Evidence of
Children’s
Achievement
IPR experts hold policy briefing on Capitol Hill

On May 19 on Capitol Hill, three national experts reviewed the latest evidence indicating how teachers, pre-K programs, and economic policies could boost the success of children in America’s classrooms.

IPR Faculty Fellows Greg J. Duncan, Thomas D. Cook, and Larry V. Hedges offered the crowd of more than 100 people—including policymakers, journalists, academics, and advocates—policy suggestions rooted in evidence-based studies. The Joyce Foundation provided funding for the policy briefing.

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Cells to Society Receives NICHD Grant
Award will spur center’s development

IPR’s recently launched center, Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, has received a five-year, $1.2 million R21 grant from the Demographic and Behavioral Science Branch (DBSB) of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD).

R21 developmental infrastructure awards from the DBSB provide support for potentially high-risk/high-payoff new population research centers that are in the early stages of development. Those awarded by the NICHD are also used to enhance population research at specific institutions—in particular through interdisciplinary collaboration—and to develop innovative approaches to population research. The NICHD confers the grants with the expectation that recipients will apply for an R24 award to fund a population center four to five years after receiving the R21.

“We are thrilled to have received this award,” said IPR Faculty Fellow P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, the center’s director and professor of human development and social policy. “It is a validation of all of our efforts in launching the center and recognition of our vision of C2S as a place where the life and biological sciences can come together to produce a more comprehensive and relevant understanding of social and health disparities.”

Awarded one year after the center’s
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Gautreaux at 40
Conference explores legacy and future of landmark public housing decisions

Forty years ago, Dorothy Gautreaux and three other public housing residents filed two class-action lawsuits in Chicago, one of which would make its way to the Supreme Court. The Court’s unanimous Hills v. Gautreaux decision resulted in a 1976 settlement that set in motion an attempt to end decades of racially discriminatory practices in Chicago public housing—and eventually the nation.

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Honors and Appointments

IPR FACULTY FELLOWS

P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, professor of human development and social policy, has been invited to join the Board on Children, Youth, and Families of the Institute of Medicine at the National Academies. It is a three-year appointment.

In September 2005, Thomas D. Cook, Joan and Serepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice, became chair of the Board of Directors at the Russell Sage Foundation for three years.

In July 2006, Jamie Druckman, an associate professor of political science and AT&T Research Scholar, received the Erik Erikson Early Career Award for excellence and creativity in the field of political psychology, from the International Society of Political Psychology.

He also received the Jewell-Loewenberg Award for the best 2005 article in Legislative Studies Quarterly 30(4): 529-48 for “Influence without confidence: Upper chambers and government formation,” written with Michael F. Thies and Lanny Martin.

Greg J. Duncan, Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy, was named to the Governing Council of the Society for Research in Child Development and the Expert Panel for the Impact Evaluation of the Student Mentoring Program in 2005. He will serve as vice president of the Population Association of America in 2006-07 and will chair the Social Sciences and Population Studies Study Section at the Center for Scientific Review in the National Institutes of Health until 2008.

Duncan was also a recipient of the Social Policy Award for best journal article for “How welfare policies affect adolescents’ school outcomes: A synthesis of evidence from experimental studies,” which was published in the Journal of Research on Adolescence 14(4): 399-424 in 2004. Co-authors were Elizabeth Clark-Kauffman, a former IPR graduate student; Lisa A. Gennetian; Virginia Knox; and Wanda Vargas.

In March, Alice Eagly was named the inaugural holder of the James Padilla Chair in Arts and Sciences. She is a professor of psychology.

Eszter Hargittai, assistant professor of communication studies and sociology, will be a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, Calif., in 2006-07.

The Biological Anthropology Section of the American Anthropological Association elected Christopher Kuzawa, assistant professor of anthropology, as a member-at-large to the executive committee until 2008.

In January, Charles F. Manski, Board of Trustees Professor in Economics, was appointed to the American Judicature Society’s Commission on Forensic Science and Public Policy and elected a council delegate from the Section on Social, Economic, and Political Science, American Association for Advancement of Science. In March, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Rome-Tor Vergata in the social and economic sciences, recognizing his fundamental contributions to the fields of econometrics and statistics.

Jeff Manza, professor of sociology and IPR’s associate director, was a Russell Sage Foundation Fellow in 2005-06.

Leslie McCall, associate professor of sociology, was named to the Sociology Advisory Panel of the National Science Foundation until 2007.

Therese McGuire, professor of management and strategy, became the Beatrice Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management.

Ann Orloff, professor of sociology, will be a Russell Sage Foundation Fellow in 2006-07. Her article “Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship,” American Sociological Review 58(1993): 303-28, was named as one of the journal’s “greatest hits”—one of the five most-cited articles of the 1990s.

Jennifer A. Richeson, associate professor of psychology, received the 2005 Louise Kidder Early Career Award from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Dorothy Roberts, Kirkland and Ellis Professor of Law, was the Bacon-Kilkenny Distinguished Visiting Professor at Fordham University School of Law in spring 2006.

The National Organization for Victim Assistance awarded Wesley G. Skogan, professor of political science, the 2005 Stephen Schafer Award. It recognizes individuals who have made substantial research contributions directly affecting the understanding of victims or survivors of crises, their interactions with social institutions, or their place in the criminal or civil justice systems.
On November 3, James Spillane, professor of human development, social policy, and learning sciences, was inaugurated as the Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Professor in Learning and Organizational Change.

Kathleen Thelen, Payson S. Wild Professor in Political Science, received the 2006 Mattei Dogan Award for the best book published in the field of comparative research for How Institutions Evolve (Cambridge University Press, 2004), awarded by the Society for Comparative Research at Yale University. She was appointed to the scientific advisory board of the Research Unit on European Governance at the Collegio Carlo Alberto Foundation of Moncalieri, Italy.

IPR FACULTY ASSOCIATES

Pablo Boczkowski, associate professor of communication studies, received outstanding book awards from the International Communication Association and the National Communication Association in 2005.

Shari S. Diamond, Howard J. Trienens Professor of Law, was appointed to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and American Bar Association National Conference of Lawyers and Scientists until 2008.

Shane Greenstein, Elinor and Wendall Hobbs Professor of Management and Strategy, was named as a Research Associate at the 2005 Conference on Research in Income and Wealth.


John Kretzmann and John McKnight, co-directors of the Asset-Based Community Development Institute, received the Entrepreneurial American Leadership Award for their work in community development on March 9.

Mary Pattillo, Arthur Andersen Research and Teaching Professor, was awarded a Howard Foundation Fellowship for 2005-06. She will become chair of Northwestern’s sociology department this fall.

In December, David Protess’ 1998 book A Promise of Justice (written with Rob Warden on the “Ford Heights Four” case) was named by the Washington Post as one of the eight “most important” works of nonfiction about wrongful convictions since 1932. Protess is a professor of journalism.

Teresa Woodruff, professor of neurobiology and physiology, was appointed a fellow of medical sciences in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She was promoted to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 2005.

Carl Smith, Franklyn Bliss Snyder Professor of English and American Studies, received a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies in 2005-06.

The Academy of Management Review named “The paradox of embeddedness” 42(1): 35-67, a 1997 paper by Brian Uzzi, professor of management and sociology, as the third most creative paper in management in the last 100 years. He also received the Richard L. Thomas Chair in Leadership.

Whitney Perkins Witt, assistant professor of medicine, received a five-year K01 Mentored Research Scientist Development Award from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in 2005.

In Memoriam: Michael Wallerstein

Michael Wallerstein, one of the world’s leading political economists and a former IPR faculty fellow, died of brain cancer on January 7 at his home in New Haven, Conn. He was 54.

Wallerstein, who studied Western European comparative politics, labor-market institutions, income inequality, and social justice, arrived at Northwestern University in 1994 following a decade at the University of California-Los Angeles. He joined the Institute for Policy Research shortly thereafter. He remained at Northwestern, where he served for three years as chair of its political science department, until 2004 when he went to Yale University.

At his last IPR talk in May 2004, he spoke about the striking differences in income inequality in advanced industrial societies. His research demonstrated that centralized bargaining institutions were strongly correlated with egalitarian wages, and he argued that current trends toward decentralized wage-setting in many countries is likely to lead to rising wage inequality.

Wallerstein published numerous articles and two books, including Globalization and Egalitarian Redistribution (Princeton University Press, 2006) that he co-edited with Pranab Bardhan and Samuel Bowles. In 2005, he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The Political Economy Section of the American Political Science Association, in which he participated, has established an award in his honor.

NU President Henry Bienen (right) congratulates James Spillane.

(Continued on page 14)
When circuit parties were created in the 1980s, the large weekend-long dance events were intended in part to raise awareness and funding for HIV and AIDS prevention. Today circuit parties may be doing more harm than help, according to a study by co-investigators Amin Ghaziani, a doctoral candidate in sociology and management, and social psychologist Thomas D. Cook, IPR faculty fellow and Joan and Serepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice.

The study concludes that the prevalence of unprotected sex at these circuit parties, particularly between HIV-positive men, is increasing the risk of HIV/AIDS. The parties, with up to 20,000 attendees, often attract a large number of gay and bisexual men. At the parties included in the study, more than two-thirds of attendees had some type of sex, and 47 percent of them participated in unprotected sex.

“The parties are seen as gay celebratory events that elicit highly valued feelings of community by participants,” said Cook. “That camaraderie coupled with drugs raises sexual appetites and distorts judgment in a setting where an over-representation of HIV-positive men are engaging in unprotected sex. In this party atmosphere, many forget about the threat of HIV/AIDS—or no longer care about it.”

Ghaziani offers strategies to reduce the rates of potential HIV infection. The study calls for prevention messages arguing that unsafe sex falsely promises eroticism and authenticity, that certain drugs elevate libidos and distort cognition, and that condom use does not betray intimacy or the party ethos.

“The point is not to demonize this subpopulation of gay and bisexual men,” he said. “Instead, we have to find healthier ways of celebrating community.”


For working mothers, placing a child in the care of grandparents or other family members might be detrimental to the child’s later achievements, a study shows.

IPR Faculty Fellow Raquel Bernal, an assistant professor of economics, and Michael P. Keane of Yale University found that each year of child care is associated with a 2.9 percent reduction in academic test scores. However, the study also reveals that formal child care environments can compensate for this deficiency.

“The punch line is maternal time is important to produce high-quality children, but if the mother has to work, choosing the right kind of child care can offset the negative effects, which is good news,” said principal investigator Bernal.

The study used a sample of single mothers from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. From this data, researchers constructed the number of quarters (three-month periods) that children spent in child care after childbirth and gathered data from cognitive ability tests measuring vocabulary at ages 3, 4, and 5 and mathemathic skills and reading comprehension at ages 5 and 6.

According to the study, formal, center-based settings offer the best kind of child care, since they generally have no detrimental effect on the child’s cognitive development. Bernal speculated that a child could benefit from interactions with peers and trained caretakers, more stimulating activities and more discipline.

In contrast, leaving children older than one in informal child care settings with family members or with nonrelative caregivers for an additional year is associated with a 3.5 percent reduction in test scores.

Consequently, Bernal said it is vital to provide women with adequate child care. In the context of labor economics, 30 percent of wage differences can be accounted for by education, IQ, experience and skill level, among other factors. The remaining 70 percent is believed to derive from a skill set accumulated before the child starts school, Bernal said. “Investments made in children early on may determine whether they are high achievers later in life.”

Degrees of Success: How to Restructure Community Colleges

Poor students are more likely to complete degrees when they attend occupational colleges rather than community colleges, according to research by IPR Faculty Fellow James Rosenbaum, professor of human development and social policy.

With Regina Deil-Amen, an assistant professor at Penn State and a former IPR graduate student, Rosenbaum investigated 14 two-year colleges in the Chicago area, half of which were public community colleges and the other half private occupational colleges.

One key difference, they discovered, is that community colleges expect students to possess a certain amount of social know-how, or “cultural capital.” This know-how is what helps students to successfully navigate the educational system and to obtain a degree. But poor students, who make up a large portion of those enrolled in community colleges, are usually the first in their families to attend college and thus are less likely to have received this implicit education. They are also more likely to face challenging child care and transportation issues than four-year college students.

Overall, community colleges were more likely to treat their students like those in four-year colleges, encouraging them to take a variety of courses and to cut down on outside activities that might hamper their schoolwork. Occupational colleges, however, provide universal mandatory counseling and student information systems that help students to avoid mistakes—or at least detect them early. They also offer only a few focused programs, instead of an academic smorgasbord.

Even when community colleges attempt to provide more flexibility with a vast array of class options and hours, Rosenbaum and Deil-Amen found they sometimes curtail students’ ability to accommodate extracurricular responsibilities such as work and child care. Also, “students reported a lot of problems with needing a particular course at a particular semester, and it wasn’t available,” Rosenbaum said. “Those kinds of problems tend to arise because the college is doing too much.”

Rosenbaum noted that having faced “fairly regular” budget cuts since the 1990s, community colleges had to cut out programs that were helpful to students. But it is a mistake to believe offering a wide range of isolated courses is more important, he continued. He recommends structural changes to match more closely the model at occupational colleges.

For community colleges, “creating highly structured programs which allow dependable progress should be a priority,” Rosenbaum said. In such a system, students would be more likely to complete a degree within their expected timeframe. He is currently working on a book, *After Admission: From College Access to College Success*, with Deil-Amen and IPR graduate research assistant Ann Person, to be published by the Russell Sage Foundation.

America: Still a Land of Limitless Opportunity?

There is a popular American belief that history is not destiny, yet does this image ring true today as much as it did in the 19th century? To answer this question, IPR Faculty Associate Joseph Ferrie, associate professor of economics, examined the geographic and occupational mobility of more than 75,000 American-born men from the 1850s to the 1920s, using newly available longitudinal census data from the 19th and 20th centuries.

He found there was a time when, indeed, the United States was both geographically and occupationally more fluid than European countries such as the United Kingdom, especially in the period from 1880 to 1920. In the latter half of the 20th century, however, Canada, Sweden, and Finland all displayed greater mobility than the United States, he noted. “Geographic mobility is the key to upward mobility,” he said.

So commentators such as Alexis de Tocqueville and Karl Marx were correct in their observations at that time. Yet this period of “American exceptionalism,” when birth, rank or status mattered less in moving up the social and economic ladder, seems to have ended by the 1950s.

Despite the drop in mobility since the beginning of the 20th century, the image of the United States as a land of limitless opportunity and high mobility “lingers,” he said. And this perception continues to shape Americans’ values and political views—for example, steering away support for a radical labor movement or a more comprehensive welfare program.

Ferrie, who presented his results at an IPR colloquium, is investigating the exact causes of the decline in geographic mobility, but he said it might be linked to the rise of public education as the avenue to opportunity in the 20th century.

Additionally, he is considering the rise of a corporate culture that rewarded workers for remaining with the same firm and the creation of the American welfare state, which allowed people to ride out job losses and stay in their communities.

“It was easy to move up without status and connections; however, in the 20th century, it is harder to do because of fewer opportunities,” he said.

Having evolved over the years into a distinct mixture of classes, races, and ethnicities, the city of Chicago and its suburbs offer a unique perspective on many of today’s challenging urban problems. Three IPR scholars, who have all studied the city from various vantage points, discussed some of their latest research on the city’s crime rates, the transformation of public housing, and diversity and segregation patterns at a March 10 IPR policy briefing in Chicago.

In all, 75 people attended, including representatives from law enforcement, the city of Chicago, and foundations, in addition to academics and advocates. The policy briefing was funded by a grant from the Joyce Foundation.

Crime Declines—But Why?
IPR Faculty Fellow Wesley G. Skogan, a professor of political science, traced the plunge in Chicago’s crime rates, which mirrored a national trend, from 1991 to 2005. During that period, violent crime decreased 59 percent, property crime decreased 43 percent, and street crime decreased 55 percent.

“The decline in crime is one of the most significant social facts of the end of the 20th century,” Skogan pointed out. “It’s also one of the least understood.” He reviewed a multitude of reasons that have been proposed for the drop—many often politically motivated and without hard data to back them up.

He refuted the idea that it was due to a booming economy or a decrease in the number of young people, who are more likely to commit crime. “The age distribution didn’t change,” Skogan said, “and the economy was very disappointing in Chicago.”

Another common explanation given is an increase in rates of incarceration. Yet after 1999, rates of imprisonment dropped, and crime rates continued to decrease, he said.

Declining gun use also does not adequately explain the trend. The number of crimes committed without guns is down just as much as those committed with, he found. He also ruled out gang-related homicides because they have a different dynamic that lends itself to a cyclical pattern. Also lacking evidence for probable cause are variations in the crack cocaine market (which has not declined much in Chicago), the demolition of public housing, and violence in schools, which is actually increasing. In addition, there is not enough evidence about the impact of “smarter” policing, and community factors such as neighborhood solidarity on the city-wide decline in crime, although they have the proven ability to control crime in neighborhood-sized areas.

“A 15-year decline is almost too big for one big reason,” he concluded. It is more likely that many factors “worked together as a mix over time.”

Skogan has offered one possible scenario that includes the combined effects of prison in the early 1990s, when the hardest-core offenders were being locked up; community policing in the late 1990s; and the more recent adoption of smarter policing tactics with a proven impact on violent crime.

Public Housing and Broken Promises
In 1986, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) closed six public housing buildings of the Lakefront Properties development for renovation, relocating more than 800 families in the process.

“This story is really about the rights of public housing residents and indeed the rights of poor people generally, and how these rights are influenced by questions of legitimacy,” said IPR Faculty Associate Mary Pattillo, a sociologist who studied the transformation of the Lakefront Properties. She is Arthur Andersen Research and Teaching Professor.

The public housing families, unhappy about having to relocate and worried that the new development would prove too expensive for them to move back, created the Lakefront Community Organization (LCO). Thirty LCO members stayed behind to enforce a CHA-signed agreement that promised residents the right to return once the rehabilitation was complete. But nothing happened for five years.

In the interim, developers had set their sights on the increasingly desirable North Kenwood/Oakland area where the Lakefront Properties were located. Quickly, talk turned to demolition to make way for new, lucrative market-rate housing. Ten years later, a weakened LCO signed a revised agreement, “which doomed the fate of the Lakefront properties,” she said, “but promised displaced residents apartments in the planned mixed-income community that would replace the high-rises.”

By 1998, CHA had built only 111 of the 441 promised replacement units. The LCO appealed to a federal court to stop the demolition. “Nonetheless,” she said, “the buildings were demolished as planned.”

(Continued on page 7)
**Geography of Opportunity**
**MIT professor seeks to revive housing choice debate**

After 35 years of housing policy debate, “most white Americans don’t think housing discrimination is much of a problem anymore, and many black Americans are ambivalent about integration,” said Xavier de Souza Briggs, associate professor of sociology and urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. “But expanding housing choice is the most important invisible social policy issue in America today.”

Briggs, a former acting assistant secretary at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, explored some of the themes from his latest book in a November 29 lecture co-sponsored by the Institute for Policy Research, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, and Chicago Metropolis 2020. The book, *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* (Brookings Institution Press, 2005), had more than 20 contributors including himself and IPR Faculty Fellow James Rosenbaum, an expert on public housing and mobility.

Briggs spoke about how the nation has become more racially diverse and how rates of segregation between blacks and whites have declined. Yet segregation within racial groups, drawn on economic and class lines, has been growing, he said.

IPR Faculty Fellow Lincoln Quillian, an associate professor of sociology and a panel discussant, noted that the close connection between racial segregation and high poverty neighborhoods persists in the United States. “If we didn’t have racial segregation,” he said, “the number of high poverty neighborhoods would drop enormously.”

Unequal housing choices and suburban sprawl have confined the poor and minorities to areas where opportunities for better jobs, schools, and health-care access are severely undermined, Briggs said.

With 45 million new housing units needed in the next 25 to 30 years, Briggs recognizes this as an enormous opportunity. He identifies three key components to any viable solution: expanding housing choices, protecting the choices that people currently have, and enabling people to make the best choices possible. He also sees employers, faith-based organizations, and unions, all with vested interests in expanding housing choices, as vital parts of a broad constituency for change.

“We are the most diverse society in human history, with few roadmaps for our future, so we need imagination, courage, and commitment,” he concluded. “Expanding housing choice is a linchpin of the opportunity agenda.”

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**Chicago’s Urban Lessons**
*(Continued from page 6)*

The story emphasizes the vast power differential between public housing residents on the one side and city officials and private investors on the other, Pattillo said.

**The Multicultural Metropolis**

Having examined patterns of multi-racial diversity and segregation from 1980 to 2000, Juan Onésimo Sandoval, an IPR faculty fellow and an assistant professor of sociology, has found that while racial diversity has dramatically increased in the Chicago area, segregation still remains a problem, though it has somewhat improved.

In 1980, Sandoval said 83 percent of Chicago-area neighborhoods were highly segregated, and this group had dropped to 63 percent by 2000. In terms of racial diversity, however, only 1 percent of census tracts were racially integrated in 1980, and this fraction had increased to just 2 percent by 2000. These levels of integration are low compared with other large cities, such as Los Angeles with 7 percent and New York City with 3 percent in 1980, which had increased to 9 percent for both of these cities by 2000.

Most of the racial diversity increase occurred in white and Latino neighborhoods, Sandoval explained, where there is more mixing. Blacks, on the other hand, still live in the most segregated neighborhoods in the Chicago area, he said.

The overall picture for metropolitan Chicago is mixed. “Segregation is going down in the central city,” he said, “but not in the suburbs.”

As a result, the suburbs now account for a larger portion of the segregation that still exists in and around Chicago. In 1980, 14 percent of segregation was in the suburbs, and that portion had increased to 31 percent by 2000. On the other hand, 61 percent of total segregation was from central cities in 1980 compared to 51 percent in 2000.

“The presentations illuminated three of the biggest issues for Chicago over the past 20 years—crime, the decline in public housing, and residential segregation,” said Fay Lomax Cook, IPR’s director and a professor of human development and social policy. “By bringing analyses of the three together in one policy briefing, IPR was able to provide a comprehensive understanding of some of Chicago’s successes as well as some of the challenges still facing the city.”

For more information, please see [www.northwestern.edu/irp/events/briefingMarch06.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/irp/events/briefingMarch06.html).
The Struggle for Universal Health-Care Coverage in the U.S.
Conference debates whether its time has come

Every 30 seconds in the United States, an American goes bankrupt because of insurmountable medical bills, noted Jacob Hacker, a political scientist at Yale University.

He spoke about the prospects for universal health-care coverage in the United States at a conference on January 25 co-sponsored by the Institute for Policy Research and the Center for International Comparative Studies at Northwestern University.

While many are familiar with the statistic that 45 million Americans are uninsured, few realize how truly volatile this population is. Hacker pointed out that more than 82.5 million Americans did not have health insurance at some point over a two-year period. Of those 82.5 million, half were uninsured for longer than nine months, and 85 percent of the uninsured live in a family headed by a wage earner.

“The United States is the only country in the advanced world that doesn’t have a health-care system that fully covers its population,” said IPR Faculty Fellow Monica Prasad, assistant professor of sociology, and the conference organizer. “And the perennial question is why not, and what can we do about it?”

The United States spends more than other advanced industrial nations on health care: 13 percent of its GDP versus less than 10 percent in other countries. Yet it covers only 30 to 40 percent of its population versus 75 to 100 percent in other industrialized nations, Hacker noted.

One reason behind this gap is the unique public/private financing structure of the U.S. health-care system and the over-reliance on employers to provide health-care benefits. “The story of the last 20 years hasn’t been a decline in government benefits, but a decline in private-sector benefits,” Hacker said. “This unique social contract is coming undone.”

Hacker calls this shift in insurance burden from employers and government onto individuals the “Great Risk Shift,” stressing that it affects low-wage earners disproportionately. In 1979, 46 percent of the lowest-paid quintile of American workers had insurance from their own employer. By 1998 that figure had dropped to 26 percent. The gap between the two was a key focus of Clinton’s attempt to reform the health-care system in the early 1990s.

Behind this shift, Hacker detects a fundamental change in ideology and political power, fueled in part by the increasing conservatism of the Republican majority. Republicans favor individual responsibility as a response to the paring down of insurance coverage by American businesses. This is why the right champions solutions such as the establishment of individual health savings accounts (HSAs) that President Bush called for in his State of the Union address in January.

“It is clear that throughout the 20th century and today, health policy politics has tilted toward private-sector solutions, despite all the evidence that the private sector can’t provide health security to Americans at a reasonable cost,” said Fay Lomax Cook, IPR’s director and a conference respondent.

Cook, a professor of human development and social policy, also highlighted polls showing that the American public heavily favors reform—even if it means rolling back some of the Bush tax cuts. Currently, Hacker fingers two factors that weigh heavily on hopes for reforms: the failure of the Clinton plan and the enormous fiscal constraints imposed by Bush’s tax cuts.

Yet there is hope, Hacker suggested. He identified three promising paths: expanding Medicare to cover additional populations and to allow employers to buy into it; creating a federal plan for catastrophic coverage; and establishing a “cost-swap” in which the federal government would cover those populations costing the most—elderly nursing home patients and the poorest Medicaid recipients—thereby freeing the states to cover more of their residents.

“Each of these three solutions will cost a lot of money,” Hacker cautioned. “But each represents a long-term strategy for building on the best aspects of the present system and responding to the decline in workplace health benefits without presenting a huge threat to existing interests.”

In the absence of a federal response, others have taken the initiative to seek new solutions. Eric Parker, director of the Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership, spoke about how his nonprofit and a local union have mounted an innovative plan that allows small businesses to purchase affordable insurance for either union or nonunion home health-care workers. States such as Massachusetts, Maryland, and Florida have passed their own health-care reforms. Even Wal-Mart, the largest employer in America and the world, has come to realize that it has much to lose if Medicaid is scaled back.

“The great hope for U.S. health care seems to be getting businesses to realize that it is in their interest not to shoulder the burden of health-care costs and to get behind reforms at the national level,” Prasad said.

Jacob Hacker is Peter Strauss Family Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University and author of The Great Risk Shift: The New Economic Insecurity—and What Can Be Done About It (Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2006).
Critics of U.S. foreign policy often assume that unilateralism, militarism, and disdain for international law have deep roots in Middle America and in U.S. public opinion. But research that I have done with Marshall M. Bouton (to be published by the University of Chicago Press this fall) makes clear that this is not at all the case.

Survey evidence shows that large majorities of Americans strongly support the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and other international institutions. Most back concrete steps to strengthen the United Nations, such as giving it the direct power to tax certain international transactions. Large majorities of Americans favor participating in the Kyoto Agreement on global warming, the International Criminal Court, and other treaties. Most Americans favor joint decision making with allies even if we do not always get our way. Most favor complying with decisions from the World Trade Organization that go against us, accepting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, and giving up the power to veto U.N. Security Council decisions that other members agree on. Large majorities of Americans oppose major uses of military force without U.N. authorization.

Contrary to skeptics from Alexander Hamilton to Walter Lippmann and Philip Converse, these are not just volatile “doorstep opinions” based on ignorance. National surveys by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, conducted repeatedly since 1974, show a high degree of coherence and stability in the collective opinions of the American public. Over a 30-year period filled with momentous events (Cold War crises, the collapse of the Soviet Union, terrorist attacks), large majorities of Americans have steadily and consistently favored a cooperative and multilateral foreign policy: arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, nonproliferation and nuclear test-ban agreements, collective decisions through a powerful United Nations, and predominately diplomatic and multilateral responses to terrorism.

Moreover, individual Americans do not express random “nonattitudes” about foreign policy. Instead, extensive data analysis shows they tend to hold **purposive belief systems**, in which individuals’ policy preferences are connected—in a logical, instrumental fashion—to the international threats they perceive, the foreign policy goals they espouse, and their feelings and beliefs about particular foreign countries. Collective public opinion is generally “rational”—coherent, consistent, stable, based on shared values and beliefs—not only because random errors tend to average out over the population, or because collective deliberation provides fairly efficient policy cues to individuals, but also because individual Americans are capable of forming sensible, integrated belief systems about foreign policy.

Yet the evidence (including evidence from parallel surveys in which foreign policy decision makers were asked questions identical to those asked of the public) indicates that there have always been many large gaps between the foreign policy that Americans want and the foreign policy they get. About 25 percent of the time, majorities of the public have taken the opposite side from majorities of decision makers. Many gaps have involved economic issues, such as a failure to pursue job and environmental protections that the public favors in free-trade agreements, and military issues, such as greater willingness by decision makers than the public to use U.S. troops abroad. On **diplomatic issues**, including international law and multilateralism generally, the frequency and magnitude of gaps has reached an all-time high during the Bush administration.

How is it possible for officials to keep pursuing policies that the public opposes and yet win re-election to office? The answer is complex and follows from long-standing characteristics of our political system. It would not be easy to close these discrepancies entirely. But I find such large and persistent gaps—perhaps amounting to a “disconnect”—to be quite troubling for a deliberative democracy. They represent a chronic failure of our foreign policy officials either to respond to the preferences of the public or to persuade the public of the merits of the officials’ stances.

Benjamin I. Page is Gordon S. Fulcher Professor of Decision Making and an IPR faculty associate. His book, *The Foreign Policy Disconnect: What Americans Want from Our Leaders but Don’t Get*, written with Marshall M. Bouton, will be published by the University of Chicago Press this fall.
Evidence of Children’s Achievement
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Teacher Effectiveness
Anecdotes abound of how great teachers have shaped their students’ lives. But most parents seem more concerned about which school their child attends, noted educational researcher Larry V. Hedges, Board of Trustees Professor in Statistics and Social Policy. So parents take great pains to buy houses in the “right” school district or pay tuition for their children to attend the “right” school.

According to Hedges’ research, however, teachers can have a larger effect on student achievement than schools. He found that the most reliable studies of teacher effectiveness use randomized designs. Yet only one study so far has used random assignment to measure it: Tennessee’s Student Teacher Achievement Ratio (STAR), a $12 million, four-year study that covered 11,000 students from kindergarten to 3rd grade.

Analysis by Hedges and his team revealed that teachers account for 7 percent of the variation in reading achievement and 12 percent in math. These results suggest that a child moved from a below-average teacher (ranked in the 25th percentile) to an above-average teacher (in the 75th percentile), would experience significant gains in reading and math. These gains double if the child is then moved to an excellent teacher (in the 90th percentile).

Teacher effects, Hedges noted, are three times bigger for schools serving mostly poor students than for those schools serving mostly wealthy ones. “Thus, it matters more which teacher you happen to get in a poor school than in a rich school,” he said.

To improve student achievement, he suggested policymakers craft programs based on teacher choice, teacher accountability, and proven approaches to effective teacher development. Such programs have the potential to increase student achievement as much as, or more than, reducing class size drastically and at less cost. Such a strategy could have a larger “bang for the buck,” especially in the nation’s poorest schools, he said.

Pre-K: State Programs and Head Start
Preschool programs do make a difference—at least in the short-term—and merit being expanded, noted social psychologist Thomas D. Cook, Joan and Serepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice. Across the nation, 68 percent of 4-year-olds and 39 percent of 3-year-olds are enrolled in some type of preschool. But which type of preschool is better and for whom?

Cook observed disproportionate racial representation between public and private preschool enrollment. More than 70 percent of 4-year-old black and Hispanic children attend public programs, contrasted with 43 percent of white children. Additionally, he noted that black 4-year-olds are over-represented in Head Start programs, 28.7 percent versus 4.4 percent for whites and 11.8 percent for Hispanics.

Recently, discussions have taken place to roll federal Head Start monies into state block grants. One source of evidence adduced to support this policy comes from a recent National Institute for Early Education Research (NIEER) study. Using the study, some have argued that state programs have larger achievement effects on preschoolers than does Head Start, as determined from Westat’s First Year Head Start results.

“But you have to ask yourself, ‘Are these evaluations similar?’” he cautioned. “And the answer is ‘no.’”

While the Head Start study uses a nationally representative sample, NIEER only looked at five of the most well-established state preschool programs—with four ranking higher than the national average. Other differences included: Head Start children were poorer than children in the state-run programs; the Head Start study was more comprehensive, measuring a child’s socio-emotional state and health—not just cognitive achievement; and the control group used to evaluate Head Start had a higher percentage of children in it who were in an alternative preschool program, thus creating a higher threshold for Head Start to reach in order to declare it effective.

No solid evidence backs the claim that state pre-K programs are better than Head Start programs at raising children’s achievement, he said. “These decisions about block grants may have to be made,” he continued. “But they are likely to be made on political grounds that are less informed by science than one would hope.”

Economic Policies and Achievement
Given that the black-white achievement gap between children entering kindergarten is about 8 points on an IQ-type scale, economist Greg J. Duncan asked the audience to imagine

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Cells to Society Receives NICHD Grant  
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official launch in June 2005, the grant caps a busy first year for the center. C2S inaugurated its colloquium series in October 2005, with speaker Dr. Janice Kiecolt-Glaser of Ohio State University; launched a nationwide search for two permanent faculty members; and held its first Biomarker Institute this June.

The R21 grant will support C2S’s development in three key research areas: social disparities, stress, and health; families, interpersonal relationships, and health; and developmental perspectives on health disparities from conception through adulthood, where many research projects are already under way. It will also help the center to achieve its goal of becoming an international locus for biomarker training and research.

Biomarker Institute and Training
Interest in and use of field-friendly biomarkers of physiological and health processes has been growing in population-based studies. Yet many factors from storage and transportation to measurement and timing affect their success.

“Biomarkers appear so easy to use that everyone wants to do it,” said IPR Faculty Fellow Emma Adam, an assistant professor of human development and social policy. “But as it turns out, it is exceptionally complicated to do well.” Very few researchers possess the dual expertise in the social and biomedical sciences to use them effectively, she continued.

Adam and IPR Faculty Fellows Christopher Kuzawa and Thomas McDade, who directs the Laboratory for Human Biology Research at Northwestern, have met with much success in developing these methods and tools in their own research. They have used biomarkers for measures of stress, reproductive function, and cardiovascular health in diverse locations from the United States to Bolivia to the Philippines. As recognized experts, they have been sought out by researchers for advice and consultation. Now their aim is to share what they have learned with others.

The first C2S Summer Biomarker Institute took place from June 19 to 21 and welcomed 22 participants. McDade, an associate professor of anthropology, qualified it as a “nuts-and-bolts, hands-on, full review of state-of-the-art, minimally invasive methods for measuring aspects of physiology and health in population-based settings outside of the lab.”

In addition to supporting future summer institutes, the R21 award will also support a Methodology Core run by McDade, Kuzawa, and Adam. The core will promote research into new biomarkers and enhance Northwestern’s infrastructure to support increased demand for biomarker analysis and usage. “We want to become a national resource for biomarker analyses and their implementation into a broad social science agenda,” McDade said.

The R21 award will establish a seed-grant program to promote the use of biomarkers and other innovative methods in population- and community-based research projects. Since review panels often question the feasibility of collecting blood spots, saliva, and other biomarker methods in large-scale research, the seed fund would permit C2S faculty to conduct biomarker validation and pilot studies. In turn, this would hopefully multiply the number of biomarker options and projects using biomarkers properly. “There’s a lot of recognition right now that these methods are opening up new opportunities for social scientists and population researchers,” said Kuzawa, an assistant professor of anthropology.

Interdisciplinary and Innovative Research
Part of C2S’s appeal is its unique approach in trying to understand how social contexts get “under the skin” and influence the pathways and processes of human development, health, and well-being. Noted one grant reviewer, “the ambitious and pioneering set of activities … hold the promise of gaining a more sophisticated understanding of the links and mediators between the social and physical environment and population health.”

Said Adam, “We have learned a lot in the lab, but it doesn’t tell us about stress exposure and how real-life stressors translate into biology. The powerful influence of social variables on developmental, physiological, and health outcomes across the lifecourse deserves greater recognition.”

Much of this new vision of research will come through C2S’s interdisciplinary approach, modeled on IPR’s mission and bolstered by Northwestern’s commitment to cross-disciplinary collaboration. “Research conducted in silos is not where the field should be going,” Chase-Lansdale said. “C2S is at the forefront of the integrative, multi-method, interdisciplinary approach to population health research called for by the NIH Roadmap.”

Already, economists, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists are collaborating with biomedical and life scientists on C2S research projects. “If you truly want to understand human biology and health, you need to have an interdisciplinary perspective that matches the complexity of the human organism,” McDade said.

For more information about C2S, please visit the center’s Web pages at www.northwestern.edu/ipr/c2s.
Thanks to the Gautreaux program that grew out of the settlement, more than 6,000 poor, black Chicago families moved out of their blighted, inner-city housing projects into low-poverty, mostly white suburban neighborhoods. Faculty from the Institute for Policy Research were among the first to measure and document the successes and failures of residential mobility programs since Gautreaux’s 1976 launch.

The conference “Gautreaux at 40: Race, Class, Housing Mobility, and Neighborhood Revitalization,” which was organized by Leonard Rubinowitz, an IPR faculty associate and professor of law, brought together more than 400 academics, activists, developers, officials, and public housing residents on March 3 to revisit the legacy and the ongoing impact of these landmark decisions. The School of Law and IPR cosponsored the conference.

In tracing the public housing issue from 1966, when it was joined in the courts and the streets through Martin Luther King, Jr.’s march in Chicago for open housing, Rubinowitz marveled, “Who could have imagined that 40 years later several hundred of us would gather to discuss and debate these issues that seem to have no end.”

IPR Faculty Studies on Gautreaux
IPR Faculty Fellow James Rosenbaum, a professor of human development and social policy, conducted the first studies on Gautreaux I, which helped to lay the foundation for the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) Program implemented by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1994.

Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum also documented a truly unusual circumstance—moving poor black families into predominantly middle-class white suburbs. They recounted the Gautreaux pioneers’ complex experiences resulting from racism and harassment to improved life outcomes in their book Crossing the Class and Color Lines: From Public Housing to White Suburbs (University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Currently, IPR Faculty Fellow Greg Duncan, Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy, is leading an evaluation of Gautreaux II families. This second-wave study will provide important qualitative data that could not be gathered from the original Gautreaux research due to limitations in the original program’s design.

Gautreaux’s Legacy: What Have We Learned?
In Duncan’s review of Gautreaux I and II and MTO programs, he found mixed results. Gautreaux I families relocated between 1976 and 1998, with the bulk of moves occurring in the mid-1980s. Once admitted to the program, participants were given Section 8-type vouchers, which subsidize rents for private, market-rate housing based on income. Participants were required to move into neighborhoods with a census tract population that was no more than 30 percent African American.

Duncan found that 15 years after Gautreaux I’s implementation, 67 percent of the mothers placed in the suburbs were still residing in the suburbs. Neighborhood poverty rates were as low as they had been in their placement neighborhoods. More important, children who moved with their mothers and had since become adults were nearly as likely as their mothers to live in the suburbs and in low-poverty neighborhoods. Duncan called it a true story of “intergenerational success.”

Earlier studies by Rosenbaum and others showed that children’s attitudes toward school improved and their grades did not drop if they were placed in suburban rather than city neighborhoods. These studies also found the children were more likely to graduate from high school, enter college, and enroll in better colleges (four-year versus two-year colleges). They were also more likely to get jobs and to be employed at higher-paying jobs.

Unfortunately, preliminary results for Gautreaux II families, who moved between 2002 and 2003, have not been as promising. Families who moved a second time ended up in neighborhoods with higher rates of poverty and percentages of African Americans than Gautreaux I families. These moves seem to be undoing the benefits of the initial move in Gautreaux II, Duncan noted, but the jury is still out on the longer term fortunes of these families.

In between Gautreaux I and II came MTO. Buoyed by Rosenbaum’s Gautreaux documentation and seeking more complete answers to the public housing puzzle, HUD implemented the MTO program in five cities—Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York—between 1994

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and 1998. MTO was designed to fill a research gap in the Gautreaux I program—the absence of control groups. Thus, MTO was a random-assignment program that studied two major groups: a treatment group offered assistance to move to more affluent neighborhoods and a control group that was not offered such assistance. The MTO program mandated destination neighborhoods with poverty rates of 10 percent or less, while Gautreaux I only targeted race and Gautreaux II set criteria for both race and poverty.

According to Duncan, MTO’s most striking success has been a sharp improvement in the mental health of the mothers who moved, with cases of depression being cut in half. Mothers cited getting away from gang- and drug-ridden neighborhoods as their No. 1 reason for moving.

However, evaluators found that although children of MTO participants attended somewhat higher-achieving schools, these were still underperforming schools, scoring below state achievement levels. Participants also did not experience higher employment, nor less welfare receipt, when compared with the control group—though the late 1990s was a time when the control group doubled its employment rate, posing a high standard for the treatment group to exceed.

Rosenbaum explained this might also be due to the fact that when MTO families changed neighborhoods, most of the moves were less than 10 miles away—compared with an average of 25 miles for the Gautreaux participants. This permitted MTO families to move to highly segregated neighborhoods and even allowed their children to remain in the same schools.

Public Housing: Where Do We Go From Here?

Highlighting the stigma of subsidized housing that attaches itself to families who move, Xavier de Souza Briggs, associate professor of sociology and urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, spoke about how the “politics of property” shapes housing opportunities. There is no evidence to show that Section 8 vouchers or other subsidies “typically” decrease housing values, he noted. In fact, the opposite can be true: Investments in affordable housing can help to revitalize neighborhoods. To improve next-generation housing policies serving the poorest families, including those in public housing, he called for improved mobility counseling and targeting, the use of performance management frameworks, and programs to promote stability and adaptation by relocated families.

Susan J. Popkin (PhD, Northwestern University) of the Urban Institute, a former IPR research associate, underlined the urgent need for a dedicated effort to house the remaining “hard-to-house” families. She spoke about “war-zone” conditions that have damaged some residents to the point where they cannot function in a normal community: “We owe these families, especially the children, a serious effort to try to stabilize their situations and help them to move to better, safer neighborhoods,” she said.

Duncan proposed that residential mobility programs should be examined in the wider context of programs that might help low-income families. He gave the example of Milwaukee’s successful New Hope work-support program. New Hope offers a cafeteria-style program of benefits, including child-care and income supports, providing the working poor with the same opportunity as the middle class to balance the demands of work and family, Duncan said.

Perhaps the most radical proposal for “dismantling the black ghetto” came from Alexander Polikoff, lead counsel in the Gautreaux lawsuits and currently senior staff counsel at Business and Professional People for the Public Interest. He presented his idea for a national Gautreaux program under which a portion of existing housing vouchers would be “recycled” and offered to 50,000 black families each year. Polikoff explained why he thought such a program would be fiscally and programmatically feasible and, in a decade, would enable half of the resident black families to leave their ghettos. Polikoff believes this would trigger redevelopment that would end black ghettos as we know them.

The debate over public housing has gained increased strength and new relevance in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. But it involves a complex set of issues, actors, and competing interests, compounded by too little understanding of what public housing residents want themselves. While some evidence indicates that by moving, such residents can do better, the conference also showed that poorly designed interventions and insufficient resources mean they can also do the same or worse.

A group of public housing residents who attended the conference made it clear that they are not happy about being forced to leave their communities and social networks behind. “These are our homes you are talking about,” one argued.

For a complete bibliography of Gautreaux research by IPR faculty, please see the Web page at www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/Gautreaux.html. Conference papers will be published online this fall in the newly launched Northwestern Journal of Law and Social Policy.
Presentations of Note
Social psychologist Thomas D. Cook gave the plenary lecture—“Within Study Comparisons of Experiments and Non-Experiments: Can They Help Decide Evaluation Policy?”—at the Conference on Econometric Evaluation of Public Policies: Methods and Applications in Paris on December 15.

Economist Greg J. Duncan was invited to give the Roy Geary Lecture at the Economic and Social Research Institute in Dublin on December 12. He spoke on “Income and Child Development.”

Larry V. Hedges, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Social Policy, gave the inaugural John A. Hannah Lecture on April 18 at Michigan State University. He spoke on “Context Effects, Experiments, and Generalization in Educational Research.”


Law professor Dorothy Roberts gave the inaugural Juanita Jackson Mitchell Lecture, “The Problem with Racial Disparities in the Child Welfare System,” at the University of Maryland’s Law School on October 27, and the Allison Davis Lecture, “The Problem of Race and the Child Welfare System,” at Williams College on November 9. She was the keynote speaker at the 4th Annual Symposium on Fairness and Equity Issues in Child Welfare Training, California Social Work Education Center, University of California-Berkeley School of Social Welfare, on April 28. She also gave the keynote talk, “In Harm’s Way: Preventing and Healing Childhood Trauma,” at the Children’s Institute, Inc.’s national forum, held in Los Angeles on May 4.

On April 21, a small group of experts, including political scientist Wesley G. Skogan, met with Congressman Mike Turner (R-OH), to advise him on pressing urban issues. Turner chairs the new task force on “Saving America’s Cities,” which will create an opportunity agenda for the nation’s cities.

School leadership expert James Spillane gave the plenary lecture, “Getting to Organizations & Systems Without Losing Touch with Learners & Teachers,” on June 28 at the 2006 International Conference of the Learning Sciences at Indiana University in Bloomington, Ind.

Recent Grants
The Searle Fund for Policy Research awarded Raquel Bernal, assistant professor of economics, a grant for her research on child care, maternal time, and the cognitive ability of children.

Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, directed by professor P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, received an R21 grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. See the cover story.

Economist Greg J. Duncan received an award from the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development through Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation for a study that will use data from random-assignment experiments to understand the impacts of income and employment instability on family and child well-being.

Joseph Ferrie, an associate professor of economics, received an award from the National Institutes of Health as a subgrant through the University of Michigan to look at health and function over 30 years in Alameda County, Calif.

Educational researcher Larry V. Hedges received a grant from the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) to develop methods for the representation of treatment effects in clustered-randomized experiments via effect sizes and methods for combining effect sizes in meta-analysis. IES is also supporting Hedges’ four-year program to train postdoctoral education researchers. Each year, two postdoctoral fellows will learn interdisciplinary skills such as statistical and evaluation methods and research design.

Hedges received an IES subcontract from Cornell University for the Society for the Advancement of Education Sciences. He is one of two organizers of this new society, whose aim is to spread the use of scientific evidence in educational policy analysis.

Hedges received a National Science Foundation grant as a subaward from the University of Chicago for the university’s Data Research and Development Center, of which he is co-principal investigator. The Spencer Foundation will support Hedges’ project examining various achievement gaps in different ways for a better understanding of how the social distribution of achievement has changed over time.

The National Institutes of Health, through a subcontract from the University of Michigan, will support economist Charles F. Manski’s work to determine how probability beliefs of survey-takers affect their answers to probability questions and how those beliefs compare to objective risks using data comparisons from the Health and Retirement Study. He also received a grant from the National Institute on Aging to investigate respondent tendencies for nonresponse and response error.

Thomas McDade, an associate professor of anthropology, received a subaward from the Harvard School of Public Health for biomarker work he is conducting on the public authority for assessment of compensation for damages resulting from Iraqi aggression.

Tax specialist Therese McGuire received a grant from the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy to study property taxation in Illinois.

Law professor Dorothy Roberts received the Scholars’ Award from the National Science Foundation to study legal and political approaches to race consciousness in biotechnology research.

Political scientist Wesley G. Skogan received a grant from the National Institute of Justice to evaluate the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention.
Recently Published Books

IPR FACULTY FELLOWS

Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy
By Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen
Oxford University Press, 2006, 384 pages

In a country that takes pride in its policy of universal suffrage for citizens, how did laws to disenfranchise felons come about? Today, 5.4 million Americans—one out of 40 voting-age adults—have lost their right to vote due to a felony conviction. In Locked Out, Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen examine the consequences of such large-scale disenfranchisement, exposing its threat to a healthy democracy in the United States. They also investigate the racial factors involved in the origin of felony disenfranchisement laws and their impact on modern politics: Currently, in several U.S. states, one out of four black men cannot vote because of a felony conviction. Using empirical evidence, the authors analyze these laws governing felons’ political rights and build a case for reform. Manza is associate director of IPR and a professor of sociology.

Distributed Leadership
By James Spillane
Jossey-Bass, 2006, 144 pages

Tales of educational victory often feature a heroic principal who marches into the school, sets new standards for teachers and students, and over time, pulls the school up to new achievements. But how accurate is this story? In Distributed Leadership, James Spillane challenges this simplistic model to form a more comprehensive account of leadership in schools. Using the concepts of distributed leadership, he discusses how leadership occurs in schools every day through both formal and informal interactions. Spillane takes into account roles beyond just principals and teachers, such as specialists and other administrators. In addition, he considers certain details of school interaction and organizational structure—such as memos, scheduling procedures, and evaluation methods—that help to create leadership situations. He is Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Professor in Learning and Organizational Change.

Social Choice with Partial Knowledge of Treatment Response
By Charles F. Manski
Princeton University Press, 2005, 128 pages

Often times when doctors choose medical treatments for their patients, they must assign a single method to people across a wide range of demographics and backgrounds. Social planners and policymakers face a similar dilemma of treatment choice—how does one choose the best treatment for such a varied group, especially when evidence of treatment response is so limited? In this book, Charles F. Manski addresses central aspects of this broad question. He addresses the treatment-choice problem directly, taking into account the ambiguity that arises from identification problems under weak, but justifiable, assumptions and also the need for statistical inference from sample data. The book, written with support from the National Science Foundation, unifies and further develops the line of research he began in the late 1990s. He is Board of Trustees Professor in Economics.

Statistical Demography and Forecasting
By Juha Alho and Bruce Spencer
Springer, 2005, 412 pages

Certain problems, such as the sustainability of pension systems, cannot be solved without an understanding of population forecasts and their uncertainty. In addition, population estimates directly impact government decisions on the distribution of national funding and political representation. Juha Alho and Bruce Spencer develop a statistical perspective to address such issues. Their book speaks to statisticians as well as demographers, actuaries, epidemiologists, and professionals in related fields regarding the topics of classical mathematical demography, event history methods, multistate methods, stochastic population forecasting, sampling and census coverage, and decision theory. Spencer is a professor of statistics.

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Recently Published Books
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IPR FACULTY ASSOCIATES

Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace
By Nancy MacLean
Harvard University Press, 2006, 496 pages

Historian Nancy MacLean named this book after a 1965 speech by President Johnson in which he declared that blacks in the United States, though free from slavery, had a long journey ahead to achieve real equality. Similarly, in her new book, MacLean analyzes how far women, blacks, and Latinos have come in achieving workplace equality—and the types of discrimination these groups continue to face.

Tradtitionally, job segregation has kept white males in positions of economic, social, and political power. Even for much of the 20th century, Americans expected racism and sexism in the workplace. But over the last 50 years, unions and activist groups have embarked on large-scale grassroots labor organizing. MacLean shows how employment demands from discriminated groups have changed American culture and politics. She is professor of history and African American studies and chair of the history department.

Evidence of Children’s Achievement
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what kind of a program could show a difference of about 4 points between an experimental and a control group.

Interestingly, it was not an educational program design but an economic one—Milwaukee’s New Hope Project—that generated this significant difference, Duncan pointed out. New Hope was a voluntary, work-based, antipoverty initiative that offered participants varying packages of job search assistance, earnings supplements, subsidized health insurance, and/or subsidized child care.

Duncan, Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy, examined 11 randomized studies from the Next Generation Project, in addition to the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), to see how they affected children’s outcomes.

Overall, he found that the earnings supplement programs seem to have the most consistently positive impacts on achievement for children up to 5 years old, with positive gains across all of these programs. In contrast, only one of the 11 programs using either human-capital development or work-first as a treatment registered positive increases in children’s achievement.

The one puzzle was the case of preteens and adolescents, who were somewhat negatively affected in all of the studies.

Duncan explained the reason might be that working mothers have less time to supervise their adolescents’ behavior and often leave them to care for their younger brothers and sisters. “All of the negative impacts show up among the adolescents who had younger siblings,” he said.

“These studies show that the design of welfare reform and tax policies can indeed affect kids’ achievement,” he said. “They should be included alongside preschool and school-based policies.”

IPR Faculty Fellow Therese McGuire said, “With the bulk of attention in the educational sector focused on No Child Left Behind and what schools are doing, it is refreshing to see these thorough, evidence-based perspectives on how to improve the educational outcome of America’s children through teachers, preschools, and economic policies.” She is Beatrice Foods Research Professor of Strategic Management in Kellogg and director of the policy briefing series.

To view the video or the slide presentations, please see www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingMay06.html or see www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/faculty.html for more information about the IPR faculty presenters and their research.
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.

IPR’s working paper series seeks to disseminate results of its faculty’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**

**Child Care Choices and Children’s Cognitive Achievement: The Case of Single Mothers (WP-06-09)**
Raquel Bernal, Economics and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Michael P. Keane, Economics, Yale University

The authors evaluate the effects of home inputs on children’s cognitive development using the sample of single mothers from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). Important selection problems arise when trying to assess the impact of maternal time and income on children’s development. To deal with this, they exploit the (plausibly) exogenous variation in employment and child care use by single mothers generated by differences in welfare regulations across states and over time. In particular, the 1996 welfare reform act along with earlier state policy changes adopted under federal waivers, generated substantial increases in work and child care use. Thus, the authors construct a comprehensive set of welfare policy variables at individual and state levels and use them as instruments to estimate child cognitive ability production functions. They use local demand conditions as instruments as well.

The results indicate that the effect of child care use is negative, significant, and rather sizeable. In particular, an additional year of child care use is associated with a reduction of 2.8 percent (15 standard deviations) in child test scores. But this general finding masks important differences across types of child care, children’s ages, and maternal education. Indeed, only informal care used after the first year leads to significant reductions in child achievement. Formal care (i.e., center-based care and preschool) does not have any adverse effect on cognitive outcomes. In fact, these estimates imply that formal care has large positive effects on cognitive outcomes for children of poorly educated, single mothers. Finally, the authors also provide evidence of a strong link between children’s test scores at ages 4, 5, and 6 and their completed education.

**State TANF Policy Trends and the Emerging Geography of Vulnerability (WP-06-15)**
Juan Onésimo Sandoval, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This working paper examines declining welfare rates from 1996 to 2000 at the state level. The author examines the role that state policies might have had on welfare rates. He examines 18 state policies that might have been implemented. Sandoval’s data suggest that four different regimes for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) emerged after the passage of the 1996 welfare-to-work act. He refers to these regimes as: Social Investment, Social Reform, Social Retrenchment, and Social Disinvestment. His data suggest that states that adopted punitive TANF policies, on average, had welfare recipients that were black or Hispanic, and states that adopted more liberal TANF policies were the states that tended to have a homogeneous white welfare population. His data also show that the states that had the largest decline in welfare rates did not all adopt Social Disinvestment-type policies.

**CENTER FOR IMPROVING METHODS FOR QUANTITATIVE POLICY RESEARCH (Q-CENTER)**

**Correcting a Significance Test for Clustering (WP-06-11)**
Larry V. Hedges, Statistics, Education and Social Policy, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

A common mistake in analysis of cluster-randomized trials is to ignore the effect of clustering and analyze the data as if each treatment group were a simple random sample. This typically leads to an overstatement of the precision of results and anticonservative conclusions about the precision and statistical significance of treatment effects. This working paper gives a simple correction to the $t$-statistic that would be computed if clustering were (incorrectly) ignored. The correction is a multiplicative factor depending on the total sample size, the cluster size, and the intraclass correlation $\rho$. The corrected $t$-statistic has a student’s $t$-distribution with reduced degrees of freedom. The corrected statistic reduces to the $t$-statistic computed by ignoring clustering when $\rho = 0$. It reduces to the $t$-statistic computed using cluster means when $\rho = 1$. If $0 < \rho < 1$, it lies between these two, and the degrees of freedom are between those corresponding to
these two extremes.

**Intraclass Correlation Values for Planning Group Randomized Trials in Education** (WP-06-12)
Larry V. Hedges, Statistics, Education and Social Policy, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Eric C. Hedberg, Graduate Student, Sociology, University of Chicago

Experiments that assign intact groups to treatment conditions are increasingly common in social research. In educational research, the assigned groups are often schools. The design of group randomized experiments requires knowledge of the intraclass correlation structure to compute the statistical power and sample sizes needed to achieve adequate power. This working paper provides a compilation of intraclass correlation values of academic achievement and related covariate effects that could be used for planning group randomized experiments in education. It also provides variance component information that is useful in planning experiments involving covariates. The use of these values to compute the statistical power of group randomized experiments is illustrated as well.

**Effect Sizes in Cluster-Randomized Designs** (WP-06-13)
Larry V. Hedges, Statistics, Education and Social Policy, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Multisite research designs involving cluster randomization are becoming increasingly important in educational and behavioral research. Researchers would like to compute effect-size indices based on the standardized mean difference to compare the results of cluster-randomized studies (and corresponding quasi-experiments) with other studies and to combine information across studies in meta-analyses. This working paper addresses the problem of defining effect sizes in multilevel designs—and computing estimates of those effect sizes and their standard errors—from information that is likely to be reported in journal articles. Three effect sizes are defined corresponding to different standardizations. Estimators of each effect size index are also presented along with their sampling distributions (including standard errors).

**Poverty, Race, and Inequality**

**It’s Not Just About the Money: Governmentality and Resistance in Post-Reform Welfare Offices** (WP-06-17)
Celeste Watkins, Sociology, African American Studies, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

The substantial decline in the welfare rolls, expansion of collecting child support, and increased labor-force participation among low-income mothers in the late 1990s demonstrated that welfare reform, along with a booming economy, compelled many welfare recipients to restructure their relationships with the state. This working paper draws upon Foucaultian concepts of “governmentality” and “resistance” to explore how power and regulation were deployed in local welfare offices in ways that encouraged these outcomes. It uses interview data from 30 female clients who participated in the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program along with ethnographic data collected in some of the TANF offices frequented by study participants. It considers the governance of low-income mothers within (and outside of) these institutions and explores how women who relied on these bureaucracies read and responded to attempts to transform their conduct.

Analysis shows that a casework model of surveillance-based support and cultural narratives about impoverished mothers were deployed to justify and enforce the new welfare policy. The working paper also examines the ways that TANF-reliant mothers contested or co-signed regulation through their engagement with the office, including methods that might be considered subversive or even “deviant.” It analyzes “the concealment strategy,” the calculated presentation of information regarding one’s case to a welfare caseworker, and the purposeful omission or alteration of details. The author contemplates whether and how this might be conceptualized as not only a choice driven by economics, but also
as a form of resistance to increasing social regulation.

**The Multicultural Metropolis: Neighborhood Diversity and Segregation Patterns in the City of Chicago, 1990-2000** (WP-06-14)
Juan Onésimo Sandoval, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Su Li, Graduate Student, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

This working paper examines neighborhood diversity and segregation in Chicago in 1990 and 2000. In it, the authors explore three main questions: (1) How did the growing Latino population impact neighborhood diversity? (2) How much of the segregation is due to white and nonwhite settlement patterns? (3) What explains the neighborhood diversity? The data the authors used for this study came from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses. They decomposed the segregation score between white and nonwhite racial groups and between black, Latinos, and Asians. Finally, they study the impact of Latino and Asian immigration settlement patterns and explore how these new settlement patterns are changing the nature of residential segregation in Chicago.

**Law and Justice Studies**

**Estimating the Accuracy of Jury Verdicts** (WP-06-05)
Bruce D. Spencer, Statistics and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

The accuracy of jury verdicts can be studied empirically and systematically. In the field of sample surveys, it is common to estimate sampling accuracy even though the true value is not observed—the key is to use replication. A similar approach can be used in methodology to estimate the accuracy of jury verdicts when "replications" such as second decisions on the cases are available. A recent study by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) collected such replication data for criminal cases in four large U.S. metropolitan areas between 2000 and 2001. The levels of agreement between the judge's verdict and jury's verdict were only fair to poor; remarkably similar to the Kalven and Zeisel data collected in the 1950s. Estimates of jury accuracy can be developed from the replication data, although stronger assumptions are needed than for random sample surveys. Such assumptions are identified and the effects of failure of the assumptions are analyzed. Under some plausible conditions, the estimates tend to overstate jury accuracy.

Finer analyses of jury accuracy can be obtained with stronger models. Log-linear statistical models were fitted to the data to provide direct estimates of the differential accuracy between judge and jury. The models exploit a novel feature of the NCSC data: The inclusion of evaluations of the strength of evidence in the cases. The models are subject to error in specification, including the assumption of independence between the judge and the jury as well as imperfect measurement of strength of evidence. Thus, the estimates based on the model should be interpreted cautiously. The estimates from the model support the views that (1) juries were more likely than judges to acquit when the defendant was not guilty, and (2) judges were more likely than juries to convict when the defendant was guilty. The estimates do not support the view that the jury's probability of convicting a not-guilty defendant is smaller than its probability of acquitting a guilty defendant. These findings, even taken with due caution, should not be generalized.

**Lawyers of the Right: Networks and Organization** (WP-06-07)
Anthony Paik, Sociology, University of Iowa
Ann Southworth, Law, Case Western Reserve University
John P. Heinz, Law, Sociology, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Lawyers for conservative and libertarian causes are active in organizing and mobilizing interest groups within the conservative coalition, and networks of relationships among those lawyers help to maintain and shape the coalition. Using data gathered in interviews with 72 such lawyers, the working paper analyzes characteristics of the lawyers and the structure of their networks. The findings suggest that the networks are divided into segments or blocks that are identified with particular constituencies, but a distinct set of actors with an extensive range of relationships serves to bridge the constituencies. Measures of centrality and brokerage confirm the structural importance of these actors in the network, and a search of references in news media confirms their prominence or prestige. This “core” set of actors occupies the “structural hole” in the network that separates the business constituency from religious conservatives. Libertarians, who are located near the core of the network, also occupy an intermediate position. Causal analysis of the formation of ties
within the network suggests that the Federalist Society has played an important role in bringing the lawyers together.

**Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy**

**In Search of Killer Amendments in the Modern Congress** (WP-06-03)
Charles J. Finocchiaro, Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo
Jeffery A. Jenkins, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

In recent years, a number of studies have examined the incidence of “killer amendments”—that is, amendments that once adopted cause a bill that previously had majority support to fail—in Congress. Yet most of these studies have been either case specific, focusing on the legislative maneuverings around a single issue or bill, or temporally limited, focusing on strategic activity in only one or two Congresses.

In this paper, the authors begin a comprehensive research agenda for the systematic study of killer amendments in Congress. Using a dataset that codes each House roll-call vote from the 83rd through the 108th Congresses (1953-2004), they identify those bills that were successfully amended and subsequently went down to defeat, a necessary condition for the existence of a killer amendment. They then examine these cases in greater detail, using both macro-level spatial analyses and micro-level case studies. Their results indicate that killer amendments are rare, although they uncover five cases, four of which are new, that appear to fit the characteristics of true killers.

**Agency, Monitoring, and Electoral Institutions: The 17th Amendment and Representation in the Senate** (WP-06-04)
Sean Gailmard, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Jeffery A. Jenkins, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Delegation of decision-making authority to agents with different preferences and better information than their principals is ubiquitous in politics, and political representation is no exception. A prominent change in a political agency relationship, at least in formal terms, occurred when the 17th Amendment to the Constitution established direct election of U.S. senators as of 1914. What effect did this institutional change have on the representation of states by their senators?

The authors argue that before the 17th Amendment, the state population relied on an intermediary, the state legislature, to control its U.S. senators. This intermediary was a sophisticated monitor of the behavior of senators but itself not a perfect agent of the populace. After the 17th Amendment, the state populace gained more direct control over its U.S. senators but sacrificed expert monitoring of their behavior. If this view is correct, senators after the 17th Amendment should better reflect the ideology of their home states’ populace but also exhibit greater variability relative to other members of their state’s delegation.

The authors show that these expectations are borne out empirically. First, U.S. senators from moderate states exhibit less extreme roll-call behavior after the 17th Amendment. Second, differences in roll-call records for senators from the same state are greater after the 17th Amendment. The authors argue that this change is one factor that has made the Senate a less polarized body since passage of the 17th Amendment.

**Communications, Media, and Public Opinion**

**The Diffusion of the Internet and the Geography of the Digital Divide in the United States** (WP-06-06)
Shane Greenstein, Management and Strategy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Jeff Prince, Applied Economics and Management, Cornell University

This working paper analyzes the rapid diffusion of the Internet across the United States over the past decade for both households and firms. The authors put the Internet's diffusion into the context of economic diffusion theory where they consider costs and benefits on the demand and supply side. They also discuss several pictures of the Internet's physical
presence using some of the current main techniques for Internet measurement. They highlight different economic perspectives and explanations for the digital divide, that is, unequal availability and use of the Internet.

**A Disconnect Between Foreign Policymakers and the Public? (WP-06-10)**

Benjamin I. Page, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Lawrence R. Jacobs, Political Science, University of Minnesota

In this working paper, the authors examine whether foreign policy decision makers heed the views of the general public. On the one hand there are those observers who have said no, asserting that the public lacks the ability to make sensible decisions on matters of national life and death; decision makers should pursue the national interest according to their own best judgment, even if that contradicts the public’s wishes. Others, including the present authors, are much more optimistic about the public’s capacity to form reasonable opinions.

The authors, however, will show with systematic data what various examples in earlier work already suggested—that over the last 30 years there have been many substantial disagreements or “gaps” between foreign policy decision makers and the U.S. public. Indeed, there has been something like a “disconnect” between the two. Moreover, there has been no discernible tendency for the gaps to narrow or disappear over time. They see this as presenting serious problems for democratic values and as constituting a challenge for formulating an effective foreign policy.

This working paper will be part of a forthcoming book *The Foreign Policy Disconnect: What Americans Want from Our Leaders but Don’t Get* (University of Chicago Press) by Benjamin I. Page with Marshall M. Bouton.

**Philanthropy and Nonprofit Organizations**

**Health Policy**

**Estimation and Identification of Merger Effects: An Application to Hospital Mergers (WP-06-01)**

Leemore Dafny, Management and Strategy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Advances in structural demand estimation have substantially improved economists’ ability to forecast the impact of mergers. However, these models rely on extensive assumptions about consumer choice and firm objectives, and ultimately observational methods are needed to test their validity. Observational studies, in turn, suffer from selection problems arising from the fact that merging entities differ from nonmerging entities in unobserved ways. To obtain an accurate estimate of the ex-post effect of consummated mergers, the author proposes a combination of rival analysis and instrumental variables. By focusing on the effect of mergers on the behavior of rival firms and instrumenting for these mergers, unbiased estimates of the effect of a merger on market outcomes can be obtained. Using this methodology, she evaluates the impact of all independent hospital mergers between 1989 and 1996 on rivals’ prices. She finds sharp increases in rival prices following mergers, with the greatest effect on the closest rivals. Results for the hospital industry are more consistent with predictions from structural models than with prior observational estimates.

**Do Report Cards Tell Consumers Anything They Don’t Already Know? The Case of Medicare HMOs (WP-06-02)**

Leemore Dafny, Management and Strategy and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
David Dranove, Management and Strategy, Northwestern University

The use of government-mandated report cards to diminish uncertainty about the quality of various products and services is widespread. However, report cards will have little effect if they simply confirm consumers’ prior beliefs. Moreover, documented “responses” to report cards might reflect learning about quality that would have occurred in their absence. Using panel data on Medicare HMO market shares between 1994 and 2002, the authors examine the relationship between enrollment and quality before and after report cards were mailed to 40 million Medicare beneficiaries in 1999 and 2000. They find evidence for both market-based and report-card-induced learning. The authors estimate the report-card effect on enrollment in the two years following their release to be approximately equal to that of cumulative market learning between 1994 and 2002. The report-card effect is entirely due to beneficiaries’ response to consumer satisfaction scores;
other reported quality measures—such as the mammography rate—did not affect enrollment.

**SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH (C2S: CELLS TO SOCIETY)**

*What a Drop Can Do: Dried Blood Spots as a Minimally-Invasive Method for Integrating Biomarkers into Population-Based Research* (WP-06-16)
Thomas W. McDade, Anthropology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University
Sharon Williams, Anthropology, Northwestern University
J. Josh Snodgrass, Anthropology, University of Oregon

Logistical constraints associated with the collection and analysis of biological samples in community-based settings have been a significant impediment to integrative, multilevel biodemographic and biobehavioral research. However, recent methodological developments overcome many of these constraints and have expanded the options for incorporating biomarkers into population-based health research. In particular, dried blood spots—drops of whole blood collected on filter paper from a simple prick of the finger—provide a minimally-invasive method for collecting blood samples in nonclinical settings.

After a brief, general discussion of biomarkers, the authors review procedures for collecting, handling, and analyzing dried blood-spot samples. The advantages of dried blood spots—compared to venipuncture—include the relative ease and low cost of sample collection, transport, and storage. The disadvantages include requirements for assay development and validation and the relatively small volumes of sample.

The authors present the results of a comprehensive literature review that identified over 100 analytes with existing protocols for analysis in dried blood-spot samples. They provide more detailed analysis of protocols for 45 analytes likely to be of particular relevance to population-level health research. Their objective is to provide investigators with the information they need to make informed decisions regarding the appropriateness of blood-spot methods for their research interests.

**URBAN POLICY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

*Analyzing Job Access and Reverse Commute Programs in the Chicago and San Francisco Metropolitan Regions* (WP-06-08)
Juan Onésimo Sandoval, Sociology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

While the 1996 federal welfare reform legislation has generated significant debate regarding declining rolls for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), more research must be completed to show how TANF recipients use transportation services to access jobs, educational opportunities, child care, and health care. The lack of adequate transportation is acutely felt by many low-income workers, and transportation is a major barrier preventing the transition from welfare to work for many TANF recipients. In 1998, the federal government established the Job Access and Reverse Commute (JARC) grant program to help states and localities identify and develop new or expanded transportation services that link TANF recipients to jobs and other employment-related services. The JARC funds were supposed to stimulate the provision of new and innovative forms of transit directed at low-income groups, though the regulatory burden meant nontraditional transit providers were generally not eligible to receive JARC funds.

This working paper presents findings from two case studies that examine job accessibility and reverse-commute programs in the Chicago and San Francisco metropolitan regions. It first looks at the process by which metropolitan planning organizations and regional transit agencies applied for JARC funds. It also examines the nature of new transportation services supported by these grants and considers whether the new services meet low-income family needs such as paratransit, car ownership, and flexible routing. Finally, it offers insights to improve JARC programs so that low-income neighborhoods and families can take full advantage of the program.
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Regenerating Community: The Recovery of a Space for Citizens
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by P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Rebekah Levine Coley, Brenda J. Lohman, and Laura D. Pittman (February 2002)

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noted. Of all workers who work every year and earn $15,000 or less on average per year (8.3 percent of the total workforce), 90 percent are women. But women are affected at every level. Even for those who hold full-time, professional or management jobs, the glass ceiling still caps their earnings: They average $51,085 versus $74,877 for men in these fields. For men, the opposite is true: They earn more than women whatever their careers, often with less education.


American workers have unions to thank for the 40-hour workweek, paid vacations, pensions, and Social Security among other benefits, MacLean emphasized. While unions have had their share of problems, they have also demonstrated how to use the democratic power of numbers to “help David fight Goliath,” she said. “Solidarity is the only way to gain fundamental change.”

**A Worker’s View**

Speaking through an interpreter, striking hotel worker and union member José Alvarado expressed his hope on May 12 that the actions of Chicago’s Congress Hotel employees would serve as an example to hotel workers of what can be done and how they can fight.

Alvarado put a human face on a strike that has dragged on since 2003 when the Congress Hotel’s final contract offer cut wages 7 percent and slashed benefits. “Every worker deserves dignity and respect regardless of nationality and color,” he said.

For more information, please visit [http://groups.northwestern.edu/ulrpi/](http://groups.northwestern.edu/ulrpi/).

### Fruits of Their Labor

Undergraduates connect the power and problems of union organizing to inequality

Inviting a union organizer, a striking hotel worker, and a labor historian to speak, the spring 2006 Undergraduate Lecture Series on Race, Poverty and Inequality (ULRPI) covered the topic of “The Future of Labor Organizing in America” in May.

ULRPI is a student-run organization dedicated to engaging other undergraduates in a dialogue on some of America’s most persistent problems, focusing on the roles that policy-oriented research and activism play. IPR co-sponsors the organization, which is part of the Northwestern Community Development Corps.

**A Union View**

Keynote speaker Anna Burger, leader of the Change to Win Coalition, discussed the continuing need to organize more workers during her May 17 lecture, “It’s Time to Make Work Pay.”

Change to Win, which represents six million workers, was formed when four unions withdrew from AFL-CIO in July 2005, including the Service Employees International Union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Burger pointed out the main reason behind the split—a perceived overemphasis in the AFL-CIO on electoral politics rather than grassroots tactics to add more union members. Currently, one in eight workers are unionized, versus one in three some 40 years ago, she said.

“Wages are stagnant, health-care costs have gone up, housing has gone up,” Burger said, enumerating some of the difficulties workers face today. “Productivity has gone up 68 percent, but wages haven’t.” She linked the lack of a unified worker voice to poor working conditions, low wages, and ever-diminishing benefits.

**An Academic View**

On May 12, IPR Faculty Associate Nancy MacLean, professor of history and African American studies, outlined how the labor movement has created more equality in the workplace. “Most history books and classes never give labor the kind of attention it deserves,” she said.

American workers have unions to thank for the 40-hour workweek, paid vacations, pensions, and Social Security among other benefits, MacLean emphasized. While unions have had their share of problems, they have also demonstrated how to use the democratic power of numbers to “help David fight Goliath,” she said. “Solidarity is the only way to gain fundamental change.”

While progress has been made over the years, the current gap continues to have far-reaching and profound consequences for the entire country. Single women are raising families on earnings well below the poverty threshold.

Hartmann suggested better enforcement of equal employment policies and more family-friendly work polices such as paid parental leave and subsidized child care. More career-track, part-time jobs could help women to increase their earnings as well. But getting to parity also involves a new way of thinking about gender roles in our society, she offered. “We need to eliminate the double standard in parenting,” she said. “Men seem to be glorified for anything they do, while women are held to a higher standard.”

### 2005-06 IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecture

*(Continued from page 18)*

Heidi Hartmann

$51,085 versus $74,877 for men in these fields. For men, the opposite is true: They earn more than women whatever their careers, often with less education.
A Lifetime of Unequal Pay for Women
IWPR president discusses the earnings gap and its consequences

Heidi Hartmann, president and founder of the Institute for Women’s Policy Research (IWPR) in Washington, D.C., gave IPR’s Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on March 29. She spoke about how women lag behind men in their overall lifetime earnings and the long-term implications of this gap.

Hartmann said she set about revising how to measure the earnings gap because of misleading statistics and conservatives’ denial that a gap exists. Using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics between 1983 and 1998, she found that the typical female workers aged 26 to 59 earned $273,592 compared with $722,693 in 1999 dollars for the typical male worker in the same age group. The full results were published in “Still a Man’s Labor Market: The Long-Term Earnings Gap,” which she co-authored with Stephen Rose.

“It’s shocking that a woman has only 38 percent of the earning power of a typical male,” said Hartmann, who is also a MacArthur Fellow and a research professor of women’s studies and public policy at The George Washington University.

The study found a much greater gap between men and women than traditional year-over-year measures because it accounts for women who stay out of the workforce to take care of their families, although everyone in the study worked at least one year of the 15.

She attributes the gap to several differences: The number of years that men and women work, the types of jobs they have, and substantial differences in pay scales—even between men and women with the same level of education or in similar occupations.

Being out of the labor force for a year affects men and women almost equally—an adjusted salary drop of around 20 percent. Women, however, accumulate years of low-paying wages and time out due to caring for their families—lowering their overall earnings—while men bounce back quickly from an isolated year here and there.

“If you think about long-term earnings, dropping out of the labor force is not good,” Hartmann said. But it is especially difficult for women to reintegrate into the job market after having been out for multiple years, she continued.

Part of the problem is the labor force itself. Jobs remain highly segregated. In the six major occupational fields, 75 to 80 percent of workers are the same sex, she said. Typically male-dominated categories the study developed—such as engineering, farming, and factory work—pay more than female-dominated fields such as nursing, administrative support, and food service. Those fields with greater pay equity tend to be either unionized or civil service jobs.

Also, low-wage earners are largely female, Hartmann

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