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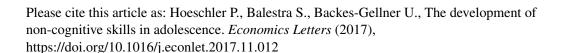
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Highlights

- In contrast to previous studies, we find non-cognitive skills to be malleable
- For adolescents, Grit and three of the Big Five increase on average
- However, changes are quite heterogeneous across individuals
- Changes are robust to reasonable measurement error

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