



NEPC REVIEW: WHY INDIANA PARENTS CHOOSE: A CROSS-SECTOR SURVEY OF PARENTS' VIEWS IN A ROBUST SCHOOL CHOICE ENVIRONMENT (EdCHOICE, SEPTEMBER 2017)



Reviewer:

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November 2017

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Summary of Review

In this report, a school choice advocacy group presents results from its survey of K-12 parents within and across the public and private sectors. They report that parents are highly satisfied with voucher and tax credit scholarship programs and suggest that the findings support the expansion of school choice programs. However, these and other findings are consistent with research showing general parental satisfaction with their children's schools. One underemphasized finding is that substantial proportions of public school families—the largest constituency of K-12 parents in Indiana—did not participate in private school choice programs because they are happy with their current schools and want to support public schools. The survey and analysis fall short in four ways. First, three incompatible data collection methods were used to collect small samples of non-representative groups of Indiana parents. Second, the statistical analyses are too weak to draw clear conclusions. Third, while organized like a conventional research study, the report appears to be designed to advance an agenda rather than provide substantive answers to important policy questions. Finally, the report provides little new information about parents' experiences with their children's schools. Thus, the report does not add to our knowledge about school choice in Indiana or provide much useful information about public support for school choice programs.



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I. Introduction

In *Why Indiana Parents Choose*, Andrew C. Catt and Evan Rhinesmith¹ attempt to broaden policy discussions about school choice beyond student achievement by surveying parents across the public and private school sectors in Indiana about their knowledge of private school choice options, why they chose their children's schools, the difficulties parents encountered finding schools, parents' satisfaction with their children's schools, and their goals for their children's education. Five groups of parents participated in the survey: parents whose children attend a school operated by a public school district, public charter school parents, voucher parents, tax-credit scholarship parents, and non-choice private school parents, or parents who pay for their children's private school tuition without state support.

Since 2011, Indiana has operated a statewide voucher program, the School Choice Scholarship Program, which funds students' tuition and fees at participating private schools. Since 2010, Indiana has also provided a 50% tax credit for individuals and corporations who donate to a scholarship granting organization (SGO) that awards private school scholarships.² The School Choice Scholarship Program is one of the largest in the country. In the 2016-17 academic year, 34,299 or 2.9% of Indiana's K-12 students participated in the program. Fifty-five percent of these students had not previously attended an Indiana public school before participating in the School Choice Scholarship Program. As enrollment in these programs increases, the state funds directed to these programs has also risen. In 2016-17, Indiana distributed \$146 million in Choice Scholarships to participating students.³

Indiana is a good setting to compare parents across the public and private school sectors given the relatively high participation rates in its private school choice programs and the size

of the charter school sector. According to estimates provided in the report, 3.2% of K-12 students in the state attend charter schools, and 5.2% are non-choice private school students.

II. Findings and Conclusions

There are three major sections of the report. The first is focused on comparing parents' experiences with Indiana's private school choice programs, the Choice Scholarship Program (voucher families) and the School Scholarship Tax Credit Program (tax credit families). The second compared the five groups of parents on their satisfaction with their schools and the factors they prioritized in enrolling at their children's schools. The final section of the report compared non-choice private school parents, district school parents, and charter school parents who reported that their children changed schools, and the factors that influenced that decision.

Experiences of private school choice families

Both voucher and tax credit scholarship families reported high satisfaction with the private school choice programs in which they participated (83% and 85%, respectively). Urban and suburban parents were more satisfied with the Choice Scholarship Program than small town and rural parents. Likewise, parents with a college degree or higher were also more satisfied with the Choice Scholarship Program than parents without a college degree.

The vast majority of families (85%) who participate in a private school choice program continue to participate in subsequent school years. Most of the families who leave the program do so because their families are no longer eligible. They either do not meet the income requirements or their child graduated from high school.

The parents from the other sectors (non-choice private school, district school, and charter school parents) were asked to select the reasons they did not participate in the private school choice programs. Thirty-five percent of district school families and 42% of charter school families reported that they were happy with the schools their children attend. Finally, while 22% of district school families reported that they wanted to support public schools, only 4% of non-choice private school families and 7% of charter school families selected this option.

Parents' satisfaction with schools and priorities for choosing their children's schools

The majority of parents across the five sectors (74% or more) were somewhat satisfied or completely satisfied with their children's schools. The major differences between the groups were in the balance between the "somewhat satisfied" and "completely satisfied" responses. For example, district school parents were evenly split between somewhat satisfied and completely satisfied, whereas larger percentages of parents participating in choice (public and

private) selected completely satisfied.

The five groups of parents were also asked to identify the most important reason why they chose their children's schools. Forty-five percent of district school parents chose a school because it was their assigned district school. District school parents also prioritized a location close to home and work (19%) and academics (11%). The top choice for voucher (23%) and non-choice private school families (30%) was religious environment and instruction, followed by academics and moral, character, and values instruction. The top choice among tax credit scholarship families and charter school families was academics (24% and 19%, respectively). However, the second most selected feature among tax credit scholarship families was religious environment and instruction, while for charter school families it was small school. Across all five sectors, academics were among the top three most important reasons families chose their schools.

Parents were also asked how they supported their children's education and their goals for their children's education. At least 80% of district school, non-choice private school and charter school parents reported that they helped their children with homework at least one night per week. Compared to the other three groups, voucher and tax credit scholarship parents reported helping with homework at lower rates (68% and 62%, respectively).

In general, there were few differences in how parents across the five sectors ranked 19 educational goals. For example, between 85 and 95% of parents in each sector reported that it was very important or extremely important that their children develop strong critical thinking skills, and learn good study habits and self-discipline. Likewise between 80 and 90% of all parents responded that it was very important or extremely important that their children can identify their own interests and pursue their talents on their own. The largest range in parents' responses across the five sectors was on the goal of finishing high school with job skills that do not require further education.

Parents who changed schools

Substantial proportions of non-choice private (30%), district school (39%), and charter school parents (47%) reported that their children changed schools during their educational careers. Most of these parents moved their children from district schools. Seventy-seven percent of district school parents moved their children from another district school, compared to 64% of charter school parents, and 46% of non-choice private school parents.

III. The Report's Rationale for Its Findings and Conclusion

The results presented in the report are drawn from a descriptive analysis of the survey questions. Parents were divided into groups by the sector of the school their children attended. The responses of parents within each sector to individual survey questions were compared by locale, race, income, and education. The report paired subgroups and used z-tests to as-

sess statistically significant differences in the proportions of each subgroup that selected a response category on a survey question.⁴

IV. The Report's Use of the Research Literature

While a cursory search on Google Scholar using the search terms “parent satisfaction” and “school choice” yields over a thousand articles, the literature review section is less than three pages of a 60-page report and tended to emphasize non-refereed works from the University of Arkansas and EdChoice. The report did not claim that the review is comprehensive; rather it is intended to focus on recent research. The earliest study included in the review was published in 2001. Most studies suggest that parents who choose their children’s schools tend to be more satisfied than those who do not. However, many of the studies the report reviewed compared groups of parents who are active choosers: parents who participate in lotteries for scholarships or attendance slots at oversubscribed schools, and parents who attend different types of charter schools. Active choosers tend to be more positive about their school choice decisions.

V. Review of the Report's Methods

In survey research, the validity and utility of a study is dependent on the methodological rigor of the research design. This is where this study diverged sharply from conventional standards for conducting research. There are significant problems with both the methods used to conduct the survey and the data analysis.

The study utilized three sampling methods and did not provide a rationale for combining them, which is highly irregular. In the first phase of data collection, a private research firm administered an online survey to a group of subjects they identified using proprietary methods; the response rate from this phase was extremely low (1.6%). The second and third phases of data collection targeted school choice parents. In the second phase, parents who participated in EdChoice’s 2013 and 2016 surveys of private school parents were contacted. Slightly more than 5,000 parents were surveyed and 774 (15%) of these responded with complete (545) or partial surveys (229). In the third phase, charter school parents were surveyed using a snowball sampling technique. Eighty-two charter school leaders were contacted by a charter advocacy organization and asked to send the survey to their schools’ parents. This strategy yielded 89 additional completed and partial surveys.

The use of the latter two methods is problematic because they are clearly non-random sampling procedures. While the report acknowledged this limitation, it downplayed: a) the ad hoc methods of data collection; and b) the extent to which the choice parents are overrepresented in the sample and were a self-selected group. More than half of the private school parents were past respondents in EdChoice’s surveys of private school parents. Similarly,

just under half of the charter school parents were asked to participate in the survey by their school principals. These more personal connections may have made these groups of parents more likely to participate in the survey. Notably, the highest response rate (15%) was among private school parents who were prior participants in EdChoice surveys; this group also received six reminder emails. In the first phase of data collection, parents were sent only two reminders to complete the survey. As noted above, the response rate from the email survey of all parents in the first phase of data collection was substantially lower.

Similarly, because the email addresses used in the first phase of the survey administration were collected by a private research firm using undisclosed proprietary methods, it is not clear how parents were identified, and the extent to which parents whose children attended district schools were targeted. Only a small fraction of district school parents participated in the survey (0.14% of the population). While the response rates of the other groups of parents were also small relative to their population sizes, they were substantially higher than the response rates of district school parents. Finally, the research firm that conducted the survey dropped 960 responses to the survey for “suspicion of specious responses” which reduced the final analysis sample to 3,532 parents.⁵

After a series of questions asking parents about their participation in private school choice, programs, the core of the survey consisted of Likert items asking parents how satisfied they were with their children’s schools and, for private school parents, the private school choice program they were participating in. Another pair of questions asked parents to identify the

While the problems with the sample are substantial, the data and analyses are also problematic

factors that influenced their choice of their children’s current schools and then to select the most influential factor from that list. Non-choice private school, district school, and charter school parents were asked why they did not participate in the private school choice program. Parents with more than one child enrolled in a K-12 school were directed to answer the survey based on their experiences with their oldest child. Par-

ents whose children were no longer in school but had a child enrolled in school within the last five years were asked to answer the survey for their most recently enrolled child. The survey itself provides little new or useful information. For example, the question asking parents to identify all of the factors that influenced their decisions to have their children attend their current schools in a yes/no format resulted in an unwieldy list of factors that is difficult to interpret. A substantial proportion of the district school parents selected “This is my assigned neighborhood school,” which is not surprising since that response is targeted to that group, which makes it difficult to meaningfully compare their responses to the parents from the other sectors.

While the problems with the sample are substantial, the data and analyses are also problematic. The report provides a descriptive analysis of the survey questions. Parents were divided into groups by the sector of the schools their children attended. Parents’ responses were also compared by subgroups within each sector based on locale, race, household income and education. Statistically significant differences were noted where relevant. The report explicitly stated that causality should not be inferred from any of the findings. These are all standard

research practices. However the report should have been more transparent in how some of the key findings were presented, and in particular how non-response on key questions was addressed in the analysis. The report also should have more fully addressed the extent to which the respondents were representative of the families attending each type of school. In addition, the survey did not contain questions asking parents about their satisfaction with specific aspects of their children's current schools. A final issue is that the statistical procedures and findings are not clearly and directly reported. I discuss each of these in turn below.

Non-response on key questions

In the description of the methodology and data sources, the report noted that a substantial number of parents from each sector submitted partial responses to the survey. While in the report, the "raw response" rates were reported underneath the figures reporting the findings on individual questions (p. 13), this does not address the large number of missing responses on key questions, which were not accounted for in the analysis. For example, the first sets of analyses focus on voucher and tax-credit scholarship families and report the number of years families have participated in school choice programs and their satisfaction in the school choice program. The numbers underneath each figure indicate there were non-responses of 17% and 14% for voucher and tax-credit parents, respectively, which are substantial. These questions have some of the highest non-response rates for these two groups of families. In comparison, 3% of the voucher parents and 4% of the tax-credit parents did not respond to the questions about ease of finding a private school and about their satisfaction with their children's *current* schools. If the missing responses are incorporated into the analysis, the number of voucher parents from the full sample of 733 parents who reported being completely satisfied with Indiana's school choice programs drops from 62% to 51%, which is a substantial difference, although still a majority of parents. That said, it is rather unsurprising that parents are largely satisfied with these programs because they subsidize the cost of private school attendance for a small group of families. Three percent of K-12 students in Indiana attend private schools using the voucher provided by the Choice Scholarship Program. Given these issues, these findings should not be overemphasized by virtue of their placement as the first finding reported in the Executive Summary and the second in the body of the report after an analysis of years of participation in the voucher program.

Perhaps more importantly, the background questions asking parents about their race and income were among the questions with the most missing information. For example, based on the information reported in the tables provided in Appendix 2, 21% of the voucher parents did not respond to the question about household income (p. 44). While there were little differences in satisfaction among parents who provided information about their household income, we do not know how parents who did not answer the income question responded. Likewise, because the question about satisfaction and private school choice programs had a relatively high non-response rate, only 65% of the voucher parents in the analysis sample were included in the subgroup analysis of the relationship between income and satisfaction.

The non-response rates for the questions asking parents to report their race, income, and education were similarly high across groups of parents. For example, the supplemental in-

formation about the questionnaire indicated that 27% of the parents whose children attended schools operated by school districts were missing information on the questions asking them to report their race/ethnicity and household income.⁶ Without knowing how the parents who did not provide information on the background question answered the survey questions about the choice programs, it is difficult to assess whether or not this loss of cases was consequential. While the report noted that the subgroup analyses should be interpreted with “strong caution” because of small sample sizes, the report should have reported missing values more directly and accounted for them in the analyses when relevant.

Representativeness of the samples

While the survey collected information about families’ backgrounds, and the analysis provided comparisons across subgroups, the report did not address the extent to which the samples for each sector are representative samples, aside from a brief disclaimer. This is a striking omission given that this information is readily available from state reports and data. For example, comparing the results provided in the supplemental information about the survey⁷ with data and reports available from the Indiana Department of Education⁸ suggests that White parents are overrepresented and Hispanic parents are underrepresented in the voucher and district school samples, and Black parents are underrepresented in the district school sample (Table 1). Similarly, low-income households were also underrepresented in the voucher sample (30%) compared to the voucher population (56%). While the authors noted that they were not claiming their samples are “wholly representative of the corresponding populations of parents in each of the school sectors,”⁹ they should have addressed this issue explicitly as well as any possible implications for their findings.

Table 1: Race/Ethnicity of Analysis Sample Compared to Voucher and Public School Populations

	Voucher Sample (N=590)	Voucher Population (N=34,299)	District School Sample (N=1061)	All Public School Students (N=1,049,292)
White	72%	60%	82%	69%
Black	12%	12%	9%	12%
Hispanic	9%	19%	4%	12%
Asian	3%	2%	1%	2%
American Indian	2%	<1%	1%	<1%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0%	<1%	0%	<1%
Two or more races	2%	6%	2%	5%
Prefer not to respond	2%	0%	1%	0%
Non-response rate	19.5%	n/a	27%	n/a

Sources: see endnotes 7 and 8

Why are parents satisfied with their children's current schools?

While the report's measure of parent satisfaction is based on parents' overall assessment of their children's schools, many studies of parent satisfaction ask parents how satisfied they were with specific features of their children's schools such as the curriculum, teachers, school climate, safety, and discipline.¹⁰ Instead, the survey items focused on school qualities in the context of a question asking parents why they chose their children's schools, which is not unrelated but a separate issue. As a result, the report does not provide insight into the factors that underlie parents' satisfaction with their children's current schools and how these might vary within and across sectors.

Inadequate statistical reporting

In the body of the report, contrasts between pairs of subgroups are often described as "statistically significant" based on the use of z-tests to assess differences in the proportions of each subgroup that selected a response category. Yet this procedure is not explained in the text of the report but is relegated to a footnote in the tables presented in the appendix. While the technique is statistically correct, the z-test is an unconventional method of analyzing Likert items because it is focused on a single response category within a question. A more appropriate method would be to calculate a chi-square statistic for contingency tables that contain the full set of responses on a survey question for the subgroups being compared. In addition, the appendix does not provide all of the statistical analyses discussed in the body of the report. For example, the summary at the top of Figure 13 states that private school choice parents are "more likely to say academics are a choosing factor" compared to public school parents, but these results are not provided in the appendix.¹¹ It is not surprising that the report concluded that private school choice parents are more likely to choose academics when the survey question used in the analysis included a category specifically targeted to and selected by a substantial proportion of district school parents: "This is my assigned neighborhood school." In this context, the use of any comparison of is problematic because it does not consider the broader context of the question and the full array of responses parents were asked to choose from. In addition, selecting .10 as the threshold for statistical significance rather than .05, which is more commonly used, inflated the number of statistically significant findings. While the text described the comparisons that were statistically significant at .10 as "marginal" differences, this distinction may not be clear to the lay reader.

VI. Review of the Validity of the Findings and Conclusions

The methodological issues described above raise questions about the validity of the findings. The supplemental information about the survey suggests additional questions.¹² When the survey was administered, parents were asked two screening questions: a) if they participated in the private school choice programs, and b) how many children they had attending schools in other sectors. Some parents indicated that they had children enrolled in multiple sectors (p. 3). In the questions that followed, parents were asked to answer the survey for

their oldest children, suggesting that parents might enroll their children in schools across programs and sectors. If a substantial number of parents are utilizing multiple sectors, then this phenomenon needs to be further explored, particularly in settings like Indiana where parents have multiple options for public and private school choice. We do not know how many families are multi-sector families, or the extent to which parents' experiences in multiple sectors shape their perceptions of their children's schools.

Further, in the final set of analyses, 39% of the district school parents indicated that they switched schools. Most of these parents (77%) reported that their children's previous school was a district school. This indicates that a substantial proportion of district school parents are engaging in school choice *within* the district public school sector. Yet this is not highlighted as a form of school choice even though the report's introduction briefly discussed magnet schools and interdistrict choice as forms of public school choice that are available in Indiana. Given the size of this group (548 or 16% of the parents in the analysis sample), it should have been included in the analysis as a sixth group. Prior studies, including a study cited in the literature review, have suggested that within the group of district school parents, active choosers, or parents who chose their children's schools, tend to be more satisfied than parents whose children attend their assigned neighborhood schools.¹³ However, Jochim et al. (2014) found no difference in parents' satisfaction between parents who attended their assigned schools and parents who attended public schools of choice (e.g., magnet schools and charter schools).¹⁴

Finally, it is unclear why some findings are highlighted over others, particularly in the Executive Summary. For example, the finding that non-choice private school parents are more likely to be satisfied with their children's schools than district school parents was emphasized rather than the finding that 74% or more of all parents are satisfied with their children's schools. Likewise, the Executive Summary also highlighted differences between both types of private school choice parents and district school parents on two goals for their children, patriotism and being accepted at a top-tier college, when the charter school parents' responses were almost the same as the district school parents. In these and other areas, the interpretation of findings tended to overemphasize differences between the district school parents and private sector parents and underemphasized other similarities that were evident in the tables and figures.

VII. Usefulness of the Report for Educational Policy and Practice

While the report provided some interesting information about the parents participating in Indiana's wide range of public and private school choice programs, it provided few new insights for educational policy and practice. The high rates of satisfaction among all five groups of parents confirms the findings of prior studies, but we know little about the specific features of schools that parents value in their decision to remain at a school for the long term, or the areas that parents feel may need improvement. The report also failed to fully address its own questions about parents' motivation for choosing schools, why parents are

satisfied with their children's schools, and parents' educational goals. If the policy goal is to increase enrollment in or provide political support for private school choice programs, the attractive layout and extensive use of colorful graphs may be effective. While organized using the format of a research study, the report's failure to ground its analyses in the broader research literature, employ conventional sampling techniques, and provide relevant statistical details renders the report of little value for advancing educational policy and practice.

However, two understated findings from the report bear emphasizing. The Indiana parents surveyed here tended to largely agree on their educational goals for their children. A majority of all parents want their children to develop critical thinking skills and be prepared for college. At the same time, substantial proportions of Indiana's public sector families—the largest constituency of K-12 parents—reported that they did not participate in private school choice programs because they are happy with their current schools and want to support public schools. Indiana policymakers need to focus how to support and improve public schools so that all families have the option to attend high-quality schools that meet their families' educational needs and goals.

Notes and Resources

- 1 Catt, A. & Rhinesmith, E. (2017). *Why Indiana parents choose: A cross-sector survey of parents' views in a robust school choice environment*. Indianapolis, IN: EdChoice. Retrieved October 15, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-2.pdf>
- 2 Both programs have income requirements. Most families participating in the Choice Scholarship Program have to have household incomes that are at or below 150% of income threshold for free and reduced lunch. The income threshold for special education and continuing Choice Scholarship families (students who received a Choice Scholarship in the prior year) is at or below 200% of the free and reduced lunch income requirement. Students are eligible to receive a scholarship from an SGO if their families' incomes are at or below 200% of the eligibility threshold for free and reduced price lunch.
- 3 Indiana Department of Education (2017a). *Choice Scholarship Program final report: Participation and payment data* (Revised August 2017). Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <https://www.doe.in.gov/sites/default/files/choice/2016-2017-choice-scholarship-program-report-spring-revision-final-0811.pdf>
- 4 For example, voucher parents were asked "In general, how satisfied are you with the Choice Scholarship Program (voucher)?" Z-tests were used to test if there was a statistically significant difference in the proportions of Black parents who responded "Completely Satisfied" compared to the proportion of White parents with the same response.
- 5 Catt, A. & Rhinesmith, E. (2017). *Why Indiana parents choose: A cross-sector survey of parents' views in a robust school choice environment*. Indianapolis, IN: EdChoice. Retrieved October 15, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-2.pdf> (p. 12).
- 6 EdChoice (2017). *Questionnaire and topline results: Why Indiana parents choose*. Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-Questionnaire-and-Topline-Results.pdf>
- 7 EdChoice (2017). *Questionnaire and topline results: Why Indiana parents choose*. Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-Questionnaire-and-Topline-Results.pdf>
- 8 The figures for the voucher population sample are reported in Indiana Department of Education (2017a). *Choice Scholarship Program final report: Participation and payment data* (Revised August 2017). Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <https://www.doe.in.gov/sites/default/files/choice/2016-2017-choice-scholarship-program-report-spring-revision-final-0811.pdf>

The figures for the public school population are based on the author's calculations from Indiana Department of Education Indiana Department of Education (2017b). *School enrollment by ethnicity and free/reduced price lunch meal status*. Retrieved October 25, 2017, from <https://www.doe.in.gov/accountability/find-school-and-corporation-data-reports>. These figures include charter school students, but because charter school students comprise 4% of all public school students, the percentages reported here would not change much if charter schools students were omitted.
- 9 Catt, A. & Rhinesmith, E. (2017). *Why Indiana parents choose: A cross-sector survey of parents' views in a robust school choice environment*. Indianapolis, IN: EdChoice. Retrieved October 15, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-2.pdf> (p. 12).
- 10 See, for example: Schneider, M., & Buckley, J. (2003). Making the grade: Comparing DC charter schools to other DC public schools. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 25(2), 203-215;

U.S. Department of Education (2012). *The National Household Education Survey: A survey about students' and families' experiences with their schools*. Washington D.C.: Author. Retrieved October 25, 2017, from https://nces.ed.gov/nhes/pdf/pfi/PFI_enrolled_2012.pdf;

Wohlstetter, P., Nayfack, M.B., & Mora-Flores, E. (2008). Charter schools and “customer” satisfaction: Lessons from field-testing a parent survey. *Journal of School Choice*, 2(1), 66-84.

- 11 Catt, A. & Rhinesmith, E. (2017). *Why Indiana parents choose: A cross-sector survey of parents' views in a robust school choice environment*. Indianapolis, IN: EdChoice. Retrieved October 15, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-2.pdf> (p. 28).
- 12 EdChoice (2017). *Questionnaire and topline results: Why Indiana parents choose*. Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <https://www.edchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Why-Indiana-Parents-Choose-Questionnaire-and-Topline-Results.pdf>
- 13 Cheng, A. & Peterson, P. (2017). How satisfied are parents with their children's schools? New evidence from a U.S. Department of Education survey. *Education Next* 17(2), 20-27;
Goldring, E.B., & Phillips, K.J. (2008). Parent preferences and parent choices: The public-private decision about school choice. *Journal of Education Policy*, 23(3), 209-230.
- 14 Jochim, A., DeArmond, M., Gross, B., & Lake, R. (2014). *How parents experience public school choice*. Bothell, WA: Center for Reinventing Public Education. Retrieved October 24, 2017, from <https://www.crpe.org/publications/how-parents-experience-public-school-choice>