates at which students transfer to lower track schools during their secondary school career. Less 'downgrading' to lower track schools eventually increase academic school attendance rates by grade nine. Further analyses show that ninth grade students also perform slightly better in standardized reading tests (albeit not statistically significant) and have better grade point averages in the subjects German and math (p<0.1).

Finally, I explore effect heterogeneities by students' socioeconomic background. For the sub-sample of students with information on family background, reform effects are by and large homogeneous across different subgroups.

A series of robustness tests support the main results. Results remain robust to controlling for a rich set of contemporaneous school reforms, economic and education input factors. Moreover, there are hardly any significant differences in pre-trends between reforming and non-reforming states. I also show that results are robust to including state-level controls for government ideology. Furthermore, students who are exposed to binding teacher recommendations do not enter primary school later, nor are they more likely to strategically repeat a grade. Finally, I implement the diagnostic tools by Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020) to show that biases arising from negative weights are likely not an issue in my setting. This paper mainly contributes to two strands of the existing literature. First, it extends the literature on school tracking. There is substantial heterogeneity across countries in the extent and age at which students are tracked (Betts, 2011). In Germany, tracking takes place as early as age 10 and students are traditionally tracked in one out of three school types whereas in the US, for instance, students are assigned to different courses within schools. Most of the tracking literature investigates the effects of earlier vs. later tracking (e.g., Meghir and Palme, 2005; Hanushek and Woessmann, 2006; Malamud and Pop-Eleches, 2011; Pekkala Kerr et al., 2013; Borghans et al., 2020; Canaan, 2020) and finds that later tracking increases educational attainment and wages in adulthood, mostly for students from disadvantaged families.<sup>4</sup> Yet, very little is known about the impact of institutional features within the tracking procedure.

Second, the paper relates to the literature on general admission requirements which are ubiquitous in education. Decisions to receive a scholarship, to participate in advanced courses, or to be promoted into the next grade often depend on some sort of prior student achievement. Consequently, researchers have examined the impact of admission requirements in various contexts. In the short run, empirical studies have found that admission requirements often incentivize students to meet the criteria, thereby increasing overall performance (e.g., Angrist and Lavy, 2009; Pallais, 2009; Jackson, 2010; Behrman et al., 2015; Barrow and Rouse, 2016; Lichtman-Sadot, 2016). Few studies find zero or negative effects for specific student subgroups, mostly from the lower end of the achievement distribution (e.g., Leuven et al., 2010; Lindo et al., 2010). In the longer run, positive effects of admission requirements can be dominated by hidden psychological costs (see e.g., Benabou and Tirole, 2000). Empirical findings are therefore rather inconclusive. While some studies find persistent positive effects of admission requirements (e.g., Jackson, 2010; Leuven et al., 2010) , others find zero (e.g., Abdulkadiroğlu et al., 2014) or even negative (Lindo et al., 2010) effects on students' educational or labor-market realizations.

This paper combines the two literature strands by examining admission policies in the context of school tracking. In that sense, closely related is the study by Guyon et al. (2012) who exploit a reform in Northern Ireland that sharply increased the proportion of students admitted into so-called *grammar schools* (the highest, most selective track). Before the reform, students were selected based on their performance on a national test whereas after the reform admission was left more to the parents' choice. The authors find large and significant improvements in students' long-term educational outcomes due to the reform. However, because identification

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>For Germany, Matthewes (2020) finds positive achievement effects from decreasing tracking intensity by combining the two lower tracks into one comprehensive track. Conversely, Piopiunik (2014) analyses a reform-induced increase in tracking intensity in the state of Bavaria and finds large achievement losses for students who are subject to more intense tracking after the reform. Finally, Dustmann et al. (2017) report zero effects of academic track attendance on educational attainment and earnings in the long run, using an instrumental variable approach which identifies a local treatment effect (LATE) of track assignments for students at the margin between two tracks.

relies on comparing cohorts right before and after reform implementation, it remains unclear whether students could anticipate the sudden change in placement policies and were able to respond accordingly in earlier grades.

Several other papers have investigated the German reforms on the bindingness of teacher recommendations. The sociological literature has mainly focused on evaluating single reforms that took place in one particular state, either in cross-section analyses (e.g., Neugebauer, 2010; Dollmann, 2011, 2016) or within a differences-in-differences framework (e.g., Jähnen and Helbig, 2015; Roth and Siegert, 2015, 2016). These studies generally find none to small negative effects of binding recommendations on academic school attendance, shortly after the transition to secondary schools (usually in grade five). Similarly, an economics paper by Osikominu et al. (2021) analyzes a single reform in the state of Baden-Wuerttemberg in 2011 and finds small negative effects of binding teacher recommendation on academic track attendance in fifth grade. Finally, Bach and Fischer (2020) investigate short-term effects of the two latest reforms in Baden-Wuerttemberg and Saxony-Anhalt on students in primary school and find that binding recommendations increase student achievement of fourth graders.

I depart from previous studies in two important ways. Contentwise, I provide the first comprehensive analysis of binding teacher recommendations in the short *and* medium run. I find that binding teacher recommendations do not only improve educational outcomes among students in primary school, but effects extend to students in secondary schools. In terms of academic school enrollment, I show that small negative effects in fifth grade mask important positive attendance effects that evolve over time. Particularly, binding teacher recommendations seem to reduce the incidences of students transferring to lower track schools throughout their secondary school careers, resulting in positive attendance effects by grade nine. Methodologically, I apply a 'generalized' differences-in-differences approach that does not only identify from reforms in one or two states, but simultaneously exploits up to 10 state-level changes. Thus, I paint a more comprehensive picture of how reforms affect students across the country. The analyses in this paper are built on a novel data base that combines data on fourth graders from IGLU-E and NAS as well as on ninth graders from PISA-E and NAS, respectively. As these studies draw representative samples of students in all states and mandate participation, estimated effects are informative for the average student body.

Overall, my results suggest that selective placement policies for school track assignment—in form of binding teacher recommendations—can lead to persistent improvements of students' educational performance in the short and medium run. These findings have important implications for the scientific and political discourse by providing direct evidence that institutional features within the tracking procedure are important for human-capital formation.

5

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides detailed background information on the school system and the tracking procedure in Germany. Section 3 introduces the empirical model and the data. Section 4 presents main results on the short and medium-term effects of introducing binding teacher recommendations. Section 5 reports robustness checks, and section 6 concludes.

# 2 Institutional Background

This section first provides an overview of the German school system. It then describes the role of teacher recommendations in general as well as the reforms on the bindingness of teacher recommendations in particular.

# 2.1 German School System

In Germany, responsibility for the school system and therefore decisions regarding educational policies are vested in the 16 federal states. The German constitution even prohibits the federal government to exert influence on the educational policies of the states. Yet, a general assembly of all state ministers of education called *Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK)* aims to harmonize education policies countrywide. Consequently, the general outlook of the school system is fairly uniform, as are degrees or teacher employment conditions. However, some other education policies may still differ across states or may be implemented or abolished at different points in time.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 1 provides an overview of the German school system. Compulsory schooling extends from the age of five or six until the age of 18. The comprehensive primary school takes four years (in Berlin and Brandenburg six years) and provides basic education in mathematics, German and several other science and social subjects. In primary school, students are usually taught all main subjects by the same teacher.

Upon completion of primary school, students move on to secondary schools. At this point, children are assigned to one of three different tracks: the basic and intermediate track last though grades nine and ten, respectively, and prepare students for apprenticeship training or other forms of vocational education. The academic track ends with grade 13 (or 12) and leads to the university entrance qualification *Abitur*. While nowadays many different school types (including comprehensive school models) incorporate both the basic and the intermediate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>It is thus not surprising that several economic research papers have exploited the characteristics of the German federal system to evaluate educational reforms implemented over time (e.g., Pischke, 2007; Pischke and Wachter, 2008; Dustmann et al., 2017; Marcus and Zambre, 2019; Matthewes, 2020; Obergruber and Zierow, 2020)

track, the academic track is primarily offered by the academic school *Gymnasium*.<sup>6</sup> In general, switching to higher track schools is possible, but rather uncommon. In 2000, only 1.5 percent of students switched to a higher track at any grade throughout grades 5–9. However, the best students from the lower tracks often transfer to higher tracks after successful degree completion.

# 2.2 The Role of Teacher Recommendations

As school track decisions are made at the end of primary school, the transition from primary to secondary school marks an important milestone in the students' further educational careers. To formally structure this transition—particularly to academic schools—entrance examinations were conducted in most of the western German states until the 1960s. As public critique grew in the 1950s (Gass-Bolm, 2005), the state ministers of education decided to facilitate the selection process for the academic schools (Herrlitz et al., 2009). Over time, more and more states abolished entrance examinations and replaced them with teacher recommendations to guide school track decisions for students and their parents (Helbig and Nikolai, 2015). Teacher recommendations were also adopted by the East German states after reunification in 1991. Today, all children in Germany obtain a recommendation at the end of their primary school.

Recommendations are issued by the students' primary school teachers and entail explicit information on which school type she thinks the child should pursue. They are issued in the students' final year of primary school, shortly after the first semester, i.e. in February or March. Recommendations are mainly based on students' grades in their mid-term report card. In some states teachers additionally base their recommendation on their assessment of the student's socio-emotional maturity (Baumert et al., 2010).<sup>7</sup> Appendix Figure A1 reports which criteria determine the recommendations. Students' math and German grades are very strong or strong determinants for nearly all teachers. Among soft skills, commitment, concentration and self-reliance are ranked highest with again almost all teachers considering them as (very) strong criteria.

While teacher recommendations are issued to all students in Germany, their bindingness differs across states. In some states, teacher recommendations are non-binding, i.e. the content of the recommendations is purely informative and students can transfer to any school type regardless of the recommendation outcome. In other states, teacher recommendations are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Roughly 40 percent of students transition to the academic schools (own calculations). Academic schools are also the most important school type on which students receive the university entrance qualification.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For instance, Bavaria uses the students' grade as the only criterion. The Bavarian regulation states that *[i]n order to obtain a recommendation for the Gymnasium (academic track) a student needs to have a GPA of at most 2.33 in the subjects German, math as well as science and local history* (with grades ranging from 1 to 6 and lower values indicating better grades). In Schleswig-Holstein, for instance, the *recommendation shall be based on students' maturity considering the students' current grades* (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2015).

binding, i.e., students can only attend the academic schools if they have a recommendation to do so.<sup>8</sup> In these states, if students wish to transfer to the academic schools without an appropriate recommendation, they must pass additional entrance examinations or trial lessons (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2015). Conversely, if students wish to attend a lower track than recommended, they can always do so.

# 2.3 Reforms on the Bindingness of Teacher Recommendations

Since the general adoption of teacher recommendations, states have frequently reformed their binding nature: Several states have abolished binding recommendations to replace them with non-binding ones, and vice versa while other states have switched back and forth. Figure 2 and Appendix Table A1 present a summary of the state regulations for the time period considered in this paper since the 1990s.

State reforms are usually accompanied by emotional public debates. Arguments for binding recommendations come from the conservative or liberal camp and are based on the idea of the *Gymnasium* as an elite school (Fokken, 2020): Accordingly, the government should strengthen the academic schools and prevent a decline in performance due to the presence of unsuitable students (e.g., Die Welt, 2014). In addition, teachers are supposedly better able to evaluate the potential of their students than their parents (e.g., Breyton, 2018). Opposing arguments come from the left-leaning camp (Fokken, 2020). The prevailing view here is that non-binding recommendations can provide access to the academic schools for broad groups of the population. Moreover, the bindingness may put strong pressure on students in third and fourth grade and four years may be too short a time to make binding statements about students' future potential (e.g., Schenk, 2010; Otto and Schenk, 2011).

Given the lively political debate, one would expect to see reforms in the bindingness of teacher recommendations particularly after ideological changes in state governments. And indeed, seven of the ten reforms since the early 1990s were implemented after governmental changes (see Table A1). Among those seven, all four that involved a change from binding to non-binding recommendations were introduced after a more social government had replaced a more conservative one. Conversely, the remaining three reforms including a change from non-binding to binding recommendations were introduced after a more conservative government had replaced a more social one. To address the potential issue of non-random reform introduction, my main specification controls for a variety of different educational input factors which are observed at the state-year level (see section 3.1 for details). Section 5 also analyzes potential

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The bindingness mainly applies to the academic school *Gymnasium*: In almost all states with binding recommendations, students with a recommendation for the basic track can nevertheless attend an intermediate track school (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2015).

effects of government ideology on student outcomes. Reassuringly, the main effects of binding teacher recommendations are robust to controlling for state government ideology.

# 3 Empirical Strategy and Data

In this section, I first describe the empirical strategy and then present the data used for the analyses.

# 3.1 Empirical Strategy: Differences-in-Differences Approach

My identification strategy exploits variation in the implementation and abolition of binding teacher recommendations across German states and over time in a differences-in-differences framework. By controlling for fixed differences between states and years, I compare outcomes of students attending school in states that changed the bindingness of teacher recommendations to outcomes of students attending school in states that did not. The empirical model can be formalized by the following equation:

$$Y_{ist} = \alpha + \beta Bindrec_{st} + \gamma R_{st} + \delta E_{st} + \lambda X_{ist} + \eta_s + \mu_t + \varepsilon_{ist}$$
(1)

where  $Y_{ist}$  is the outcome of interest (e.g., student achievement) for student *i* who attends school in state *s* and is tracked into different schools in school year *t*. *Bindrec<sub>st</sub>* is the treatment indicator which equals 1 if the recommendation is binding and varies at the state and school year level. To account for differences across states and over time, I include state ( $\eta_s$ ) and school-year ( $\mu_t$ ) fixed effects. Since treatment varies at the state level, I use a conservative inference and cluster standard errors at the state level to account for potential correlation of error terms within states across years (Athey and Imbens, 2018).<sup>9</sup> Moreover, regressions are weighted by students' sampling probabilities, giving equal weight to each wave.

During the observation period, Germany has undergone several major education policy changes that potentially affect students' outcomes in primary and secondary schools. To rule out any biases arising from omitting these reforms, I include  $R_{st}$ , a vector of reform indicators that vary by school year and state. The vector entails the duration of academic schools—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>I additionally present wild cluster bootstrap p-values, relying on Roodman et al. (2019) in all main tables. These p-values account for a limited number of clusters when analyzing at most sixteen German states.

whether the academic schools take eight or nine years—,<sup>10</sup> the intensity of school tracking,<sup>11</sup> the duration of primary school—whether primary schooling takes four or six years—,<sup>12</sup> the basis of the teacher recommendation—whether they are only based on students' grades or also on their socio-emotional maturity—,<sup>13</sup> as well as whether the recommendation has to be explicitly requested.<sup>14</sup>

To further avoid biases from the fact that the timing of recommendation reforms may not be random to the economic and educational performance of the states, I include  $E_{st}$  and  $X_{ist}$  as additional controls.  $E_{st}$  is a vector of economic and educational measures that vary by school year and state. These entail GDP as *overall economic performance measure*, but also average school spending, the number of classes in primary school, average class size in primary school, average hours of instruction in primary school as well as share of full-time employed primary school teachers as *school input factors*. The vector also entails the average share of students starting primary school late.  $X_{ist}$  is a vector of various school- and student-level characteristics, including student gender, immigration background, parental occupation, and books at home as well as community location and public school status.

The key identifying assumption is the standard differences-in-differences assumption: Conditional on the rich set of included control variables at the student, school and state level, in the absence of reforms the change in student outcomes in states that reformed the bindingness of teacher recommendations would have been similar to the change in student outcomes in states that did not reform at a given point in time.<sup>15</sup> I will come back to a detailed discussion of potential violations of this assumption in section 5.

A related important assumption is that there is no student selection into treatment status. Since recommendation policies vary at the state level, self-selection would imply that students

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Several states reduced the length of the academic school while simultaneously increasing the instruction hours in the remaining years. The effects of those reforms have been investigated by Andrietti and Su (2018) or Marcus and Zambre (2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Several states reformed whether students attending the two lower tracks are taught comprehensively or further streamed into two separate tracks. The effects of such reforms have been investigated by Matthewes (2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Except for the states Berlin and Brandenburg where primary school takes six years, students are tracked after grade four. A few sates experimented with 'later tracking' by introducing (and again abolishing) so-called 'orientation grades' where students were comprehensively taught until grade six and subsequently tracked into the different school types. These reforms are described by Helbig and Nikolai (2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>While most states have a standing rule on the criteria used for the outcome of the recommendations, in a few cases states have reformed those criteria together with the bindingness of recommendations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>This was only the case in Bavaria until 2008. In all other states and years, students automatically receive a teacher recommendation before transition to secondary schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Further relaxing the identifying assumption by including state-specific linear time trends is difficult given the data structure. As I am limited to four (in the fourth grade sample) and six (in the ninth grade sample) time-series observations for each state, adding a linear time trend for each state renders coefficients too imprecise for clear inference.

attend a school in a different state. As between-state mobility is relatively low among schoolaged children, I argue that the potential for selection bias due to sorting is very low.

# 3.2 Data

To analyze the effects of binding teacher recommendations empirically, I combine information on state reforms with the following three data sources: (i) individual-level data on students in fourth and ninth grade from nation-wide assessment studies, (ii) individual-level data on 9–10 year old children from the German Socio-Economic Panel and (iii) administrative state-level data on the education system from the German Statistical Office. This section presents the four components in turn.

#### 3.2.1 Data on State-wide Educational Reforms

I collect data on a series of state-wide educational reforms related to the tracking procedure. First, I compile information on the bindingness of teacher recommendation using the following sources: For the reforms before 2010, I draw on Helbig and Nikolai (2015). For the subsequent reforms, I gather information from Kultusministerkonferenz (2015), newspaper articles (e.g., Otto and Schenk, 2011), plenary protocols from sessions of the state parliaments as well as individual correspondences with the 16 state ministries of education.

Similarly, I compile information on several other educational reforms which took place during the observation period. The corresponding reform indicators serve as control variables and include the following: the basis of the teacher recommendations (in particular whether they are only based on students' performance or also on their general maturity), whether the recommendation has to be explicitly requested, the duration of primary schools (four vs. six years) as well as the intensity of school tracking (i.e., whether students attending the two lower tracks are taught comprehensively or further tracked into two different school types). Finally, I use information on the duration of the academic schooling (eight vs. nine years) from Marcus and Zambre (2019).

#### 3.2.2 Student Assessments

To analyze short-term reform effects on primary school students, I combine data from the German extension of the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) with data from the National Assessment Study (NAS).<sup>16</sup> Both studies are repeated cross-sections, testing students at the end of fourth grade (between April and July). While both studies assess students in German (reading), NAS additionally assesses math. The studies were administered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>For further details see Bos et al. (2007, 2010) and Stanat et al. (2019a,b).

in 2001 and 2006 (IGLU-E) as well as in 2011 and 2016 (NAS) and are representative for all German states.<sup>17</sup> Neither IGLU nor NAS follow individual students over time. However, repeated testing of fourth graders allow me to build a pseudo-panel of German states observed every five years. Reading scores are generally comparable across tests and waves as NAS was explicitly designed to emulate IGLU tests (Pietsch et al., 2009; Bos et al., 2012).<sup>18</sup> In each study and wave, random samples of primary schools are drawn and within each school, one class randomly participates in the tests.

To analyze medium-term effects on students in secondary school, I combine data from the German extension of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) and the National Assessment Study (NAS).<sup>19</sup> Whereas the international version of the PISA test samples 15 year old students, the German extension tests ninth graders. PISA-E and NAS thus build repeated cross-sections, testing students at the end of grade nine (between May and July). The tests have been administered in 2000, 2003 and 2006 (PISA-E) as well as in 2009, 2012 and 2015 (NAS) and are representative for ninth graders in the 16 German states.<sup>20</sup> Again, neither PISA nor NAS follow individual students over time, but repeated testing allow me to build a pseudo-panel of German states observed every three years.

While PISA regularly tests relevant skills in math *and* reading, NAS alternates tested domains every other wave. Consequently, NAS 2009 and 2015 assess reading while NAS 2012 assesses math. Therefore, all results on reading achievement are conducted without students tested in 2012.<sup>21</sup> Achievement scores are generally comparable across studies and waves as the NAS was explicitly designed to emulate the PISA-E testing procedure (Hartig and Frey, 2012; Böhme et al., 2014). In each study and wave, random samples of schools were drawn to be representative at the federal state level and within each school, one class randomly participated in the tests (see Baumert et al., 2001, 2004; Sachse et al., 2012; Lenski et al., 2016; Schipolowski et al., 2019, for more details on test administration).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>While all 16 German states participate in all four waves, in 2001 only seven states draw larger sample sizes that were fully representative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>In addition, Böhme et al. (2014) compare reading scores among students who have been tested in both studies and show a very high correlation (0.86) between the test scores produced by the IGLU and the NAS items.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>NAS replaced PISA-E after 2006. See Prenzel et al. (2007), Baumert et al. (2009), Prenzel et al. (2010), Köller et al. (2018), Pant et al. (2019), and Stanat et al. (2020) for details.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>In 2006, the KMK decided to replace the state-level representative samples of PISA-E by the NAS (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2006). Since then, PISA is still conducted in Germany but with much smaller sample sizes to only represent the overall student body of 15 year old in Germany.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>While it is in principal also possible to evaluate math achievement for the subset of students tested in 2000, 2003, 2006 and 2012, I abstain from the respective analyses due to the following two reasons: (i) By excluding students assessed in 2009 and 2015, I loose a substantial amount of observations (more than 100,000). (ii) Unlike the reading test, the math test was re-scaled in 2003, which renders the comparability of PISA 2000 to the remaining waves unclear.

Tables 1 and 2 present student-level descriptive statistics of fourth and ninth graders, respectively. I consider a student as subject to binding teacher recommendations if the recommendation was binding in her current state of school attendance at the time she was tracked into the secondary schools.<sup>22</sup> The fourth grade sample consists of approximately 70,000 students who were streamed into secondary schools between 2001 and 2018 and the ninth grade sample consists of more than 220,000 students who were streamed into the secondary schools between 1994 and 2012. Student assessments were accompanied by comprehensive school, student and parent questionnaires covering a wide range of questions on sociodemographic characteristics and family background. While test participation is always compulsory for students, completing the student questionnaire is only compulsory in some states and completing the parent questionnaires are much larger than for the test items (for example, response rates to the parent questionnaire are 72 percent in the fourth grade sample and 80 in the ninth grade sample). I select a core set of student and school level controls available in each wave and harmonize control variables across fourth and ninth grade samples.<sup>23</sup>

#### 3.2.3 The German Socio-Economic Panel

To further investigate behavioral responses of students and their parents, I use data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP). Since 2010, the GSOEP contains a mother-child questionnaire administered to parents of 9–10 year old children (see Schröder et al., 2013, for further information). The questionnaire collects detailed information on children's daily lives and is supplemented with questions on background characteristics of children and parents.

I focus on the following variables: First, I exploit detailed time-use information on leisure activities:<sup>24</sup> (i) reading; (ii) watching TV; (ii) playing on the computer; (iv) surfing on the internet; (v) listening to music; (vi) making music; (vii) dancing or theater; (viii) doing sports; (ix) doing technical work; (x) drawing, and (xi) spending time with the family. On a 5-point scale parents could indicate how much time their children spend on each activity.

Following Grewenig et al. (2020), I group activities into four categories: reading (which is directly related to students' reading test scores), activities rather *detrimental* to child development (activities (ii)–(v)), activities rather *conducive* to child development (activities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>In the fourth grade sample, a students' school-year of tracking depends on the duration of primary school. In the ninth grade sample, a students' school-year of tracking depends on the duration of primary school in her current state of school attendance as well as on self-reported grade retention. Important for identification, retention was not affected by reforms on the bindingness of teacher recommendations (results available upon request).

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$ Due to lack of availability I use school-level controls only for the analyses of the fourth graders, but not of the ninth graders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>I only use items which have been consistently asked throughout all GSOEP waves.

(vi)–(x)) and *family* activities (activity (xi)).<sup>25</sup> Second, I exploit information on whether parents report frequently consulting their childrens' teachers.<sup>26</sup> The sample consists of approximately 4,400 students who were streamed to secondary schools between 2005 and 2017.

#### 3.2.4 Administrative School Data

Finally, I use data on general schools (*allgemeinbildende Schulen*) provided by the German Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1991-2016). The administrative data comprises annual state-level information on the number of students in each track and grade for the years 1991 to 2016. To obtain state-wide information on the share of academic track students, I divide the number of academic school students in each grade and school year by the total number of students in the respective grade-year cell. I enrich this data with the share of issued recommendations for the academic schools collected through personal correspondence with the 16 federal ministries of education.<sup>27</sup> The administrative data further includes comprehensive state-wide information on school input factors which are used as additional controls (see section 3.1 for details).

# 4 Main Results

In this section, I discuss the main results. First, I consider short-term effects on students in primary school. Second, I estimate medium-term effects on students in secondary schools. Finally, I explore potential effect heterogeneities with respect to the students' family background.

#### 4.1 Students in Primary School

This section sheds light on the academic performance of students in primary school *before* school track assignment. I first analyze how the reform affects achievement of students in fourth grade. Then, I turn to examining behavioral responses of students, parents and teachers.

#### 4.1.1 Student Achievement

I start the discussion on short-term effects with student achievement in reading and math among fourth graders. If binding teacher recommendation indeed serve as incentive to improve

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Grewenig et al. (2020) show that categorization of *detrimental* and *conducive* activities reflects parental beliefs about how beneficial those activities are for child development.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Teacher's consulting is elicited as follows: 'How often do you or other family member seek contact with the school?' Respondents could tick a box if they 'frequently consult teachers outside of regular meeting hours.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Overall, I receive data on recommendations for eight states and multiple school years (108 state-year observations).

academic performance prior to track assignment, one would expect to find positive reform effects on the outcomes discussed here.

Panel A of Table 3 presents the main differences-in-differences results on student achievement, using equation 1. The dependent variables are grade four test scores in reading, standardized to have mean zero and standard deviation one to facilitate interpretation. Column (1) shows the basic results, controlling only for state and school year of transition fixed effects. Reading achievement among students who require a respective teacher recommendation to attend academic schools is 6.4 percent of a standard deviation higher than that of students with free choice of secondary schools.

In columns (2)–(4), I gradually include controls that account for potential differences (i) in educational reforms that were contemporaneously implemented, (ii) in the overall economic condition and schooling input factors, and (iii) in the sociodemographic composition of the student body within states and over time. The estimates in column (4)—controlling for the full set of background characteristics—are somewhat smaller in size than the estimates in the first column, suggesting that the unadjusted differences-in-differences estimates are slightly upward biased. Most importantly, all estimates remain positive and statistically significant. In the full specification, introducing binding recommendations is associated with a significant increase in reading achievement by 5.6 percent of a standard deviation.

To explore the dynamic of reforms effects over time, Panel A of Appendix Figure A2 additionally depicts non-parametric event-study estimates which are obtained by including an indicator for the first cohorts with binding teacher recommendations as well as lead and lag indicators besides state and school year fixed effects. The depicted pre-reform effect is in line with the common trend assumption. The coefficient on the lead dummy is economically and statistically insignificant, suggesting that students in states that switched to binding teacher recommendations were on similar pre-reform trends as students in states that remained with free choice of secondary schools. Though shy of significance, the first cohort exposed to binding teacher recommendations experiences an increase in reading test scores and the improvement seems to remain persistent over time.

Panel B of Table 3 presents differences-in-differences results on math achievement which is only assessed in 2011 and 2016. Consequently, identification here stems from changes in the achievement of students in states that reformed their teacher recommendations between 2011 and 2016 (Baden-Wuerttemberg and Saxony-Anhalt). I find that binding teacher recommendations substantially increase students' math scores. Reassuringly, reform-effect patterns through columns (1) to (5) are remarkably similar to those found for reading. In the full specification, math achievement among students who require a respective teacher recommendation to attend

academic schools is 12.2 percent of a standard deviation higher than that of students with free choice of secondary schools.

In sum, the results in Table 3 suggest that selective placement polices for school track assignment—such as binding teacher recommendations—can increase students' academic achievement in primary school even before track assignment takes place. The depicted achievement effects are substantial. Considering the rule of thumb that average student learning in a year is equivalent to about one-quarter to one-third of a standard deviation, the reform effects amount to what students roughly learn during a fifth (reading) to a third (math) of a school year.

#### 4.1.2 Behavioral Responses

I now turn to investigating behavioral responses as potential mechanisms for the achievement effects revealed in the previous section. Behavioral responses could stem from students, parents and teachers which are investigated in turn.

First, I examine students' responses. One obvious explanation for the positive achievement effects is that binding teacher recommendations incentivize students to put more effort into studying. To explore this channel, I draw upon detailed time-use information on various leisure activities of 9-10 year old students collected as part of the GSOEP. Panel A of Table 4 depicts reform effects on children's time spent with reading, standardized to have mean zero and standard deviation one. When teacher recommendations become binding, children spend significantly more time with reading (column(4)), suggesting that the reform effects on students' test scores are indeed driven by increased time investments into the development of reading skills. Similarly, Panel B depicts reform effects on an index, summarizing child's time spent with other leisure activities deemed as being rather conducive for skill development, using the method by Kling et al. (2007). The index includes making music, dancing, sports, technical work, and drawing. The results suggest that reforms also significantly increase the amount of time that children spend with these rather conducive activities. In contrast, Panel C depicts reform effects on time spent with activities deemed as being rather detrimental to child development, i.e., watching TV, playing computer, surfing on the internet or listening to music. The estimates indicate zero to slightly negative (albeit not significant) reform effects on time spent on these rather detrimental activities. Thus, the bindingness reforms do not only serve as incentives for children to spend more time with activities directly related to skills taught in school (e.g., reading), but also with other conducive leisure activities more indirectly related to skill development.

Next, I examine parental responses. Similar to students, binding recommendations may serve as incentives for parents to support the skill development of their children. To explore this channel, I investigate how much time children spend with their family. Panel D of Table 4 shows significant positive reform effects, suggesting that binding teacher recommendations also encourage parental time investments. Besides, the reforms may induce parents to exert influence on the content of the teacher recommendation. For instance, parents could seek out the child's teacher more frequently to 'lobby' for an academic school recommendation. Panel E of Table 4 therefore analyzes reform effects on whether parents consult their child's teacher on a regular basis. Column (4) reveals that parents are indeed 13 percentage points more likely to frequently consult their child's teacher when recommendations become binding which is a large and significant increase from a baseline share of 43.4 percent.

Finally turning to teachers' responses, I examine the number of recommendations for academic schools. There are several reasons why teachers would increase academic recommendations in response to the reform. First, they may become more lenient when the future career of their students depends more on their assessment. Second, they may reward the students' achievement gains discussed in section 4.1.1. Finally, they may simply yield to the parents' lobbying efforts discussed above. Appendix Table A2 depicts reform effects on the number of academic school recommendations at the state level. Although not statistically significant, the table provides suggestive evidence that—if anything—the share of academic school recommendations increases.

In sum, results suggest that the achievement gains in primary school are likely due to increased time investments in students' skill development by children and parents. Parents also seek out the child's teacher more frequently. These efforts are then rewarded by teachers who tend to issue more academic school recommendations in response to the bindingness reforms.

## 4.2 Students in Secondary School

This section investigates educational outcomes of students in secondary school. I first analyze reform effects on academic school attendance. Then, I examine academic performance of students through ninth grade, i.e. several years *after* track assignment.

# 4.2.1 Academic School Attendance

Reform effects on educational outcomes in secondary school are ex ante less clear. On the one hand, students can be allocated to the different tracks more efficiently if teachers are better able to assess the child's academic potential than parents. Likewise, the positive achievement effects from primary school (see section 4.1.1) can spillover to secondary schools. Both would lead to improved educational outcomes in the medium run. On the other hand, psychological costs of incentivizing students early can dominate in the longer run or parents may hold superior

information on the child's academic potential. In these cases, binding recommendations would lead to worse educational outcomes. With respect to school attendance, binding recommendation may also prevent some students from transitioning to the highest track, resulting in fewer students attending academic schools.

To investigate the relevance of the opposing effects, Table 5 presents reform impacts on academic school attendance in grades five to nine, using state-level data from the German Statistical Office. Since I only observe the average share of students attending academic school in a given state and over time, the corresponding estimates are based on an adjusted 'state-level' version of equation 1 which controls for potential differences (i) in educational reforms that were contemporaneously implemented and (ii) in the overall economic condition and schooling input factors.<sup>28</sup>

Column (1) shows negative, statistically insignificant reform effects of one percentage point on the share of fifth grade students, attending academic schools. Finding negative attendance effects directly after track assignment is consistent with earlier studies (e.g., Jähnen and Helbig, 2015; Osikominu et al., 2021). But I also show that the effects observed in fifth grade mask important positive attendance effects in the medium run. Specifically investigating academic school attendance through grades five to nine in columns (2) to (5), I find that reform effects gradually increase across grades. In grade nine, the introduction of binding recommendations significantly (p<0.1) *increases* academic school attendance by 1.2 percentage points. This pattern suggests that the bindingness reforms decrease the rates at which students transfer to lower track schools during their secondary school career.<sup>29</sup> The reduced incidences of students 'downgrading' school tracks subsequently manifest themselves in higher academic school attendance rates by grade nine.

Data from PISA-E and NAS allow me to additionally analyze academic school attendance at the individual student level. Panel A of Table 6 depicts the corresponding reform effects using equation 1. Overall, the estimates confirm significant positive effects of binding teacher recommendations on the share of ninth grade students attending academic schools. In all specifications, effects are highly significant (p<0.05) and amount to roughly 2 percentage points.<sup>30</sup> Panel B of Appendix Figure A2 additionally depicts the evolution of reform effects over

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Basic differences-in-differences results, controlling for state and school year of transition fixed effects only, are very similar to those depicted in Table 5 (results available upon request).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Later transitioning to lower track school is rather common in Germany. In 2000, 13 percent of all students have switched to lower track schools by grade nine. Interestingly, the vast majority (70 percent) of those 'downgraders' has done so during grades seven to nine (i.e., after they have spend some years on the higher track schools)—which is consistent with the depicted reform effect patterns on academic school attendance. In contrast, 'upgrading' to higher track schools is very uncommon as only 1.5 percent have ever done so by grade nine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Attentive readers may notice that I lose a few observations when including economic controls in column (3). This is because I observe average hours of instruction in primary school (one of the included control

time by applying a non-parametric event-study specification. Again, the depicted pre-reform patterns are mostly in line with the common trend assumption as coefficients on the most recent lead dummies (back to 10 years prior reform implementation) are economically and statistically insignificant. In contrast, the cohorts exposed to binding teacher recommendations experience an increase in ninth-grade academic school attendance and the corresponding increase seems to gradually phase in over time.

In sum, I find that positive effects of binding teacher recommendations indeed dominate in the medium run. This also suggests that selective placement polices for school track assignment may not only lead to short-term improvements in educational outcomes but may be also beneficial for the students' future educational path.

#### 4.2.2 Academic Performance

To complement the above analyses on academic track attendance, I now turn to investigating students' academic performance in ninth grade. The results in Panel B of Table 6 suggest that the implementation of binding teacher recommendations increases reading achievement among ninth graders. Effects are statistically indistinguishable from zero, but estimates are still sizable (2 to 5 percent of a standard deviation) and represent about 50 to 75 percent of the achievement gains found for primary school students. Panel C of Table 6 reports reform effects on students' grade point average (GPA) in German and math, standardized to have mean zero and standard deviation 1. In the main specification in column (4), GPA among students who require a respective teacher recommendation for academic school attendance is 3.8 percent of a standard deviation (p<0.1) better than among students with free choice of school tracks.

I conclude that binding recommendations lead to persistent improvements in students' educational outcomes in the medium run.

## 4.3 Heterogeneities by Socioeconomic Background

This section explores heterogeneities in reform effects by students' socioeconomic background. While the results so far suggest that binding teacher recommendations increase overall educational outcomes, it remains an empirical question whether reforms differently affect students from different family backgrounds. On the one hand, binding teacher recommendations may particularly favor advantaged students. Because parents with a high socioeconomic status (SES) have better resources (e.g., money, knowledge or time) to support the skill development of their children, high SES students may respond more strongly to the incentives provided

variables) starting in 1992. The few dropped observations are students who transferred earlier due to multiple grade retention. Importantly, grade retention is not affected by the reforms (results available upon request).

by binding recommendations. Similarly, these parents could push their children harder to receive a recommendation for the academic track because they aspire them to obtain a high socioeconomic status, as well. In the medium run, efficiency gains, arising from the changes in the allocation of students to school tracks, may be particularly pronounced among advantaged students since high SES parents overrule the outcome of the recommendation more frequently when there is free parental choice.

On the other hand, binding teacher recommendations may particularly favor disadvantaged students. Since they generally perform worse and invest less into skill development at baseline, any incentives arising from binding recommendations have more room to effectively improve academic achievement among low SES students. For the same reason, disadvantaged students can subsequently profit more from spillover effects throughout secondary school.

To analyze the empirical relevance of the opposing effects, I investigate whether reform effects differ along the following dimensions: whether the student has less than 100 books at home, whether the parents' occupational status according to Ganzeboom et al. (1992) is below the median, whether parents have a university (entrance) degree,<sup>31</sup> and whether the student is a first or second generation migrant. For each characteristic, I extend equation 1 to include a full interaction between the respective socioeconomic variable and the reform indicator.

The estimates for the fourth and ninth grade samples are presented in Table A3. As I can only estimate effects for the sub-sample of students with available information on their family background, findings regarding the heterogeneity should be interpreted with caution.<sup>32</sup> By and large, the table depicts homogeneous effects across student subgroups.<sup>33</sup> The coefficients on the interaction term between reform indicator and socioeconomic characteristic is statistically distinguishable from zero in three out of 20 cases. Reform effects on reading and math achievement in fourth grade are larger for students with less than 100 books at home and GPA improvements in ninth grade are smaller for migrant students.

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$ Because data on parental education was not consistently collected in IGLU-E, PISA-E and NAS, I investigate heterogeneitities by whether parents have a university degree in the fourth grade sample and by whether parents have a university entrance degree (*Abitur*) in the ninth grade sample.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>While test-taking is mandatory for all students, providing further information on the family background is voluntary. Appendix Table A4 depicts differences in educational outcomes between students with and without available information on their socioeconomic background. Students with missing values (who are by definition excluded from the heterogeneity analyses) perform significantly worse across all depicted dimensions than students with non-missing values.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Classifying students with missing information as students with a low socioeconomic background and re-running the heterogeneity analyses leads to similar conclusions (results available upon request).

# 5 Robustness

This section challenges the robustness of the main results. It first discusses the validity of the identifying assumption. Then, it confirms the comparability of tests items used in PISA and NAS. Finally, it evaluates the properties of the differences-in-differences estimator by performing the diagnostic test proposed by Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020).

## 5.1 The Validity of the Identifying Assumption

The differences-in-differences model identifies the effect of binding teacher recommendations on students' educational outcomes from policy changes within states and over time. Accordingly, a causal interpretation of the estimated effects relies on the assumption that in the absence of reforms the changes in outcomes in states that reformed the bindingness of teacher recommendations would have been similar to the changes in outcomes in states that did not reform. The event-study graphs presented in section 4 provide suggestive evidence in favor of the parallel trend assumption as they mostly depict small and insignificant differences in pre-trend outcomes between reforming and non-reforming states. Though reassuring, parallel trends cannot rule out the occurrence of contemporaneous policy changes. Any state-specific variation over time that (i) is correlated with the timing structure of the bindingess reforms and (ii) contemporaneously affects students' outcomes can still pose a thread to identification. Hence, the main specification also includes a variety of reform indicators that account for major educational reforms conducted during the observation period as well as a rich set of school and economic input factors. If the main results are driven by systematic differences in these inputs, the estimated coefficients on binding teacher recommendation should approach zero when further including them as controls. However, finding that reform effects remain stable throughout all specifications strongly supports the robustness of my findings (see section 4 for details).

Given that reforms to binding recommendations are mostly implemented by conservative governments (see Appendix Table A1), a remaining major concern is that conservative governments undertake other unobserved policy actions which coincide with the reform under study. To get a first impression for the relevance of potential government effects, I regress government ideology at the time of transition to secondary school on student outcomes in a differences-in-differences setting. Appendix Tables A5 and A6 show that conservative prime ministers and ministers of education are associated with better educational outcomes of students' in fourth and ninth grade. The positive performance effects remain partly robust when including the full set of controls (see columns (2) and (4)). Next, I account for government ideology in the main differences-in-differences specification. Appendix Table A7 depicts the reform effects on

students' educational outcomes in fourth and ninth grade, when controlling for the ideology of the prime minster (see column(1)) or the ideology of the education minister (see column(2)). Reassuringly, the estimated coefficients are of similar magnitude to those presented in section 4.

Another concern is strategic retention. To mitigate potential consequences of not meeting the requirements for the academic recommendation, students may either enroll late or strategically repeat grades. Both would lead to students being older at the time of test-taking. Panel A of Appendix Table A8 depicts respective reform effects. I find significant negative effects of about one month on age at test taking in fourth grade. The effects likely reflect recent attempts to lower school starting age.<sup>34</sup> For ninth grade students, I find small and insignificant effects on age at test taking. Thus—if anything—age effects run contrary to reported achievements gains from binding teacher recommendations, implying that strategic retention does not pose a major threat to identification.

## 5.2 Test Comparability

For the analyses on reading achievement, I combine data from various studies that assess students in Germany. The respective analyses produce meaningful results only if test scores are comparable across test and waves. By exploiting a specific feature of NAS 2012, I can shed some light on the comparability of PISA and NAS test scores. All PISA participants who attended ninth grade in 2012 were automatically sampled for NAS. For the sub-sample of students who participated in both tests, I can therefore merge additional information on student achievement as assessed by PISA (21 percent of the overall 2012 NAS sample).

First, I compare the math achievement of students who participated in both studies in 2012. To the extent that the findings for math scores are informative for reading scores, I can explore whether the two tests produce similar results. I find a strong correlation (0.82) between the math scores from both studies. In addition, Appendix Figure A3 plots the distribution of within-student differences in test scores. Reassuringly, differences appear to be normally distributed around zero.

Second, the merged data set allows me to observe reading achievement for selected students in 2012, namely those who also participated in PISA. Appendix Table A9 reports reform effects on students' reading achievement, exploiting the merged data set. Reassuringly, the effects

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Between 2005 and 2010, several state governments (e.g., North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Brandenburg, Berlin) changed the cutoff date for school enrollment. Students affected by the new cutoff dates are part of the fourth grade samples, but not yet of the ninth grade sample which also explains zero age effects for ninth graders.

do not change substantially when the reading test scores of the 2012 PISA participants are included.

# 5.3 de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille Diagnostics

My empirical strategy falls into the category of two-way fixed effects differences-in-differences estimations whose estimates are a weighted sum of the average treatment effect in each state and school year. When the treatment effect is constant across states and over time, the depicted regressions estimate the effect of binding teacher recommendations under the standard *common trends* assumption. However, the weighted sum may contain negative weights which is a problem when the average treatment effects (ATEs) are heterogeneous across states or school years (see Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille, 2020).

To evaluate the extent of negative weights in my setting, I perform the diagnostic test by Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020) on the simple model, which controls for state and school-year fixed effects. Appendix Table A10 shows the results on all student-level outcomes.<sup>35</sup> Overall, I obtain 22–84 ATTs with negative weights attached to 14–41 percent of them. Further exploring the causes of the negative weights, I conduct the same analyses without the 'always treated' students in the states Bavaria, Thuringia, and Saxony. Results show that in the fourth grade sample, 0 out of 10 ATTs receive a negative weight, in the ninth grade sample only 3 out of 35–36 ATTs (see Appendix Table A11). Reassuringly, after excluding the 'always treated' from the main specification, results remain robust (see Appendix Table A12). Although I loose some power due to decreased sample sizes, point estimates are similar in magnitude to those presented in section 4.

# 6 Conclusion

This paper studies whether and how selective placement policies which are widely used to determine school track assignment, influence students' educational outcomes in the short and medium run. To that end, I exploit state-level reforms that changed the selectivity of admission policies, namely whether children require a recommendation from their primary school teacher to attend the academic schools (the highest track) or not.

In the short run, I find that binding teacher recommendations have a substantial impact on academic achievement of students in primary school *before* track assignment. Conditional on state and school year fixed effects and a rich set of sociodemographic controls, reading (math)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Since the analyses on math achievement in fourth grade exploit changes in test scores measured in 2011 and 2016 (two time periods only), negative weights cannot bias the results in the math specification. Consequently, Table A10 is performed on the remaining outcomes.

achievement is 5.6 (12.2) percent of a standard deviation higher for students who require a respective teacher recommendation for academic school attendance than for students who have free choice of secondary schools. Further analyses show that these achievement gains likely reflect increased time investments in the students' skill development undertaken by children and their parents.

Subsequently, I show that binding teacher recommendations also affect students' educational outcomes in secondary schools. Under binding teacher recommendations, students are slightly less likely to attend academic schools in fifth grade (not statistically significant at conventional levels). However, these small and negative effects which are measured directly after tracking has taken place, veil important positive effects in the medium run. Notably, reform effects increase gradually throughout grades five to nine. In ninth grade, academic track attendance is even significant 1.8 percentage points higher under binding recommendations. Therefore, binding recommendations seem to reduce the incidence of students transferring to lower tracks during their secondary school career. I further show that ninth grade students perform slightly better in standardized reading tests (not significant) and have slightly better grade point averages (p<0.1).

The political debate in Germany around teacher recommendations has mostly revolved around the normative argument that broad groups in the population should be granted access to the academic schools. Consequently, the most recent reforms have abolished binding recommendations and guaranteed children and parents free choice of secondary schools. My findings, however, challenge this line of argumentation by providing evidence that free choice actually *reduces* academic school attendance in the medium run and can, therefore, harm students' academic performances.

Even though the German early-tracking regime is somewhat special in its rigor, the results on selective placement polices bear broader implications. Many school systems around the world employ some sort of (selective) tracking: On average, fifteen-year-old students in the OECD have access to three education programs and 43 percent of them attend schools which consider 'students' records of academic performance' or 'recommendation of feeder schools' for admission (OECD, 2013). In this context, my paper presents direct evidence that the design of placement policies plays an important role for the formation of human capital and proves worthwhile to be considered by policy-makers.

While the economic literature has mostly focused on the effects of earlier vs. later tracking so far (e.g., Meghir and Palme, 2005; Hanushek and Woessmann, 2006; Malamud and Pop-Eleches, 2011; Pekkala Kerr et al., 2013; Piopiunik, 2014; Borghans et al., 2020; Canaan, 2020; Matthewes, 2020), this paper argues that changes in the institutional feature of the tracking procedure can influence students' educational performances as well. The findings

particularly highlight that changing the selectivity of placement policies do not only affect outcomes of students in the medium to long run, but they also induce behavioral changes among students, parents and teachers before track assignment takes place. Since the mentioned papers have mainly observed long-term educational outcomes and are thus limited in their ability to isolate short-term effects, investigating more systematically whether and how other aspects of the tracking procedure, e.g. the timing of tracking or the number of offered tracks, induce short-term responses is an interesting avenue for further research.

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*Notes:* The figure gives an overview of the school system in Germany. After elementary school which takes 4 years (only in a few states 6 years), students are tracked into three different school types: the basic and intermediate track last to grades 9 and 10, respectively, and prepare students for apprentice-ship training or other sorts of vocational education. The academic track ends with grade 13 (or 12) and leads to the university entrance qualification. Later track switching is possible, enabling graduates from the basic and intermediate track to continue on the next higher track, respectively, and/or obtaining their university entrance qualification via the specialized high track.

# Figure 2: State Variation in the Bindingness of Teacher Recommendations



*Notes:* The figure gives an overview of the variation in the bindingness of teacher recommendations in Germany (for the period 1990 until 2017).

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Obs.
Reform Indicator					
Binding Recommendation	0.299	0.458	0	1	76,886
Outcome Variables					
Reading Score (Raw)	500.165	99.050	-36.91487	852.1359	70,615
Math Score (Raw)	481.125	108.163	-94.592	869.943	60,941
Student and School Characteristics					
Age (in Months)	124.262	8.021	73	177	73,217
Female	0.490	0.500	0	1	72,820
More than 100 Books at Home	0.598	0.490	0	1	66,175
Highest Occupational Status (ISEI) of Parents	50.389	18.054	10	90	53,335
First or Second Generation Migrant	0.255	0.436	0	1	64,675
Parents with University Degree	0.299	0.458	0	1	49,848
School located in Urban Area	0.839	0.367	0	1	71,554
Public School	0.968	0.177	0	1	72,341
Reform Controls					
Recommendation Only Based on Students' Grades	0.481	0.500	0	1	76,886
Four Years of Primary School	0.775	0.418	0	1	76,886
Comprehensive School Besides Academic School	0.587	0.492	0	1	76,886
Academic School Takes Eight Years	0.725	0.447	0	1	76,886
Economic Controls					
GDP per Capita (in 1000 Euros)	32.930	9.731	16.323	61.045	76,886
Average School Spending per Capita	1044	340	562	1934	76,886
Share of Students Enrolling late into Primary School	0.074	0.047	0.008	0.215	76,886
Number of Classes in Primary School	9042	8697	995	34,237	76,886
Average Class Size in Primary School	21.031	1.504	16.968	24.607	76,886
Average Number of Lessons in Primary School	31.017	3.469	24.241	43.148	76,886
Share of Full-Time Employed Primary School Teachers	0.491	0.138	0.060	0.726	76,886

# Table 1: Descriptive Statistics: Fourth Grade Students

*Notes:* Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum) for treatment, outcome and control variables. Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016.

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Obs.
Reform Indicator					
Binding Recommendation	0.338	0.473	0	1	212,706
Outcome Variables					
Academic School Attendance	0.328	0.469	0	1	212,706
Reading Score (Raw)	493.594	96.298	8.484	976.180	164,261
German Grade	3.039	0.886	1	6	201,905
Math Grade	3.17	1.045	1	6	201,387
Student Characteristics					
Age (in Months)	187.489	6.813	139	256	212,412
Female	0.493	0.500	0	1	212,124
More than 100 Books at Home	0.486	0.998	0	1	175,913
Highest Occupational Status (ISEI) of Parents	49.833	17.394	11.01	90	172,980
First or Second Generation Migrant	0.245	0.430	0	1	199,054
Parents with University Entrance Degree	0.414	0.492	0	1	169,687
Reform Controls					
Recommendation Only Based on Students' Grades	0.488	0.500	0	1	212,706
Four Years of Primary School	0.782	0.413	0	1	212,706
Intensity of School Tracking	0.289	0.453	0	1	212,706
Academic School Takes Eight Years	0.429	0.495	0	1	212,706
Economic and Education Controls					
GDP per Capita (in 1000 Euros)	26.980	8.767	8.896	53.644	212,706
Share of Students Enrolling Late into Primary School	0.072	0.031	0.006	0.183	212,606
Number of Classes in Primary School	26.980	8.767	8.896	53.644	212,706
Average Class Size in Primary School	21.734	1.693	16.968	25.082	212,706
Average Number of Lessons in Primary School	8.431	2.901	22.782	41.099	212,370
Share of Full-Time Employed Primary School Teachers	0.450	0.157	0.060	0.894	212,706

## Table 2: Descriptive Statistics: Ninth Grade Students

*Notes:* Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum) for treatment, outcome and control variables. Data source: Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Standardized Read	ing Achievemen	ıt		
Binding Recommendation	0.064*	0.068*	0.100**	0.056**
	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.041)	(0.026)
	[0.176]	[0.142]	[0.165]	[0.183]
Control Mean	-0.067	-0.067	-0.067	-0.067
Observations	70,615	70,615	70,615	70,615
R-squared	0.015	0.016	0.016	0.218
Panel B: Standardized Math	Achievement			
Binding Recommendation	0.170***	0.145***	0.208***	0.122***
	(0.048)	(0.030)	(0.057)	(0.037)
	[0.201]	[0.062]	[0.186]	[0.154]
Control Mean	-0.084	-0.084	-0.084	-0.084
Observations	60,856	60,856	60,856	60,856
R-squared	0.024	0.028	0.029	0.193
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	No	No	Yes

Table 3: Reform Effects on Reading Achievement among Fourth Grade Students

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variable: (Panel A) Standardized test scores in reading. (Panel B) Standardized test scores in math. Control mean: mean of the outcome variable for students not subject to binding teacher recommendations. Control variables: reform controls include basis for recommendation, whether recommendation needs to be requested explicitly, duration of primary schooling, intensity of tracking system, and duration of academic track school. Economic controls include GDP, average school spending, average share of students enrolling late into primary school, number of classes in primary school, average class size in primary school, average hours of instruction in primary school, and share of full-time employed primary school teachers. Individual controls include gender, migration background, parental occupation, number of books at home, community location, public school status, wave fixed effects and imputation dummies. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assesment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)				
Panel A: Child's Time Spen	t with Reading	g						
Binding Recommendation	0.052	0.048	0.130	0.174**				
-	(0.087)	(0.065)	(0.075)	(0.068)				
	0.789	[0.817]	0.527	0.371				
Observations	4,324	4,324	4,324	4,324				
R-squared	0.016	0.016	0.017	0.058				
Panel B: Child's Time Spen	t with Conduc	vive Activities						
Binding Recommendation	0.087**	0.092*	0.090*	0.178***				
	(0.032)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.053)				
	[0.154]	[0.198]	[0.161]	[0.129]				
Observations	4,215	4,215	4,215	4,215				
R-squared	0.021	0.021	0.024	0.118				
Panel C: Child's Time Spent with Detrimental Activities								
Binding Recommendation	0.011	0.001	-0.069	-0.085				
	(0.156)	(0.150)	(0.178)	(0.165)				
	[0.955]	[1.000]	[0.791]	[0.817]				
Observations	4,148	4,148	4,148	4,148				
R-squared	0.011	0.012	0.014	0.025				
Panel D: Child's Time Spen	t with Family							
Binding Recommendation	0.305***	0.312***	0.370***	0.389***				
	(0.054)	(0.060)	(0.059)	(0.057)				
	[0.134]	[0.174]	[0.079]	[0.099]				
Observations	4,318	4,318	4,318	4,318				
R-squared	0.013	0.013	0.014	0.049				
Panel E: Parents Frequently	Consult Teac	her						
Binding Recommendation	0.136**	0.134**	0.135***	0.130***				
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.042)	(0.040)				
	[0.123]	[0.149]	[0.150]	[0.141]				
Control Mean	0.434	0.434	0.434	0.434				
Observations	4,345	4,345	4,345	4,345				
R-squared	0.027	0.027	0.029	0.041				
State & School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes				
Reform Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes				
Economic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes				
Individual Controls	No	No	No	Yes				

Table 4: Reform Effects on Time Invested into Students' Skill Development (at the Age of 10)

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions with state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables: time invested, the higher the value the more invested. (Panel A) Time spent with reading. (Panel B) Index summarizing child's time spent with making music, dancing or theatre, doing sports, doing technical work, or drawing, following Kling et al. (2007). (Panel C) Index summarizing child's time spent with watching TV, playing on the computer, surfing on the internet or listening to music, following Kling et al. (2007). (Panel D) Child's time spent together with family, standardized. (Panel E) Dummy variable (=1 if parent regularly meets teacher). Control mean: mean of the outcome variable for students not subject to binding teacher recommendations. Control variables: see Table 3 for included reform and economic controls. Individual controls include child's gender, child's gender, child is respondent's own child, migration background, parental educational, and imputation dummies. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: German Socioeconomic Panel (GSOEP), stacked mother-child questionnaires for 9–10 year old children.

	Share of Students Attending Academic Schools				
	5th Grade	6th Grade	7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Binding Recommendation	-0.010	-0.003	0.008	0.010*	0.012*
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)
	[0.470]	[0.859]	[0.227]	[0.152]	[0.144]
Control Mean	0.377	0.359	0.355	0.336	0.324
Observations	309	297	376	360	344
Observations (Federal States)	14	14	16	16	16
R-squared	0.774	0.739	0.855	0.867	0.889
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform & Economic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 5: Reform Effects on Academic School Attendance

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions with state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables: share of students attending academic schools. Control variables: see Table 3 for included reform and economic controls. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: German Statistical Office 1991-2016.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Academic School A	ttendance			
Binding Recommendation	0.017***	0.025***	0.023***	0.018**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(800.0)	(0.006)
	[0.114]	[0.072]	[0.249]	[0.266]
Control Mean	0.335	0.335	0.335	0.335
Observations	208,405	208,405	207,969	207,969
R-squared	0.014	0.015	0.014	0.196
Panel B: Standardized Read	ing Achievement			
Binding Recommendation	0.041	0.055	0.046	0.019
	(0.033)	(0.043)	(0.036)	(0.025)
	[0.306]	[0.293]	[0.585]	[0.550]
Control Mean	0.009	0.009	0.009	0.009
Observations	163,346	163,346	162,940	162,940
R-squared	0.014	0.014	0.014	0.234
Panel C: Grade Point Average	ge			
Binding Recommendation	0.041	0.049*	0.050*	0.038*
	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.022)
	[0.450]	[0.239]	[0.251]	[0.210]
Control Mean	3.186	3.186	3.186	3.186
Observations	197,252	197,252	196,846	196,846
R-squared	0.046	0.047	0.047	0.091
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	No	No	Yes

Table 6: Reform Effects on Academic School Attendance and Academic Performance among Ninth Grade Students

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables. (Panel A) Academic school attendance. (Panel B) Standardized test score in reading. (Panel C) Standardized grade point average, the higher the value the better the GPA. Control mean: mean of the outcome variable for students not subject to binding teacher recommendations. Control variables: see Table 3 for included reform and economic controls. Individual controls include gender, migration background, parental occupation, number of books at home, wave fixed effects, and imputation dummies. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

# **Appendix A: Appendix Figures and Tables**



Figure A1: The Basis for Teacher Recommendations

*Notes:* Response to the following question: '*Thinking about the different students: How strongly do the following factors determine your recommendation?*' Sample: fourth grade teachers in German. Weighted responses. Source: IGLU 2006.

Figure A2: Non-Parametric Event-Study Estimates on Students' Academic Performance

Panel A: Standardized Reading Achievement in Fourth Grade



Panel B: Academic School Attendance in Ninth Grade



*Notes:* Coefficients from non-parametric event-study regressions and their 95 percent confidence intervals weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Dependent variables: (Panel A) Standardized reading achievement in fourth grade. (Panel B) Academic school attendance in ninth grade. Inference: standard clustering at state level. Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.



# Figure A3: Distribution of Math Test Scores in NAS and PISA

*Notes:* In each of the two tests, achievement is mapped on a scale with mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100 test-score points. Outcome: within-student difference between math scores assessed by NAS 2012 and PISA 2012 ('0' indicates no difference in test scores). Sample: students who participated in NAS 2012 and PISA 2012.

	Year of	Reform Type: Recommendat.		
State	Reform	Change to	Ruling Parties	s in Legislation Period
			Before the Reform	of the Reform
Hesse	1993	non-binding	CDU/FDP (1987-1991)	SPD/Gruene (1991-1995)
North Rhine-Westphalia	1997	non-binding	SPD /Gruene (1990-1995)	SPD/Gruene (1995-2000)
Saarland	2000	binding	SPD (1994-1999)	CDU (1999-2004)
Saxony-Anhalt	2005	binding	SPD (1998-2002)	CDU/FDP (2002-2006)
North Rhine-Westphalia	2006	binding	SPD/Gruene (2000-2005)	CDU/FDP (2005-2010)
Brandenburg	2007	binding	SPD/CDU (1999-2004)	SPD/CDU (2004-2009)
Saarland	2009	non-binding	CDU (2004-2009)	CDU/FDP/SPD/Gruene (2009-2012)
North Rhine-Westphalia	2010	non-binding	CDU/FDP (2005-2010)	SPD/Gruene (2010-2012)
Baden-Wuerttemberg	2011	non-binding	CDU/FDP/DVP (2006-2011)	Gruene/SPD (2011-2016)
Saxony-Anhalt	2012	non-binding	CDU/SPD (2006-2011)	CDU/SPD (2011-2016)

Table A1: Reforms on the Bindingness of Teacher Recommendations and Ruling Parties, by State

	Share of Students with Recommendation for Academic Schools			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
Binding Recommendation	0.060 (0.040)	0.064 (0.050)	0.051 (0.044)	
	[0.287]	[0.453]	[0.348]	
Control Mean	0.374	0.374	0.374	
Observations	108	108	108	
Observations (Federal States)	8	8	8	
R-squared	0.741	0.741	0.813	
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Reform Controls	No	Yes	Yes	
Economic Controls	No	No	Yes	

#### Table A2: Reform Effects on Issued Recommendations for Academic Schools

*Notes:* Differences-in differences regressions with state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variable: recommendations issued for the academic school as share of all recommendations issued. Control variables: see Table 3 for included reform and economic controls. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Sample: Baden-Wuerttemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Mecklenburg Western Pomerania, North Rhine Westphalia, Rhineland Palatinate, Saxony. Data source: various State Ministries of Education, Germany.

	Fourth Grade Students		Ninth Grade Students		
	Read.	Math	Acad.	Read.	
	Achiev.	Achiev.	School	Achiev.	GPA
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: Books at Home					
Binding Recommendation	-0.013	0.081	0.011	-0.023	0.027
	(0.037)	(0.055)	(0.006)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Bind. Recomm. x Less than 100 Books	0.065**	0.103***	0.002	-0.023	0.036
	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.007)	(0.027)	(0.039)
Observations	63,772	55,083	173,969	129,259	165,439
Panel B: Highest Occupational Status (ISEI	) of Parent	s			
Binding Recommendation	0.026	0.083	0.032***	0.023	0.009
	(0.032)	(0.055)	(0.006)	(0.024)	(0.021)
Bind. Recomm. x ISEI below Median	0.009	0.047	-0.012	-0.006	0.057
	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.008)	(0.024)	(0.045)
Observations	51,654	44,149	171,014	145,717	163,288
Panel C: Parental Education					
Binding Recommendation	0.018	0.146**	0.045***	-0.005	-0.004
	(0.035)	(0.063)	(0.011)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Bind. Recomm. x Parens w $o$ Uni Degree	0.014	0.017	-0.032*	0.029	0.056
	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.052)
Observations	48,372	41,409	168,188	137,097	160,219
Panel D: Migration Status (First or Second	Generation	Migrant)			
Binding Recommendation	0.028	0.082**	0.021**	0.031	0.043*
	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.007)	(0.025)	(0.023)
Bind. Recomm. × Migrant	-0.008	0.019	-0.004	-0.014	-0.051**
	(0.044)	(0.031)	(0.013)	(0.029)	(0.019)
Observations	62,352	53,868	197,065	152,354	187,452
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform & Economic & Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table A3: Heterogeneous Reform Effects by Socioeconomic Background

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables. (1) Standardized test scores in reading, fourth grade. (2) Academic school attendance, ninth grade. (3) Standardized test scores in reading, ninth grade. (4) Standardized grade point average, the higher the value the better the GPA, ninth grade. Control variables: see Tables 3 and 6 for included reform, education and individual controls. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

	Fourth Grade Students		Nint	Ninth Grade Students		
	Read. Achiev. (1)	Math Achiev. (2)	Acad. School (3)	Read. Achiev. (4)	GPA (5)	
Panel A: Books at Home						
Missing: Books at home	-0.702***	-0.515***	-0.097***	-0.405***	-0.054***	
	(0.028)	(0.023)	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.013)	
Obseravtions	70,615	60,202	213,613	168,554	201,689	
Panel B: Highest ISEI						
Missing: HISEI	-0.476***	-0.444***	-0.187***	-0.663***	-0.264***	
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.009)	
Obseravtions	70,615	60,202	213,613	168,554	201,689	
Panel C: Parental Education						
Missing: Parental Education	-0.352***	-0.330***	-0.140***	-0.456***	-0.188***	
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.009)	
Obseravtions	70,615	60,202	213,613	168,554	201,689	
Panel D: Migration Status						
Missing: Migration Status	-0.634***	-0.500***	-0.175***	-0.653***	-0.246***	
	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.005)	(0.017)	(0.015)	
Obseravtions	70,615	60,202	213,613	168,554	201,689	
Study FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

Table A4: Academic Performance and Missing Information on Socioeconomic Background

*Notes:* Ordinary least square regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including wave fixed effects. Dependent variables. (1) Standardized test scores in reading, fourth grade. (2) Standardized test scores in math, fourth grade. (3) Academic school attendance, ninth grade. (4) Standardized test scores in reading, ninth grade. (5) Standardized grade point average, the higher the value the better the GPA, ninth grade. Inference: robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Standardized Reading Achievemen	t			
Conservative Prime Minister	0.058	0.021		
	(0.036)	(0.030)		
	[0.188]	[0.567]		
Conservative Education Minister			0.058*	0.014
			0.058*	0.014
			[0.060]	[0.676]
Observations	70,615	70,615	70,615	70,615
R-squared	0.015	0.218	0.015	0.218
Panel B: Standardized Math Achievement				
Conservative Prime Minister	0.133**	-0.015		
	(0.061)	(0.042)		
	[0.164]	[0.761]		
Conservative Education Minister			0.132**	0.002
			(0.055)	(0.038)
			[0.085]	[0.967]
Observations	60,856	60,856	60,856	60,856
R-squared	0.024	0.192	0.024	0.192
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform & Economic & Individual Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Table A5: Effects of Government Ideology on Students' Academic Performance in Fourth Grade

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Dependent variables: (Panel A) Standardized test scores in reading. (Panel B) Standardized test scores in math. Control variables: see Table 3 for included reform, education and individual controls. Inference: Standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Actual Academic School Attendan	се			
Conservative Prime Minister	0.006	0.008		
	(0.008)	(0.005)		
	[0.479]	[0.226]		
Conservative Education Minister			0.003	0.002
			(0.006)	(0.006)
			[0.724]	[0.766]
Observations	208,405	207,969	208,405	207,969
R-squared	0.014	0.196	0.014	0.196
Panel B: Standardized Reading Achievemen	nt			
Conservative Prime Minister	0.058**	0.028		
	(0.027)	(0.039)		
	[0.108]	[0.611]		
Conservative Education Minister			0.033	-0.005
			(0.029)	(0.036)
	100.040	1 6 0 4 0	[0.371]	[0.922]
Observations	163,346	162,940	163,346	162,940
R-squared	0.014	0.234	0.014	0.234
Panel C: Grade Point Average				
Conservative Prime Minister	0.062***	0.043		
	(0.018)	(0.027)		
	[0.030]	[0.368]		
Conservative Education Minister			0.069***	0.045
			(0.015)	(0.029)
Observations		106.040	[U.UU5]	[U.348]
Observations Discussed	197,252	190,840	197,252	190,840
r-squared	0.047	0.091	0.047	0.091
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform & Economic & Individual Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Table A6: Effects of Government Ideology on Students' Academic Performance in Ninth Grade

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Dependent variables: (Panel A) Academic school attendance. (Panel B) Standardized test scores in reading. (Panel C) Standardized grade point average, the higher the value the better the GPA. Control variables: see Table 6 for included reform, education and individual controls. Inference: Standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% / 5% / 10% level. Data source: PProgram for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

	(1)	(2)		
Panel A: Standardized Reading Achievement (Fourth Grade)				
Binding Recommendation	0.054*	0.047		
	(0.028)	(0.029)		
	[0.234]	[0.245]		
Observations	70,615	70,615		
R-squared	0.218	0.218		
Panel B: Standardized Math Achievement (Fourth Grade)				
Binding Recommendation	0.152***	0.174**		
	(0.050)	(0.066)		
	[0.203]	[0.182]		
Observations	60,856	60,856		
R-squared	0.193	0.193		
Panel C: Actual Academic School Attendance (	Ninth Grade)			
Binding Recommendation	0.020**	0.015*		
	(0.007)	(0.007)		
	[0.252]	[0.131]		
Observations	207,969	207,969		
R-squared	0.196	0.197		
Panel D: Reading Achievement (Ninth Grade)				
Binding Recommendation	0.016	0.029		
	(0.027)	(0.028)		
	[0.616]	[0.419]		
Observations	162,940	162,940		
R-squared	0.234	0.234		
Panel E: Grade Point Average (Ninth Grade)				
Binding Recommendation	0.023	0.023		
	(0.020)	(0.023)		
	[0.391]	[0.484]		
Observations	196,846	196,846		
R-squared	0.091	0.091		
State & School Year FEs	Yes	Yes		
Reform & Economic & Individual Controls	Yes	Yes		
Conservative Prime Minister	Yes	No		
Conservative Education Minister	No	Yes		

Table A7: Reform Effects on Students' Academic Performance, Controlling for Government Ideology

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables. (Panel A) Standardized test scores in reading, fourth grade. Panel B) Standardized test scores in math, fourth grade. (Panel C) Academic school attendance, ninth grade. (Panel D) Standardized test scores in reading, ninth grade. (Panel E) Standardized grade point average. Control variables: see Tables 3 and 6 for included reform, education and individual controls. Inference: Standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

	Age in Months			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Fourth Grade Students				
Binding Recommendation	-0.352	-0.531	-0.779**	-0.765**
	(0.395)	(0.394)	(0.342)	(0.320)
	[0.489]	[0.480]	[0.139]	[0.159]
Control Mean	124.833	124.833	124.833	124.833
Observations	68,135	68,135	68,135	68,135
R-squared	0.102	0.102	0.104	0.148
Panel B: Ninth Grade Students				
Binding Recommendation	0.188	0.159	0.155	0.307
	(0.182)	(0.174)	(0.279)	(0.278)
	[0.220]	[0.221]	[0.219]	[0.268]
Control Mean	187.680	187.680	187.680	187.680
Observations	208,247	208,247	207,812	207,812
R-squared	0.220	0.221	0.219	0.268
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	No	No	Yes

Table A8: Reform Effects on Students' Age

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables: age in months. Control variables: see Tables 3 and 6 for included reform, education and individual controls. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015.

	Reading Achievement in Ninth Grade			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Binding Recommendation	0.041	0.068	0.027	0.020
	(0.037)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.027)
	[0.292]	[0.173]	[0.553]	[0.526]
Control Mean	-0.055	-0.055	-0.055	-0.055
Observations	172,686	172,686	172,279	172,279
R-squared	0.016	0.017	0.017	0.234
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reform Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	No	No	Yes

 Table A9:
 Reform Effects on Ninth Grade Reading Achievemnet (Including PISA 2012 Scores)

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables: standardized test scores in reading, ninth grade. Control variables: see Table 6 for included reform, education and indivudal controls. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Data source: Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, 2006 and 2012 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009 and 2015.

	# ATTs	<pre># of ATTs with Negative Weight</pre>	Sum of Negative Weights		
	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Panel A: Reading Achievement (Fourth Grade)					
	22	9	-0.218		
Panel B: Actual Academic School Attendance (Ninth Grade)					
	84	12	-0.153		
Panel C: Reading Achievement (Ninth Grade)					
-	65	16	-0.109		
Panel D: Grade Point Average (Ninth Grade)					
-	84	12	-0.160		

Table A10: Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020): Differences-in-Differences Diagnostics

*Notes:* Results from Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020) diagnostics test implemented using STATA *twowayfeweights* command. Estimated weights of all group-period clusters in the basic model, controlling for state and school-year fixed effects.

	# ATTs	<pre># of ATTs with negative weight</pre>	Sum of negative weights	
-	(1)	(2)	(3)	
Panel A: Reading Achieveme	nt (Fourth Grade)	)		
	10	0	-	
Panel B: Actual Academic School Attendance (Ninth Grade)				
	36	3	-0.050	
Panel C: Reading Achieveme	nt (Ninth Grade)			
	35	3	-0.064	
Panel D: Grade Point Averag	ge (Ninth Grade)			
	36	3	-0.053	

Table A11: Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020): Differences-in-Differences Diagnostics without 'Always-Treated'

*Notes:* Results from Chaisemartin and D'Haultfœuille (2020) diagnostics test implemented using STATA *twowayfeweights* command. Estimated weights of all group-period clusters in the simple model, controlling for state and school-year fixed effects. Sample, excluding the states of Bavaria, Thuringia and Saxony.

	Fourth Grade Students	Ninth Grade Students			
	Read. Achievement	Acad. School	Achievem.	GPA	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Binding Recommendation	0.056	0.015*	0.045**	0.025	
	(0.033)	(0.007)	(0.016)	(0.026)	
Observations	[0.407] 58.206	[0.205]	[0.015] 133 760	[0.497] 161 346	
R-squared	0.224	0.198	0.234	0.095	
State Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
School Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Reform & Economic & Indivdual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

#### Table A12: Reform Effects on Students' Academic Performance without 'Always-Treated'

*Notes:* Differences-in-differences regressions weighted by students' sampling probability, including state and school year of transition fixed effects. Binding recommendation: teacher recommendation was binding in the school year of transition from primary to secondary school. Dependent variables. (1) Standardized test scores in reading, fourth grade. (2) Academic school attendance, ninth grade. (3) Standardized test scores in reading, ninth grade. (4) Standardized grade point average, the higher the value the better the GPA, ninth grade. Control variables: see Tables 3 and 6 for included reform, education and individual controls. Inference: standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. \*\*\*/\*\*/\* indicate significance at the 1% /5% /10% level. Square brackets additionally present p-values from wild cluster bootstrap by Roodman et al. (2019). Data source: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IGLU-E) 2001 and 2006, National Assessment Study (NAS) 2011 and 2016. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA-E) 2000, 2003, and 2006 and National Assessment Study (NAS) 2009, 2012, and 2015—excluding the states of Bavaria, Thuringia and Saxony.