2004 IPR DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC POLICY LECTURE

Wisdom of the Head, Not the Heart

IES director recounts efforts to move education to evidence-based studies and policies

Grover J. (Russ) Whitehurst, first director of the Institute of Education Sciences (IES), spoke at IPR’s 2004 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on April 26. He addressed the premises, principles, pragmatics, and politics of making education evidence based after more than three years on the job.

Educators and researchers in the field have been slow to embrace experiments based on random assignment to treatment and control groups. So it was not surprising that Whitehurst has encountered considerable resistance from many educators in trying to introduce the widespread use of such methods. “We have a system that employs large numbers of both practitioners and scholars—that system is largely an evidence-free zone,” he said. “Evidence is a threat to the livelihoods of many of those who currently control and theorize about that system. But it is a friend to those that system is supposed to serve.”

Detractors argue that every child in a classroom is different, and schools are complex institutions, but Whitehurst pointed out that the same could be said of patients and hospitals. Yet medical research relies on randomized clinical trials.
Faculty News

Awards
Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, IPR faculty fellow and developmental psychologist, was awarded the Martin E. and Gertrude G. Walder Award for Research Excellence from Northwestern University in May. Also, she and her co-authors received the Society for Research on Adolescence’s Social Policy Award in March for “Mothers’ Transitions from Welfare to Work and the Well-Being of Preschoolers and Adolescents,” Science 299 (5612): 1548-1552. She was a visiting scholar at Princeton University in spring 2004. A book by Dorothy Roberts Shattered Bonds: The Color of Child Welfare received the 2003 Research Award from the Institute on Domestic Violence in the African American Community. Roberts also appeared in the three-part PBS program Frontline, Failure to Protect, which received the 2004 Dupont Columbia University Award for broadcast journalism. Roberts is a law professor and an IPR faculty fellow.

Kathleen Thelen, professor of political science and IPR faculty fellow, was awarded the 125,000-euro award (approximately U.S.$150,000) Max Planck Institute Research faculty fellow, was awarded the 125,000-euro award (approximately U.S.$150,000) Max Planck Institute Research faculty fellowship, a five-year W. T. Grant Scholars Award, and IPR faculty fellow, a five-year W. T. Grant Scholars Award, and IPR faculty fellow, was recognized by President George W. Bush as one of the nation’s 57 most promising young scientists. He received a 2002 Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers (PECASE) in a ceremony on May 4 at the White House.

Benjamin I. Page, Gordon S. Fulcher Professor of Decision Making and IPR faculty associate, received the American Association for Public Opinion Research’s (AAPOR) highest honor, its Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement on May 15. He also received the American Political Science Association’s 2003 Converse Award for a work of lasting significance on public opinion for The Rational Public (University of Chicago Press, 1992), co-written with Robert Shapiro of Columbia University.

The W. T. Grant Foundation awarded Emma Adam, assistant professor of human development and social policy and IPR faculty fellow, a five-year W. T. Grant Scholars Award, which is given to promising junior faculty.

Thomas McDade, assistant professor of anthropology and IPR faculty fellow, was recognized by President George W. Bush as one of the nation’s 57 most promising young scientists. He received a 2002 Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers (PECASE) in a ceremony on May 4 at the White House.

PECASE awardees are drawn from those who have already received prestigious Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) grants from the National Science Foundation. Only 5 percent of CAREER winners have received this award (about 140 scientists and engineers since 1996).

Eszter Hargittai, IPR faculty fellow and assistant professor of communication studies and sociology, was named co-winner of the National Communication Association’s 2004 G. R. Miller Outstanding Dissertation Award.

Honors and Appointments
Economist Greg J. Duncan, Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR faculty fellow, has been invited to serve as a member of the Social Sciences and Population Studies Study Section of the Center for Science Review in the Department of Health and Human Services from July 2004 to June 2008. He also became president of the Midwestern Economics Association.

IPR Faculty Fellow and sociologist Thomas D. Cook was named the Joan and Serepta Harrison Professor in Ethics and Justice at Northwestern University.

Celeste Watkins, assistant professor of sociology and African American studies and IPR faculty fellow, was appointed as a Visiting Summer Fellow at the Center for AIDS Prevention Studies, HIV-Prevention Research in Minority Communities Collaborative Program. She is working on a pilot study investigating the social consequences of HIV/AIDS for African American women. She also received the 2004 Department of African American Studies Teaching Award.

Presentations of Note
Dennis Chong, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Professor of Political Science and IPR faculty fellow, gave an endowed lecture on “Free Speech and Multiculturalism Inside and Outside the Academy” at Cornell University in February.

Alice Eagly, IPR faculty fellow and professor of psychology, delivered an invited address, “On the Flexibility of Human Mating Preferences,” at the annual meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association on April 30.

Jeff Manza, associate professor of sociology and IPR associate director and faculty fellow, gave the Doris Selo Memorial Lecture on felon disenfranchisement at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill on March 17.

Thomas D. Cook, Joan and Serepta Harrison Professor in Ethics and Justice and IPR faculty fellow, gave the March 29 Clifford Clogg Memorial Lecture, “Towards a Practical Theory for Generalizing Causal Knowledge,” at Penn State University.

Wesley G. Skogan, professor of political science and IPR faculty fellow, led an April 19 briefing at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on “Making our Streets Safer.” As an associate professor of sociology and IPR faculty fellow, Kathryn Edin testified before the Senate Finance Committee’s Social Security and Family Policy Subcommittee on “The Benefits of Healthy Marriage” on May 5.
New Faculty Fellows

This fall IPR welcomes three new faculty fellows, representing the departments of anthropology, communication studies, and human development and social policy. All were previously IPR faculty associates.

Emma Adam
Assistant Professor of Human Development and Social Policy
PhD, Child Psychology, University of Minnesota, 1998

A developmental psychologist, Emma Adam has been with Northwestern’s School of Education and Social Policy since 2000. She is particularly interested in how factors such as work, school, and others influence levels of stress, health, and well-being in parents and their children. She is trying to trace the pathways by which stress can lead to poor health outcomes and affect children’s behavioral, cognitive, and emotional development.

In the Family Stress Study, part of the Sloan Family Study, she explores factors that increase or decrease stress hormone levels in children and parents as they go about their everyday lives. She uses a noninvasive method—measuring the stress-sensitive hormone cortisol in saliva—and daily journal entries to gauge the psychological and physiological states of the mothers, fathers, and children throughout the day.

She found that cortisol levels were lower, indicating lower stress levels, when parents felt productive, engaged, and challenged. This frequently occurred at work. Both parents and adolescents had higher stress hormone levels when they felt negative emotions such as worry and anger. Kindergarten-aged children had higher stress hormone levels when they lived in a home that had high levels of conflict between parents and low levels of maternal involvement and warmth. Adam is exploring the long-term implications of these differences in cortisol levels.

Adam recently received a five-year W. T. Grant Scholars Award from the foundation of the same name to promote the careers of promising junior faculty.

Eszter Hargittai
Assistant Professor of Communication Studies and Sociology
PhD, Sociology, Princeton University, 2003

Before joining Northwestern in 2003, Eszter Hargittai was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School.

Hargittai’s research focuses on the social and policy implications of information technologies. Her most recent project, Inequalities in Accessing Information Online, explores differences in people’s ability to use the Web effectively and efficiently. Based on in-person observations and interviews with 100 randomly selected Internet users in a New Jersey county, she looked at differences in people’s Web-use skills. She also examined how particular forms of content organization online influence what information is most accessible to users on the Web.

In a related project, Gender Differences in Actual and Perceived Skills, Hargittai examines new data on Web-use skill to test empirically if there are differences in men’s and women’s actual and perceived abilities to navigate online content. In the future, she also wishes to explore this question with respect to other types of skills. She is collaborating with Steven Shafer of Princeton University on the project.

She has appeared in popular media outlets (Wall Street Journal, Wired, CNNfn) and written on how the use of social network methods might aid in the empirical study of globalization.

Hargittai will receive the National Communication Association’s 2004 G. R. Miller Outstanding Dissertation Award for “How Wide a Web? Inequalities in Accessing Information Online” in November.

Thomas McDade
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
PhD, Anthropology, Emory University, 1999

Following a National Institutes of Health postdoctoral fellowship at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Thom McDade arrived at Northwestern University in 2000. His research centers on population-level, integrative perspectives on health and human development, medical anthropology, ecological immunology, and stress.

Using whole blood samples taken from a finger prick, McDade analyzes multiple “biomarkers” for indications of stress, immune function, and cardiovascular disease. He has applied these methods to study the mental and physical health consequences of rapid culture change in indigenous populations in the Philippines, Samoa, Bolivia, and Kenya. For him, this is a more reliable, noninvasive way to assess the impact of social, economic, and cultural processes on human physiology and health.

McDade is also collaborating with colleagues at the University of Chicago to investigate the social, economic, and psychological correlates of healthy aging. The Laboratory for Human Biology Research at Northwestern, which he directs, is measuring blood samples for markers of immune function and cardiovascular disease risk to examine the biological impact of social processes associated with aging.

McDade received a 2002 Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers (PECASE) in a White House ceremony on May 4.
When Wesley G. Skogan became chair of the National Research Council’s Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices in 2000, the nation experienced one of the most precipitous drops in crime in its history. By the time the committee finished its work in 2003, the 9/11 attacks had led to the creation of the Department for Homeland Security, and new demands were being placed on policing at all levels. Skogan is an IPR faculty fellow and professor of political science.

The committee organized its 413-page assessment of 30 years of research on the police around two dimensions, the fairness and effectiveness of policing. They dubbed these the “dual mandates” of the police, and the report stresses the importance of both.

“The work of this committee suggests that policing that is perceived as just is more effective in fostering a law-abiding society, and that success in reducing crime enhances police legitimacy,” Skogan said.

The report surveyed the following four areas and recommended eight areas for more research:

**The Nature of Policing in America**
American policing is extremely diverse and decentralized; policing is one of the most locally funded and locally controlled activities of government. Many changes occur in policing due to trends in local demography, politics, and legal action. There is only a limited role for the federal government to play in “sparking innovation or encouraging uniformly progressive policies.” On the street, police act on their own, with little direct supervision. Though most police-citizen encounters are trouble free, one citizen’s bad experience with the neighborhood officer can lead to widely divergent public opinions on police effectiveness and legitimacy, especially from minority groups.

**Explaining Police Behavior**
The committee found that most research in this area only focuses on patrol officers, excluding many important elements of police work. Some under-researched areas of policing include the effectiveness of detectives—which is seriously in doubt, training strategies, and the impact of civilian review boards and external watchdogs on police behavior. On the street, police behavior is largely shaped by situational factors rather than either departmental rules or a suspect’s class, race, or gender. Research on the influence of officers’ educational background or recruitment is sorely lacking, as is research on police leadership.

**Crime Control Effectiveness**
The committee summarized a large body of research documenting that the “standard model” of policing—characterized by reliance on random patrol, rapid response to 911 calls, and follow-up investigations by detectives—is of limited utility in advancing the fight against crime. Research indicates that more promising strategies include those that focus resources on concentrations of crime—known in the trade as “hot spots”—and abandons one-size-fits-all strategies for tactics that are carefully planned to respond to the specifics of local crime problems. The committee concluded that there is not yet sufficient evidence concerning the crime-control impact of community and problem-oriented policing.

**Lawfulness and Legitimacy**
Several of the report’s chapters focus on police lawfulness and legitimacy. Modern police research began with concern about police racism, violence, and corruption. The report reviews what is known about the impact of constitutional rules, state statutes, and department regulations on police misconduct. It notes that there has not been enough research on the effectiveness of civilian review boards and other external police watchdogs, but concludes that the most immediately effective controls on police behavior are internal ones. These include recruitment, training, supervision, and leadership strategies crafted to enhance the quality and responsiveness of policing to communities.

Adhering to the letter and spirit of the law will increase police estimation in the eyes of the public, and reinforce public acceptance of police actions. Studies have shown that citizens will follow the law as long as they believe it is justly administered. The report calls for a new focus on “process-oriented policing” that takes advantage of what has been learned about the sources of police legitimacy.

**Recommendations**
- **Enhancing crime control effectiveness** by focusing police attention on accountability through achievement of measurable, visible, and “fair” results linked to community goals.
- **Enhancing the lawfulness of police actions** through pursuing police fairness, restraint in the use of force, and equity in allocating police resources; by providing the public with more information.

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10 Years of Community Policing, Chicago Style
Most recent CAPS report grades four key areas

For more than 10 years, Wesley G. Skogan has been tracking Chicago’s Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). More than 65 people have worked with him on the evaluation, which has been funded by the National Institute of Justice, the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, and the MacArthur Foundation.

The team conducted about 1,000 personal interviews, surveyed more than 48,500 Chicago residents and 13,600 police officers, made systematic observations of what happened at 1,079 beat community meetings, hung out to observe drug trafficking, and processed over eight million crime reports and 37 million 911 records. Their most recent report, “Community Policing in Chicago, Year Ten” summarizes what this says about the program.

The report points out that Chicagoans are happier about their police than they were 10 years ago; whites, Latinos, and African Americans alike see improvements in the quality of police service in their neighborhoods. Crime and fear have declined. Crime is down the most for the city’s African Americans, who have been the program’s most loyal participants and supporters. Many residents report improvements in their communities’ physical condition, and for many there is less concern about social disorder. None of this was preordained, Skogan says. Throughout the country, community policing programs have floundered due to indifference from city bureaucracies, resistance by police officers, and public cynicism about the possibility of real police reform.

How well CAPS works, however, still depends in part on who you are and where you live. Things have worked less well for the city’s large and growing Latino population. A combination of language, poverty, and immigration-related issues has stalled progress on community policing, and Spanish speakers report growing concern about crime, disorder, and decay.

For the first time, Skogan and his team have graded key aspects of the program.

CAPS: The Report Card

Public Involvement

Overall, CAPS does a good job of communicating. Monthly beat meetings, the key vehicle for police-citizen communication, see especially high attendance from people in high-crime, low-income areas. Attendance has been sustained citywide even as the novelty of community policing has worn off because participants see solid benefits for their communities. Over time, the meetings’ quality has improved on many dimensions. On the downside, the problem-solving component of the meetings—which are supposed to involve residents in neighborhood-upgrade and crime-prevention projects—has declined. Police have been unable to deliver on their plan to involve the same officers month in and month out, so they can develop stronger links to neighborhood residents. Many of the committees set up to advise the 25 police district commanders are drifting, without clear goals or a coherent program.

Agency Partnerships

CAPS has done a great job of knitting together various city constituencies through interagency coordination to work on some broad issues usually not tackled in other community policing programs. City services are targeted at the neediest areas, and in addition are responsive to concerns expressed at beat meetings. The police work with other departments on Chicago’s very successful anti-graffiti program. City lawyers collaborate with a multiagency inspection task force on gang and drug-house issues.

Reorganization

Chicago effectively reorganized to support community policing. Police reshuffled the daily work of thousands of officers to ensure they would be able to concentrate on their new neighborhood beat assignments. They put a district lieutenant in charge of supervising all CAPS and problem-solving efforts. A management accountability system was put into place in 2000, a version of New York City’s Compstat program, which helps to identify local priorities and then allocate resources to solve them. Chicago’s version has a broader focus than New York’s, and it uses internal inspectors to monitor important aspects of community policing. City service agencies reorganized to support the police department’s program, and a corps of professional community organizers works to coordinate problem-solving projects and turn residents out for beat meetings.

Problem-solving

CAPS received its lowest grade in this area, but all police departments find solving problems difficult because it
Whitehurst lecture
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(From left): Russ Whitehurst chats with School of Education Dean Penelope Peterson, Associate Professor David Uttal, and University of Chicago Professor Larry Hedges.

trials (RCTs), in which outcomes are tested through random assignment of participants to either a particular treatment or control group. He also pointed out that RCTs are not limited to just the medical field, but are also used in thousands of studies in such diverse fields as psychology, social welfare, and agriculture.

While he does not decry the “wisdom of the heart” which seems to rule in education circles, he feels that it must be matched with appropriate empirical methods to achieve meaningful results and make progress.

Education is not “unique,” he argued. There is enough overlap between fields such as clinical psychology and health care and the field of education that “we can provide and profit from their methods and approaches, and we can learn from the history of their transformation into evidence-based endeavors,” he said.

Practically speaking, this means creating a rigorous and relevant research base and getting people to use it. As the first director of IES, Whitehurst came with a track record in research and empirical studies. Previously, he was Leading Professor of Psychology and Pediatrics and Chairman of the Department of Psychology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Over the course of his academic career he has authored or edited five books and published more than 100 papers in his field of expertise, language and pre-reading development in children.

Though IES’s research budget has grown by 60 percent since 2000, historically, the federal government has not provided much funding for education research. If all other cabinet-level federal agencies kept pace with inflation in terms of their research budget and the IES budget was doubled every five years, it would still take 15 years for the IES to move out of last place, he said. This is why it is essential for IES-funded studies to produce relevant, worthwhile results, he noted. To this end, IES has designated priority funding areas such as math and science education, reading comprehension, and pre-K curricula.

One important initiative that Whitehurst has championed has been the What Works Clearinghouse (http://whatworks.ed.gov). This Web site seeks to provide a trusted and reliable source of information (databases and reports) on what works in education. It allows parents, teachers, and school superintendents to check whether a company’s educational product or program is measurably effective and can produce the desired results. The first studies were released this summer.

“I’m quite optimistic that the practice of evidence-based education will become routine,” he concluded. “When that happens, education across the nation will, I believe, go into a period of continuous improvement that has not been seen heretofore. And I think we will get to a point where every child who enters a school or any other educational setting has the reasonable expectation that they will get a good enough education to get them where they want to go.”

To download a complete copy of the Whitehurst lecture, please go to www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/lectures/dpplectures.html.

Working with IES

Three IPR faculty fellows are currently working with the Institute of Education Sciences on various committees and panels. Greg J. Duncan and Fay Lomax Cook were appointed to a panel to review applications for the establishment of four new national education research and development centers. Each will be devoted to one of the following areas: innovation in education reform, rural education, improving low-achieving schools, and post-secondary education and training. The IES intends for the centers to help solve some of the nation’s most pressing educational problems through the development, testing, and dissemination of new approaches to teaching and learning. Cook is IPR’s director and professor of human development and social policy. Duncan is Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy and an economist.

Thomas D. Cook currently belongs to seven IES working groups and review boards, including the Independent Technical Work Group for the What Works Clearinghouse (WWC) and the Independent Review Panel for the National Assessment of Title I (No Child Left Behind Act). He holds the Joan and Serepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice and is a leading expert on experimental design and causal studies.

The WWC work group has the goal of identifying and reviewing the best experimental studies (continued on page 15)
More than 500 policymakers, researchers, community activists, and local leaders gathered on May 12-13 for the third Conference on Chicago Research and Public Policy. As part of the Urban Universities Collaborative, IPR was one of the event’s sponsors.

“The event is a unique opportunity for stakeholders in the Chicago area to discuss new research, explore policy implications, strengthen local networks, and forge new partnerships,” said Larry Joseph, senior researcher at the Chapin Hall Center for Children, University of Chicago, and the conference’s principal organizer.

In the keynote presentation, Bruce Katz, vice president and director of the Metropolitan Policy Program at the Brookings Institution, painted a broad picture of the challenges facing Chicago and its suburbs. He explained how factors such as increased immigration, greater dispersion in workforce locations, and increased poverty in the suburbs are making it difficult for poor residents to connect with job opportunities. They are also increasing disparities between different racial and ethnic groups.

In Chicago, a city with historically high levels of concentrated poverty, two-thirds of the city’s African Americans live at or below 34 percent of the federal poverty level, with about half moving out of public housing. The researchers found that for those in their sample who moved, their overall welfare did improve, albeit marginally. The level of concentrated poverty fell between 1990 and 2000, yet the rate of racial segregation stayed the same. Movers experienced incremental income increases from 1999 to 2002, but there was no growth for those earning around $15,000, and decreases for those earning more than that.

“The ‘Black Metropolis’ is alive, bringing the poorest people into moderately better situations—it’s hard for anyone to do worse than Robert Taylor Homes, for example,” Lewis said. “But these residents only improve up to a point and then their conditions stall. They do not find themselves in working-class neighborhoods or making significant strides toward earning decent living wages.”

**Public Housing**

Another IPR faculty fellow, sociologist Mary Pattillo, also addressed public housing issues in “The Politics of Promises in the Transformation of Chicago Public Housing.” In retracing the revitalization of a predominantly black neighborhood, the North Kenwood Oakland (NKO) area of Chicago, Pattillo depicted the tensions arising between city officials, developers, and public housing residents. Six 16-story public housing sites were slated for renovation in 1985, but those plans were later abandoned in favor of rehabbing two and demolishing four of the buildings. The negotiations over how many units to rebuild in the neighborhood created a local maelstrom in which NKO residents grappled with the twin pressures of public housing transformation and the revitalization and construction of market-rate housing.

Another session, “Public Housing and Residential Mobility,” highlighted current IPR public housing research: a follow-up of outcomes of original Gautreaux participants, Gautreaux II take-up, and residential mobility programs and mental health problems. The presenters were Jennifer Pashup, IPR project coordinator, and Ruby Mendenhall and Emily Snell, IPR graduate research fellows.

**Crime**

In his presentation, IPR faculty fellow and policing specialist Wesley G. Skogan zeroed in on the new immigrants to Chicago, Latinos. In his decade-long study of Chicago’s Community Alternative Policing Strategy or CAPS, Skogan and his team found that their situation has worsened in comparison with the city’s whites and African Americans. He reported that two-thirds of all Latinos now cluster in majority Latino areas and levels of English proficiency are falling due to immigration, making communication with police more difficult. Spanish-speaking
Where does President George W. Bush stand ideologically? Some liberals contend he is an extremist, more conservative than Ronald Reagan, a proponent of rolling back social and economic reforms of the New Deal and Great Society. At the same time, some conservatives argue that he is an advocate of expanding the federal government, typified by the recent, massive Medicare expansion, and is thus out of step with the laissez-faire brand of economics that underlies traditional conservatism.

In reality, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. The ideological facts behind competing political passions and rhetoric can be quite illusive. Despite all the joined-at-the-hip comparisons of Sen. John Kerry to Edward Kennedy, my analysis showed that Kerry is a moderate relative to his party’s Senate delegation, slightly left of center.

Using a variant of a methodology developed by Keith Poole of the University of Houston and Howard Rosenthal of Princeton University, I compared Bush’s ideological score to those of both Republican senators and other Republican presidents across time. I also looked at how Kerry’s positions compare with other Democratic presidents and senators. For simplicity, I examined President Bush’s score in the last full Congress, the 107th, relative to Senate Republicans.

As it turns out, President Bush is positioned near the dividing line between the center-right and right quartiles of the party. While clearly right of center, he is not a part of the party’s most conservative segment, anchored at the time by Sens. Phil Gramm and Jesse Helms.

Historically, he is considerably more conservative than Dwight Eisenhower and Gerald Ford, somewhat more conservative than Richard Nixon, but less conservative than Ronald Reagan. Compared with his father, George H.W. Bush, he is slightly more conservative.

The elder Bush’s presidency was a study in contrasts. In his first two years in the White House, he operated as a moderate. In his last two years, battered by a stagnant economy and challenged by Patrick Buchanan, his ideological score moved into the extreme-right quartile.

Is President Bush following his father’s lead? That is, with his recent support of a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage as the 2004 election looms, is he moving rightward in the latter half of his term? Not necessarily. Some of his other recent policy positions, such as his support of steel tariffs and immigration liberalization, suggest otherwise. As of now, it appears that President Bush is attempting to maintain his current “middle-of-the-road” brand of conservatism, taking some hard-right stances but also portraying a “compassionate conservatism” side.

Presidents can also be placed on this left-right continuum based on the positions they take on congressional roll-call votes. That is, presidents will often make their preferences known on a given issue, prior to the issue being voted on in Congress. I used these presidential positions to determine how President Bush would have voted, had he been in Congress. The president’s ideological score was then compared to those of his party’s congressional delegation to determine just how conservative—or liberal—he is.

What about John Kerry? How does this left-leaning moderate, based on my early analysis, compare to other recent Democratic presidents?

In fact, only Lyndon Johnson appears more conservative than John Kerry; Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton appear slightly more liberal than Kerry; and John F. Kennedy, to whom Kerry is often compared, appears considerably more liberal.

Should we expect Kerry to behave differently if elected president? As noted earlier, presidents do not operate in a vacuum. Changing external conditions heavily influence their actions.

Take Kennedy and Johnson, who both served in the Senate before becoming president. Both also became more liberal once in the White House. If the Kennedy and Johnson cases are at all indicative, we might expect Kerry to move to the

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*The Poole-Rosenthal methodology is a simple algorithm using congressional roll-call votes as inputs. It produces “ideological scores” for members of Congress—based on how frequently (or infrequently) they vote alike—which can be arrayed from left to right.
This fall, college freshmen who have been assigned roommates by university housing officers will meet one another for the first time. Many of them are probably wondering how they will get along: What will their roommates be like? Will they share similar tastes in music, movies, and politics? Or will they wind up with someone so completely unlike them that they feel like they are living out an "Odd Couple" rerun?

Our research suggests that pairing up roommates from different backgrounds with diverse opinions on such issues can mold attitudes and influence behavior. Even binge drinking and grades might be affected, but more on that later.

We have focused on how the attitudes and behaviors of students in their second through fourth college years are affected by their first-year roommates. Since everyone in our studies participated in a random roommate lottery, roommate characteristics were beyond their control.

Affirmative action naysayers argue that mixing whites with less qualified blacks breeds antipathy, while proponents argue that social interactions promote tolerance and understanding. We found that whites reported more frequent and comfortable interactions with minorities two to four years later if assigned black rather than white roommates, and they held much more favorable attitudes toward affirmative action policies as well.

Mixing across class lines also mattered. Middle-class students assigned lower-income roommates engaged in more volunteer activities two to four years later. But empathy cuts both ways: Students become less supportive of higher taxes for the wealthy when assigned roommates from high-income families.

Consistent with evidence from social psychology, our general findings confirm that close personal interactions with people from different groups can lead to greater understanding and empathy. But at the same time roommate effects were not all-encompassing. We found no evidence that roommates affected life goals, for example.

That brings us to the binge drinkers. The good news is that, despite parents’ fears, an abstinent child is unlikely to emulate the poor behavior of a binge-drinking or pot-smoking roommate. Though binge drinking is more common in college than high school, children who abstained in high school drank no more in college whether they were assigned a roommate who drank or a teetotaler. The situation was similar for marijuana use.

"We found that whites reported more frequent and comfortable interactions with minorities two to four years later if assigned black rather than white roommates..."

But we did find one very worrisome result that suggests colleges should consider taking steps to avoid bringing binge drinkers together as roommates. We found that male—but not female—roommates who were both high school binge drinkers led to much more frequent binge drinking and lower grades than when a binge drinker was paired with a non-drinker.

The college years can be an exciting opportunity for expanding horizons and learning, both inside and outside the classroom. Classmates can be an important part of that process, but only if students take advantage of opportunities to interact with peers very much unlike themselves—like Felix and Oscar, the original odd couple.

Greg J. Duncan is Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR faculty fellow. Project collaborators include Johanne Boisjoly, Université du Québec à Rimouski; Michael Kremer, Harvard University; and Dan Levy, Mathematica Policy Research.

For more information on this research, please see "Peer Effects" at www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/duncanpapers.html.
IPR policy briefing explores mass incarceration  
(continued from page 1)

“Ex-inmates with few social supports, family attachments, or economic opportunities, might ultimately increase crime rates,” said moderator Mary Pattillo. So the way in which American society currently handles the prison boom, through an expanding penal system, may actually be a “self-defeating strategy for crime control,” she remarked.

To demonstrate the effects of race and criminal record on hiring outcomes, Devah Pager talked about her experimental study of employment discrimination. In it, Pager sent matched pairs of young black and white men to apply for 350 entry-level job openings throughout Milwaukee. One of Pager’s most striking findings was that employers were more likely to call back whites with criminal records for interviews (17 percent) over black applicants with no criminal history (14 percent). Blacks with a criminal history had the lowest call-back rate (5 percent).

The disproportionate number of African Americans being sent to prison and media portrayals of violent offenders (most of those in prison were convicted of drug or nonviolent crimes) have reinforced a general association between race and crime in people’s minds. “The results suggest that being black is essentially equivalent to having a felony conviction in the eyes of these employers,” she said. She applauded Illinois’ efforts to pass legislation sealing nonviolent criminal records. Work is a great rehabilitator, she pointed out, and without it ex-felons easily fall back into criminal activity.

More than 1.5 million American children currently have a parent in the criminal justice system, usually their father, said Kathryn Edin. Though many Americans might assume that these fathers do not want to care for their children, she pointed to the contrary. At the time of the child’s birth, half of these men are living with the mother of their child, three in four intend to marry her, and eight in ten plan to care for and support their child. But by the time their child is in preschool, few of them will have made good on these intentions. In part, this is because of the many strikes—children from previous marriages and criminal records—these fathers have against them. “Their saga is one of extraordinarily high hopes, of good intentions, but of astonishingly little fulfillment,” Edin said.

In addition to detaching criminals from the world of work and their families, jail time also strips many of basic civil liberties once they have served their time such as the right to hold office, serve on a jury, and vote, said Jeff Manza. States regulate these rights, so voting regimes for ex-felons vary across the nation from very liberal, allowing all felons to vote (Maine and Vermont), to very strict, disenfranchising current inmates and some or all ex-felons (such as Alabama, Florida, and Nevada). “The U.S. stands alone in restricting the right to vote of individuals who are not in prison,” he noted.

These restrictions exist despite public opinion data showing that a majority of Americans favor giving ex-felons the right to vote, no matter how heinous the crime. In 2000, more than 4.7 million felons—or 2.3 percent of the voting population—were disenfranchised. Had ex-felons in Florida been allowed to vote, for example, Al Gore would have easily carried Florida, Manza said.

In describing these varied social effects of mass incarceration, the professors touched on mandatory sentencing policies and the war on drugs that have conferred on the U.S. its unique position as the world’s biggest jailer.

Said Pattillo, “To move beyond thinking of incarceration as merely punishment and to place it instead within a larger system of social stratification and institutional relations, we need to examine the consequences of incarceration. Prisoners and ex-prisoners must be recognized as fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, spouses, neighborhood residents, and citizens as we have done here today.”

June 7 policy briefing panelists

Mary Pattillo is an IPR faculty fellow and associate professor of sociology and African American studies. She is also co-editor of Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration (Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2004), which resulted from an IPR conference on the effects of incarceration on children and families. See page 12 for book details.

Jeff Manza is IPR’s associate director and a faculty fellow and associate professor of sociology. He is working on a book, Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

Devah Pager, IPR faculty fellow and assistant professor of sociology until August 2004 and now assistant professor of sociology at Princeton University, published the results of her study in the American Journal of Sociology, 2003, 108(5): 937-975. She is currently writing The Mark of a Criminal Record (University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).

Kathryn Edin, IPR faculty fellow and associate professor of sociology until August 2004 and now associate professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, is co-author of Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood Before Marriage (University of California Press, forthcoming).

For additional information on the event, please visit www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/index.html.
America punishes its criminals harshly. Beyond rapidly rising rates of imprisonment, offenders leave jail or prison only to be subjected to a variety of continuing restrictions, some lasting for life.

In certain cases these restrictions reflect reasonable concerns. Who, for example, would argue that convicted child molesters should not be allowed to work in schools or day care centers?

But many other restrictions on ex-offenders seem aimed more at extending punishment than serving society. Take the Higher Education Act of 1998, which bars ex-felons from eligibility for Pell Grants, the largest type of federal student loans.

How can ex-offenders build better lives for themselves if they are not allowed to compete for the same kinds of educational opportunities as everyone else?

Many of the legal barriers that extend beyond the completion of a prison sentence were adopted by Congress or state governments as part of the “war” on crime and drugs. And the unintended consequence of these policies can be to promote the very circumstances that lead to crime in the first place.

In fact, with a growing majority of states now making a criminal record public information, and thus easily accessible through the Internet or private services, ex-offenders are effectively branded for life.

Politicians point to the cases of murderers, terrorists, and serial rapists as the frightening menace that such laws and the profusion of information about offenders protect us from. Yet the majority are nonviolent offenders, many convicted for the first time. Crime policy in recent decades has emphasized harsh punishment over rehabilitation, and the problems of re-entry have become increasingly difficult to ignore.

The sheer number of Americans in prison is staggering. With more than two million Americans behind bars, the U.S. has the highest incarceration rate in the world—six to ten times that of most European countries. Last year alone, more than 600,000 Americans were released from prison. More than 14 million Americans now carry a felony conviction on their records. This remarkable number of prisoners has led to growing bipartisan concerns about how to help former offenders reintegrate into their communities.

Even “tough on crime” President Bush included in his most recent State of the Union address a surprising proposal to help ex-inmates. Dubbed the Prisoner Re-Entry Initiative, Bush proposed to spend $300 million over four years to help returning inmates find stable jobs and housing.

“If they can’t find work, or a home, or help, they are much more likely to commit a crime and return to prison,” Bush said.

The president is on the right track. Developing a more successful re-entry program would benefit prisoners and their families, as well as increasing public safety. Expanding job training and placement assistance, providing help with transitional housing, and support for counseling services would all help make reintegration much easier, and reduce the impetus to return to crime.

But the president’s proposal does not go nearly far enough. Helping ex-inmates to find jobs, reconnect with their families, and become full citizens requires changes in the laws that prevent them from achieving such goals.

Hundreds of jobs become off-limits to ex-offenders due to bonding or licensure requirements. In many states, a felony conviction prohibits ex-felons from working as barbers, social workers, optometrists, even car sellers.

Federal housing policies either require or permit authorities to deny housing to people with criminal convictions. Private housing isn’t much better: Criminal history checks, security deposits, and references make it equally difficult for the newly released.

For custodial parents who are sentenced to prison, loss of parental rights becomes an increasingly common form of punishment. Two-thirds of incarcerated women and more than half of incarcerated men are the parents of children younger than 18. These numbers translate into more than 1.5 million children with a parent behind bars. Incarcerated parents, locked up on average for 18 months, often permanently lose custody of their children.

Finally, millions of ex-offenders are also denied the most basic right of citizenship in a democratic society: the right to vote. While we expect ex-offenders to abide by the law, most states prevent those on probation or parole from voting, and 14 states prevent some or all ex-offenders from voting for life.

Given the overwhelming problems that ex-offenders face, it is no surprise that recidivism rates (that is, the likelihood of committing further crimes) are so high. The costs for society, both financially and in terms of public safety, are enormous.

This is a modified version of an editorial that appeared in the Chicago Tribune on April 11.

Devah Pager, assistant professor of sociology and an IPR faculty fellow until August 2004, is now assistant professor of sociology at Princeton University. Jeff Manza is IPR’s associate director and a faculty fellow and associate professor of sociology.
Recent Faculty Books

_Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration_
Edited by Mary Pattillo, David Weiman, and Bruce Western
Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2004, 277 pages

Over the last 30 years, the U.S. prison population increased from around 300,000 to more than two million, with more than half a million prisoners returning to their home communities each year. Based on a conference held at IPR, _Imprisoning America_ draws from an interdisciplinary group of leading researchers in economics, criminal justice, psychology, sociology, and social work to look beyond a narrow crime focus and examine the connections between incarceration and family formation, labor markets, political participation, and community well-being. The book vividly illustrates that the experience of incarceration itself—and not just the criminal involvement of inmates—negatively affects diverse aspects of social membership. It highlights the pressing need for new policies to support ex-prisoners and the families and communities to which they return.

The book was edited by **Mary Pattillo**, associate professor of sociology and African American studies and IPR faculty fellow; **David Weiman**, Alena Wels Hirschorn 1958 Professor of Economics, Barnard College; and **Bruce Western**, professor of sociology, Princeton University. Other IPR faculty and researchers wrote chapters on the effects of incarceration on father-child relationships (Kathryn Edin, Timothy Nelson, and Rechelle Paranal) and on the political ramifications of disenfranchising inmates and former felons (IPR’s Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggan of the University of Minnesota).

_Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence_
Edited by Wesley G. Skogan and Kathleen Frydl,
Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices, National Research Council
The National Academies Press, 2004, 413 pages

Co-edited by **Wesley G. Skogan**, professor of political science, IPR faculty fellow, and chair of the NRC police policy committee, _Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing_ explores police work in the new century. It replaces myths with research findings and provides recommendations for updated policy and practices to guide it. The book provides answers to the most basic question: What do police do? It reviews how police work is organized, explores the expanding responsibilities of police, examines the increasing diversity among police employees, and discusses the complex interactions between officers and citizens. It also addresses such topics as community policing, use of force and racial profiling, and evaluates the success of common police techniques, such as focusing on crime “hot spots.” It goes on to look at the issue of legitimacy—how the public gets information about police work, how different groups view police, and how police can gain community trust.

_Standards Deviation: How Schools Misunderstand Education Policy_
By James P. Spillane
Harvard University Press, 2004, 224 pages

What happens to federal and state policies as they move from legislative chambers to individual districts, schools, and, ultimately, classrooms? Although policy implementation is generally seen as an administrative problem, James P. Spillane reminds us that it is also a psychological problem. He is an IPR faculty fellow and professor of human development and social policy.

After intensively studying several school districts’ responses to new statewide science and math teaching policies in the early 1990s, Spillane argues that administrators and teachers are inclined to assimilate new policies into current practices. As new programs are communicated through administrative levels, however, the understanding of them becomes increasingly distorted, no matter how sincerely the new ideas are endorsed. Such patterns of well-intentioned misunderstanding highlight the need for systematic training and continuing support for the local administrators and teachers who are entrusted with carrying out large-scale educational change, classroom by classroom.

_The Psychology of Gender, Second Edition_
Edited by Alice H. Eagly, Anne E. Beall, and Robert J. Sternberg
Guilford Publications, 2004, 360 pages

In an extensively revised and expanded second edition, this text presents important advances in the psychological study of gender differences and similarities across the lifespan. New contributors, additional topics, and many completely new chapters provide a broad overview of current knowledge and bring the field thoroughly up to date. Diverse theoretical approaches and
Research traditions are represented, including biological, social-cognitive, psychoanalytic, and self psychological perspectives. Covered are such topics as the organization and activational effects of sex hormones; evolutionary influences on sex role behaviors; processes of gender development and socialization; gender inequality and stereotypes; cross-cultural issues; and more. Alice H. Eagly is professor of psychology and an IPR faculty fellow.

**The Social Psychology of Group Identity and Social Conflict: Theory, Application, and Practice**
Edited by Alice H. Eagly, Reuben M. Baron, and V. Lee Hamilton
APA Books, 2004, 344 pages

*The Social Psychology of Group Identity and Social Conflict* examines the far-reaching influence of Herbert C. Kelman, a psychologist who is both a scientist and a peacemaker. Kelman is renowned for his contributions to the study of social influence in social psychology as well as to international conflict resolution and the peace research movement. He developed the interactive problem-solving method, which helped lay the groundwork for the 1993 Oslo agreement between Israel and the PLO. His work has profoundly affected the ways in which social psychologists think about the links between personal and national identity, between intragroup and intergroup processes and between individual behavior and the functioning of social systems. In this edited volume, distinguished scholars explore the areas that have defined Kelman’s career: social research ethics, conformity and obedience, national identity and nationalism, and ethnic conflict resolution. Alice H. Eagly is professor of psychology and an IPR faculty fellow.

**From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America**
By Jennifer S. Light
Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, 288 pages

Jennifer S. Light, assistant professor of communication studies and sociology and an IPR faculty associate, argues that the technologies and values of the Cold War fundamentally shaped the history of postwar urban America. *From Warfare to Welfare* documents how American intellectuals, city leaders, and the federal government chose to attack problems in the nation’s cities by borrowing techniques and technologies first designed for military engagement with foreign enemies.

“Light demonstrates how careful attention to the connection between Cold War planning and urban planning forces us to rethink the recent history of the American city,” wrote Stuart W. Leslie, professor of history of science, technology, and medicine at Johns Hopkins University. “This is really a study of how defense intellectuals managed to convince a couple of generations of planners and politicians that they had something valuable to learn from RAND, JPL [Jet Propulsion Laboratory], and NASA.”

**Children’s Health, the Nation’s Wealth: Assessing and Improving Child Health**

In earlier eras, disease and death in children were due largely to infections. Significant gains have been made in lowering rates of infant mortality and morbidity from infectious diseases and accidental causes, improved health care access, and reduction in the effects of environmental contaminants such as lead. Despite these accomplishments, however, there are growing numbers of U.S. children suffering from serious chronic diseases, injuries, mental health disorders, and attention deficit disorder. Moreover, many of these conditions are not equally distributed across the population, and communities vary considerably in the ways they address their collective commitment to children and their health.

This book provides a detailed examination of the information about children’s health to help policymakers and program providers at federal, state, and local levels. To improve children’s health—and thus, the health of future generations—it is critical to have data that can be used to assess both current conditions and possible future threats to children’s health. It describes what is known about the health of children and what is needed to expand the knowledge. The long-term consequences of these disorders are significant, because unhealthy children become unhealthy adults. Health during childhood should be a national concern because children are important in their own right and because the nation cannot thrive if it has large numbers of unhealthy adults. Greg J. Duncan is Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR faculty fellow.

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Lost in Translation?
Educational policies can become garbled at local levels

Education policies often become garbled as they trickle down the system from the statehouse to the schoolhouse.

For more than a century, the school district has been the basic unit of school administration, and often, at least in the case of larger school districts, a key education policymaking entity. The advent of greater federal and state involvement in educational policymaking starting in the 1970s has not dampened the local school districts' policymaking activity. Implementing agents at the school district and school level are often viewed as being resistant to change—and even trying to foil it. This view has grown, especially as the standards-based reform movement, currently exemplified by No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), has taken root in the American educational landscape.

The assumption is that policymaking is a top-down process, and upon reaching the local levels, administrators and teachers either follow them or ignore them. Instead, James Spillane argues the problem is one of human understanding. He is professor of human development and social policy and an IPR faculty fellow.

Spillane likens the implementation of national and state policies at local levels to the children's game of telephone, in which the message becomes more and more distorted as it is passed along.

“The story is morphed as it moves from player to player—characters change, protagonists become antagonists, new plots emerge,” he said. “So by the time the story is retold by the final player, it is very different from the original story.”

Spillane has arrived at these conclusions after studying the implementation of Michigan instructional reforms in math and science over four years. Over the course of his study, Spillane interviewed 50 state-level policymakers, 123 local policymakers, and 32 teachers in nine Michigan school districts. The National Science Foundation provided funding.

His research shows that school districts are critical allies in the struggle to implement state and federal education policies (e.g., NCLB) in the classroom. Because school districts formulate and execute their own policies on teacher development, curricula, and teacher supervision, they can “amplify, drown out, or minimize” such reforms, Spillane said.

Without local help, most reforms would be “scuttled to the school reform scrap heap,” he continued.

In fact, Spillane has found that local school districts are more than willing to implement such reforms. But “human sensemaking” can throw up roadblocks, impeding the districts' understanding of what the policy entails for classrooms and how best to implement these ideas. Different players have different understandings of what each policy entails.

When faced with change, it is human nature for people to latch onto the familiar and filter out the unfamiliar, Spillane pointed out. For example, he found that 83 percent of 46 district policymakers talked about the popular prescription of “hands-on” science activities, but only 13 percent mentioned a less familiar concept of “constructivist learning.”

In another example, a local school superintendent commented about math word problems: “It’s not any different. Story problems and word problems, they're the same, been around for years.”

“So they misunderstand the new ideas as old ideas,” Spillane said. “and they see the new ideas about classroom instruction as tweaking—but not overhauling—educational practices.”

Thus, in the case of word problems, many teachers never reach the idea of framing math problems to encourage the children to look for alternative conjectures to the initial problem posed. The deeper conceptual elements, which would entail fundamental changes in the way they teach, are often missed.

On top of communication problems, resources are lacking, thwarting effective policymaking and implementation at all levels. For example, there were three state coordinators in science and math for 80,000 teachers and 545 school districts in the whole state of Michigan at the time the study was done.

“How can one monitor implementation effectively if this is case?” Spillane pointed out.

Many local school districts formulate their own professional development for teachers and instructional policies, and they often pull in other sources aside from federal and state guidelines when creating these policies and programs. District policies often become “final word”—or at least a highly regarded touchstone for teachers in the classroom.

“Good intentions only go so far,” Spillane remarked. He noted that effective “sensemaking” requires resources that are expensive: human capital (knowledge and skill), social capital (networks and collaboration), and financial resources (materials, staff, and time).

**Fairness in policing**

(continued from page 4)

- **Enhancing the legitimacy of policing** by conducting a regular national survey to gauge public perceptions of police; through more research on the experiences of crime victims and the public; and through better overall data collection.

- **Improving personnel practices** and doing more research on how to measure police performance, assess officers, and provide incentives that will improve police practices.

- **Fostering innovation** through more research on police organization, innovation processes, and organizational change.

- **Assessing problem-oriented and community policing** by improving the police information systems that monitor them.

- **Responding to terrorism** through research on effective domestic responses and on the need for new information and intelligence sources.

- **Organizing research** by reinventing the National Institute of Justice so that it can fund and oversee a portfolio of well-crafted, evidence-based police research.


**CAPS report card**

(continued from page 5)

necessitates high levels of training, supervision, analysis, and organization-wide commitment. The researchers find that ineffective efforts have left local- and district-level priorities languishing.

CAPS should work to reverse the declining action component of beat meetings, provide refresher training for its officers, and offer training to resident activists.

“Chicago is at the forefront of big city policing in the 21st century, and our CAPS data illustrate how difficult yet rewarding reinventing police can be,” Skogan said. “Chicagoans should be proud of this program because it’s not just the police department’s program, it is the city’s program. This is not true in most places, and in many cities, community policing is less effective—and vulnerable to cutbacks—because of it.”

He commended the Chicago Police Department for its unwavering cooperation and interest in the evaluation over the past decade.

Skogan is currently at work on a book that will describe how whites, African Americans, and Latinos have fared under CAPS.

More information on CAPS can be found at www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing.html.

**Local focus, national issues**

(continued from page 7)

Latinos are much more likely than other Chicago residents to believe that police are corrupt and use excessive force.

**Education**

IPR Faculty Fellow James Rosenbaum, professor of human development and social policy, spoke about his current study of how faculty at private and public two-year colleges connect with employers to increase job opportunities for their students. The study suggests that community colleges can help students by boosting students’ confidence levels, academic efforts, and educational persistence. In fact, the study indicates that these college-teacher-employment linkages are strongly effective in motivating students.

**Welfare Reform**

Laura Amsden presented the latest findings of the Illinois Families Study (IFS), a six-year longitudinal panel study of Illinois welfare recipients. While caseloads have dropped, there has not been a corresponding rise in those employed, and the most vulnerable families are not faring well. She is IFS’s project coordinator.

The lead papers, executive summaries, and presentations are available at www.aboutchapinhall.org/uuc/conference.html.

**Working with IES**

(continued from page 6)

currently available in education. It also sets standards to ensure high-quality study syntheses and that the studies are presented in a user-friendly fashion. The studies are then made available to the public on WWC’s Web site.

Mandated by Congress, the 17-member Title I Review Panel reports to Whitehurtst and advises him on the design, implementation, and reporting of Title I evaluation studies, as well as allocation of research funding. He also belongs to a subcommittee to improve classroom practices in reading and math.

All of these are designed with one goal in mind, to improve educational outcomes for America’s children. For Tom Cook, this entails posing the question: “How do we go about making schools better in ways that have a direct impact on kids as opposed to spending money on areas such as improving a school’s organizational structure that do not?”

The IES’s current push for education studies using randomized clinical trials should provide more complete answers.

Thomas D. Cook
Wanted: Undergrads Interested in Social Policy

IPR-sponsored programs teach undergraduates about social science research and policy issues

As an institute devoted to policy-relevant social science research, IPR has long championed encouraging students to study policy issues by engaging graduate students to work with faculty members. Additionally, the institute reaches beyond this traditional mentoring by supporting two efforts to promote social science issues and research to undergraduates: its summer research assistant program for undergraduates and the Undergraduate Lecture Series on Race, Poverty, and Inequality.

“Very few incoming freshmen have an exact idea about what policy-relevant social science research entails—and even fewer probably consider becoming a social scientist interested in researching social issues,” said Fay Lomax Cook, IPR’s director and professor of human development and social policy. “That is why we consider it important to give undergraduates an opportunity to work with IPR researchers who are conducting research on policy-relevant topics.”

Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants Program

Since 1998, the Institute has invited interested undergraduates to apply to participate in its summer program. This year the program welcomed 42 undergraduates, who are working with IPR faculty on research topics that range from welfare reform to public housing and nonprofits. It is only open to Northwestern University undergraduates. Christopher Taber, Household International Inc. Research Fellow of Economics and IPR faculty fellow, currently leads the program.

“It’s teaching them first-hand what social science research is like,” Taber said. “They acquire a deeper understanding of the policy-relevant issues that must be dealt with when approaching social problems.”

Jason Szanyi, who is majoring in psychology and political science, is working with Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, a developmental psychologist and IPR faculty fellow. He said he became interested in working for her because it “meshes” his two majors. Szanyi, who will be a junior in the fall, is considering an advanced degree in psychology.

He has been reviewing new measures, such as adolescents’ romantic relationships or work orientation scales, which might be used in the third wave of the $20 million Three-City Study. The study is tracing the psychological and cognitive development of approximately 2,000 poor children in three major U.S. cities. “It is helping me to think more critically and hone my writing,” he said. “It is an intense learning experience—even returning library books is an experience because I see what kinds of literature are being read.”

For information about the 2005 program, contact Ellen Whittingham at h-whittingham@northwestern.edu.

Undergraduate Lecture Series on Race, Poverty, and Inequality

IPR also wants to broaden the social science vocabulary of those students who might not necessarily be considering careers in the social sciences, but are interested in the myriad issues that social science research can address.

To this end, IPR has sponsored the Undergraduate Lecture Series on Race, Poverty, and Inequality ever since two undergraduates founded it in 2002. This past academic year, Tyler Jaeckel, who will return as a junior in the fall, and Laura Beres, who graduated in June, co-chaired the lecture series.

One of the most important aspects of the program is to engage undergraduates in current topics from an academic perspective, Jaeckel said. This is accomplished through keynote lectures by distinguished scholars and panel discussions around a particular topic. Activism events such as getting students to participate in a voter-registration drive or visiting a public housing site are also an integral component of each series.

Over the past year, the undergraduate series explored voter disenfranchisement, race, and immigration. In addition to outside speakers and faculty, IPR and Northwestern faculty often participate in and lead panels. For example, IPR Faculty Fellows Greg Duncan, Mary Pattillo, and Dorothy Roberts presented some of their current research findings on these subjects at February’s “Dimensions of Race” series, which explored the impact of race on American culture, public housing, child welfare, employment, and college campuses.

For more information on the series, please contact inequality@northwestern.edu. A complete listing of past events can be found at www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events.
Policy as Narrative
American Prospect co-founder discusses magazine’s evolution

In a May 19 roundtable discussion at IPR, Paul Starr, co-founder of The American Prospect, spoke about how political and social influences have shaped the evolution of this progressive magazine.

Since its 1990 founding by Starr, columnist Robert Kuttner, and Robert Reich, Clinton’s former labor secretary, Prospect has evolved from a quarterly journal into a monthly magazine focused on voicing liberal viewpoints on public policy, politics, and society. While the magazine has yet to break even, it seems to be gathering steam. Starr said he expects paid circulation to increase to 65,000, up from 55,000, by the end of the year, and hopes that the launch of a new paid Web subscription model will help to cut the operating losses that have to be made up by fundraising every year.

The American Prospect also sponsors Moving Ideas, an online network of more than 130 advocate groups and research institutes. The Institute for Policy Research is a member of movingideas.org.

Starr places the magazine—particularly its monthly “special reports,” each on a different policy topic—at the intersection of journalism and academic research, with its goal being to “fill in the story behind the data and make the data more understandable to the public.” Many articles are written by academics or researchers who have a knack for translating reams of data, analysis, and technical jargon.

Interestingly, he revealed that the magazine was originally conceived to create a flagship journal for liberal thought—and had even taken cues from how the conservative movement had developed and spread its influence.

“They did not develop through large circulations,” Starr said, “but through relatively small publications that influenced opinion leaders.”

He conceded that right-leaning foundations like the Cato Institute and Heritage Foundation possess “extraordinary power” but noted that those on the opposite side of the political spectrum such as the Century Foundation “have a lot of vitality” as well.

For Starr, growing partisanship in policy publications reflects a rise in political polarization. He finds that the two major parties have become much more sharply divided on ideological lines than they were in the past, and much of the media reflects the same pattern. This intensification of partisanship has occurred because “partisan control in D.C. has real consequences,” he said. “Party-line voting [in Congress] is now greater than it has ever been—higher than any year since 1960.” But at the same time, he noted, “The public’s identification with parties is down.” How to write about policy under these paradoxical conditions presents an enormous challenge, he added.

Paul Starr is professor of sociology at Princeton University and a Pulitzer-prize winning author. His most recent book is The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications (Basic Books, April 2004).
The Institute for Policy Research (IPR) is an interdisciplinary social science research center at Northwestern University that stimulates and supports research on significant public policy issues.

The Institute’s Working Papers series seeks to disseminate results of IPR’s research in advanced stages prior to publication in academic journals and books. Comments, which are encouraged, should be communicated directly to the author or authors.
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Abstracts of New Working Papers

CHILD, ADOLESCENT, AND FAMILY STUDIES

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

“Chain Enrollment” and College “Enclaves”: Benefits and Drawbacks for Latino College Students (WP-04-01)
Ann E. Person, Doctoral Student, Human Development and Social Policy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
James E. Rosenbaum, Human Development and Social Policy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

While Latino college enrollments have risen in recent decades, degree completion continues to lag. This study uses interviews with 33 students (including 17 Latino/as), as well as a survey of nearly 4,400 students at 14 two-year colleges in a major metropolitan area to examine the factors influencing Latino college enrollment and retention. Person and Rosenbaum employ theoretical frameworks from studies on immigrant communities to analyze the effects of “chain enrollment” and Latino student “enclaves” at some colleges. They find that social networks help Latino students to enroll in college and support them during their studies. At the same time, however, students relying on family and friends for information on college enrollment tend to rely exclusively on this information, without considering further options. Once in college, Latino students report having less information about college requirements than other students, but the effect is true only for Latinos in schools with relatively low levels (0 to 14 percent) of Latino enrollment. They conclude by suggesting that college administrators need to recognize and support the role of social networks in Latino students’ college experience and to enhance Latino students’ information about college.

POVERTY, RACE, AND INEQUALITY

Welfare Reform and Economic Freedom: Low-Income Mothers’ Decisions About Work at Home and in the Market (WP-04-02)
Dorothy E. Roberts, Law and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

While many working professional mothers have the opportunity to “opt out” of the workforce, poor women do not. The primary goal of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) is to move mothers from welfare to the paid workforce. Welfare reform eliminated the federal guarantee of a basic income support for all families and replaced it with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), a state-run program combining work requirements and sanctions for nonconforming behavior. This article examines the impact of welfare reform on low-income women’s ability to make decisions about caregiving and paid employment, which the author calls “economic freedom.” Roberts provides a historical context by exploring both welfare policy and feminist theorizing on mothers’ work at home and in the market. She suggests as an alternative approach the welfare rights movement’s rejection of the care/work dichotomy and its advocacy of poor mothers’ freedom to choose between the two. Roberts demonstrates how welfare reform denies economic freedom to low-income women, and how welfare reform’s incentives are lopsided: They devalue and penalize poor mothers’ care work. She concludes that poor mothers require a guaranteed income, education, and subsidized child care to achieve their economic freedom.

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

Punishment and Democracy: The Significance of the Disenfranchisement of Nonincarcerated Felons and Ex-Felons (WP-04-03)
Jeff Manza, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Christopher Uggen, Sociology, University of Minnesota

The rapid growth in the felon population over the past three decades has made the use of disenfranchisement of felons and ex-felons increasingly significant for voting rights in general, sufficient to represent a partial retreat from the 150-
year campaign to make the franchise universal. In this paper, Manza and Uggen focus on the denial of voting rights to non-incarcerated felons. Such restrictions are unique among democratic countries around the world. Most states have laws in place restricting voting rights of felons not in prison but living in their communities, and some states disenfranchise ex-felons as well. While survey data on this issue is limited, the authors present evidence clearly suggesting that the public does not support the disenfranchisement of nonincarcerated felons. Finally, they assess whether the growth of the disenfranchised but nonincarcerated felon and ex-felon population might have reached the point where it has the potential to influence election outcomes—probably to the detriment of the Democratic party.

**Partisanship and Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives, 1789-2002** (WP-04-04)
Jeffery A. Jenkins, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This paper identifies, tracks, and examines the 601 contested election cases in the House of Representatives from the 1st through 107th (1789-2002) Congresses. One of its chief goals is to assess the degree to which partisanship has been a significant factor in influencing contested election outcomes. The key finding is that a sizeable majority of successful contests have favored the majority party; however, the overall impact of the contested election process, in terms of adding majority party seats, has been quite small on a per-Congress basis. The one exception to this latter finding was during the late-19th century, when a significant increase in successful contests, and majority party additions, occurred. This was due in large part to the Republican Party's strategic use of contested elections as a means of maintaining a presence in the former-Confederate South.

**Communications, Media, and Public Opinion**

**Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?** (WP-04-05)
Lawrence R. Jacobs, Political Science, University of Minnesota
Benjamin I. Page, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Research in international relations has identified a variety of actors who appear to influence U.S. foreign policy, including experts and “epistemic communities,” organized interests (especially business and labor), and ordinary citizens or “public opinion.” This research, however, has often focused on a single factor at a time, rather than systematically testing the relative importance of alternative possible influences. Using three decades of extensive survey data, Jacobs and Page conduct a comparative test, attempting to account for the expressed foreign policy preferences of policymakers by means of the preferences of the general public and those of several distinct sets of elites. The results of cross-sectional and time-lagged analyses suggest that U.S. foreign policy is most heavily and consistently influenced by internationally oriented business leaders, followed by experts (who, however, might themselves be influenced by business). Labor appears to have significant but smaller impacts. The general public seems to have considerably less effect, except under particular conditions. These results generally hold over several different analytical models (including two-observation time series) and different clusters of issues (economic, military, and diplomatic), with some variations across different institutional settings (the U.S. House, Senate, and executive branch).

**Feminist Public Policy**

**Family Planning Policy and Development Discourse in Trinidad & Tobago: A Case Study in Nationalism and Women's Equality** (WP-04-06)
Dorothy E. Roberts, Law and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This working paper examines the influence of development discourse on family planning policy in Trinidad and Tobago in the first decade of the nation’s independence and investigates questions concerning nationalism and women’s equality. The government’s adoption of family planning as an official program was based on the asserted need to control population growth for the sake of the nationalist development project. The state’s family planning program enlisted women as the principal agents of the nationalist project by encouraging them to reduce their fertility for the sake of economic progress. But while women were included as active participants, their interest in political and social equality was neglected in the program’s philosophy and aims. After examining the negative consequences of this development strategy, Roberts concludes that the national program seriously constrained—but did not preclude—the creation of a new nationalist discourse grounded in women’s equality and social justice.
**Feminist Public Policy, continued**

**Social Provision and Regulation: Theories of States, Social Policies, and Modernity** *(WP-04-07)*

Ann Shola Orloff, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This working paper provides an overview of the theoretical battles that have raged across the terrain of modern systems of social provision and regulation—the “modern welfare state.” Orloff makes the case that we could use some fraternization (that is, greater theoretical engagement) across the battle lines, and that feminist work provides an admirable example of theoretical hybridity, drawing on the significant theoretical resources associated with Weberian, Foucauldian, culturalist, and Marxist analytic traditions. She also argues that we need to break more fully with the analytic baggage associated with social determinism.

**Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations**

**Why Private Firms, Governmental Agencies, and Nonprofit Organizations Behave Both Alike and Differently: Application to the Hospital Industry** *(WP-04-08)*

Burton A. Weisbrod, Economics and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This paper addresses two specific questions: (1) What behavior is predicted by a “two-good model” in which nonprofit and governmental organizations maximize output of a mission-good—defined as socially desirable but privately unprofitable—and produce a profitable revenue-good to finance that mission? (2) To what extent can the observed differences in economic behavior among institutional forms be explained by differential organizational goals as reflected in managerial reward structures? Weisbrod finds that for-profit and three forms of not-for-profit hospitals provide significantly different sets of outputs, generally consistent with the model in which not-for-profits provide all the outputs that are profitable, as gauged by their provision by for-profits, but also provide many outputs that for-profits do not, reflecting not-for-profits’ broader objectives. About half of the observed differential organizational output mix is explained by a set of three variables capturing CEO incentives: total monetary compensation in the forms of base salary and bonus, the relative importance of each of those components, and a measure of CEO job complexity. Differential institutional behavior is substantially a consequence of reward structures, which reflect the organization’s objective functions.

**Health Policy**

**The Effect of State Policies on the Market for Private Nongroup Health Insurance** *(WP-04-09)*

Anthony T. Lo Sasso, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; and School of Public Health, University of Illinois at Chicago

Ithai Z. Lurie, Research Associate, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

In the 1990s, several states adopted community rating to improve perceived inefficiencies in their nongroup health insurance markets. Using data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation, Lo Sasso and Lurie find that community rating was associated with older, unhealthier individuals being more likely to be covered by nongroup health insurance. By contrast, among younger, healthier individuals, community rating was associated with a reduction in the likelihood of being covered by nongroup insurance. Conversely, they find that community rating was associated with a rise in uninsurance rates for younger, healthier individuals and a reduction in uninsurance rates for older, unhealthier individuals. The results suggest that the enrollees as a group were sicker after community rating was implemented. The authors also find evidence of insurers trying to alter their products to regain a measure of risk selection ability after community rating eliminated medical underwriting as a market segmentation tool. They find that HMO penetration in the nongroup market increased disproportionately in states that implemented community rating relative to states that did not.
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Kinship Care and the Price of State Support for Poor Children by Dorothy E. Roberts (WP-00-19)

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