

## **Snooze or Lose: High School Start Times and Academic Achievement\***

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**Abstract:** Many U.S. high schools start classes before 8:00 A.M., yet research on circadian rhythms suggests that teenagers' biological clocks shift to later in the day. This paper uses longitudinal data from the Child Development Supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID-CDS) to conduct the first study using a nationally representative dataset to examine the effect of high school start times on longer-run academic outcomes, including college-entrance exam scores, high school completion, and college attendance, including four-year college attendance and selective college attendance. Results indicate that female students who attend schools with later start times are less likely to graduate from high school, even though they are getting more sleep. Female students who attend schools that start later score higher on the SAT; they are also more likely to participate in a sports team. Male students also get more sleep when their schools start later, but they are less likely to attend college, especially four-year colleges. Male students who attend schools that start later also spend significantly less time in front of the TV or computer (for non-homework purposes). We find no statistically-significant effects of school start times on homework time.

**Keywords:** Academic achievement, School start times, Sleep, Time allocation

**JEL classification:** I2, J22

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## **I. Introduction**

Over the past decade, many U.S. school districts have pushed their high school morning bell times later in response to surveys suggesting that teens are not getting enough sleep and evidence from sleep scientists suggesting that children’s circadian rhythms shift to later in the day as they enter adolescence.<sup>1</sup> Poor or little sleep is correlated with higher rates of obesity, lower cognitive performance, and higher rates of depression. Therefore, shifting to later start times has the promise of increasing both sleep and academic achievement.

However, changing bell times often occurs with much disruption to local communities’ schedules, because many schools originally set early schedules for high schools to implement less-expensive multiple-tiered busing schedules. Opponents of later start times argue that, in addition to raising busing costs, later start times would negatively affect students’ participation in sports, after-school jobs, and other extracurricular activities (Sleep in Fairfax 2013). Early start times, however, may not be detrimental to learning if students are able to adapt to waking up early or if teachers are more productive with early schedules.

The link between school start times and achievement has received much attention in the popular press, by the health community, and even by Congress. House Concurrent Resolution 176, introduced to Congress in 2007 as the “Zzz’s to A’s Resolution” but not passed, called for secondary schools nationwide to begin the school day after 9:00 A.M. Recently, the American Academy of Pediatrics (2014) recommended that “in most districts, middle and high schools should aim for a starting time of no earlier than 8:30 A.M.” If delaying start times causes students to get more sleep, students may experience increases in health outcomes and cognitive performance and ultimately academic achievement. Some recent papers by economists (Carrell,

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<sup>1</sup> Some of these changes in school start times have been documented by Start School Later, Inc. (2015).

Maghakian, and West 2011; Edwards 2012; Hinrichs 2010; Wong 2011) have examined whether changing school start times results in a positive effect on measurable academic outcomes, with mixed results.

The goals of this paper are to examine whether school start times affect (1) students' decisions to pursue a college degree and (2) student learning as measured by college-entrance exam scores and high school completion. This paper differs from previous studies because we use data from a nationally representative sample of high school students (the Child Development Supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics [PSID-CDS] and its follow-up, the Transition to Adulthood [TA] study) and examine several longer-term measures of academic achievement. We also use the CDS time diaries to explore the effects of high school start times on students' time allocation, which could help to explain any observed effects on academic achievement beyond a disturbance in natural sleep cycles. Results indicate that female students who attend schools with later start times are less likely to graduate from high school, even though they are getting more sleep. Male students also get more sleep, but we observe negative effects on their four-year college attendance.

## **II. Background and Literature Review**

### *A. Sleep Patterns and Sleep Science*

A sleep-laboratory study among adolescents given a 10-hour sleep opportunity suggested that adolescents need on average 9.2 hours of sleep each night (Carskadon et al. 1980). Recently, the National Sleep Foundation recommended that teenagers (aged 14-17) sleep between 8 and 10 hours each night (Hirshkowitz et al. 2015). However, a national survey of adolescents found that adolescents in high school reported sleeping on average only 7.2 hours on

the typical school night (National Sleep Foundation 2006).<sup>2</sup> About 40 percent of U.S. public high schools started the school day before 8:00 A.M. in 2007-08, and about 85 percent started before 8:30 A.M. (U.S. Department of Education 2013). Advocates of later bell times argue that delaying bell times would allow students to get more sleep, which would promote cognitive functioning during the school day and improve academic achievement (e.g., Jacob and Rockoff 2011; National Sleep Foundation 2013).

These claims have a basis in sleep science. Sleep scientists postulate that sleep/wake behavior in humans is coordinated by two processes: a circadian timing system and a homeostatic system (Borbely 1982). The circadian system is associated with the hormone melatonin, is influenced by light and darkness, and tends to make humans tired during the nighttime hours. The homeostatic system provides sleep pressure that increases the longer a person is awake and decreases with sleep. There is some evidence that the circadian system of humans undergoes a phase shift in adolescence (associated with puberty) toward later bedtimes and later wake-up times (Carskadon, Vieira, and Acebo 1993). A later sleep/wake cycle may also be promoted by a slower accumulation of homeostatic sleep pressure, allowing adolescents to stay awake longer (Crowley, Acebo, and Carskadon 2007).

In addition to biological factors, environmental factors appear to contribute to the later sleep/wake cycle of adolescents. These factors include reduced parental influence on bedtimes, increased homework, and extracurricular activities such as sports, music, and part-time employment (Carskadon 1990). In short, the evidence from sleep science argues that early start times are in conflict with the desired sleep patterns of adolescents. Environmental influences

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<sup>2</sup> Estimates from time diaries suggest that adolescents actually sleep slightly longer than estimates from surveys about usual hours (e.g., Kalenkoski and Pabilonia 2012). The time-diary estimates from the PSID-CDS and ATUS both fall close to the lower bound of the appropriate sleep-duration range for adolescents as specified in the National Sleep Foundation's recommendations (Hirshkowitz et al. 2015).

and changes in biological systems may limit the ability of students to make adequate adjustments to early start times.

### *B. Start Times and Academic Achievement*

Our paper investigates the relationship between starting times in high school and academic achievement. A small number of papers have investigated this relationship, and the evidence is mixed. The earliest research in this area used data from the Minneapolis–St. Paul (Minnesota) metropolitan area, where Minneapolis and several suburban districts shifted to later bell times for their high schools (starting in 1997-98) but St. Paul and other suburban districts maintained early schedules. Wahlstrom (2002) examined Minneapolis high schools before and after the change and found that attendance rates increased and grades improved slightly. However, Hinrichs (2010) found no effect of starting times on achievement in an analysis that involved data from both schools that changed schedules and those that did not change schedules. Using individual-level ACT test-score data for students in the region who took the test for several years before and after the policy change, Hinrichs found that students who attended high schools with later start times did no better on the ACT than students who attended high schools with earlier start times. Hinrichs obtained similar results using school-level data on starting times and scores on statewide standardized tests from Kansas and Virginia.

In contrast, Wong (2011) found positive effects of later school start times on school-level student performance on state standardized tests. He primarily used a nationally representative cross-sectional sample of high schools from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) 2007-08 Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) combined with scale scores on standardized tests obtained from state departments of education. In a study of middle school students in Wake County, North Carolina, Edwards (2012) also found positive effects of starting times on short-

run achievement. In this county during the 1999-2006 period, there was substantial variation in starting times both across schools and within schools over time. Edwards found that later start times were associated with greater scores on standardized tests in math and reading. Carrell, Maghakian, and West (2011) also provide evidence that suggests a positive effect of later start times, at least for older teenagers. They examined college students in their first year at the U.S. Air Force Academy, where freshmen are randomly assigned to courses and schedules. They found that students who began the school day later in the morning performed better in all of their courses taken that day compared with students who began the day earlier in the morning.

Related literature addresses whether the time of day that students attend a class affects their performance. Cortes, Bricker, and Rohlfs (2012) found that high school students in Chicago Public Schools received lower grades and were more likely to be absent from a class when it met in first period than when it met later in the day. Dills and Hernandez-Julian (2008) found that college students at Clemson University received higher grades in a class if it met later in the day. High school students performed better on cognitive tests given in the afternoon than in the morning (Hansen et al. 2005).

### *C. Mechanisms*

According to several strands of literature, the primary mechanism connecting high school start time and academic achievement is sleep. There is general evidence that school attendance is associated with sleep loss. Students sleep less on weekdays during the school year than during the summer, and during the school year they sleep less on school nights than on weekends (Crowley et al. 2007; Hansen et al. 2005; Stewart 2014). Moreover, surveys have found that students of all ages who start school earlier in the day obtained less total sleep on school nights (Carskadon et al. 1998; Knutson and Lauderdale 2009; Stewart 2014; Wolfson and Carskadon

1998; Wolfson et al. 2007).<sup>3</sup> When a large school district delayed its start time for high school by 60 minutes, average hours of sleep on school nights increased and “catch-up” sleep on weekends decreased (Danner and Phillips 2008). In addition, prior research suggests that wake-up times rather than bedtimes change in response to changes in school start times (e.g., Knutson and Lauderdale 2009; Stewart 2014). Epstein et al. (1998) found that early start times increased sleepiness in fifth graders regardless of the amount of sleep the children got. Thus, disrupting natural sleep cycles could also negatively affect academic achievement.

In addition to the evidence that later start times are associated with more sleep, studies have related sleep and achievement. Evidence from laboratory studies indicates that sleep deprivation impairs cognitive performance (Pilcher and Huffcutt 1996). Many studies document that students who obtain more sleep perform better in school and on standardized tests, although these correlations do not establish a causal relationship (Eide and Showalter 2012; Wolfson and Carskadon 2003).

Beyond sleep, there are several other potential mechanisms that may mediate the link between school starting times and academic achievement. Starting times may affect the amount of time that students spend in part-time work, sports, and other extracurricular activities. Starting times may also affect parental employment and the amount of time that students spend with their parents. Each of these things has its own influence on academic achievement and labor-market outcomes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The range of estimates in the literature for a 60-minute delay in start time is additional sleep of 20 minutes to 60 minutes.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Light (2001) reviewed the positive benefits of student employment; Lipscomb (2007) found that participation in sports and other extracurricular activities increased students’ math and science scores; and Stevenson (2010) found that increases in state-level female sports participation following Title IX resulted in increases in female college-attendance rates.

Given the existing literature on starting times, sleep, and student achievement, it seems likely that other mechanisms are relevant. Specifically, the partial effect of a later starting time on achievement that operates through sleep is likely positive because a later start time should increase sleep and more sleep should improve achievement. If the total effect of a later starting time on achievement is smaller than the partial effect, other mechanisms would appear to be responsible. For instance, later start times may reduce participation in extracurricular activities, thereby reducing the achievement gains associated with increased sleep.

### **III. Data**

#### *A. Data Sets Used*

Our data come primarily from the Child Development Supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID-CDS) and its follow-up, the Transition to Adulthood (TA) survey. The PSID-CDS began in 1997 (referred to henceforth as CDS-I) with children aged 0-12 and is nationally representative. Up to two children in a family were interviewed. These children were then reinterviewed in 2002-03 (CDS-II) and again in 2007-08 (CDS-III). After a child reached the age of 18 and was no longer attending high school, his/her participation in the CDS ended, but he/she was eligible for a follow-up TA survey. The TA surveys began in 2005 and have continued every two years. We use data from the TA surveys from 2005 through 2011.

For our study, the CDS-I provides background information on the child's race, and the main PSID interviews provide information on the respondent's family structure and mother's education.<sup>5</sup> A unique aspect of the PSID-CDS is the collection of two 24-hour time diaries – one for a randomly-assigned weekday and another for a randomly-assigned weekend day. Each diary contains start and stop times of primary and secondary activities occurring from midnight to

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<sup>5</sup> We use the main PSID interview in 2003 for CDS-II high school respondents and the main PSID interview in 2007 for CDS-III high school respondents.



midnight on the diary day. The TA provides a wealth of information on high school achievement, college attendance, and employment.

We control for high school-level variables by matching our sample to the NCES Common Core of Data (CCD) using school identifiers from the restricted-use version of the PSID-CDS (2013). We measure four-year college attendance and selective college attendance by matching our sample to the NCES Integrated Post-secondary Education Data System (IPEDS) and NCES-Barron's Admissions Competitiveness Index using TA IPEDS identifiers from the restricted-use version of the PSID-CDS (2013).

We obtain school start and end times from several sources, including current (2014-15) school websites and older school websites archived in the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine; School Start Later, Inc. (2015); the 2007 and 2011 restricted-use versions of the NCES Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS); and data provided by Mary Carskadon and Peter Hinrichs. In most cases, schools do not change their start times from year to year. Usually when we have two sources of bell times for a school in the same year, the sources concurred. As shown in Appendix Table A1, our primary source of bell times is school websites.

Our main independent variable is the school start time. School start time is measured in hours since midnight. It is reported in decimal form and thus indicates a fraction of an hour. In our PSID sample, start times ranged from 7:00 A.M. to 9:15 A.M., with a majority of students (79.9 percent) starting school between 7:30 A.M. and 8:29 A.M. and an average start time of 7:51 A.M.<sup>6</sup> In our regressions, we control for the length of the school day so that our estimates are the effects of starting the school day later without changing its length (as in Hinrichs 2010).

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<sup>6</sup> Specifically, 14.0 percent started before 7:30 A.M., 41.1 percent started between 7:30 A.M. and 7:59 A.M., 38.8 percent started between 8:00 A.M. and 8:29 A.M., and 6.1 percent started at 8:30 A.M. or later.

The length of the school day is created by taking the difference between the school end time and start time.

### *B. Sample Construction*

We examine a subsample of CDS respondents who were enrolled in grades 9-12 in a full-time public high school in either CDS-II (2002-03) or CDS-III (2007-08). To be included in our sample, students must have reported a weekday school-year diary and attended a high school class on that diary day. In addition, the respondent must have complete information on our main academic outcomes from the TA surveys. We examine only respondents who lived with a single parent, two biological parents, or a biological parent and stepparent. We exclude diaries where the student reported being sick on the diary day, which could significantly affect time allocation on the school-day diary. In addition, we drop a few students from the sample because they were missing information on race, free or reduced-price lunch recipient status, usual night sleep, and sadness in past two weeks. We also drop 50 students for whom we were not able to determine school start time.<sup>7</sup> Appendix Table A2 details our sample construction. Our main analysis sample includes 670 respondents – 340 females and 330 males – who attended 510 unique high schools. We conduct separate analyses by gender because of the huge differences in schooling achievement and time use between males and females (Goldin et al. 2006; Jacob 2002; Kalenkoski and Pabilonia 2013).

### *C. Academic Outcomes*

Our main dependent variables include both short-run and long-run academic outcomes: high school graduation, taking a college-entrance exam, scores on college-entrance exams, broad-reading and applied-problem standardized test scores on the Woodcock Johnson Revised

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<sup>7</sup> Observation counts are rounded to the nearest ten in accordance with NCES disclosure requirements.

Tests of Basic Achievement (WJ-R) that were administered at the time of the high school CDS child interview, college attendance by age 20, four-year college attendance, and selective college attendance. Table 1 includes overall sample means for the academic outcomes as well as their means in four categories defined by school start times.

High school graduation is equal to 1 if the student reported earning a high school diploma in a follow-up TA and 0 if the student did not earn a diploma or they earned a GED.<sup>8</sup> TA respondents were asked about college attendance and college-entrance exams only if they had graduated from high school or earned a GED. We use an indicator for taking a college-entrance exam as a measure of a student's intention to pursue postsecondary education. This variable is equal to 1 if the student reported taking the SAT or ACT, and 0 otherwise. We measure scores on college-entrance exams using the combined (math + reading) SAT score; for students who took the ACT but not the SAT, we use their ACT composite score and concordance tables (Dorans et al. 1997; College Board 2009) to create a predicted (combined) SAT score. Average college-entrance exam scores reported in Table 1 are only for those who took a test.

College attendance by age 20 is equal to 1 if the TA respondent reported in the TA that he/she attended a college before turning age 20; it is equal to 0 otherwise.<sup>9</sup> This is a good indicator of long-term achievement because students who enroll in college directly after high school are more likely to attend four-year colleges and have higher college-graduation rates (Bozick and DeLuca 2005). In addition, we define four-year college attendance equal to 1 if the

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<sup>8</sup> Heckman et al. (2011) found that GED recipients have long-term outcomes that are similar to those of high school dropouts.

<sup>9</sup> In each TA, the student recorded the first enrollment date in the current/last college attended and then the first enrollment date for one college attended prior to the current college. We use this information to create a history of college enrollment with the available TAs and compare the first recorded enrollment date with the date the student would have turned age 20. It is possible that the student did not respond to a TA in each year and that when he/she did respond, he/she had attended more than two colleges prior, resulting in measurement error in this dependent variable.

TA respondent reported that the first college he/she attended before turning age 20 was a four-year college and 0 otherwise. We determine selective college attendance based primarily upon the 2008 Barron's rankings of college competitiveness. Selective college attendance is equal to 1 if the first college that the TA respondent attended before turning age 20 was a four-year college ranked between "highly competitive" and "competitive," and 0 otherwise.<sup>10</sup>

Given long-run trends in high school graduation rates (Goldin 1998), it is not surprising that we find that female students were more likely than male students to graduate from high school (96 percent versus 90 percent).<sup>11</sup> In addition, female students were more likely to have attended any college by age 20 (85 percent versus 80 percent), more likely to have attended a four-year college (48 percent versus 39 percent), and more likely to have attended a selective four-year college (38 percent versus 32 percent). Female students were more likely to report taking a college-entrance exam (82 percent versus 77 percent), perhaps indicative of gender differences in the types of colleges attended. Male students scored slightly higher than female students on the SAT. Male students scored higher than female students on the WJ-R applied-problems test.

When we examine the means of the academic outcomes across four start-time categories, we find three striking relationships. For female students, we find that those who started between 7:00 A.M. and 7:29 A.M. were the most likely to graduate from high school (99 percent), while those who started at 8:30 A.M. or later were the least likely to graduate from high school (90 percent). For female students, we also find that those who started between 7:00 A.M. and 7:59

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<sup>10</sup> If the 2008 ranking was not available, we used the 2004 ranking. The results are robust to including "less competitive" colleges as selective. The Barron's selectivity categories have been used in other research measuring college selectivity (e.g., Long 2008).

<sup>11</sup> These are consistent with the nationwide dropout rate of 8.1 percent for 16-24 year olds for 2009 (U.S. Department of Education 2011).

A.M. were more likely to attend college than were those who started at 8:00 A.M. or later. For both sexes, we find that those who started between 7:00 A.M. and 7:29 A.M were much more likely to attend a four-year college (especially a selective four-year college) than were those who started at 7:30 A.M. or later. In our econometric analyses, we examine the relationship between academic outcomes and school start time with a rich set of controls for individual, family, school, and community characteristics.

#### *D. Intermediate Outcomes*

In addition to the academic outcomes, we examine numerous intermediate outcomes, each of which could be affected by start times. Some of these are created from the time diaries, while others are from general survey questions. All measures of time spent on an activity are reported in hours per day. We argue that measures of time spent on an activity that are aggregated from time-use diaries are preferable to measures of “usual” time spent because they are less subject to both aggregation bias and social desirability bias (Juster, Ono, and Stafford 2003). We consider the effects of school start time on students’ sleep, sports participation, homework, screen time, time with parents, employment, weight, and mood.

We examine three measures of sleep – all diary sleep, night diary sleep, and usual sleep. The two diary-sleep measures are intended to measure sleep on school nights.<sup>12</sup> We use weekday diaries but exclude Fridays because Friday bedtime corresponds to a weekend schedule. Usual sleep is obtained from the child-interview portion of the PSID-CDS rather than the time diary. We assume that the usual night sleep reported by students is for a weeknight, because the questionnaire asked “What time do you usually go to bed on weeknights?” just prior to asking about a usual night’s sleep.

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<sup>12</sup> In a future draft, we will examine the effects of school start times on sleep on weekends to examine if they are able to “catch up” on sleep.

As shown in Table 2, there is little difference in the sample means between all diary sleep and night diary sleep (a difference of 0.18 and 0.22 hour for females and males, respectively).<sup>13</sup> In most cases, night sleep includes parts of two sleep episodes: the first episode is the latter part of the sleep cycle begun the day prior to the diary, and the second episode is the first part of the sleep cycle begun on the day of the diary. Female high school students sleep on average 7.93 hours per night on weekdays but report sleeping only 7.30 hours on a “usual” night. Male students sleep slightly more – on average 8.09 hours per night on their diary day and 7.57 hours on a “usual” night.

In addition to examining the effect of start times on sleep time, we consider how start times affect students’ wake-up times and bedtimes. Wake-up time is defined as the end time of last night-sleep episode occurring before 1:00 P.M. on Monday through Thursday diary days.<sup>14</sup> Consistent with prior research (Crowley et al. 2007), female students wake up earlier than male students on school mornings (5 minutes earlier on average). Bedtime is defined as either the start time of the last recorded night-sleep episode (if beginning after noon on the diary day) or the start time of the first night episode that begins at or after midnight but before noon (if the former episode does not exist) on Monday through Thursday diary days.<sup>15</sup> Female students go to bed two minutes later on average.

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<sup>13</sup> One criticism of the diary measure that should not affect our estimates of the effect of school start times is that night sleep can include sleeplessness (Eide and Showalter 2012). In Appendix Table A3, we present separate estimates of diary night sleep and sleeplessness on school nights from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) for a sample of high school students aged 15-18. In the ATUS, we find little reporting on sleeplessness, and teens’ night sleep is actually slightly longer than that reported in the PSID-CDS. Even though the ATUS diary runs from 4 A.M. on one day to 4 A.M. on the next day, the duration of the last activity (usually sleep) is obtained. Therefore, the ATUS measures a complete night-sleep episode.

<sup>14</sup> Some students report starting several night-sleep episodes in the early-morning hours, with other short spells of another activity in between periods of sleep. Although Friday diary days could also be used to examine wake-up times, we do not include them so that our estimated effects on night sleep, bedtime, and wake-up time are for the same sample.

<sup>15</sup> Bedtime is measured in hours. For bedtimes after midnight, we add 24 hours so that they occur after bedtimes before midnight.

It is often argued by opponents of later start times that moving the high school day later would mean that sports teams cannot practice or would have to shorten their practices due to less daylight after school (National Sleep Foundation 2005a). Opponents also argue that students' afterschool employment will be negatively affected (National Sleep Foundation 2005b). We examine two indicators of sports participation. One, from the child-interview portion of the CDS, is whether the student participates in an athletic or sports team at school during that academic year. The other is whether the student participates in an afterschool sport on the diary day. On average, male students are more likely to participate in sports than female students. We examine two measures of employment. One is whether the student is currently employed. The second is the number of hours worked on the weekday diary.

Proponents of later start times argue that students will be less tired if they start school later and thus be more efficient at doing their homework; however, they may also be more rested and thus able to do more homework, resulting in better grades. Indeed, Edwards (2012) found that students spent more time doing homework when schools started later. We examine two measures of homework time from the time diary. One is homework time on the weekday diary, and the other is a weighted average of the weekday and weekend-day homework times. For these measures, we include only homework time that was recorded as a primary activity.<sup>16</sup>

School start times may also affect the amount of time that students spend with their parents on weekdays, due to the degree of synchronization between school schedules and parents' work schedules. We measure time with parents as the sum of all hours on activities where the student reported being in the same room with a parent while at home or accompanying a parent while away from the home. We measure a student's being overweight using an

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<sup>16</sup> Students often report doing homework as a secondary activity (Kalenkoski and Pabilonia 2013; Pabilonia 2015).

indicator for whether the student's age and gender-specific BMI percentile was equal to 85 or greater (i.e., being considered overweight or obese according to the CDC). Male students are more likely than female students to be considered overweight (37 percent versus 25 percent). Proponents of later start times argue that the lack of sleep resulting from early start times contributes to students' mood problems (Wahlstrom 2002). We measure students' mood with an indicator for whether the student was "many times" or "always" sad in the last two weeks. Consistent with other surveys (e.g., Youth Behavior Risk Survey [Department of Health and Human Services 2008]), female students are more likely than male students to be sad (27 percent versus 11 percent).

#### *E. Control Variables*

In our analysis, we include a rich set of controls for individual, family, high school, school-district, and county characteristics. Our individual controls include indicators for black race and Hispanic ethnicity, Census region in high school, and cohort (based on the year in which the student would typically take a college-entrance exam). The cohort control (implemented with a set of dummy variables) accounts for the age/grade in which students were interviewed, broad trends in education, and changes in test scoring or composition.<sup>17</sup> To proxy for ability, we include age-adjusted broad-reading and applied-problems standardized-test scores from the Woodcock-Johnson Revised Tests of Basic Achievement (WJ-R) that were given during the CDS child interview occurring about five years prior to the CDS high school

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<sup>17</sup> In 2005, the SAT added a writing section, changed the content of the math and reading sections, and increased the time and cost of the test (Jacobsen 2013). In the same year, the ACT added a writing section and increased the time of the test (ACT Inc. 2009). Because of these changes, we use a different concordance table (for creating a predicted SAT score from an ACT score) for 2002-04 and 2005-10.



observation.<sup>18</sup> Tests taken at that time are more likely to measure inherent ability (as opposed to achievement) than tests taken during high school.

We control for several family characteristics, including whether the mother has a college degree, whether the student lives with two parents, the number of biological siblings in the family unit, and whether the student received a free or reduced-price lunch at school. In the high school graduation, test-score, and college-by-20 regressions, we also control for whether students were living in a state that mandated that all high school students take the ACT or SAT. We control for several high school-level characteristics: the student-teacher ratio, the fraction white, the fraction eligible for free- or reduced-price lunch, log of the number of students, and urbanicity indicators (suburban, town, and rural). We control for log of the median household income in the school district and the log of the population density in the county where the high school is located. Our intent is to control for school or community factors that might be correlated with both achievement and start times. For example, districts located in the suburbs of major cities tend to have above-average schools and traffic congestion (as proxied by population density); congestion is one factor in districts choosing multiple-tiered busing schedules, which typically involve early start times for high schools.

To motivate our choice of school, district, and county controls, we estimate a series of regressions using the school-level data in the 2007-08 SASS. The dependent variable in the regressions is school start time (coded in hours since midnight), and each regression has a different set of controls. The school controls are Census region, urbanicity, log of the number of students, student-teacher ratio, percent white, and percent eligible for free- or reduced-price lunch. The district variable is the log of median household income (for 1999, based on data from

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<sup>18</sup> Approximately 21 percent of the sample is missing these scores. We include an indicator for missing scores and impute a score for these students using the average score.

the 2000 Census). The county variable is the log of population density (for 2010, based on data from the 2010 Census). The results, shown in Appendix Table A4, indicate that the most important determinants of start times are Census region (schools in the Northeast start earlier), urbanicity (suburban schools start earlier), and the number of students (larger schools start earlier). The variation by urbanicity and school size is consistent with the notion that large suburban districts are more likely to have earlier start times in order to reduce transportation costs.

#### **IV. Econometric Analyses**

For the discrete outcomes (e.g., high school graduation), we estimate simple probit models of the following form:

$$\Pr(Y=1) = F(a_0 + a_1S + a_2D + a_3X) \quad (1)$$

where the dependent variable,  $Y$ , is the academic outcome or intermediate outcome;  $S$  denotes school start time;  $D$  denotes the length of the school day;  $X$  is the vector of control variables;  $a_0$ ,  $a_1$ ,  $a_2$  and  $a_3$  are the coefficients to be estimated; and  $F(\cdot)$  is the CDF of the standard normal distribution. The subscripts indicating observation and outcome are suppressed. Our estimated effect of start time on  $Y$  is the average marginal effect of  $S$ .

For continuous outcomes (e.g., college-entrance exam scores), we estimate linear models using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS):

$$Z = b_0 + b_1S + b_2D + b_3X + u \quad (2)$$

where  $Z$  represents the continuous outcome;  $b_0$ ,  $b_1$ ,  $b_2$  and  $b_3$  are the coefficients to be estimated; and  $u \sim N(0,1)$ . Length of school day ( $D$ ) is included as a control in (1) and (2) because we are interested in the effect of changing the school start time without changing the length of the

school day. All regressions are weighted using the CDS child weights, and standard errors are adjusted for clustering by school.<sup>19</sup>

In estimating these equations, we are interested in the causal effect of start time on achievement. Although bell times are exogenous to the student, it is possible that our estimated coefficient on start time ( $b_1$  in the linear models; or the average marginal effect of  $S$  in the probit models) does not represent that causal effect. In particular, it is possible that our estimates suffer from an omitted variables bias due to student sorting into schools with different starting times. Although our models include controls for a number of school characteristics, it could be that schools with earlier start times are better or worse than schools with later start times in ways that we do not capture in our controls.

Tables 3 and 4 present the average marginal effects from probit estimates of effects on long-run academic achievement.<sup>20</sup> The results indicate that delaying the school start time by one hour while holding school day length constant decreases the probability that female students graduate from high school by 8.5 percentage points. For male students, delaying the school start time by one hour decreases the probability that they attend a four-year college by 16.6 percentage points and a selective four-year college by 10.2 percentage points (although the latter effect is not statistically significant at conventional levels).

School day length does not have a statistically-significant effect on academic outcomes for female or male students. Consistent with other research suggesting that math ability is related to academic and labor-market outcomes (Joensen 2007; Aughinbaugh 2012), the effect of

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<sup>19</sup> The CDS-II and CDS-III child weights account for attrition since the CDS1. We do not further account for attrition in the TA.

<sup>20</sup> We estimate the female students' high school graduate probit without the mother's college degree indicator variable, because mother's college degree perfectly predicts high school graduation. For similar reasons, we estimate the college-entrance exam probits using the subsample of students who did not live in a state mandating an exam.

the W-J applied-problem score on the probability of each of the academic outcomes is positive for females and males (although it is not always statistically significant at conventional levels for males). The effect of living either with two parents or with a mother who has a college degree on academic outcomes is positive and in many instances statistically significant.<sup>21</sup> Among female students, we find that being black increases the probability of attending college by age 20. Among male students, we find that being Hispanic increases the probability of attending college by age 20 but decreases the probability of attending a selective four-year college. Being a free- or reduced-price lunch recipient reduces the probability of college attendance by age 20 by 7.2 percentage points for female students and 11.3 percentage points for male students. For female students, the probability of taking a college-entrance exam increases with the number of siblings. For male students, the probability of graduating from high school increases with the number of siblings.

We find that delaying the school start time by one hour has a large positive effect on the SAT score for female students (an effect that is 8.4 percent of the mean score), which is consistent with previous research on the effects of start times on exam performance; however, we find no effect on the other test scores examined (Table 5). For male students, we do not find any statistically-significant effects of start times on test scores. For female students, the prior WJ-R applied-problem score has a positive effect on all test scores. This score also has a positive effect on high school WJ-R applied-problem scores and SAT scores for male students. The prior WJ-R broad-reading score has a small positive effect on female students' high school WJ-R scores and the high school WJ-R broad-reading score and SAT scores of male students.

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<sup>21</sup> The latter effect is consistent with prior research suggesting the intergenerational transmission of human capital (Currie and Moretti 2003).

In Table 6, we show the effects of school start times and school day length on both the timing and duration of sleep.<sup>22</sup> For female students, we find that in response to a delay in start time of one hour, they sleep 0.449 hours more per night. In response to a delay in start time by one hour, male students adjust their night sleep by 0.468 hours. Thus, the diary measures indicate that in response to a delay in start time of one hour, students get almost a half an hour of extra sleep each night. In addition, we find that male students sleep longer at night if they attend a longer school day. If we use the “usual sleep” measure, the effect of school start time on night sleep for both female and male students is smaller and not statistically significant at conventional levels.

Similar to previous research (Knutson and Lauderdale 2009; Wolfson et al. 2007), we find that both male and female students adjust their sleep schedules to a later start time by waking up over three quarters (0.796) of an hour and 0.634 of an hour later in the day, respectively. However, while female students go to bed at about the same time (regardless of their school start time), we find that male students will, on average, go to bed 19 minutes later in response to a delay in their start time of one hour. Broadly speaking, though, these effects on sleep are consistent with the notion that early school schedules are not in sync with adolescents’ circadian rhythms.

In Table 7, we show the effects of school start times and school day length on a variety of other intermediate outcomes, including sports participation, homework, screen time, time with parents, employment, and health outcomes. For female students, we find that they are more likely to belong to a sports team when schools start later, which is counter to the argument made by opponents of later school start times. However, there is no effect on the amount of time that

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<sup>22</sup> Estimates for the other control variables are not presented here for the sake of brevity but are available from the authors upon request.

they spend playing sports. We find no statistically significant effects of school start times on female students' other outcomes. For male high school students, we find that they spend less time watching TV or using the computer for non-homework purposes (screen time) when school starts later, which is consistent with Edwards' (2012) finding for middle school students. These results do not suggest that female students' other activities (i.e., activities other than sleep) can explain the positive relationship between school start times and SAT scores; in addition, the results in Table 7 cannot explain the estimated negative effect of start times on academic outcomes.

In addition, with later start times, male students are not any more or less likely to hold a job or spend time at work, which is counter to the argument made by opponents of later school start times. For male students, we find that an increase in school day length increases time spent on homework outside of school. For female and male students, we find that an increase in school day length decreases work time. For female students, we find that an increase in the school day length decreases the amount of time they spend on sports and their screen time. For males, an increase in the school day by an hour increases the probability of experiencing sadness during the last two weeks by 9.8 percentage points.

## **V. Discussion**

Our results suggest that shifting to a later start time would have some negative effects on long-run academic achievement, although we do find a positive effect on female students' SAT scores. There are several potential explanations for later start times having no effect or a negative effect on achievement. One reason is statistical: Although we controlled for some school-level characteristics, our estimated effects of school start time may still be biased by a

failure to adequately control for particular school-level characteristics that are correlated with achievement and school start times.

Taking our results at face value, it is possible that later start times have no effect (or even a negative effect) on achievement even though later start times are associated with more sleep (Hinrichs 2010). When schools start later, students get more sleep and as a result may learn more per unit of time; however, because they are awake for less time, they may learn less outside of school. Although students with early start times get less sleep on school nights, they may be able to make other lifestyle changes so that their achievement is not affected. For instance, they could increase their sleep on weekends; they could use caffeine to promote alertness for their morning classes; and they could receive extra support from their parents (or tutors) with their homework.

Another set of reasons for why we may observe a negative effect on achievement relates to how school-related inputs to education production are affected by start times. Although students may prefer later start times, teachers may prefer earlier start times; as a result, teachers may be less productive with later start times. With later starting times, schools face potential conflicts with after-school sports and other extracurricular activities. They may shift these activities to the morning (counteracting any effect of later start times for student athletes) or even dismiss students early on particular days, which would reduce instructional time.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Using the nationally representative PSID-CDS, we find that when school starts an hour later, students sleep almost half an hour more on school nights. However, we do not find evidence that this increase in sleep translates into improved long-run academic outcomes, although SAT scores do improve among female students. To the contrary, results suggest that

later school start times have large negative effects on the probability of graduating from high school for female students and the probability of four-year college attendance by age 20 for male students. We also investigated a number of other mechanisms (besides sleep) through which later school start times could affect academic achievement, but none of these effects can explain the relationships between school start times and academic achievement.

In future work on this subject, we will explore how increases in sleep time (from later school start times) affect students' allocation of time among other waking activities (besides school) that may have effects on student achievement, including alternative homework-time measures and weekend activities.



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**Table 1. Means of Academic Outcomes by School Start Time**

Variables	All	7:00 – 7:29 AM	7:30 – 7:59 AM	8:00 – 8:29 AM	8:30 – 9:15 AM
<i>Females</i>					
High school graduate	0.96	0.99	0.96	0.95	0.90
Take SAT or ACT exam	0.82	0.86	0.79	0.82	0.91
SAT (math + reading)	1090.67	1112.54	1067.69	1102.92	1081.68
WJ-R broad-reading score	104.85	104.34	106.30	103.82	104.26
WJ-R applied-problems score	103.76	105.45	105.32	101.99	101.78
College attendance by age 20	0.85	0.89	0.88	0.81	0.81
Four-year college by age 20	0.48	0.66	0.43	0.46	0.35
Selective four-year college by age 20	0.38	0.52	0.38	0.35	0.29
Observations	340	50	120	140	30
<i>Males</i>					
High school graduate	0.90	0.90	0.88	0.92	0.98
Take SAT or ACT exam	0.77	0.85	0.75	0.75	0.82
SAT (math + reading)	1131.99	1132.08	1103.89	1182.03	1098.73
WJ-R broad-reading score	103.84	101.81	103.37	103.46	111.71
WJ-R applied-problems score	109.08	109.65	107.32	110.67	111.22
College attendance by age 20	0.80	0.83	0.78	0.82	0.79
Four-year college by age 20	0.39	0.63	0.34	0.36	0.45
Selective four-year college by age 20	0.32	0.54	0.27	0.27	0.40
Observations	330	50	140	110	40

Note: CDS child weights used. Observation counts are rounded to the nearest ten in accordance with NCES disclosure requirements.

**Table 2. Means of Other Variables**

Variables	Female	Male
<i>Intermediate Outcomes</i>		
Sleep on weekday diary (hours, M-TH)	8.11	8.31
Night sleep on weekday diary (hours, M-TH)	7.93	8.09
Usual night sleep (hours, presumed weeknight)	7.30	7.57
Wake-up time (hours since midnight) [clock time]	6.37 [6:22 A.M.]	6.45 [6:27 A.M.]
Bedtime (hours since midnight) [clock time]	22.40 [10:24 P.M.]	22.37 [10:22 P.M.]
Participate in afterschool sport that year	0.29	0.40
Participate in afterschool sport on diary day	0.21	0.25
Weekday homework as a primary activity (hours/day)	1.19	0.74
Homework as a primary activity (hours/week)	7.67	4.78
Weekday screen time as a primary activity (hours/day)	2.00	2.65
Weekday time spent with parent (hours/day)	3.57	3.63
Currently employed	0.22	0.22
Weekday work (hours/day)	0.31	0.31
Overweight	0.25	0.37
Sad in last two weeks	0.27	0.11
<i>Individual Independent Variables</i>		
School start time (hours since midnight) [clock time]	7.86 [7:52 A.M.]	7.86 [7:52 A.M.]
School day length (hours)	6.98	6.98
White	0.68	0.68
Black	0.18	0.19
Hispanic	0.14	0.13
WJ-R broad-reading score (before HS)	109.20	107.45
WJ-R applied-problem score (before HS)	108.35	113.93
Missing a WJ-R score (before HS)	0.20	0.19
Lived in East region in HS	0.18	0.19
Lived in North Central region in HS	0.23	0.20
Lived in South region in HS	0.32	0.30
Lived in West region in HS	0.27	0.31
College test 2002/2003	0.24	0.27
College test 2004	0.16	0.13
College test 2005	0.14	0.11
College test 2007/2008	0.28	0.27
College test 2009/2010	0.18	0.22
Fall interview	0.30	0.33
Winter interview	0.59	0.56
Spring interview	0.11	0.11
State-mandated college-entrance exam	0.08	0.09

Note: CDS child weights used.

\*Only asked for high school graduates and GED recipients. We assume zero for the outcome for those not asked.

**Table 2 (continued). Means of Other Variables**

Variables	Female	Male
<i>Family Independent Variables</i>		
Lives with both biological parents or a parent and step parent	0.72	0.71
Number of biological siblings in family unit	1.37	1.34
Mother college degree (non-missing)	0.28	0.25
Mother education missing	0.05	0.06
Free or reduced-price lunch recipient	0.26	0.23
<i>School-level Variables</i>		
Student-teacher ratio	17.92	18.11
Fraction white	0.59	0.61
Fraction eligible for free or reduced-price lunch	0.31	0.33
Urban school	0.32	0.28
Suburban school	0.30	0.31
Town school	0.14	0.17
Rural school	0.24	0.24
Log(number of students in high school)	7.15	7.03
<i>District-level Variable</i>		
Log(median household income in school district)	10.70	10.67
<i>County-level Variable</i>		
Log(population density in county)	6.03	5.86
Missing school-level, county, or district variable	0.05	0.06
Number of observations	340	330

**Table 3. Effects of School Start Times on Academic Outcomes (Females)**

Variables	HS graduate	Take college- entrance exam	College by 20	Four-year college	Selective four- year college
School start time	-0.085** (0.041)	0.042 (0.061)	-0.067 (0.052)	0.014 (0.078)	0.042 (0.071)
Day length	-0.004 (0.024)	0.016 (0.046)	0.010 (0.044)	-0.062 (0.082)	-0.038 (0.076)
Black	0.013 (0.032)	-0.001 (0.067)	0.108* (0.061)	0.174 (0.110)	0.060 (0.098)
Hispanic	0.011 (0.045)	-0.026 (0.082)	0.100 (0.078)	0.110 (0.129)	0.122 (0.131)
Broad-reading score	-0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Applied-problem score	0.002*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)
Live with two parents	0.024 (0.024)	0.066 (0.044)	0.125** (0.053)	0.071 (0.066)	0.021 (0.064)
Number of siblings	0.016 (0.011)	0.028* (0.016)	0.022 (0.016)	0.011 (0.029)	0.007 (0.029)
Mother college degree	-	0.110* (0.060)	0.069 (0.054)	0.105 (0.074)	0.140** (0.066)
Free/reduced-price lunch recipient	0.003 (0.032)	-0.073 (0.049)	-0.072* (0.043)	0.073 (0.073)	0.014 (0.071)
State-mandated college exam	-0.008 (0.025)	-	0.119* (0.061)	0.091 (0.117)	0.110 (0.110)
Observations	340	310	340	340	340
Pseudo R-squared	0.424	0.346	0.352	0.242	0.287

Notes: CDS child weights used. Standard errors clustered by high school are in parentheses. All regressions also include indicators for Census region, cohort effects, missing WJ-R score, missing mother's education, school-level characteristics, log of median household income in the school district, log of population density in the county, and a constant. Mother college degree is omitted from HS graduate regression for females because all female respondents whose mothers went to college graduated from high school. From the college-entrance-exam probits, we excluded respondents who lived in states that mandated an exam in the year they would typically have taken the exam.

Significance levels: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.



**Table 4. Effects of School Start Times on Academic Outcomes (Males)**

Variables	HS graduate	Take college- entrance exam	College by 20	Four-year college	Selective four- year college
School start time	0.005 (0.031)	-0.059 (0.064)	-0.032 (0.053)	-0.166** (0.070)	-0.102 (0.064)
Day length	0.005 (0.027)	-0.079 (0.060)	0.043 (0.047)	-0.028 (0.061)	-0.036 (0.067)
Black	-0.038 (0.036)	0.097 (0.096)	0.008 (0.067)	-0.013 (0.093)	-0.039 (0.078)
Hispanic	-0.020 (0.044)	0.111 (0.127)	0.217** (0.098)	-0.114 (0.147)	-0.420*** (0.154)
Broad-reading score	0.003*** (0.001)	0.002 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.004* (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Applied-problem score	0.003* (0.001)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	0.008*** (0.002)
Live with two parents	0.060** (0.027)	0.108* (0.055)	0.028 (0.049)	0.066 (0.063)	0.062 (0.056)
Number of siblings	0.032** (0.016)	0.020 (0.025)	0.035* (0.020)	-0.020 (0.027)	0.006 (0.025)
Mother college degree	0.081* (0.048)	0.201** (0.084)	0.155** (0.067)	0.167*** (0.061)	0.178*** (0.051)
Free/reduced-price lunch recipient	0.066* (0.035)	-0.086 (0.074)	-0.113** (0.053)	-0.057 (0.081)	0.014 (0.077)
State-mandated college exam	0.104 (0.066)	-	0.107 (0.081)	-0.116 (0.095)	-0.168* (0.093)
Observations	330	310	330	330	330
Pseudo R-squared	0.517	0.236	0.323	0.275	0.374

Notes: CDS child weights used. Standard errors clustered by high school are in parentheses. All regressions also include indicators for Census region, cohort effects, missing WJ-R score, missing mother's education, school-level characteristics, log of median household income in the school district, log of population density in the county, and a constant. Mother college degree is omitted from HS graduate regression for females because all female respondents whose mothers went to college graduated from high school. From the college-entrance-exam probits, we excluded respondents who lived in states that mandated an exam in the year they would typically have taken the exam.

Significance levels: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Table 5. Effects of School Start Times on Test Scores (OLS)**

Variables	Females			Males		
	Broad- reading score	Applied- problem score	SAT (reading + math)	Broad- reading score	Applied- problem score	SAT (reading + math)
School start time	2.014 (1.910)	0.175 (1.929)	92.037** (36.619)	-0.977 (2.238)	0.627 (2.259)	-9.491 (38.916)
Day length	2.692* (1.629)	2.443 (1.770)	-3.492 (38.223)	1.099 (1.806)	-1.049 (1.642)	-38.393 (41.239)
Black	-5.375* (2.835)	-1.794 (3.021)	-124.978** (51.295)	-1.976 (2.941)	-4.707 (3.002)	-103.044* (57.439)
Hispanic	-3.717 (3.394)	-0.415 (3.506)	52.131 (76.117)	-1.802 (3.652)	-4.773 (4.817)	-56.482 (139.489)
Broad-reading score	0.331*** (0.084)	0.086* (0.047)	-0.598 (0.976)	0.665*** (0.088)	0.051 (0.065)	4.613*** (1.282)
Applied-problem score	0.292*** (0.081)	0.444*** (0.069)	6.878*** (1.107)	0.128 (0.078)	0.490*** (0.084)	3.665*** (1.385)
Live with two parents	3.163** (1.469)	0.656 (2.082)	-22.813 (34.919)	-1.660 (2.174)	0.577 (2.078)	-34.773 (34.777)
Number of siblings	1.017 (0.721)	-0.360 (0.703)	19.186 (13.275)	-0.663 (0.743)	-0.615 (0.686)	-3.273 (14.002)
Mother college degree	4.758** (2.032)	1.114 (1.576)	70.408** (31.993)	5.233** (2.558)	1.638 (2.479)	35.672 (33.631)
Free/reduced-price lunch recipient	0.305 (2.061)	-0.298 (1.944)	-6.800 (35.618)	2.669 (1.753)	-2.902 (2.493)	35.381 (53.752)
State-mandated college exam	3.460 (2.620)	0.769 (2.199)	42.724 (48.317)	-1.885 (2.115)	-4.211 (3.118)	-13.817 (46.673)
Observations	340	340	220	330	330	200
R-squared	0.597	0.510	0.455	0.601	0.521	0.433

Notes: CDS child weights used. Standard errors clustered by high school are in parentheses. All regressions also include indicators for Census region, cohort effects, missing WJ-R score, missing mother's education, school-level characteristics, log of median household income in the school district, log of population density in the county, and a constant. Significance levels: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Table 6. Effects of School Start Times on Sleep (OLS)**

Variables	All diary sleep (M-TH)	Diary night sleep (M-TH)	Usual night sleep	Wake-up time (M-TH)	Bedtime (M-TH)
<i>Panel 1. Females</i>					
School start time	0.442* (0.242)	0.449* (0.235)	0.321 (0.218)	0.634*** (0.131)	0.125 (0.194)
Day length	-0.033 (0.319)	0.310 (0.256)	0.226 (0.200)	0.084 (0.156)	-0.116 (0.200)
Observations	280	280	340	280	282
R-squared	0.214	0.194	0.233	0.299	0.128
<i>Panel 2. Males</i>					
School start time	0.315 (0.295)	0.468* (0.246)	0.317 (0.213)	0.796*** (0.133)	0.318 (0.199)
Day length	0.373 (0.239)	0.428* (0.230)	-0.113 (0.198)	-0.136 (0.207)	-0.577*** (0.173)
Observations	280	280	330	280	280
R-squared	0.278	0.311	0.250	0.354	0.287

Notes: CDS child weights used. Standard errors clustered by high school are in parentheses. All regressions include WJ-R reading and applied-problems scores, the number of biological siblings in family unit and indicators for WJ-R score missing, race, region, family structure, mother college degree, mother college degree missing, free/reduced-price lunch recipient, cohort, school-level characteristics, log of median household income in the school district, log of population density in the county, and a constant. Significance levels: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Table 7. Effects of School Start Times on Sports, Homework, Screen Time, Parental Supervision, Employment, Weight, and Depression**

Variables	Probit Sports team current year	Probit Sports on diary day	OLS Weekday homework	OLS Weekly homework	OLS Weekday Screen	OLS Weekday Parent	Probit Holds job	OLS Weekday work	Probit Overweight	Probit Sad last 2 weeks
<i>Panel 1. Females</i>										
School start time	0.131* (0.079)	0.010 (0.061)	-0.104 (0.245)	-0.552 (1.533)	-0.238 (0.275)	0.179 (0.421)	-0.054 (0.056)	0.208 (0.240)	0.034 (0.064)	0.005 (0.072)
Day length	0.081 (0.066)	-0.137** (0.066)	0.173 (0.200)	1.234 (1.254)	-0.810*** (0.307)	0.706* (0.403)	-0.127** (0.062)	0.368** (0.160)	-0.001 (0.067)	-0.075 (0.068)
Observations	340	340	340	340	340	340	340	340	320	340
R-squared			0.190	0.210	0.247	0.170		0.110		
Pseudo R-squared	0.209	0.199					0.245		0.190	0.165
<i>Panel 2. Males</i>										
School start time	-0.053 (0.083)	-0.059 (0.075)	0.193 (0.166)	0.882 (1.059)	-0.943** (0.444)	-0.520 (0.417)	0.030 (0.068)	0.229 (0.283)	-0.044 (0.082)	-0.047 (0.042)
Day length	-0.072 (0.075)	0.080 (0.060)	0.381** (0.170)	1.750* (1.035)	-0.327 (0.347)	-0.037 (0.376)	-0.010 (0.054)	-0.662** (0.265)	-0.041 (0.071)	0.098* (0.053)
Observations	330	330	330	330	330	330	330	330	320	330
R-squared			0.194	0.180	0.170	0.251		0.191		
Pseudo R-squared	0.158	0.120					0.240		0.130	0.286

Notes: CDS child weights used. Standard errors clustered by high school are in parentheses. All regressions include WJ-R reading and applied-problems scores, the number of biological siblings in family unit and indicators for WJ-R score missing, race, region, family structure, mother college degree, mother college degree missing, free/reduced-price lunch recipient, cohort, school-level characteristics, log of median household income in the school district, log of population density in the county, and a constant.

Significance levels: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Appendix Table A1. Sources of School Start and End Times (N = 670)**

Source	Percent
School or district website (current or archived)	75.96
Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS 2007-08 or 2011-12)	17.95
Wolfson and Carskadon (2001-2002)	3.41
Hinrichs (2000-2007)	2.23
School Start Later, Inc.	0.45

Note: Archived websites accessed via the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine.

**Appendix Table A2. Sample Selection**

	<b>Number of Observations</b>
Attend high school in CDS-II or CDS-III (27 dropouts prior to interview)	1,650
Drop those without a weekday school-year diary	1,440
Drop those interviewed during Christmas vacation and other major holidays and not attending school on their diary day	1,370
Drop those missing HS start time because not attending school on diary day (e.g., school holiday, sick, teacher workday)	1,230
Drop those missing child interview in 2007	1,220
Drop if teen does not live with biological parents, a biological parent/step-parent, or with biological single parent (e.g., lives with grandparents, other relatives, foster parents)	990
Drop if missing race	990
Drop if missing follow-up TA information on education (including high school completion, college attendance by age 20, college selectivity, and college exams)	830
Drop students in private high schools	770
Drop those who are sick on their diary day	760
Drop those who do not report free or reduced-price lunch recipient	750
Drop those who do not report usual night sleep	730
Drop if don't report sadness	720
Drop those for whom we were not able to determine a school start time	670
<hr/>	
<b>Total Sample Size:</b>	
<b>All</b>	<b>670</b>
<b>Females</b>	<b>340</b>
<b>Males</b>	<b>330</b>

Note: Observation counts are rounded to the nearest ten in accordance with NCES disclosure requirements.

**Appendix Table A3. Sleep on School Nights, ATUS and PSID-CDS (Mean Hours per Day)**

Variables	ATUS (2003-2008)		PSID-CDS (2002-03/2007-08)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Sleeplessness	0.03	0.04	-	-
Night sleep	8.45	8.40	7.93	8.09
N	1,550	1,557	282	280

Notes: All estimates are weighted. ATUS includes private schools but PSID-CDS does not. ATUS includes high school students aged 15-18 whereas the PSID-CDS includes high school students aged 13-18. School nights are Sunday-Thursday in the ATUS (and include all sleep after 7 P.M.) but Monday-Thursday in the PSID-CDS.

**Appendix Table A4. Determinants of School Start Times**

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Northeast	-0.204*** (0.036)	-0.170*** (0.037)	-0.150*** (0.036)	-0.148*** (0.037)	-0.214*** (0.035)	-0.206*** (0.036)
Midwest	0.023 (0.032)	0.029 (0.032)	-0.001 (0.032)	-0.016 (0.032)	-0.031 (0.033)	-0.030 (0.033)
West	-0.009 (0.034)	0.000 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.034)	-0.071* (0.040)	-0.092** (0.042)	-0.104** (0.043)
Suburb		-0.161*** (0.044)	-0.169*** (0.041)	-0.140*** (0.043)	-0.125*** (0.046)	-0.129*** (0.046)
Town		-0.040 (0.036)	-0.079** (0.037)	-0.047 (0.043)	-0.000 (0.044)	-0.025 (0.050)
Rural		-0.014 (0.036)	-0.057 (0.036)	-0.036 (0.042)	-0.014 (0.045)	-0.039 (0.052)
Log (students)			-0.055*** (0.008)	-0.091*** (0.016)	-0.101*** (0.018)	-0.099*** (0.018)
Student-teacher ratio				0.006 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)
Percent white				-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001* (0.001)
Percent free lunch				-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Log (h'hold income)					0.041 (0.073)	0.078 (0.081)
Log (pop'n density)						-0.014 (0.013)
Observations	2,480	2,470	2,460	2,350	2,240	2,240
R-squared	0.035	0.058	0.106	0.130	0.151	0.152

Source: Authors' calculations using data from SASS (2007-08), Common Core of Data, School District Demographics System, and U.S. Census Bureau.

Notes: Each column reports the results of a separate regression with school start time as the dependent variable. Log of median household income is defined at the school-district level. Log of population density is defined at the county level. The remaining variables are defined at the school level.

Significance levels: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.