Test-Optional Admissions

Dessein, Frankel, Kartik

Discussion by Adam Kapor, Princeton University

August 29, 2023

• Important topic and RQ:

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required
 - But in doing so it may reject people society wants it to admit, or vice versa.

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required
 - But in doing so it may reject people society wants it to admit, or vice versa.
 - 3 Obscuring scores prevents society from finding the cases of extreme disagreement.

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required
 - But in doing so it may reject people society wants it to admit, or vice versa.
 - 3 Obscuring scores prevents society from finding the cases of extreme disagreement.
 - \blacksquare Application: society bans AA \implies colleges may drop SAT, harming society.

- Important topic and RQ:
 - Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required
 - But in doing so it may reject people society wants it to admit, or vice versa.
 - Obscuring scores prevents society from finding the cases of extreme disagreement.
 - \blacksquare Application: society bans AA \implies colleges may drop SAT, harming society.
- Argument does not rely on:

- Important topic and RQ:
 - ▶ Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required
 - But in doing so it may reject people society wants it to admit, or vice versa.
 - Obscuring scores prevents society from finding the cases of extreme disagreement.
 - \blacksquare Application: society bans AA \implies colleges may drop SAT, harming society.
- Argument does not rely on:
 - Changes in applicant pool (held fixed in this paper)

- Important topic and RQ:
 - Many colleges (not just elite) adopted test-optional admissions during COVID.
 - ▶ But now that testing is cheap again, these policies have persisted.
 - ▶ Why would colleges want to commit not to learn something they care about?
- Main result: "disagreement costs" can motivate colleges not to learn scores.
 - A college can replicate its "test-optional" assignment w/ test-required
 - But in doing so it may reject people society wants it to admit, or vice versa.
 - Obscuring scores prevents society from finding the cases of extreme disagreement.
 - \blacksquare Application: society bans AA \implies colleges may drop SAT, harming society.
- Argument does not rely on:
 - Changes in applicant pool (held fixed in this paper)
 - ▶ Endogenous test-prep effort (e.g. muddled information; multitasking; ...)

The test-optional policy should strengthen and diversify an already outstanding applicant pool and will broaden access for those high-achieving students who have historically been underrepresented at selective colleges and universities... – GWU administrator, quoted in paper.

Whether this "works" depends on who selects in; quality of other signals

- Whether this "works" depends on who selects in; quality of other signals
 - ► Texas Top Ten (incidentally, involving partial commitment) seemed to "work" in practice (Black, Denning, Rothstein)

- Whether this "works" depends on who selects in; quality of other signals
 - ► Texas Top Ten (incidentally, involving partial commitment) seemed to "work" in practice (Black, Denning, Rothstein)
 - Mini-lit on SAT-optional (mostly liberal-arts) colleges; apps up but no impact on URM enrollment (Belasco et al (2015); Sweitzer et al (2018); Rosinger and Ford (2019); Saboe and Terrizzi (2019); Bennett (2022) is a partial exception.)

- Whether this "works" depends on who selects in; quality of other signals
 - ► Texas Top Ten (incidentally, involving partial commitment) seemed to "work" in practice (Black, Denning, Rothstein)
 - Mini-lit on SAT-optional (mostly liberal-arts) colleges; apps up but no impact on URM enrollment (Belasco et al (2015); Sweitzer et al (2018); Rosinger and Ford (2019); Saboe and Terrizzi (2019); Bennett (2022) is a partial exception.)
 - ▶ Borghesan (2023): (1) SAT is informative and not more biased than other measures; (2) dropping it in eqbm would harm elite colleges; not help minorities.

We hope the test-optional policy sends a message to prospective students that if you are smart, hard-working and have challenged yourself in a demanding high school curriculum, there could be a place for you here.... We want outstanding students from all over the world and from all different backgrounds—regardless of their standardized scores—to recognize GW as a place where they can thrive.

- GWU administrator, same source as quoted in paper.

We hope the test-optional policy sends a message to prospective students that if you are smart, hard-working and have challenged yourself in a demanding high school curriculum, there could be a place for you here.... We want outstanding students from all over the world and from all different backgrounds—regardless of their standardized scores—to recognize GW as a place where they can thrive.

- GWU administrator, same source as quoted in paper.
 - Colleges seem to cultivate uncertainty (ambiguity?) about admissions prefs...

We hope the test-optional policy sends a message to prospective students that if you are smart, hard-working and have challenged yourself in a demanding high school curriculum, there could be a place for you here.... We want outstanding students from all over the world and from all different backgrounds—regardless of their standardized scores—to recognize GW as a place where they can thrive.

- GWU administrator, same source as quoted in paper.
 - Colleges seem to cultivate uncertainty (ambiguity?) about admissions prefs...
 - Perhaps declaring test-optional provides info about what college wants?

We hope the test-optional policy sends a message to prospective students that if you are smart, hard-working and have challenged yourself in a demanding high school curriculum, there could be a place for you here.... We want outstanding students from all over the world and from all different backgrounds—regardless of their standardized scores—to recognize GW as a place where they can thrive.

- GWU administrator, same source as quoted in paper.
 - Colleges seem to cultivate uncertainty (ambiguity?) about admissions prefs...
 - Perhaps declaring test-optional provides info about what college wants?
 - Empirically, doesn't look like this has worked out so far.

You persuade them by gerrymandering their beliefs.

• So how do theorists make an agent want to commit to not generate some info, when everyone is a good Bayesian?

- So how do theorists make an agent want to commit to not generate some info, when everyone is a good Bayesian?
- Make agent's payoff concave in information.

- So how do theorists make an agent want to commit to not generate some info, when everyone is a good Bayesian?
- Make agent's payoff concave in information.
- This paper does so via a convex "disagreement cost", evaluated at expectation

- So how do theorists make an agent want to commit to not generate some info, when everyone is a good Bayesian?
- Make agent's payoff concave in information.
- This paper does so via a convex "disagreement cost", evaluated at expectation

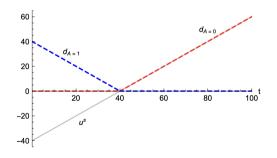


Figure 1 – Disagreement cost from accepting (A = 1) and rejecting (A = 0) an student.

• Two key features of disagreement costs:

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- \implies Not simply college's preferences over entering class \neq society's.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- \implies Not simply college's preferences over entering class \neq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- \implies Not simply college's preferences over entering class \neq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.
- But general shape may be very reasonable.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- ullet Not simply college's preferences over entering class eq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.
- But general shape may be very reasonable.
 - ► College gets little credit at margin for "good" decision; lots of blame for "bad"

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- ullet Not simply college's preferences over entering class \neq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.
- But general shape may be very reasonable.
 - ► College gets little credit at margin for "good" decision; lots of blame for "bad"
 - Revealing "extra" info, beyond that needed for decision, runs risk of blame.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- \implies Not simply college's preferences over entering class \neq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.
- But general shape may be very reasonable.
 - College gets little credit at margin for "good" decision; lots of blame for "bad"
 - ▶ ⇒ Revealing "extra" info, beyond that needed for decision, runs risk of blame.
 - "Ego utility" (Koszegi 2006): to get a candidate not to learn own score, make payoff concave in E(score).

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- ullet Not simply college's preferences over entering class eq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.
- But general shape may be very reasonable.
 - College gets little credit at margin for "good" decision; lots of blame for "bad"
 - Revealing "extra" info, beyond that needed for decision, runs risk of blame.
 - "Ego utility" (Koszegi 2006): to get a candidate not to learn own score, make payoff concave in E(score).
 - ► Reference dependence w/ normative reference could look like this.

- Two key features of disagreement costs:
 - I Zero if college, society agree on (binary) decision, otherwise \propto |disagreement|.
 - Evaluated at expected value | available info.
- \implies Not simply college's preferences over entering class \neq society's.
- "social pressure" term perfectly flat in region of agreement: stylized.
- But general shape may be very reasonable.
 - College gets little credit at margin for "good" decision; lots of blame for "bad"
 - Revealing "extra" info, beyond that needed for decision, runs risk of blame.
 - "Ego utility" (Koszegi 2006): to get a candidate not to learn own score, make payoff concave in E(score).
 - ▶ Reference dependence w/ normative reference could look like this.
 - Journalism and litigation worse for colleges if there are obvious cases.

• Classically, sender wants to make receiver take sender's desired action as often as possible.

- Classically, sender wants to make receiver take sender's desired action as often as possible.
 - ► This paper: informed party chooses action, but pays cost if "receiver" (society) disagrees given its info

- Classically, sender wants to make receiver take sender's desired action as often as possible.
 - ► This paper: informed party chooses action, but pays cost if "receiver" (society) disagrees given its info
- Managing society's beliefs is easier if scores are not produced at all.

- Classically, sender wants to make receiver take sender's desired action as often as possible.
 - ► This paper: informed party chooses action, but pays cost if "receiver" (society) disagrees given its info
- Managing society's beliefs is easier if scores are not produced at all.
 - ▶ should interpret college in this paper as coalition of all colleges.

- Classically, sender wants to make receiver take sender's desired action as often as possible.
 - ► This paper: informed party chooses action, but pays cost if "receiver" (society) disagrees given its info
- Managing society's beliefs is easier if scores are not produced at all.
 - should interpret college in this paper as coalition of all colleges.
 - ► Aside: paper mentions 25 states (but not CA, NY) require SAT/ACT for high school graduation. Couldn't society see these?

- Classically, sender wants to make receiver take sender's desired action as often as possible.
 - ► This paper: informed party chooses action, but pays cost if "receiver" (society) disagrees given its info
- Managing society's beliefs is easier if scores are not produced at all.
 - should interpret college in this paper as coalition of all colleges.
 - ► Aside: paper mentions 25 states (but not CA, NY) require SAT/ACT for high school graduation. Couldn't society see these?
 - One exception (see end of this paper): SAT-blind may make some discriminination cases harder.

- Empirical DiD lit is about individual colleges dropping exams; this paper is about all of them.
- Are SAT-optional decisions by colleges strategic complements?
 - ▶ If apps costly, not using SAT scores can induce more apps.
 - ▶ Value of taking SAT falls if fewer colleges use it.
 - If test-prep costly, then a college, j, going test-optional can reduce returns to effort for people who like j.
- Is world in 2023 very different from 2018? Maybe we want model with multiple eqba?

- Empirical DiD lit is about individual colleges dropping exams; this paper is about all of them.
- Are SAT-optional decisions by colleges strategic complements?
 - ▶ If apps costly, not using SAT scores can induce more apps.
 - ▶ Value of taking SAT falls if fewer colleges use it.
 - If test-prep costly, then a college, j, going test-optional can reduce returns to effort for people who like j.
- Is world in 2023 very different from 2018? Maybe we want model with multiple eqba?

• Who controls the College Board?

- Who controls the College Board?
 - ▶ If run by a single elite college, why not make scores "1" or "0"? (Compare AP exams).

- Who controls the College Board?
 - ▶ If run by a single elite college, why not make scores "1" or "0"? (Compare AP exams).
 - U.S. has competing private exam firms, unlike other countries w/ college entrance exams.

Conclusions

- This paper: colleges are designing the information that society uses to judge them, at some cost.
 - ► My view: worth pursuing this channel!
 - Empirical lit: SAT-optional hasn't increased diversity or ability of entering class so far.
 - This suggests that we should look for alternative explanations.
 - ▶ Seems very plausible that colleges are trying to hide info used to make decisions.
 - ► This paper shows how to get this story to work in equilibrium without fooling people.
 - Disagreement costs: RF for threat of bad press, litigation, legislation, ...
 - ► Maybe we (empiricists) should think more about info design, e.g. how would we know if this is going on?
- A lot of interesting stories involve multiple firms:
 - Many questions for next paper...