JCPR Hosts Grants Conference

Census data used to investigate poverty issues

On September 4-5, Northwestern University’s and the University of Chicago’s Joint Center for Poverty Research (JCPR) hosted the 2002-03 U.S. Census Bureau/Health and Human Services – Assistant Secretary of Planning and Evaluation Research Development Grants Conference in Washington, D.C.

The papers provided insights into a diverse range of topics such as the effects of student loan availability and how children’s disabilities affect their mothers’ ability to work.

According to Greg Duncan, who administers the Census grants program, “This program provides an important source of support to academics interested in conducting research on this data.” Duncan is the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy at Northwestern and an IPR/JCPR fellow.

Voter Turnout—or Burnout?

Registering the impact of voter disenfranchisement

Civics classes have taught us that each American citizen, regardless of race, income, or sex, becomes an equal of his or her peers in a voting booth. But what happens to American democracy when disenfranchised citizens, especially those on the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder, do not vote?

This was one of the central questions addressed in a lecture series on political inequality co-sponsored by IPR. Political participation expert Kay Lehman Schlozman tackled the problem of how social inequality leads to political inequality in her keynote lecture “What Do We Want? Political Equality! When Are We Gonna Get It? Never.” Schlozman is the J. Joseph Moakley Endowed Professor of Political Science at Boston College and co-author of Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism and American Politics and The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation.

Schlozman underscored that roughly “one-quarter of political activity is a...”
At nearly 1 percent of the size of America’s economy, President Bush’s $87 billion price tag for Iraq is an enormous amount of money. What could that kind of money do if invested here at home? As an author and an editor of the recent book One Percent for the Kids, we have some very specific ideas for investments that would greatly benefit America’s children and our country’s future.

Our book is the product of four years of work by a group of 12 policy experts who reviewed evidence on interventions and other policies designed to enhance children’s development. Our proposals total about $76 billion. We were encouraged by the fact that Tony Blair has mustered the political will to devote an equivalent amount on child-related proposals in the U.K., although our programs differ from his.

A prime concern was how to build upon the work-promoting successes of recent welfare reforms. Experiments have shown that full-time work for single mothers can boost children’s achievement, but only if family income increases as well. Accordingly, we propose a modest increase in the minimum wage and a $20 billion expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit for full-time workers (30 or more hours per week).

At the same time, research shows that maternal employment might harm infants. Here we seek to expand parental options by increasing unpaid parental leave from three to six months and reinstating work exemptions in welfare programs for mothers with infants under six months of age.

In view of the high rates of out-of-wedlock childbearing and declining rates of marriage, it is critical to examine carefully the evidence in these areas. Building on the successes of a handful of pregnancy-prevention programs, we recommend a $2.5 billion expenditure on high-quality after-school programs while increasing the number of children growing up in two-parent families is a worthy goal, the evidence so far is not solid enough to warrant more concrete steps than carefully evaluating promising approaches to encourage marriage.

Brain research has focused attention on children’s early years, and intervention evidence confirms the wisdom of expenditures during these years as well. Since younger children appear to be most vulnerable to poverty, we propose a $10 billion child allowance beginning at birth and ending on a child’s fifth birthday, for both poor and middle-class families. If on-going evaluations of Head Start warrant, we would expand Head Start coverage for low-income children. We would begin to implement tested intervention programs targeting children at all economic levels who have severe mental health problems and provide universal pre-kindergarten (pre-K) access.

(continued on page 3)
**Cops and Bobbies**

Fulbright scholar compares U.S.-U.K. community policing methods

In the U.K., most local police follow a top-down, data-driven model that often fails to “address the concerns of—or indeed involve—local people in decisions around the type of police service they actually require,” said Paul W. Wilson, who received a Fulbright Policing Fellowship to study U.S. approaches to community policing, headed to the other side of the “pond” in September. His first stop was Chicago and Northwestern, where he chose to base his studies not only because of Chicago’s Alternative Policing Strategy, or CAPS, program, but also because of Skogan, who is one of the nation’s foremost community policing experts. Skogan and his colleagues have been evaluating CAPS since 1993.

The London inspector, who also visited San Francisco, Miami, and New York, has found American policing to be heavily politicized, with a city’s mayor playing a large role in determining the types of policing methods employed. While W. Wilson recognized that many U.S. police officers decry this seemingly high level of politicization, he also noted it does lead to greater integration and communication between police and community-safety service providers and promotes ethnic diversity in the police force.

As a former chairman of the U.K.’s Black Police Association and part of the prime minister’s Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, he found that “in the U.S., ethnic diversity within the policing command structure is achieved by a mayor answerable and accountable to an often culturally diverse electorate.” British police are struggling to achieve the same level of diversity as the populations they serve and show “little prospect of this being achieved in the foreseeable future,” W. Wilson said. “Hopefully, some of the practices I’ve witnessed in the U.S. may assist in helping police reach out to our ethnically diverse communities.”

*Prime Minister Tony Blair launched the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit in January 2001 to narrow gaps in education, housing, crime, etc., between disadvantaged neighborhoods and the rest of the U.K. Its website is www.neighbourhood.gov.uk.*

For more information on CAPS, please visit the Web site www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing.html.

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**$87 billion and counting**

(continued from page 2)

Despite recent progress, millions of children and pregnant women still lack health insurance. We propose to close this gap with a $10 billion expansion of Medicaid-type insurance programs. To provide opportunities to escape the problems of high-poverty, urban neighborhoods, we would expand vouchers for public-housing residents and further promote mixed-income housing development.

All told, our package of proposals adds up to between $60 and $76 billion, depending on details of financing the universal pre-K programs. The $87 billion price tag for Iraq provides one useful point of reference. Recent tax cuts provide another. When fully phased in, the 2001 tax cut provides $88 billion annually to the wealthiest 5 percent of Americans. If our country can summon the political will to rebuild Iraq or cut taxes, surely we can invest the money needed to secure the future of our children.

Isabel V. Sawhill is vice president and director of the Economic Studies program at the Brookings Institution.

Greg J. Duncan is the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR faculty fellow.

One Percent for the Kids: New Policies, Brighter Futures for America’s Children was published in 2003 by the Brookings Institution Press.

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**Voter turnout**

(continued from page 1)

legacy from our parents.” For a variety of reasons, people who have well-educated parents are more likely to vote, be politically active, and make a campaign contribution. Nine percent of the wealthiest Americans account for almost two-thirds of all U.S. political campaign contributions, she said.

This uneven level of political participation, she pointed out, indicates the government is “hearing a skewed set of messages.” When they do take part, disadvantaged Americans are more concerned, for example, about basic needs such as public housing, welfare, and jobs than are wealthier Americans. “Politicians are not hearing from many people who could use government assistance,” she said.

*Who Gets to Vote? Felons, Absentees, and Democracy*

In this panel Jeff Manza, associate professor of sociology and IPR associate director and faculty fellow, detailed the explosion in the number of U.S. felons—from 900,000 in the early 1970s to five million today—and its electoral impact. He started by pointing out that of virtually all world democracies, the U.S. is the only one that disenfranchises large numbers of nonincarcerated felons and ex-felons.

(continued on page 8)
Research, where she was a postdoctoral fellow in 2001-02. She is a research fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research. In her dissertation, Mothers’ Employment, Child Care Decisions, and the Well-Being of Their Children, Bernal found that a child of a full-time working mother in child care during the first five years of life can have as high as a 10.4 percent reduction in ability test scores. In this same paper, she assessed the impact of policies related to parental leave, child care, and other incentives to stay at home after birth on women’s decisions and children’s outcomes.

A related project, in collaboration with Michael Keane at Yale University, has the two researchers developing an economic model that they hope will accurately estimate the interplay between a mother’s employment and her child care choices, including the quality of that care, to pinpoint the effects these have on her child’s cognitive ability. Bernal has also raised her investigative scope to a macro-level to consider how public policies on maternal and paternal leaves affect intrahousehold decision-making, family structure, intergenerational mobility, and income distribution. She is working on this project with Anna Fruttero of New York University.

In a recent paper “How Do Hospitals Respond to Price Changes?” Dafny investigates hospitals’ responses to large reimbursement increases for Medicare patients with certain diagnoses. She finds that hospitals—especially for-profit ones—responded to these price changes by “upcoding” patients to diagnoses that had the largest reimbursement increases, garnering an extra $330-$425 million per year. But the upcoding did not affect quality of patient care or increase the number of patients admitted to higher-paying diagnoses. “These findings suggest that hospitals generally do not alter their treatment or admissions policies in response to reimbursement changes, but they do maximize their revenue through upcoding,” she said.

In another paper “Entry Deterrence in Hospital Procedure Markets: A Simple Model of Learning-by-Doing,” she asks whether hospitals try to increase the volume of their “specialty” surgical procedures to deter competition. Dafny looked at hospital data on electrophysiological studies (EP), an invasive cardiac procedure. In markets where potential competitors were “on the fence” with regard to entry, those hospitals that were already practicing EPs experienced a significant increase in the procedure in the year Medicare announced a prospective reimbursement increase. Her results suggest that hospitals might establish so-called “centers of excellence” as competitive deterrents.

Jeffery Jenkins, assistant professor of political science and an IPR faculty fellow, specializes in the study of Congress, political parties, and American political development. His research interests have led him to examine the determinants of congressional roll-call voting; analyze the electoral linkage between representatives and their constituents; study the emergence and development of congressional institutions; and test the robustness of contemporary theories of Congress using historical data.

Before joining Northwestern’s faculty, he was an assistant professor of political science at Michigan State University and a postdoctoral fellow in the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1999.

In one project, Jenkins is studying how constituency, party, and underlying values affect the actions of individual members of Congress, such as in casting a roll-call vote. Jenkins is comparing the relative behavior of those members seeking re-election with lame-duck members, who are serving their remaining time in office without constituent restraints. His research has confirmed what others have found: Lame-duck members, as well as their re-election-minded colleagues, do not
“shirk” — or significantly alter their voting patterns.

While some academics have argued that these null findings mean constituent preferences matter little to individual members of Congress, Jenkins is pursuing another theory — lame ducks continue representing their constituents’ interests because their preferences are closely aligned to those of their constituents. He is also considering such factors as their behavior in previous non-congressional positions, their socioeconomic background, and comparing individual survey responses to their voting records.


Celeste Watkins

With appointments in the departments of sociology and African-American studies, Celeste Watkins is attacking a host of research issues ranging from urban poverty and social policy to nonprofits, governmental organizations, and race, class, and gender. The assistant professor received her Ph.D. in sociology from Harvard University in June.

Her current project and dissertation subject, The Incomplete Revolution: Constraints on Reform in Welfare Bureaucracies, is an ethnographic analysis of the implementation of welfare reform on the front lines of service delivery. Through her field work in two welfare offices in Massachusetts, she hopes to lay bare some of the issues hiding behind the “rhetoric of welfare reform.” Her findings indicate that case workers, whose jobs have been irrevocably shaped by welfare-reform benchmarks, fulfill dual and sometimes conflicting roles: those of an eligibility compliance officer and a welfare-to-work advocate. It is difficult for case workers to fulfill an advocacy role when their clients “protest their institutional powerlessness” by concealing pertinent information. “It allows these mothers to exercise their power within the organization and broker for some level of control,” Watkins said.

Another part of the project focuses on the issue of race in welfare offices. In analyzing the welfare office of a white, working-class community on the East Coast, Watkins found this same welfare office acted as a site either for community integration or alienation depending on how workers defined newcomers. Interestingly, she discovered workers’ use of the office as a way to integrate newcomers was tied not so much to their views on racial diversity per se, but to their views of urban culture, a construct tied to the workers’ minds.


IPR Names Associate Director

Jeff Manza, associate professor of sociology and IPR faculty fellow, became associate director at the Institute for Policy Research in August. He is also chair of the Institute’s Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy program.

“I'm delighted that Jeff agreed to be associate director of IPR,” said Fay Lomax Cook, IPR's director and professor of human development and social policy. “Not only is Jeff a superb scholar, but also he is a person with tremendous energy and enthusiasm. Plus, he has a passion for understanding and implementing the vision of IPR as a place where excellent social science scholarship is conducted and disseminated with the goal of connecting with and speaking to important social policy issues.”

Manza’s research examines how social inequalities come to be manifested in political behavior and public policy in the U.S. and cross-nationally. In particular, he is studying how denying the vote to ex-felons affects American politics, examining trends in Americans’ attitudes toward social issues — especially how increasing social liberalism impacts policy preferences and voting. He is beginning a large-scale project that considers how national differences in public opinion are related to welfare-state effort.


“IPR is a unique and special place, and it has been a very important part of my life at Northwestern,” Manza said. “So I'm very glad to be part of helping to continue and build upon the traditions it has established over the past 30 years.” He is working on several key IPR projects this year, including the annual Distinguished Public Policy Lecture, a series of public policy briefings, and a major conference.
**Policy Perspective**

**Solving the Drug Dilemma**

by Burton A. Weisbrod

The House and Senate are struggling over what to do about the cost of pharmaceuticals under Medicare. Whatever the outcome—whether, for example, consumers are allowed to import drugs from Canada or anywhere else, and whether government should negotiate with manufacturers over drug prices—it will be no more than a short-term solution. It will miss entirely the long-term problem: how to harmonize the two conflicting social goals of making drugs affordable and stimulating the advance of medical technology.

Scarcely any of today’s pharmaceuticals existed even 25 years ago. Fifteen percent of the 200 largest-selling pharmaceuticals are new every year. The next 25 years can be even more productive because of the magnificent advances in basic scientific knowledge. But there will be little new technological advance without the lure of profit. We need to set out on a new path that separates the rewards for new drug development from the pricing of the resulting drugs.

The dilemma of pharmaceutical prices is how to balance consumers’ demands for low prices for existing drugs with producers’ demands for higher prices and greater incentives to develop new and better products. Lower prices increase consumer access to vital drugs already developed, tested, and FDA-approved: antiretroviral AIDS drugs, cholesterol-fighting drugs, antidepressants. But lower prices also reduce profitability and thus discourage development of new products.

Economists have long recognized similar dilemmas when start-up costs are very high but marginal production costs are low. Pharmaceuticals are a clear example, as are telephone and electricity distribution. In all these cases, the economically efficient solution is two-part pricing—a flat charge for access plus a variable charge that depends on level of usage.

Drug companies have two distinct outcomes but only one instrument for pricing them. They develop new drugs and they manufacture the actual pills or products consumed by individual patients, but they can price only the pills. The patent system is the root problem. It encourages innovation by granting a monopoly and then allowing the owner to set prices for the resulting product. Thus the only way that R&D, including clinical testing, costs can be covered is through high prices for the resulting pills.

When R&D costs are small, there is no serious problem. But when R&D costs are very large relative to production costs—as is the case for pharmaceuticals—using price for pills as the only mechanism for rewarding the product developer drives price upward. Prices become far higher than they should be, far higher than the cost of producing the pills, and far higher than is economically efficient.

The solution: Two prices—one for the R&D, another for the resulting pills. This solution is not painless, but neither is the course that public policy is now on.

My plan has two components. First, massive awards would be made to the developers of safe and effective new patented pharmaceuticals. In effect, government would purchase drug patents; developers of successful new drugs would be rewarded for successful R&D. Second, use of the patents would be freely offered to any firms wishing to produce the pills. This would ensure active competition among generic producers and low prices, as competition forced prices down toward their low marginal production cost.

The two elements of the process, R&D and pill production, would be separated. Consumers would get low prices, and innovators would get financial awards.

Such a plan could not be implemented overnight. The most critical element is the setting of the awards or “prizes.” Note, though, that there are precedents. Awards of millions of dollars, in terms of today’s price levels, have provided incentives to search for innovations in other industries, with results that include the invention of a mechanism for measuring longitude on the high seas, a non-air-polluting refrigerant, and solutions to major mathematical problems.

In the drug industry, awards of billions of dollars could well be appropriate for blockbuster drugs. With health care expenditures approaching $1.5 trillion per year, an innovative drug that substantially reduced the need for costly surgery and enhanced quality and length of life for large numbers of people could justify vast awards.

To be sure, there are challenges: We would have to develop a mechanism for establishing the size of an award for a specific new drug. But market size for a new drug can be estimated meaningfully, though imperfectly, as can patient demand. Possibilities should be explored for using auctions to gain information for determining awards. As any procedure for establishing awards would involve a political mechanism, there would have to be accountability and transparency, so as to prevent undue influence by industry.

The awards would have to be financed through taxation, but with Medicare expenditures alone exceeding $219 billion annually, even a multibillion-dollar award would not be a serious budgetary obstacle, especially in light of the favorable effects on health, longevity, and other health care costs.

Public policy toward pharmaceutical prices is now on a dead-end path. A two-part pricing model that rewards innovation but also ensures lower prices to consumers could be a way out.

Burton A. Weisbrod is John Evans Professor of Economics at Northwestern University and an IPR faculty fellow. This editorial appeared in The Washington Post on August 22, 2003.
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 Working Papers series seeks to disseminate results of IPR 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.
# Table of Contents

## Abstracts of New Working Papers

### Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies

- Momentary Emotions and Physiological Stress Levels in the Everyday Lives of Working Parents by Emma K. Adam (WP-03-01)

- Cleaning Up Their Act: The Impacts of Marriage and Cohabitation on Licit and Illicit Drug Use by Greg Duncan, Bessie Wilkerson, and Paula England (WP-03-02)

- Employment and Child Care Decisions of Mothers and the Well-Being of Their Children by Raquel Bernal (WP-03-03)

### Educational Policy

- Policy, Administration, and Instructional Practice: “Loose Coupling” Revisited by James P. Spillane and Patricia Burch (WP-03-04)

### Poverty, Race, and Inequality

- Empathy or Antipathy? The Consequences of Racially and Socially Diverse Peers on Attitudes and Behaviors by Greg J. Duncan, Johanne Boisjoly, Dan M. Levy, Michael Kremer, and Jacque Eccles (WP-03-05)


### Labor Markets and Employment

- Unemployment Insurance Tax Burdens and Benefits: Funding Family Leave and Reforming the Payroll Tax by Patricia M. Anderson and Bruce D. Meyer (WP-03-07)

### Law and Justice Studies

### Community Policing Papers

- Community Mobilization for Community Policing by J. Erik Gudell and Wesley G. Skogan (CAPS-24)

### Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy

- Parties as Procedural Coalitions in Congress: Evidence from a Natural Experiment by Jeffery A. Jenkins, Michael H. Crespin, and Jamie L. Carson (WP-03-08)

### Communications, Media, and Public Opinion

- Framing the Growth Debate by Dennis Chong and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias (WP-03-09)

- How Should We Measure Consumer Confidence (Sentiment)?: Evidence from the Michigan Survey of Consumers by Jeff Dominitz and Charles F. Manski (WP-03-10)
Differentiation Strategy and Market Deregulation: Local Telecommunication Entry in the Late 1990s by Shane Greenstein and Michael Mazzeo (WP-03-11)

Feminist Public Policy ........................................................................................................................................ WP7

Why Are Some Academic Fields Tipping Toward Female? The Sex Composition of U.S. Fields of Doctoral Degree Receipt, 1971-1998 by Paula England, Paul Allison, Su Li, Noah Mark, Jennifer Thompson, Michelle Budig, and Han Sun (WP-03-12)

Toward Gender Equality: Progress and Bottlenecks by Paula England (WP-03-13)

Gender and Economic Sociology by Paula England and Nancy Folbre (WP-03-14)

Gender Gaps in Sociopolitical Attitudes: A Social Psychological Analysis by Alice H. Eagly, Mary C. Johannesen-Schmidt, Amanda B. Diekman, and Anne M. Koenig (WP-03-15)

Health Policy .................................................................................................................................................. WP9

Entry Deterrence in Hospital Procedure Markets: A Simple Model of Learning-by-Doing by Leemore Dafny (WP-03-16)

How Do Hospitals Respond to Price Changes? by Leemore Dafny (WP-03-17)

Cumulative Index 2000-2003 ......................................................................................................................... WP10

Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies ......................................................................................................... WP10
  Educational Policy ....................................................................................................................................... WP10

Poverty, Race, and Inequality ......................................................................................................................... WP11
  Labor Markets and Employment .................................................................................................................. WP12
  Joint Center for Poverty Research Series .................................................................................................. WP12

Law and Justice Studies ................................................................................................................................ WP13
  Community Policing Papers (CAPS) ........................................................................................................... WP13

Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy ........................................................................................................ WP13
  Communications, Media, and Public Opinion ............................................................................................ WP14
  Feminist Public Policy ............................................................................................................................... WP15

Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations ................................................................................ WP15

Health Policy .................................................................................................................................................. WP15

Community Development Publications (ABCD Institute) ........................................................................ WP16

IPR Policy Briefs ............................................................................................................................................. WP17

Ordering Information ..................................................................................................................................... WP18

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**Momentary Emotions and Physiological Stress Levels in the Everyday Lives of Working Parents**

(WP-03-01)

Emma K. Adam, Human Development and Social Policy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Recent “biosocial” perspectives on the family recognize ongoing interactions between the environments in which families live, family and individual functioning, and multiple aspects of their biology and physiology (Booth, Carver, and Granger 2000). From this perspective, one cannot understand individuals’ or families’ behavior without understanding their biological and physiological states. Also, biology and health cannot be understood outside of references to social contexts. Yet rarely are both family processes and biological processes well measured, and rarely have researchers investigated the relations between social and biological processes in day-to-day contexts. In this study, a sub-sample of 101 mothers and fathers from the Sloan Family Study provided two days of semi-random momentary diary reports and samples of saliva, from which levels of the stress-sensitive hormone cortisol were determined. Cortisol levels were related to mothers’ and fathers’ momentary mood states, their feelings about the activities they were engaged in, and their location at certain points throughout the day—at home, in public, or at work. Using a Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM) growth curve to control for time of day, cortisol levels were found to be higher when parents were experiencing negative emotions. They were found to be lower when they experienced positive social emotions, felt hardworking and productive, and enjoyed—and felt deeply engaged in—challenging activities. Feelings of productivity and engagement in activities were most frequently experienced at work. Adam’s results suggest that parents’ emotional experiences in their daily settings are meaningfully related to an aspect of their physiological functioning—their cortisol levels. This might illuminate how social experiences could “get under the skin” to affect health.

**Cleaning Up Their Act: The Impacts of Marriage and Cohabitation on Licit and Illicit Drug Use**

(WP-03-02)

Greg J. Duncan, Human Development and Social Policy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Bessie Wilkerson, Doctoral Student, Human Development and Social Policy, Northwestern University

Paula England, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Duncan, Wilkerson, and England use data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to estimate changes in binge drinking, marijuana use, and smoking surrounding young adults’ first experience of cohabitation and marriage. They find that both marriage and cohabitation are accompanied by decreases in some risk behaviors for both men and women, and estimated reductions associated with marriage are generally largest. Smoking is much less responsive to these events than binge drinking and marijuana use. Women are more likely than men to quit engaging in some of these behaviors altogether, while reductions in the total volume of risky behaviors are often larger for men than women, in part because men engage in the behaviors more frequently.

**Employment and Child Care Decisions of Mothers and the Well-Being of Their Children**

(WP-03-03)

Raquel Bernal, Economics, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This paper develops and estimates a dynamic model of employment and child care decisions of women after childbirth to evaluate the effects of mothers’ decisions on children’s cognitive ability. Bernal uses data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to estimate the model. The results suggest that the effects of maternal employment and child care on children’s cognitive ability are negative and rather sizeable. In fact, having a full-time working mother who uses child care in the first five years after the child’s birth is associated with a 10.4 percent reduction in ability test scores. Based on the estimates of the model, she assesses the impact of policies related to parental leave, child care, and other incentives to stay at home after birth on women’s decisions and children’s outcomes.
Educational Policy

Policy, Administration, and Instructional Practice: “Loose Coupling” Revisited (WP-03-04)

James P. Spillane, Human Development and Social Policy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Patricia Burch, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The notion of “loose coupling” has held considerable sway in education research, frequently invoked to account for the rather weak ties between policy and administration, on the one hand, and classroom work, on the other hand. Spillane and Burch argue that coupling—a potent construct—has been misused. Treating instruction as a monolithic or unitary practice, scholars too easily and readily conclude that instruction is loosely coupled from policy and administration. The authors argue that analyses of relations between institutional environments and instruction be predicated on at least two ways of thinking about instruction. They argue first that instruction is about subject matter. Institutional environments are formed around and shape instruction in particular subjects. Second, even within a given subject area, instruction is not a single-dimensional activity. Instruction involves numerous elements including content, the academic tasks students work on, teaching strategies, ways of representing ideas to students, student-grouping practices, and student-work assignments. Institutional environments can affect some dimensions of instructional practice, but not others.

Poverty, Race, and Inequality

Empathy or Antipathy? The Consequences of Racially and Socially Diverse Peers on Attitudes and Behaviors (WP-03-05)

Greg J. Duncan, Human Development and Social Policy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Johanne Boisjoly, Sociology, University of Quebec at Rimouski
Michael Kremer, Economics, Harvard University; The Brookings Institution; and NBER
Jacque Eccles, Psychology, University of Michigan

Mixing across ethnic and class lines could potentially either spur understanding or inflame tensions between groups. The authors find that white students at a large state university who are randomly assigned African-American roommates are more likely to endorse affirmative action policies one-and-a-half to three-and-a-half years after entering college. Whites who are randomly assigned minority roommates are more likely to say they have more personal contact with and interact more comfortably with members of minority groups, and they are just as likely to remain close friends with their roommates beyond their initial year. Students become less supportive of higher taxes for the wealthy when they are assigned roommates from high-income backgrounds, and they appear to be more likely to volunteer when assigned roommates from low-income families. Taken together, these results suggest students become more empathetic with the social groups to which their roommates belong.


Paula England, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Carmen Garcia, Institutional Research, Seminole Community College
Mary Richardson, Doctoral Student, Sociology, Northwestern University

During much of U.S. history, black women had higher employment rates than white women. But by the late 20th century, women in more privileged racial-ethnic, national origin, and education groups are more likely to work for pay. We compare the employment of white women to blacks and three groups of Latinas—Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans—and explain racial-ethnic group differences. White women work for pay more weeks per year than Latinas or black women. In all groups education encourages, and children reduce, employment, but having a husband does not reduce employment—and even husbands’ earnings have little effect. In explaining the lower employment rates of Latinas relative to white women, the authors found that the higher fertility of Mexican women and the large number of immi-
grants among Mexican and Cuban women reduce their employment. The higher education of white women explains large shares of the employment gap with each group of women of color because, in today's labor market, education strongly predicts employment.

**Labor Markets and Employment**

**Unemployment Insurance Tax Burdens and Benefits: Funding Family Leave and Reforming the Payroll Tax** (WP-03-07)

Patricia M. Anderson, Economics, Dartmouth College; and NBER
Bruce D. Meyer, Economics and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; and NBER

The authors examine the distributional consequences of the Unemployment Insurance (UI) payroll tax using representative individual microdata. They calculate taxes paid by individual wage and individual and household income deciles, incorporating the effects of multiple job-holding and turnover. This tax distribution is compared with the distribution of UI benefits and benefits net of taxes, as well as to the burdens imposed by the federal income tax. Anderson and Meyer conclude that the UI payroll tax is indeed quite regressive. Within the context of the regular UI program, this regressivity is offset by the progressive nature of benefits, leaving the net benefit distribution progressive. They simulate a revenue-neutral increase to the Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance level of the taxable wage base. The share of total UI taxes paid becomes fairly equal, and net benefits become positive across more deciles. Finally, they examine the effect of providing family leave within the UI system as recently proposed. They find that the share of such benefits going to relatively high-income groups is likely to be much larger than is the case for regular UI benefits.

**Law and Justice Studies**

**Community Policing Papers**

**Community Mobilization for Community Policing** (CAPS-24)

J. Erik Gudell, Project Coordinator, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Wesley G. Skogan, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This report describes an experiment in Chicago aimed at creating community capacity for self-help in neighborhoods where that had been lost. Beginning in 1998, the city deployed a cadre of organizers charged with rebuilding the capacity of some of its most troubled communities. Some worked directly under the supervision of the city while others were on the staff of neighborhood organizations. The evaluation described in this report began at about the same time. Evaluation staff interviewed the participants and monitored the organizers' activities as they worked in selected beats. A survey was conducted to profile conditions in the beats that were first involved in the program, and a few were resurveyed to monitor changes that might have taken place there over time. This report summarizes the researchers' conclusions about a number of the issues the evaluation addressed. These included: What do community organizers do to build community capacity? What were the impediments to their organizing efforts? What projects did they succeed in bringing to fruition? And were there any changes in neighborhood conditions that might be tied to their efforts?
**Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy**

**Parties as Procedural Coalitions in Congress: Evidence from a Natural Experiment (WP-03-08)**

Jeffery A. Jenkins, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University  
Michael H. Crespin, Political Science, Michigan State University  
Jamie L. Carson, Political Science, Florida International University

The authors examine the degree to which parties act as procedural coalitions in Congress by testing predictions from the party-cartel theory (Cox and McCubbins 1993, 1994, 2002), which suggests that party leaders (especially majority-party leaders) pressure party members to toe the line on votes that affect the legislative agenda in the House, with the promise of “carrots” for good behavior and the threat of “sticks” for bad behavior. They obtain leverage on the question of institutional party influence by focusing on a “natural experiment” involving the behavior of exiting House members. They argue that retiring House members are no longer susceptible to party pressure, making them the perfect source (when compared to higher-office seekers and re-election-seeking members) to determine the existence of party influence. Results from a pooled, cross-sectional analysis of the 94th through 105th Congresses (1975-98) suggest that party influence is indeed present in Congress, especially where the party-cartel theory predicts—on procedural, rather than final-passage, votes. Moreover, they find that procedural party influence is almost exclusively the domain of the majority party. This latter finding is especially important as most prior studies have been limited solely to investigating interparty influence. These results underscore the significant effect parties have on member behavior.

**Communications, Media, and Public Opinion**

**Framing the Growth Debate (WP-03-09)**

Dennis Chong, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University  
Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias, Political Science, Northwestern University

National polls indicate majority public support in the United States for environmental protection and controls on growth, but voters remain uncertain about the best policies to achieve these goals. Their uncertainty stems from the novelty of the growth issue and their ambivalence over the right balance to strike between conservation and development. Because most voters do not hold firm positions on these issues, the framing of policy alternatives can significantly affect their preferences.

In theory, balanced discussion can reduce or eliminate framing effects. Research suggests that political competition and debate will balance presentation of arguments and cancel out the effects of biased frames. If so, then framing effects are largely manifestations of laboratories and surveys, but not of real political campaigns. In practice, however, the theoretical conditions that reduce framing influences are often not realized in campaigns. Although framing strategies can be offset by two-sided discussion, actual campaigns often do not provide balanced debate. Elections can be one-sided affairs in which the public receives mainly one perspective on the issues. Even when campaigns are competitive, framing can still affect the distribution of preferences when the adversaries do not possess equal organizations and resources. Recent campaigns over growth-and-conservation ballot measures in Oregon, New Mexico, and Arizona are used to illustrate the factors that prevent equal debate and create the conditions for framing effects on these issues.

**How Should We Measure Consumer Confidence (Sentiment)?: Evidence from the Michigan Survey of Consumers (WP-03-10)**

Jeff Dominitz, Heinz School of Policy and Management, Carnegie Mellon University  
Charles F. Manski, Economics and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

The Michigan Index of Consumer Sentiment (ICS) and other indices of consumer confidence are prominent in public discourse on the economy but have little presence in modern economic research. The sparsity of modern research follows an earlier period when economists scrutinized in some depth the methods and data used to produce consumer confidence indices. The literature to date has focused on the predictive power of the survey data used to form the
indices; there has been very little study of their microfoundations. This paper analyzes the responses to eight expectations questions that have appeared on the Michigan Survey of Consumers from June 2002 through May 2003. Four questions elicit micro- and macroeconomic expectations in the traditional qualitative manner; two are components of the ICS. Four questions use a “percent chance” format to elicit subjective probabilities of micro- and macroeconomic events. Versions of these questions have previously appeared in the Survey of Economic Expectations.

**Differentiation Strategy and Market Deregulation: Local Telecommunication Entry in the Late 1990s (WP-03-11)**

Shane Greenstein, Kellogg School of Management and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Michael Mazzeo, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University

The authors examine the role of differentiation strategies for entry behavior in markets for local telecommunication services in the late 1990s. Whereas the prior literature has used models of interaction among homogenous firms, this research is motivated by the claim of entrants that they differ substantially in their product offerings and business strategies. Exploiting a new, detailed data set of Competitive Local Exchange Carriers (CLECs) entering into more than 700 U.S. cities, the authors take advantage of recent developments in the analysis of entry and competition among differentiated firms. They test and reject the null hypothesis of homogeneous competitors. They also find strong evidence that CLECs account for both potential market demand and the business strategies of competitors when making their entry decisions. This suggests that firms’ incentives to differentiate their services should shape the policy debate for competitive local telecommunications.

**Feminist Public Policy**


Paula England, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Paul Allison, Sociology, University of Pennsylvania
Su Li, Doctoral Student, Sociology, Northwestern University
Noah Mark, Sociology, Stanford University
Jennifer Thompson, Education Statistics Services Institute
Michelle Budig, Sociology, University of Massachusetts
Han Sun, Doctoral Student, Sociology, Northwestern University

Using data on the number of men and women receiving doctorates in all academic fields from 1971 to 1998, the authors examine changes in the sex composition of detailed fields. The women’s proportion of those receiving doctorate degrees increased dramatically from 14 to 42 percent. All fields, including the most male-intensive fields, experienced an increase in their percentages of females, but the rank-order of fields in percentages of females changed little. Thus, in some fields well over half of doctorates go to women today. The authors then consider whether men avoid entering fields after they reach a certain percentage of females, thereby exacerbating the “tipping,” meaning fields that previously had a male majority become almost exclusively female. To test this, they use a negative binomial regression model with fixed effects. The model shows that the higher the female percentage of those getting degrees in a field in a given year, the smaller the number of men that enter the field four to seven years later. The pattern resembles Schelling’s (1971, 1978) model of neighborhoods moving from a low to a very high percentage of blacks because of whites’ responses to the initial integrative moves by blacks. If men continue to react in this “woman-avoiding” way, it is unlikely that academia can move toward an integrated equilibrium, despite the fact that women’s field choices are moving in a slightly nontraditional direction. They examine trends in segregation using three indices. While indices disagree on the trend for the 1980s, they all show a decline in segregation in the 1970s, but little if any decline by the 1990s. Men’s avoidance of fields as they feminize might be impeding desegregation.
**Toward Gender Equality: Progress and Bottlenecks** (WP-03-13)

Paula England, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Is the significance of gender declining in America? That is, are men’s and women’s lives and rewards becoming more similar? To answer this question, England examines trends in market work and unpaid household work, including child care. She considers whether men’s and women’s employment and hours in paid work are converging, and examines trends in occupational sex segregation and the sex gap in pay. She also considers trends in men’s and women’s hours of paid work and household work. The picture that emerges is one of convergence within each of the two areas of paid and unpaid work. Yet progress is not continuous and has stalled recently. Sometimes it continues on one front and stops on another.

Gender change is also asymmetric in two ways: 1) Things have changed in paid work more than in the household, and 2) women have dramatically increased their participation in formerly “male” activities, but men’s inroads into traditionally female occupations or household tasks is very limited by comparison.

England also considers what these trends portend for the future of gender inequality. Jackson (1998) argues that continued progress toward gender inequality is inevitable. England considers his arguments. It is true that many forces push in the direction of treating similarly situated men and women equally in bureaucratic organizations. Nonetheless, she concludes that the two related asymmetries in gender change—the sluggish change in the household and in men taking on traditionally female activities in any sphere—create bottlenecks that can dampen, if not reverse, egalitarian trends.

**Gender and Economic Sociology** (WP-03-14)

Paula England, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Nancy Folbre, Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

This paper concerns the role of gender in the economy, how the conceptual tools of economic sociology help us understand gender in the economy, and how gender studies provide a lens from which to reconsider the boundaries and claims of economic sociology. The authors start with a discussion of what topics economic sociology covers, arguing that subtle gender bias may have caused us to focus on formal organizations and exclude household behavior—and much of the paid care sector—from economic sociology.

If they take a broader view of what the “economy” is, it includes households, the organizations in which people work for pay and from which they purchase goods and services, and the markets in any of these are embedded. They then discuss the conceptual tool kit usually associated with economic sociology: 1) social networks, 2) culture, norms, and institutions, and 3) critiques of neoclassical economics. They appreciate these tools, but express disappointment that economic sociologists have not taken a more integrative view. They prefer to integrate what is valuable from the rational-choice perspective of economists’ analysis of market phenomena with considerations of networks and institutions, rather than rejecting the economic view whole cloth. They are equally disappointed that economists have taken so little interest in sociologists’ insights.

They apply their integrative view of economic sociology to explain gender differentiation and inequality in paid employment and the household. They consider occupational sex segregation and the sex gap in pay. In the household, they consider couples’ division of labor, power dynamics, and exits from marriages. They also consider the “care sector” that crosscuts the family, paid employment, and the state. They focus on employment and household activities because most gender patterns are rooted in these two venues; most of us spend most of our time on the job and at home.
Gender Gaps in Sociopolitical Attitudes: A Social Psychological Analysis  (WP-03-15)

Alice H. Eagly, Psychology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Mary C. Johannesen-Schmidt, Psychology, Oakton Community College
Amanda B. Diekman, Psychology, Miami University of Ohio
Anne M. Koenig, Doctoral Student, Psychology, Northwestern University

This research examined the proposition that differential role occupancy by women and men fosters gender gaps in socio-political attitudes. Analyses of the General Social Survey and a community sample showed that women, more than men, endorsed policies that are socially compassionate, traditionally moral, and supportive of equal rights for women and for gays and lesbians. To understand the relations between the social roles of women and men and these attitudes, the research examined (a) similarities between gender gaps and gaps associated with other respondent attributes such as race and parenthood, (b) interactions between respondent sex and other attributes, (c) the temporal patterning of gender gaps between 1973 and 1998, and (d) the mediation of attitudinal gender gaps by three ideological variables—commitment to equality, group-based dominance, and conservatism vs. liberalism.

Entry Deterrence in Hospital Procedure Markets: A Simple Model of Learning-by-Doing  (WP-03-16)

Leemore Dafny, Kellogg School of Management and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; and NBER

This paper examines the strategic behavior of hospitals in one of their primary output markets: inpatient surgical procedures. High levels of learning-by-doing in surgical fields might act as a barrier to entry. Dafny investigates whether incumbent hospitals facing prospective entry in a procedure market manipulate their procedure volumes to produce such a barrier. She derives straightforward empirical tests from a model of patient demand, procedure quality, and differentiated product competition. Using hospital data on electrophysiological studies, an invasive cardiac procedure, she finds evidence of entry-deterring investment in procedure volume. These findings suggest that competitive motivations might play a role in treatment decisions.

How Do Hospitals Respond to Price Changes?  (WP-03-17)

Leemore Dafny, Kellogg School of Management and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; and NBER

This paper investigates whether hospitals respond in profit-maximizing ways to changes in diagnosis-specific prices, as determined by Medicare’s Prospective Payment System and other public and private insurers. Previous studies have been unable to isolate this response because changes in reimbursement amounts (prices) are typically endogenous: They are adjusted to reflect changes in hospital costs. Dafny exploits an exogenous 1988 policy change that generated large price changes for 43 percent of all Medicare admissions. She finds hospitals responded to these price changes by “upcoding” patients to diagnosis codes associated with large reimbursement increases, garnering $330-$425 million in extra reimbursements annually. This response was particularly strong among for-profit hospitals. With the important exception of elective diagnoses, she sees little evidence that hospitals increased the intensity of care in diagnoses subject to price increases, where intensity is measured by total costs, length of stay, number of surgical procedures, and number of intensive-care-unit days. Neither did hospitals increase the volume of patients admitted to more remunerative diagnoses, notwithstanding the strong a priori expectation that such a response should prevail in fixed-price settings. Taken together, these findings suggest, for the most part, that hospitals do not alter their treatment or admissions policies based on diagnosis-specific prices; however, they employ sophisticated coding strategies to maximize total reimbursement. The results also suggest models of quality competition among hospitals might be inappropriate at the level of specific diagnoses (“products”).
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Policy Perspective

Shaping Effective Drug Control Policy

by Charles F. Manski

Why have we as a nation been more willing to support research on public health than on drug control? Few Americans have issues with funding research on breast cancer or Alzheimer’s. We have not, however, reached this same level of consensus with respect to research on drug control. We continue to debate how much money to allocate to drug law enforcement, drug treatment, and prevention programs. Yet we have not been willing to support the research needed to make informed policy decisions.

Part of the problem is a credibility issue. In health research, randomized clinical trials (RCTs) provide a widely accepted standard for data collection and analysis. Criminal justice researchers, on the other hand, have relatively few opportunities to use RCTs. Instead, they have employed a diverse set of methods that commonly yield empirical findings of limited credibility.

To illustrate the problem, let’s consider two recent studies that contemplated the modest goal of reducing cocaine consumption by 1 percent. Both studies estimated—using different analytical approaches and data sources—the costs of achieving this objective through interdiction of drug shipments. One estimated that it would cost around $1 billion to reduce consumption by 1 percent; the other concluded that it would only cost a few tens of millions of dollars. The former study buttressed arguments that funding should be shifted toward drug-treatment programs and away from interdiction activities. The latter bolstered the point of view that interdiction should be funded at present levels or higher.

After examining the assumptions, data, methods, and findings of the two studies, the National Research Council Committee on Data and Research for Policy on Illegal Drugs, which I chaired, concluded that neither constitutes a persuasive basis for forming an effective cocaine-control policy. Both suffer from inadequate data and unjustified reasoning.

What troubles me most about both studies is their injudicious efforts to draw strong policy conclusions. It is not necessarily problematic for researchers to try to make sense of weak data and to entertain unsubstantiated conjectures. The strength of the conclusions drawn in a study, however, should always be commensurate with the quality of the evidence. When researchers overreach, they not only give away their own credibility, but they also diminish public trust in science more generally. The damage to public trust is particularly severe when researchers inappropriately draw strong conclusions about matters as contentious as drug policy.

The federal government deserves some of the blame for this predicament: Because it has made little effort to invest in data collection and analysis, the nation is in no better position to evaluate the effectiveness of drug law enforcement now than it was 20 years ago—and this will probably remain the case 20 years from now if the necessary investments are not made.

Yet social scientists are as much to blame as the federal government. True, it is difficult to use limited data to reach firm conclusions about how policy affects human behavior. But the problem runs deeper than the limitations of the available data. Prodded by a scientific community that rewards strong novel findings and a public that wants simple answers to complex issues, researchers often take great leaps of faith with their data. The result, all too often, is policy analysis that lacks credibility.

One way for researchers to enhance their credibility is to use “due caution” in policy research. Researchers need to understand their data adequately and then continually emphasize that their findings depend on their assumptions.

Whatever the government might or might not do to enrich data and support analysis, the exercise of due caution can improve the credibility of research on drug control. Making sure that this happens is the responsibility of social scientists concerned with public policy. Exercising due caution implies that we often may not be able to draw unequivocal conclusions. We may sometimes have to counsel policymakers that there is substantial ambiguity about the relative merits of alternative policies. This may be uncomfortable, but surely it is better than fooling ourselves—and the public—into thinking that we know more than we do.

Charles F. Manski is Board of Trustees Professor in Economics and an IPR faculty fellow. He was chair of the National Research Council Committee on Data and Research for Policy on Illegal Drugs from 1998 to 2001. This policy perspective draws on his commentary article in the July 2003 issue of the journal Criminology and Public Policy (www.criminologyandpublicpolicy.com). The final report of the NRC committee is available online at http://books.nap.edu/catalog/10021.html.
Policy Briefing Addresses State Fiscal Crises

States across the U.S. are facing what seem to be some of the most severe fiscal crises in their histories. They face difficult choices about what to cut, what to fund, and how to increase funding. To address this issue, the Institute for Policy Research (IPR) held a policy briefing, “State Fiscal Crises: Causes, Consequences, and Solutions,” on May 28 in Chicago. More than 60 people attended.

“This fiscal crisis is different from previous ones both in terms of the average state response to the crisis and the severity of the fiscal problem in relation to the economic downturn,” said Therese McGuire, IPR faculty fellow and professor of management and strategy at Kellogg, who organized the briefing.

McGuire, who led the panel of experts, started by debunking some of the myths associated with this fiscal crisis. In contrast to some claims, she argued, the 2001 recession was much milder than the 1990 and 1982 recessions. Fluctuations in capital gains contributed to the crisis but were not the main cause of its severity, and choices in tax-and-spend policies were a key factor driving this fiscal crisis.

So, who is to blame for this current crisis? Is it the states themselves who overspent their way into deficit? Iris Lav, deputy director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, D.C., dispelled this notion, noting that states have increased the amount of money they put in rainy day funds ($12.5 billion in the early 1990s vs. almost $50 billion by 2000) and spending growth in the 1990s was below the post-WW II decades. “The cause of this crisis is really a revenue problem,” she said. Though states put away an average of 10 percent of a year’s receipts, it was not enough to cover such huge deficits. Ideally, she recommended that states should target putting at least 15 percent of state revenues into a flexible state fund. States should have enough in their rainy day funds to weather a three-year downturn on average.

Fred Giertz, professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and executive director of the National Tax Association, noted that “We’ve gone from the best situation in history to the worst situation in two years.” Taking the example of Illinois, the state projected $25 billion in revenue and equal expenditures in early 2002, but instead faced a drastic $1.6 billion drop in revenue. The news for 2003 and 2004 is equally dire. To balance its budget, Illinois would have to cut major programs—closing the state fair or raising casino taxes is not enough. Instead, the state is relying very heavily on short one-time revenue sources, such as Gov. Rod Blagojevich’s $10 billion pension-bond issue. Most states are pursuing such short-term “muddling-through” strategies for raising revenue, he said, because permanent solutions involve lawmakers either making large cuts in popular programs such as education or public aid or raising income and/or sales taxes. “Illinois is doing neither of these right now,” he said. “It’s not solving its budget crisis—it’s just delaying it for one year.”

Obviously, a key to solving some of these fiscal problems would be a business upturn. But the briefing’s moderator, Douglas W. hitley, president and CEO of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, wondered, “How can we perpetuate jobs, investments, and create an economic engine in our state when those same business leaders, whose costs are going up, are saying, ‘I have to put that next plant in China?’”

There are no easy answers, but one of the attendees, Dawn Clark Netsch, professor emeritus of law at Northwestern and former Illinois state senator and state comptroller, noted that these current crises were not completely unexpected—though more severe than anticipated. She and others have worked for the past 20 years to correct the structural imbalances that caused them. But for real change to occur, she pointed out that Illinois needs “politicians who won’t grandstand,” and the media needs a lesson in how to report fiscal policy and fiscal reform “without turning it into the very political issue that it cannot be if it’s ever going to happen.”

Voter turnout (continued from page 3)

Although the U.S. has an average rate of violent crime vis-à-vis other Western democracies, it has the highest rate of felony convictions—in some cases six to ten times that of other countries. In 2000, 4.7 million felons were prevented from voting of whom 1.9 million were African American. Interestingly, in the same year Florida had the highest rate of felon disenfranchisement—7 percent of the voting population. In a survey of 400 Senate elections from 1978 to 2000, Manza has found that if felons had been allowed to vote, seven would have been overturned. Restricted felon voting rights have “provided a small but clear advantage to Republican candidates in every presidential and senatorial election from 1972 to 2000,” he said.

Suing for the Right to Vote by Absentee Ballot

Chicago lawyer Thomas Geoghegan shared his insights on the lawsuit that is now before the Illinois State Court of Appeals on behalf of five single working mothers. The mothers, whose harried schedules make it all but impossible for them to go to the polls on election day, requested absentee ballots. Cook County authorities denied their request because they were not going to be “out of the county” on election day—an outdated rule from Illinois’ “horse-and-buggy days,” Geoghegan said. “This is a country where the fundamental opportunity to vote is disappearing as working lives are growing,” he continued.

(continued on page 9)
The Best Laid Policies...

Professors show error of educational reforms in Japan

This October the Japanese Ministry of Education quietly revised its national curriculum after releasing the results of a long-awaited study on the effects of the 1998 national curricula reforms. For Takehiko Kariya, a professor at the University of Tokyo’s Graduate School of Education and one of the reforms’ most vocal critics, this shift confirmed what his and other studies showed: Overall, Japanese students were studying less, watching more television, and at risk for greater socio-economic inequality.

The reforms were originally meant to ease “exam hell,” the extreme pressure on those high school students studying for competitive college entrance exams, while encouraging students at the bottom half of the achievement ladder to study more to increase their college prospects. “But the government cut 30 percent of curricula content without doing any research on the students’ academic achievement,” Kariya said.

“It’s a clear case of how a well-intentioned policy blew up,” said James Rosenbaum, professor of sociology and human development and social policy at Northwestern. He co-authored several papers with Kariya, including a chapter that provided empirical analysis of the Japanese government’s failed educational reforms.

Kariya spent four years working as a graduate research assistant with Rosenbaum at the Institute for Policy Research (IPR). The two collaborated on many studies in subsequent years, including one year when Kariya was a visiting fellow at IPR in 1998. “When I was at Northwestern, I was inspired by the great American social scientists, including many at the university who played important roles in evaluating and being critical of U.S. policies,” he said. When he returned to Japan where data were not used in formulating educational policies, he started campaigning against the reforms.

The turnaround was due, in no small part, to Kariya’s persistence. To air his views, Kariya wrote newspaper articles, appeared on television, and published two books on the subject—the academic Education in Crisis and Stratified Japan, which sold 10,000 copies, and the best-selling paperback Illusion of Education Reforms, which sold 50,000 copies. “These are amazing numbers for such an academic subject,” Rosenbaum remarked. “American books on such topics rarely sell 1,000 copies.”

The Ministry of Education kept insisting there were not any problems and countered that it had the research to prove this. Kariya kept plugging away, reporting data from his and Rosenbaum’s research that clearly showed that the reforms were not working as intended.

Though the reform did achieve one of its initial goals in moderately reducing the stress levels for college-bound students by decreasing the amount of time spent on homework, the students in lower-ranked schools decreased their efforts precipitously; 80 percent were not doing any homework in 1997, a dramatic increase over 1979 (50 percent). Contrary to government claims that students would shift to more creative activities, students—especially those in lower-ranked schools—were spending more free time glued to the television set. Students in the third-tier ranking of schools boosted their T.V. time by 52.1 percent over 1979 levels.

More disquieting was the indication of a growing socio-economic gap. The researchers noted homework helps to improve academic achievement, which can improve job and college prospects. When they looked at students’ social backgrounds, they found Japanese students with parents who do clerical, manual, and self-employed work decreased their homework time much more than students with parents in professional and managerial jobs.

The Ministry of Education finally released the results of its own study in December 2002. It flagged serious problems, including a large decline in math scores. In October it was recommended that schools be allowed more latitude in teaching. “Although the ministry didn’t admit that their policies were wrong,” Kariya said, “they did change them.”

Though this happened in Japan, there’s a lesson for U.S. policymakers here as well. “Even the best-intentioned policies can wreak havoc if they are not informed by data,” Rosenbaum said.

Do women have what it takes to lead?

(continued from page 1)

Eagly said. Women also might be contending with a glass-ceiling effect: They might have to be better leaders than their male counterparts even to be considered candidates for especially powerful roles.

Before concluding that women always make better leaders, one should heed Eagly's reminder that the study is based on group averages. Within each sex, leadership styles can vary considerably, so one can find both great—and not so great—male and female leaders. Also, some women exhibit more "masculine" leadership styles, just as some men exhibit more "feminine" ones.

Because transformational characteristics seem to be the hallmark of more effective leaders in today's fast-changing environments, one would think companies would prize these characteristics. Thus one should see more women at the top. In fact, there are many more women in powerful positions than in earlier decades, even though "there is still much research that shows prejudice against women leaders," Eagly pointed out. Most industrialized nations have experienced large increases in women occupying managerial positions, even at higher levels. For example, in the U.S. the percentage of women university and college presidents more than doubled from 1986 to 2001, rising from 10 to 21 percent. Given the evidence that Eagly's study has uncovered, this rise is justified in terms of women's leadership competence. "If men were better bosses than women, they should have substantially outperformed women in this meta-analysis," she declared.

Leadership Styles Defined

Eagly's and her colleagues' findings followed from studies examining three general leadership styles: transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire.

**Transformational leadership** is especially attuned to competitive and fast-changing organizational environments. "Such leaders act more as teachers or coaches than as traditional 'command-and-control' leaders who tell subordinates what to do," Eagly noted. They also act as role models by motivating subordinates to respect them and tend to mentor their subordinates by nurturing their talents and attending to their individual needs. Generally enthusiastic about the organization's goals, transformational leaders are good at searching "outside the box" for new solutions to problems.

Preferring clearly defined responsibilities, **transactional leaders** appeal to their employees' self-interest by exchanging rewards for meeting objectives and meting out punishment for missing them.

**Laissez-faire leaders** take a more passive approach to managing by failing to assume responsibility for leading. They are often "absent" for their employees when key decisions need to be made.

Fortune 500 boards, are you listening?


JCPR (continued from page 1)

From grants to loans over the past decade," she wrote. Her results find a small indication that these "marginal eligible" youth, who now qualify for financial aid because of the change, were slightly more likely to go to college and attend four-year colleges. She also found that whether additional financial aid came as grants or loans, it had roughly the same effect on decisions to attend college.

Has welfare reform and the approaching end of benefits under the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families' (TANF)-imposed time-limits put pressure on women to leave welfare for jobs that are less than desirable to support their families? her paper "Did Welfare Leavers' Employment Levels and Job Characteristics Change During TANF Implementation?: An Analysis Using SIPP 1996-2000" explores this question. Claudia Coulton, one of the paper's co-authors, presented evidence that of the sample who found jobs when they left welfare (70.6 percent), slightly less than 25 percent

(continued on page 11)
Prospects for Women’s Equality in a Global Economy

“Women’s prospects for employment and equality are shaped in nationally—and sometimes regionally—specific contexts defined by political-economic institutions and policies,” said Ann Orloff, professor of sociology and IPR faculty fellow. “Scholars of gender analysis and political economy have looked at the same problem, inequality, but from different vantage points—gender relations vs. economic institutions.”

To explore the issue, Orloff invited leading scholars from these two academic communities to “Prospects for Women’s Equality in a Global Economy: Varieties of Labor, Gender, and Capitalism,” on October 10-11. IPR co-sponsored the workshop.

Varieties of Capitalism

David Soskice of Duke University, who pioneered the “Varieties of Capitalism” approach with Peter Hall, was a keynote speaker. Their approach analyzes how development in political economies can vary between nations, particularly in differences in social and income inequality.

Labor Markets and Gender Inequality

In this panel, Paula England, professor of sociology and IPR faculty fellow, emphasized the sex segregation of jobs and the sex gap in pay. She argued that segregation arises from discrimination in job assignments as well as from the different socialization of men and women. The sex gap in pay arises because employers faced with segregation pay less in predominantly female jobs, even when they require as much, but different kinds of, skill as male jobs. She stressed the need to combine economic, sociological, and feminist thinking to understand this complex reality.

“The workshop made me think a lot about what we, political scientists, focus on that sociologists, economic sociologists, and labor economists may not—and how other disciplines proceed differently,” said Margarita Estevez-Abe, assistant professor of government at Harvard University and a presenter. “Gender issues are definitely one area in which very productive cross-fertilization can take place.”

Other IPR faculty who participated include sociologist and law professor Robert Nelson, historian Nancy MacLean, and political scientists Michael Wallerstein and Kathleen Thelen.

To view the program and workshop presentations, please consult the Web site: www.cas.northwestern.edu/cics/projects.html#conferences.

JCPR (continued from page 10)

found “good” jobs—defined as those paying at least $7.50 an hour for at least 35 hours per week. Overall, their study found women’s chances of employment “fell gradually and then recovered slightly as welfare-reform implementation progressed, even as the economy was growing.” Finding a good job remains a difficult task for these women. Neither TANF nor a strong economy seemed to boost—or decrease—their chances of finding such a job. They did find, however, women who live in states with shorter time limits than the federal limits were half as likely to find a good job. Their study confirmed a strong economy does help raise employment levels, but not job quality. Coulton, Younghee Lim, Nina Lalich, and Thomas B. Cook, all of Case Western Reserve University, authored the paper.

How does having a child with a disability affect his or her mother’s employment?

This question is examined in “The Impact of Disabilities on Mothers’ Work Participation: Examining Differences Between Single and Married Mothers” by Sunhwa Lee, Gi-Taik Oh, Heidi Hartmann, and Barbara Gault of the Institute for Women’s Policy Research in Washington, D.C.

Looking at family composition and marital status, the authors conclude that mothers and children with disabilities are more prevalent in low-income populations, and more common in single-mother families. They found 25 percent of welfare mothers have a severe disability, and thus shoulder a severe economic burden due to current welfare time limits and mandatory work participation. For mothers of children with disabilities, the age of their disabled children, the ages of their other children, and their marital status can also affect their ability to cope with employment to varying degrees. Whatever the mother’s status, the authors underscore one factor that matters to all welfare-to-work mothers: “Without appropriate provisions for child care that can accommodate not only healthy children but also disabled children with special care needs, it may not be possible for many mothers to seek and maintain employment.”

“Does Time on Welfare Affect Women’s Wages?” Noonan of the University of Iowa and Colleen Hefflin of the University of Kentucky investigated this question. Their paper showed that women might be penalized in the short run for their time out of the work force. But in the long run welfare-to-work legislation might actually have beneficial economic effects and increase future earnings by helping women with negligible workforce skills and low levels of education to secure better jobs eventually. Though they do find evidence that work breaks can result in a wage “penalty” during the first six months following the break, this penalty is quickly erased. “All in all these results imply that more time on welfare— especially when combined with employment—does not in and of itself harm women’s future earnings,” they concluded.

This leads them to find merit in approaches encouraging welfare mothers to work while on welfare, but “little for time limits since the length of a welfare spell does not have an additional negative impact on earnings,” they said.

For copies of these and other papers presented at the conference, please go to www.jcpr.org/conferences/oldconferences/grantsconf_2003_papers.html.
IPR Faculty Awards and Honors

**P.L. Chase-Lansdale**

Professor of developmental psychology and IPR faculty fellow, was elected a fellow of Division 7 (developmental psychology) of the American Psychological Association in October. The APA awards fellow status “on the basis of evaluated evidence of outstanding contributions in the field of psychology.”

**Sociologist and IPR Faculty Fellow Devah Pager’s** dissertation, The Mark of a Criminal Record, won the American Sociological Association’s dissertation award for 2003. In it Pager sent matched pairs of young black and white men to apply for entry-level job openings throughout Milwaukee to assess the effects of race and criminal record on hiring outcomes. One of the most striking findings from this study was that whites with criminal records were more likely to receive callbacks from employers than were black applicants with no criminal history. An article based on her research was published in the American Journal of Sociology, 2003, 108(5): 937-975.

**James Rosenbaum’s** Beyond College for All: Career Paths for the Forgotten Half (2001, Russell Sage Foundation) received the W. illard W aller Award from the American Sociological Association (Sociology of Education section) this summer. The award is given every three years for books. The committee that made the award was “impressed by the vigor of [his] argument, by the quality of the evidence marshaled, and by the centrality of the issues raised regarding the sociology of education and stratification.”

In his book Rosenbaum, professor of sociology and human development and social policy, and IPR faculty fellow, argues that a breakdown in communication between employers and high schools has left many marginal students and recent graduates in the lurch—unaware that they are unprepared for, and unable to finish, college and having unrecognized value in the labor market. The study discovers teachers sometimes play a crucial role in helping students have better careers.

**Brian Uzzi’s** “Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness” won the Administrative Science Quarterly’s 2003 Award for Scholarly Contribution. Uzzi is associate professor of management and organizations, Kellogg, and sociology and an IPR faculty associate. The award recognizes the paper having the most influence on theory and research in the five years following its publication. His paper, one of the first to consider “embeddedness,” the process by which economic transactions are embedded in social attachments and networks, was the most frequently cited of all of the prestigious management journal’s papers published in 1997, March, 42: 35-67.

**Forthcoming Books and Reports**

Jennifer Light’s From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America was published by Johns Hopkins University Press in December. She is assistant professor of communication studies and sociology and an IPR faculty associate.

**Standards Deviation: How Local Schools (Miss) Interpret Policy** by James Spillane, associate professor of human development and social policy and IPR faculty fellow, will be published by Harvard University Press in early 2004.

The report on the tenth year of evaluations of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) will be released in January. Wesley Skogan, professor of political science and IPR faculty fellow, leads the project.