Year in Review 2011
Robert Groves, U.S. Census Bureau director from 2009–12, delivers the IPR 2011 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture.

About the cover photos:
Top: IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook takes part in a discussion with Northwestern University Provost Daniel Linzer (left) and then-U.S. Census Bureau Director Robert Groves before IPR’s 2011 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture. Bottom, from left: IPR psychologist Alice Eagly (right) and Stephanie Riger of the University of Illinois at Chicago present their work at an IPR Monday colloquium; IPR economists Lori Beaman and Kirabo Jackson compare notes on evaluating education and development outcomes in experiments; thanks to a grant from the MacArthur Foundation, visiting scholar Aderemi Alarape (left) of the University of Ibadan in Nigeria came to work with IPR community policing expert Wesley G. Skogan; IPR sociologist Celeste Watkins-Hayes (left) considers a point by IPR law professor Dorothy Roberts as she discusses her research on the racial disproportionality inherent in U.S. child welfare systems.
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Year after year, I am struck by what continues to make IPR such a special place. It is an organization that keeps getting better and better at its core mission—conducting and disseminating interdisciplinary, policy-relevant research of the highest order. Our 2011 activities amply serve to illustrate this.

The key to our continuous improvement lies with IPR’s fellows. The Institute and its Northwestern partners, which include the School of Education and Social Policy, the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, the Law School, and more recently, the Feinberg School of Medicine, strive to recruit the most talented and interdisciplinary social scientists from around the nation. 2011 was no exception, with five new faculty fellows named: political scientists Daniel Galvin and Georgia Kernell, and social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart, who came to us from Indiana University (see p. 7). Health psychologists Edith Chen and Greg Miller were appointed in 2011 and arrived in summer 2012. This brings the total of newly appointed IPR fellows over the past three years to 15.

While it is inevitable that we have fellows who leave, it is surprising how stable the roster of IPR fellows remains from year to year. This stability, coupled with a small number of permanent fellow positions, has helped IPR to assure continuity in pushing forward cutting-edge research that is relevant for contemporary social, political, and economic issues in the United States and internationally.

Our research

Our current projects cut a wide interdisciplinary swath, from research on the effects of school vouchers and pathways to healthy aging to Americans’ opinions about inequality. Our researchers continued to make important contributions to the methodological underpinnings of experiments through our Q-Center (see pp. 49–53) and in linking how biological processes such as stress response affect health and development across the lifecourse through our Cells to Society Center (see pp. 20–28). Our researchers are also doing important work linking how dire economic events, such as the Great Recession and housing crisis, can affect children’s education and achievement.

Two important books by IPR fellows broke new ground in their respective fields. Political scientist James Druckman was lead editor of the Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science, which is the field’s first state-of-the-art examination of experiments in political science. And in her thought-provoking book Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-First Century, law professor Dorothy Roberts provides a provocative analysis of the attempt to resuscitate race as a biological category written in our genes.

Our 38 fellows published more than 95 articles and book chapters over the year, including in some of the leading scholarly journals, such as Public Opinion Quarterly, The Quarterly Journal of Economics, American Political Science Review, American Sociological Review, and Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (see pp. 64–69).
For more than four decades, IPR has stayed its path as a research institute devoted to policy-relevant research. We believe that the problems that confront America should not be viewed through the lens of just one discipline but are better viewed from bridges that cross multiple disciplines. This is why we promote an interdisciplinary approach to research, and why we take particular care to support projects such as the MacArthur Network on How Housing Matters for Children and Families, chaired by social psychologist Thomas D. Cook, that brings together economists, psychologists, sociologists, and developmental specialists (see p. 19).

As researchers, we also take up topics that serve to inform current policy debates. These include research on energy policy, food stamps, segregation and poverty concentration, school vouchers and higher education, biological effects of stress, and psychological manifestations of race, to name a few (see pp. 12–57).

We believe that our interdisciplinary approach coupled with our reputation for conducting high-quality, methodologically strong research has led to a long-standing and solid track record of support—in an incredibly competitive funding environment—from state and federal governments and some of our nation’s most esteemed foundations. In all, 60 IPR research projects were supported by funders in 2011 (see pp. 78–79).

Perhaps most important, we feel that our expertise is meant to be shared. We ran four faculty-led training workshops in 2011, three on methodology for education experiments and another on how to use biomarkers in field research (see pp. 20, 49). We also offer graduate research assistantships that allow some of our most promising graduate students to work with IPR faculty on a wide variety of research projects. In addition, we organized the 14th year of our Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants Program for 23 students, which introduced them to the inner workings of social science research (see pp. 76–77).

No public policy institute, however, can make its mark without connecting with the policymaking community and the public. This is why the Institute spends a considerable amount of effort in disseminating its faculty’s findings through its website, publications, social media, working papers, and of course, events such as conferences, policy research briefings, panels, and colloquia.

Over 2011, we held 54 colloquia and events, approximately one-fourth of which were co-sponsored with other departments and schools within Northwestern. Two of our biggest events of the year were attended not only by academics, but also by students and the wider public. Our policy research briefing brought together more than 120 academics, students, policymakers, and others to examine how environments affect the lifecourse from the earliest developmental stages to adult achievement and cross-national mortality with IPR developmental psychologist Lauren Wakschlag, IPR economist Jonathan Guryan, and MIT economist Michael Greenstone. IPR’s 2011 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture with then-U.S. Census Bureau Director Robert Groves gave more than 100 participants the opportunity to hear him address the differences in dealing with statistics as an academic and as the nation’s chief statistician.

In August 2012, I am stepping down as director after 16 years of leading IPR, to continue on with my teaching and research as an IPR fellow. My mantra while I have been at IPR has always been “onward and upward.” While leading such an exciting and demanding research enterprise, in particular one that crosses multiple disciplines, is never an easy task, I have treasured my time as IPR’s director. Nonetheless, I could not be happier to leave IPR in the extremely capable hands of my brilliant friend and colleague, education economist David Figlio. I have no doubt that he will surpass me in every way in leading IPR “onward and upward.”

“**The mission of the Institute for Policy Research is to stimulate and support excellent social science research on significant public policy issues and to disseminate the findings widely—to students, scholars, policymakers, and the public.”**
**New Leadership**

After 16 years at IPR’s helm, Director Fay Lomax Cook is stepping down. She is being succeeded by IPR education economist David Figlio, who becomes the Institute’s sixth director on September 1, 2012. Cook, who studies public opinion and social policy, public deliberation, and public support for programs for older Americans, particularly Social Security, will continue as an IPR fellow and a professor of human development and social policy at Northwestern when her tenure ends (see pp. 39–41).

Figlio is an IPR fellow and Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy in the School of Education and Social Policy, with a courtesy appointment in the department of economics. He was also the first chair of IPR’s research program in Education Policy. A leading national scholar on education policies and interventions, Figlio explores issues from school accountability and standards to welfare policy and policy design.

IPR political scientist James Druckman will join Figlio as associate director. He also serves as chair of IPR’s research program in Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy. Druckman, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science, is a nationally recognized authority on public opinion, political communication, and experimental methodology.

**New Fellows**

IPR welcomed three new fellows in fall 2011. Social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart studies the dynamic processes that create inequalities in socioeconomic status, health, and mortality. Georgia Kernell’s research spans the areas of comparative politics, quantitative methodology, and American politics. A scholar of the American presidency, Daniel Galvin also examines political parties and American political development (see p. 7).

**Census Head on Statistical Uses, Quality**

Robert Groves, U.S. Census Bureau director from 2009–12, delivered IPR’s 2011 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on May 2 at Northwestern University. Speaking to a crowd of more than 100, the renowned survey methodologist traced how his census job has changed his thinking about the fundamental uses and quality of statistical information in a democracy such as ours. “In a democracy, the statistics produced by a government agency belong to the people,” he said. “It’s the only way you can keep the government honest.” In underscoring the differences between being a professor and the government’s head statistician, Groves pointed to academics’ tendency to emphasize analysis of existing data and data construction. “In my new life, I worry about measurement a lot more,” he said.

**Briefing Assesses Effects of Early Life, Physical Environments**

At a May 23 IPR policy research briefing in Chicago, three experts discussed how the study of early life and physical environments, including later-life effects, informs understanding of human development and public health and policy. Developmental psychologist Lauren Wakschlag, a fellow in IPR’s Cells to Society: The Center on Social Disparities and Health,
discussed her research behind cost-effective policy solutions for mitigating the harmful effects of mothers’ prenatal smoking on their children. IPR economist Jonathan Guryan traced the narrowing of the black-white achievement gap in the 1980s to an unexpected source—integration of Southern hospitals in 1965. MIT economist Michael Greenstone spoke about how rising daily average temperatures will lead to 10 times more deaths in India than in the United States and underlined the difficulty of getting developing countries to engage in long-term solutions for climate change over growth strategies (see p. 22).

Hub for Methodological Workshops

Each summer since 2006, IPR has hosted faculty-led methodological workshops, training participants from across the nation in how to conduct better experiments in education and use biomarkers in field research. In summer 2011, three were on experiments in education, sponsored by the Institute of Education Sciences, the research wing of the U.S. Department of Education—one co-organized by IPR statistician and education researcher Larry Hedges on cluster-randomized trials and two by IPR social psychologist Thomas D. Cook on quasi-experimentation (see p. 49). Biomarker experts Emma Adam, Thomas McDade, and Christopher Kuzawa ran the sixth IPR Cells to Society Summer Biomarker Institute, supported by the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (see p. 20).

Transnational Workshop on Inequality

Focusing on inequalities found in neighborhoods and institutions between France and the United States, 25 researchers came together for a two-day workshop at Northwestern University to discuss transnational issues related to education, health, housing, and employment. The second joint workshop, held June 23–24, was organized by IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian and IPR education economist David Figlio with sociologist Marco Oberti of Science Po’s Observatoire Sociologique du Changement, a research institute at one of France’s most influential social science universities.

“We hope that by taking a comparative look at common social issues, we can work together to find common solutions,” Quillian said. The workshop was supported by The Partner University Fund of the FACE Foundation, NYC (see pp. 55–56).

Political Identity and Ideology

More than 80 social scientists and graduate students gathered to discuss the formation of political identity and ideology at the fifth Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior Workshop at Northwestern on May 6. Presenters were Indiana University’s Edward Carmines, the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s Katherine Cramer Walsh, Cara Wong of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and MIT’s Adam Berinsky. IPR political scientist James Druckman organized it, and the Institute was a co-sponsor (see p. 39).

Interdisciplinary Colloquia

IPR continues to strengthen its research community by building interdisciplinarity through its colloquia and seminars, holding or co-sponsoring nearly 50 events over the year. Twenty-one were held in its signature Monday series, and 25 in its four subseries on quantitative methods, performance measurement and rewards, education and labor policy (joint with the economics department), and social disparities and health (see pp. 71–73).

Speakers included IPR faculty and others, such as MIT professor Abhijit Banerjee, director of the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, on microfinance diffusion; Andrew Gelman of Columbia University on the challenges of estimating small effects; Sheldon Danziger of the University of Michigan on anti-poverty policy; and Ohio State University’s Richard Steckel, who used anthropometric measures to assess health and nutrition in African Americans following emancipation, tracing the implications for the rise of Jim Crow laws and lynching.
Forums Examine Justice and Healthcare

Three of the nation’s leading researchers on crime and criminal justice—IPR political scientist Wesley G. Skogan, University of Chicago economist Jens Ludwig, and sociological scholar and IPR associate John Hagan—discussed some of the recent, major changes in the American criminal justice system and policy implications at a March 28 IPR forum at Northwestern University. Another IPR-sponsored forum examined bipartisanship and healthcare reform following the midterm elections. Held in January, the forum included presentations from IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge, healthcare economist and IPR associate David Dranove, and emeritus professor Kenneth Janda (see pp. 48, 54).

In Memoriam: Ray Mack

Raymond W. Mack, a former provost at Northwestern University who in 1968 was founding director of the University’s Center for Urban Affairs, now the Institute for Policy Research (IPR), died August 25, 2011, in Chapel Hill, N.C. He was 84.

A professor of sociology for 40 years and a highly regarded expert on race relations and inequality, Mack also will be remembered as a transformative administrator—as well as a pretty good drummer. Mack, who served as provost under President Robert Strotz, was a key leader in founding and supporting many of the University’s early interdisciplinary programs and centers.

After Mack helped found the Center for Urban Affairs in 1968, he became its first director. For the first time, researchers from a number of disciplines around the University came together under one roof at Northwestern to understand the real-world sources and consequences of urban poverty and problems. The Center was founded, Mack recalled, because “we needed to be addressing urban problems and expediting teaching, research, and action on those issues, something not easily done within a departmental framework.”

“Of all the many urban research centers founded with support from the Ford Foundation in the late 1960s, Northwestern’s Center for Urban Affairs, now IPR, is by far the most successful and longest surviving—due almost entirely to the design implemented so skillfully by Ray Mack,” said Andrew Gordon, a faculty member at Northwestern and IPR for 19 years and currently professor emeritus of public affairs at the University of Washington. “He was one of a kind, and he will be missed, including by many who benefit from his legacy but do not know his name.”

Major Faculty Awards

President Barack Obama nominated Larry Hedges, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Social Policy, to the National Board for Education Sciences in October. He also awarded oncofertility specialist Teresa Woodruff, an IPR associate, a Presidential Award for Excellence in Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Mentoring in a White House ceremony on December 12. IPR developmental psychologist Lindsay Chase-Lansdale received the award for Distinguished Contributions to Public Policy for Children from the Society for Research in Child Development on March 31 in Montreal. Cognitive psychologist and IPR associate Sandra Waxman was inducted as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Washington on February 19. IPR political scientist James Druckman received two best paper awards from the American Political Science Association in September; including the Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award for “Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects Over Time,” co-written with political scientist Dennis Chong, an IPR associate. IPR social psychologist Alice Eagly received the Raymond A. Katzell Award from the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology and the Berlin Metro Prize (see pp. 58–59).

Undergraduate Summer Research

In summer 2011, IPR hosted 25 undergraduates who worked full-time with 21 IPR faculty members on a variety of projects in several disciplines, including political science, education and social policy, and anthropology. Undergraduates get hands-on research experience working directly with faculty. “The whole project has really changed my perspective on how research is done,” said Bill Russell (BA ’12, Economics and Philosophy), who examined public and nonprofit performance measurement with IPR economist Burton Weisbrod. Directed by IPR education researcher James Rosenbaum, the program concluded its 14th year (see p. 77).
### New Faculty Fellows 2011-12

From left: IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook welcomes new fellows—political scientists Daniel Galvin and Georgia Kernell and social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart (far right)—with Associate Director David Figlio.

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<th>Daniel Galvin</th>
<th>Georgia Kernell</th>
<th>Quincy Thomas Stewart</th>
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| **Assistant Professor of Political Science;**  
  **PhD, Political Science,**  
  **Yale University, 2006** | **Assistant Professor of Political Science;**  
  **PhD, Political Science,**  
  **Columbia University, 2008** | **Associate Professor of Sociology;**  
  **PhD, Demography and Sociology,**  
  **University of Pennsylvania, 2001** |

**Daniel Galvin**'s primary areas of research and teaching include the American presidency, political parties, and American political development. He is the author of *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush* (Princeton University Press, 2009), several journal articles, and is co-editor of *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State* (NYU Press, 2006). His new book project, “Rust Belt Democrats: Party Legacies and Adaptive Capacities in Postindustrial America” (under contract with Oxford University Press), examines the factors that have facilitated or frustrated Democrats’ efforts to remain competitive in the face of socioeconomic upheaval in the Rust Belt region since the 1970s.

Galvin, who is in IPR’s research program in Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy, has received fellowships from the National Science Foundation, the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation, and the Eisenhower Foundation.

**Georgia Kernell**’s research spans the areas of comparative politics, quantitative methodology, and American politics. In particular, she is interested in political parties, political behavior, electoral politics, gender quotas and representation, and measuring the ideology of voters and representatives. She is part of IPR’s research programs in Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy and in Quantitative Methods for Policy Research.

Kernell is currently working on several projects that examine the institutions that regulate party diversity, the normative implications of party organizations for representation, and how political information shapes consumer sentiment. She uses formal modeling to identify the strategic incentives for parties to field a more or less heterogeneous set of candidates in legislative elections. Kernell is also co-authoring a paper with graduate student Kevin Mullinix that examines the conditions under which partisan biases are most likely to exist.

**Quincy Thomas Stewart** is interested in the dynamic processes that create inequalities in socioeconomic status, health, and mortality. He has published on quantitative methods for studying inequality and estimating mortality, as well as on racial and ethnic disparities in socioeconomic status, health, and mortality.

Stewart’s current work includes analyzing theories of racial inequality using agent-based models, examining the role of disease prevalence in mortality outcomes, and studying racial disparities in a range of outcomes including attitudes, socioeconomic status, and health. He is part of IPR’s research programs in Social Disparities and Health and in Poverty, Race, and Inequality.

In 2006–08, Stewart was a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholar in Health Policy Research at the University of Michigan. Before joining Northwestern, he was a faculty member in sociology at Indiana University.
Leaving a Legacy of “Onward & Upward”

After 16 years of leading IPR, Fay Lomax Cook is stepping down as the Institute’s director. Since assuming the position in 1996, she has been the driving force behind many of IPR’s recent innovative changes and creations. At a May 10, 2012, reception to honor her tenure as IPR’s longest-acting director to date, more than 80 current and former IPR faculty, students, and staff, in addition to Northwestern colleagues and friends, turned out to celebrate her legacy. Among her accomplishments are presiding over the Institute’s name change from the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research to the Institute for Policy Research, introducing several new dissemination vehicles, including IPR’s Monday colloquium series, and the creation of two new research centers, Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health and The Center for Quantitative Methods for Policy Research (Q-Center).

New Faculty

Over the years, Cook has worked tirelessly to recruit and retain the most promising social scientists for IPR and the University, as well as creating a small number of permanent fellow positions.

IPR at 40: Anniversary and Conference

In April 2009, Cook took the lead in organizing IPR’s 40th Anniversary Conference, “Dynamics of Inequality in America from 1968 to Today,” which welcomed more than 200 participants.
Distinguished Public Policy Lectures

IPR’s Distinguished Public Policy Lectures feature those who straddle policymaking and academia, such as Undersecretary of Commerce Rebecca Blank and Professor James Comer.

CUAPR Becomes IPR

One of Cook’s first acts as director was changing the organization’s name from the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research to the shorter Institute for Policy Research.

Enhancing Research Programs

IPR’s endeavor to remain relevant in its research has resulted in the launch of two major new program areas in the last seven years: Cells to Society (C2S) in 2005, and the Q-Center in 2006.

Expanding Dissemination

Cook assisted in the creation of the IPR policy research briefings in 2003 that highlight how faculty research can be applied to current policy issues for a broad audience.

Undergraduate Summer RA Program

IPR started its Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants Program in 1998, which Cook was instrumental in launching. Concluding its 14th year, it welcomes 20 to 25 students annually.

Colloquia

One of IPR’s greatest traditions—its signature Monday colloquium series, which Cook instituted—will be renamed the “IPR Fay Lomax Cook Monday Colloquium Series.”
From left: IPR economists David Figlio and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook, and IPR social psychologist Thomas D. Cook pose in front of the Capitol before their policy research briefing on the effects of No Child Left Behind in February 2010.
“Furthering our goal of linking policy and interdisciplinary research, IPR holds policy briefings to connect policymakers, academics, and the public. These briefings carry to a broad audience our evidence-based perspectives on crafting policy solutions for pressing social issues.”
— Fay Lomax Cook
The Racial Geography of Child Welfare

IPR law professor Dorothy Roberts, Kirkland & Ellis Professor, continues her work on the “racial geography” of child welfare. Her research examines why, on average, black children are four times more likely than white children to be in foster care. Her research conducted with a small sample of families in a predominantly African American neighborhood points to a need for a new research agenda that investigates how this intense agency involvement affects neighborhood social dynamics and civic life. In particular, it shows the importance of transforming child welfare agencies into more supportive, community-based institutions. The chapter was published in Challenging Racial Disproportionality in Child Welfare.

Family Structure, Employment, and Inequality Among American Women

Income inequality in the United States has increased rapidly since the early 1970s, the same period during which women’s employment rates rose substantially and family structures diversified. IPR social demographer Christine Percheski examines how income is associated with family structure characteristics among women in their main reproductive years. Using Current Population Survey (CPS) data from 1980 to 2010, she describes how inequality in women’s total family income and in its constituent income components has changed over time. She finds that the associations between family characteristics—such as marriage, motherhood, and single motherhood—and total family income levels have remained fairly constant. However, associations between family structure and some components of income—such as women’s own earnings—have changed.

Families and Income During Recessions

Percheski is also comparing poverty, income change, and income sources by family structure for U.S. working-age adults in two recessions—the recession of the early 1980s and the most recent—as a way of showing how poverty is unequally distributed across different family structures. She notes three considerable changes in recent decades: a change in family structure such that more couples live together instead of getting married, a higher percentage of women who work, and a decrease in the availability of cash welfare due to welfare
reform. Using CPS data to examine the incomes of working-age Americans from 2005 to 2009 and from 1978 to 1982, her preliminary findings show that the risk of poverty for single adults and single parents compared with that for married couples has remained relatively similar across recessions.

**Neighborhoods and Health**

IPR biological anthropologist Thomas McDade and IPR developmental psychobiologist Emma Adam were part of a team, led by economist Jens Ludwig of the University of Chicago, that was the first to employ a randomized experimental design to learn about the connections between neighborhood poverty and health. The researchers studied 4,498 poor women and children in five major U.S. cities in the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) residential mobility program, which enrolled low-income families with children living in distressed public housing. Families volunteered for the experiment, and based on the results of a random lottery, were offered the chance to use a housing voucher subsidy to move into a lower-poverty community. Other families were randomly assigned to a control group that received no special assistance under the program.

Published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, the study collected information on the families who had enrolled in the program between 1994 and 1998. The research team measured the heights and weights of MTO participants and collected blood samples to test for diabetes. At the time of follow-up, 17 percent of the women in the study's control group were morbidly obese and 20 percent had diabetes. But low-income women who received the vouchers and moved with their children to more affluent neighborhoods were less likely to be extremely overweight or diabetic, revealing better long-term health outcomes.

**School Attendance and Obesity**

In a *Journal of Health Economics* article, IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach and her colleagues investigate the impact of attending school on body weight and obesity. As is the case with academic outcomes, school exposure is related to unobserved determinants of weight outcomes because some families choose to have their child start school later or earlier than others. When this factor is unaccounted for, it appears that an additional year of school exposure results in a greater BMI and a higher probability of being overweight or obese. However, when the researchers compared the weight outcomes of similar age children with one versus two years of school exposure due to regulations on school starting age, the significant positive effects disappear, and most point estimates become negative, but insignificant. However, for children not eating the school lunch, school exposure reduces the probability of being overweight. Additional school exposure also appears to improve weight outcomes of children for whom the transition to elementary school represents a more dramatic change in environment, such as those who spent less time in childcare prior to kindergarten.

**No Child Left Behind and Obesity**

Schools facing increased pressures to produce academic outcomes might reallocate their efforts in ways that have unintended consequences for children's health. For example, the new financial pressures due to accountability rules might induce school administrators to try to raise new funds through outside food and beverage contracts, or schools might cut back on recess and physical education in favor of increasing time on tested subjects. To examine the impact of school accountability programs, Schanzenbach and her colleagues have created a unique panel data set of elementary schools in Arkansas that allows them to test the impact of the federal No Child Left Behind Act’s rules on students’ body weights. They find that schools under pressure from the act have about a 0.5 percentage point higher rate of students who are overweight. A follow-up survey of principals also points to reductions in physical activity and the use of food as a reward and source of external funding as potential mechanisms. Understanding how the school environment might contribute to obesity is key since school environments are more within the control of policymakers than the family environment.
**Work Incentives and Food Stamps**

Although a large body of literature exists on the work incentive effects of many other federal assistance programs, relatively little is known about the effects of the Food Stamp Program. A recent study by Schanzenbach and her colleague Hilary Hoynes of the University of California, Davis uses the cross-county introduction of the Food Stamp Program (currently known as SNAP) in the 1960s and 1970s to estimate the impact of the program on the extensive and intensive margins of labor supply, earnings, and family cash income. They find reductions in employment and hours worked when food stamps are introduced, and the reductions are concentrated among families headed by single women. The study was published in the *Journal of Public Economics*.

**Family Structure and Adolescent Marijuana Use**

In a recent study, family and developmental psychologist and IPR associate Jelani Mandara assesses the relationship between family structure and marijuana use for 1,069 African American teens from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. As most prior studies have found, family structure was not related to females’ marijuana use. For young men, however; being raised with both biological parents was associated with less marijuana use throughout adolescence compared with those whose mothers never married, divorced early and never remarried, or divorced and remarried. Mandara and his colleagues conclude that being raised without a biological father is a risk factor for marijuana use by young men. The study was published in the *Journal of Marriage and Family*.

**Food Labels, Regulation, and Obesity**

The nation’s obesity crisis has led to increased scrutiny of the packaging, labeling, and marketing of food and beverage products. In particular, much attention has turned to the use of front-of-package (FOP) labeling systems, used to summarize and highlight a product’s key nutritional aspects. As chair of the Institute of Medicine Study Committee on Examination of Front-of-Package Nutrition Rating Systems and Symbols, communication studies researcher and IPR associate Ellen Wartella, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication, is leading a national effort to review current FOP trends and suggest improvements. The committee, requested by Congress, is joint between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Food and Drug Administration. Little evidence has been gathered about which FOP systems and symbols, if any, actually help consumers make healthier food choices. A report released by the committee in October 2011 found that, to be most effective, FOP labeling should aim for a broad audience and prominently display a simplified nutrition label, much like the Energy Star labels on appliances.

**Linking Parental and Child Education**

A large body of evidence suggests that children who do well in school earn more, enjoy better health, and have higher levels of life satisfaction. Prior research also shows that performance in school is strongly linked to family characteristics, including parental education. However, few studies have tried to identify the causal effects of parental education on children’s education, and the channels through which any causal effects operate have yet to be explored. IPR education economist David Figlio and his colleagues are working on a set of interrelated projects to study the correlations between parental education and children’s schooling, and they are analyzing the extent to which these correlations represent causal links. Using a new data set linking statewide and district-level individual administrative education records and birth records from Florida, they will also provide new evidence on the relationship between parental education, aspects of parental behavior, the neighborhood in which children live, the type of school children attend, and the type of teacher children are assigned to. Understanding this correlation could have strong public health implications given the known linkages between individual human capital and health outcomes. This project is supported by funding from the Gates Foundation, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and Institute of Education Sciences.

**Two-Generation Intervention**

IPR developmental psychologist Lindsay Chase-Lansdale and IPR research scientist Teresa Eckrich Sommer recently received awards from the Administration for Children and Families at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation to expand to a larger, mixed-methods longitudinal study of the CareerAdvance® Program (CAP), known as the CAP Family Life Study. It is a unique two-generation intervention that links postsecondary education...
and career training of low-income parents to their children's development through early childhood education centers. Past research by Chase-Lansdale and Sommer indicates that such a program could harness parents' hopes for their children's educational success as motivation for their own educational progress. In addition to early childhood education centers and community college healthcare work force programs, CareerAdvance® also provides a number of key supportive components—career coaches, financial incentives, and peer group meetings—to prepare parents for high-demand jobs in the healthcare sector. Chase-Lansdale was also selected as one of the inaugural fellows of the Aspen Institute's Ascend Fellowship, which supports national leaders who are working to move families out of poverty using two-generation strategies (see p. 58).

**Welfare Reform and Youth Outcomes**

Drawing upon the longitudinal data set called Welfare Children and Families: A Three-City Study, Chase-Lansdale and her colleagues examined the long-term strategies families have used to respond to welfare reform, in terms of employment, schooling, residential mobility, and fertility from 1999 to 2006. In general, changes in mothers' work and welfare patterns were not associated with deterioration or improvement in youth development. The few significant associations suggested that youth whose mothers increased employment were more likely to show declines in serious behavior problems and delinquency compared with youth whose mothers were unemployed or employed part-time during the study period. Welfare roll exits were unrelated to adolescent and young adult outcomes, and mothers' employment transitions were linked to improvements in household income and mothers' self esteem, in addition to reductions in financial strain and their own illegal activities. However, these associations did not explain the relation between maternal employment and youths' improved behavior. The researchers also note that these results do not support the predictions of either supporters or opponents of welfare reform.

**Underlying Problems of Delinquency**

Each year between 300,000 and 600,000 youth spend time in juvenile detention facilities around the nation, with a disproportionate number being low-income and minority youth. IPR economist Jonathan Guryan, with Sara Heller and Jens Ludwig of the University of Chicago, is examining the underlying problems that cause youth to become involved with delinquency and violence. Previous research indicates that deficits in noncognitive skills—such as self-regulation, impulse control, social information processing, and moral reasoning—might account for involvement with, and relapses into, delinquency. Using a randomized experimental design and with support from the Smith Richardson Foundation, the researchers will begin collecting data on all the approximately 4,000 male juveniles, most of whom are Latino or African American, entering a county juvenile detention system over 14 months. These youth have been randomly assigned to either a typical residential center or one providing a cognitive behavioral therapy intervention to promote noncognitive skill development. The researchers have uncovered themes shared by a number of effective interventions, which might prove to be efficacious in part because they promote adaptive personality trait development.

**Maltreatment Among Detained Youth**

Childhood maltreatment is common among detained youths and is also highly associated with psychiatric disorders. As part of the Northwestern Project, a team of clinical researchers assessed the history of childhood maltreatment and psychiatric diagnosis for 1,829 youths detained at the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. The project, led by behavioral scientist and IPR associate Linda Teplin, Owen L. Coon Professor, is the nation's largest longitudinal, epidemiological study of the mental health needs and outcomes of delinquent youth, many of whom are now young adults. Of those they interviewed for the study, more than three-quarters of females and more than two-thirds of males had a history of moderate or severe physical abuse. More than 40 percent of females and 10 percent of males had a history of sexual abuse. Females and non-Hispanic whites had the highest prevalence rates of childhood maltreatment. Among youths who were sexually abused, abuse with force was associated with anxiety disorders among females and attention-deficit hyperactivity, or disruptive behavior disorders and substance use disorders, among males. Teplin calls for the mental health, child welfare, and juvenile justice systems to collaborate to ensure that these youth receive protection and care when they return to their communities. The article was published in *Psychiatric Services.*

**Children of Incarcerated Parents**

Sociologist and legal scholar John Hagan continues his work with Holly Foster of Texas A&M University to trace how having an incarcerated parent can affect a child's life. Parental incarceration affects about one-fifth of elementary school children in the United States. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health for 2,000 children of incarcerated fathers, Hagan and Foster are following the children into mid-adolescence and early adulthood. One finding is that having an imprisoned father and also attending a school where many other children have fathers in prison can lower college completion rates from 40 to 10 percent. Another finding is that these fathers go missing during a critical development period for the children, and this absence then follows their children through life, compounding their inability to complete college and severely limiting their future opportunities. Hagan is John D. MacArthur Professor of Sociology and Law.
Research led by IPR economist Lori Beaman focuses on the long-term outcomes of a law that reserved leadership positions for women in randomly selected village councils in India. Beaman and her team collected data in West Bengal between 2006 and 2007 on 8,453 male and female teenagers and their parents in 495 villages. The law was implemented in that region starting in 1998 and from that time, a village council spot could have been reserved for a female leader once, twice, or never. The study, published in Science, showed that the law has led to a direct role-model effect and is changing the way the girls, as well as their parents, think about female roles of leadership. According to the study, the gender gap in aspirations for their children’s career and education closed by 25 percent in parents and 32 percent in adolescents’ own aspirations. Adolescent Indian girls were more likely to attend school and spent less time on household chores in the villages that reserved political positions for women. Since there were no changes in education infrastructure or career options for young women during the study, this suggests that the opening of opportunities for women improved the girls’ attitudes toward higher career aspirations and education goals for women.

IPR sociologist Anthony Chen takes an interdisciplinary approach to studying the emergence and evolution of affirmative action programs and policies in the United States. Chen’s latest book project, carried out in collaboration with Lisa Stulberg of New York University, looks at the origins and development of race-based affirmative action in college admissions over the last half century. Based on extensive research from university archives, Chen and Stulberg reveal how administrators at a limited number of Northern schools took the initiative to launch a “first wave” of affirmative action in the early 1960s, inspired largely, if indirectly, by nonviolent civil rights protests in the South. A “second wave” of programs emerged in the late 1960s at the most selective and exclusive institutions in the United States, often as a response to campus-based student protests at Northern schools and to a lesser extent as a response to the urban uprisings of the time. The remainder of their book explains how race-based affirmative action emerged at other schools. It also traces how it fared around the country in the decades thereafter, when it was substantially transformed by a shifting array of social, legal, and political forces that were only partially visible at the outset.
**Economic Opportunities for Women**

Beaman is working in the West African nation of Mali to evaluate the Saving for Change Program, a new form of community savings program that integrates self-managed saving and lending groups with education sessions. In the rural regions of Mali, the economy is mainly based on subsistence agriculture, and a lack of financial means to hire labor and buy input can put significant limits on women’s economic opportunities. Locally known as Épargner pour le Changement, the Saving for Change Program was implemented to increase women’s ability to save and create access to credit. It also helps them invest in agricultural, or other small business, activities. The program was offered to a random sample of 250 villages in Mali’s Ségou region. Group members save a set amount each week and can benefit from short-term loans from the group savings fund. Training group members who volunteer to start new Saving for Change groups themselves accelerate the growth of the program. To test the effectiveness of different implementation strategies, Beaman and her colleagues are comparing the two methods for training village replicator agents—one in which replicators receive a pictorial manual and a formal three-day training session on how to start and manage groups and another that does not give any formal training, reducing program costs.

**Kinship and Financial Networks**

Many risks are present in rural developing economies, yet for many households in these economies, consumption and investment are insured against short-term risks to a large extent, despite limited availability of formal banking and insurance products. While the importance of kinship networks and financial access are each increasingly well documented, the channels through which these effects occur and the relationship between kinship networks and financial access are not well understood. Using unique data from rural Thai households, economist and IPR associate Cynthia Kinnan and co-author Robert Townsend of MIT examine this interplay. Their results indicate that access to the formal financial system plays an important role in smoothing consumption in the face of income shocks. Strikingly, an indirect connection is as effective as a direct connection, suggesting that borrowing and lending among households act to distribute capital from formal financial institutions. This implies that not every household in a village needs to use the banking system directly to benefit. The article was published in the *American Economic Review*.

**Anti-Poverty Policy and Transfers**

A central question in anti-poverty policy is whether welfare transfer programs should be made in kind or as cash, with the oft-cited rationale for in-kind transfers being to encourage consumption of certain goods. While both types of transfers increase the demand for normal goods, only in-kind transfers also increase supply. Hence, in-kind transfers should lead to lower prices than cash transfers, which help consumers at the expense of local producers. A recent working paper co-authored by economist and IPR associate Seema Jayachandran tests this hypothesis using a large food assistance program for poor households in Mexico, which randomly assigned villages to either receive boxes of food trucked into the village, equivalently valued cash transfers, or no transfers. The study shows sizeable price effects. The decline in food prices caused by in-kind transfers relative to cash transfers represents an indirect benefit of in-kind transfers for consumers that is large relative to the direct transfer itself. The researchers also find that agricultural profits increase in cash villages, where food prices rose, more so than in in-kind villages, where prices fell. These price effects were particularly pronounced for very geographically isolated villages, where the most impoverished people live.

**Positive Interracial Interactions**

Although the blatant racism of earlier eras has declined dramatically in recent decades, contemporary forms of bias continue to thwart the realization of genuine racial equality. In a study published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, a team of researchers including IPR social psychologist Jennifer Richeson investigated the hypothesis that perspective taking, actively contemplating others’ psychological experiences, can
reduce automatic expressions of racial bias. Participants who adopted the perspective of a black person in an initial context subsequently exhibited more positive automatic interracial reactions. This change in automatic reactions also mediated the effect of perspective taking on more deliberate interracial reactions. Furthermore, unlike other bias-reduction strategies, the interracial positivity resulting from perspective taking did not blind perceivers to the realities of interracial disparities. These findings indicate that perspective taking can combat automatic expressions of racial biases without simultaneously decreasing sensitivity to ongoing racial inequalities. The study, conducted with National Science Foundation support, provides converging evidence for perspective taking as a strategy for combating automatic expressions of racial bias and for facilitating more favorable interracial contact experiences.

**Maintaining Racial Inequality**

IPR social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart is scrutinizing the history of racial inequality since Jim Crow and the social organizations involved in maintaining black-white inequities. A driving question behind this work asks, “How many racists does it take to maintain racial inequality?” Historical evidence indicates that a larger number of racist advocates operating in various social arenas is needed than currently exists. Recent research points to a significant decline in the number of people who hold racist beliefs, refuting the idea that numbers of racists is what counts. Using an agent-based model of a Nash bargaining game, Stewart’s investigation demonstrates that a system built on biased social institutions, even though they are administered or used by nonbiased (nonracist) individuals, can maintain racial inequality with a few, or even no, racists. He is laying out his arguments in a book manuscript, tentatively titled “How Many Racists? How Everyday People Contribute to a System of Social Inequality.” The book will focus on the social dynamics that lead to the emergence of racial inequality in an artificial society, the factors that sustain it once it is established, and the policies that can be used to undermine racial inequality.

**Intra-Minority Intergroup Relations**

In a study published in *Daedalus, Richeson explores how perceived societal discrimination against one’s own racial group influences racial minority group members’ attitudes toward other racial minorities. Richeson and Northwestern graduate student Maureen Craig find that perceived discrimination toward oneself and one’s own racial group could be positively associated with expressed closeness and common fate with another racial minority group, especially if individuals attribute past experiences of discrimination to their racial identity rather than to other social identities. The results suggest that making the common experience of discrimination salient might engender a common “disadvantaged racial minority” group identity for racial minorities that, in turn, results in positive evaluations of fellow “disadvantaged racial minority” group members.

**Challenges in Studying Discrimination**

Since the civil rights era, some gaps in black-white outcomes have closed or narrowed. But others remain stubbornly persistent, such as the gap in wages and employment. In an *Annual Review of Economics* article, IPR economist Jonathan Guryan and his colleague Kerwin Charles of the University of Chicago reviewed a portion of the literature on labor market discrimination. They highlight some of the fundamental challenges that the researchers face. The article discusses the difficulty of measuring workplace discrimination due to omitted-variables bias and other conceptual concerns, such as the conceptual problem with defining race and estimating the causal effect of race. After pointing to an encouraging rise in the use of experimental methods and some promising recent work that tests discrimination models directly, the researchers conclude by suggesting that economists might find inspiration for new methods by examining how social psychologists study prejudice.

**Housing Instability and Children’s Education Outcomes**

With support from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, a team of researchers, including IPR education economist David Figlio, is investigating the effects of housing instability on children’s education outcomes. Using longitudinal data linking foreclosures and other kinds of housing upheavals to individual public school student records, the researchers examine four major markets suffering from unusual housing instability. Incorporating a variety of empirical strategies to separate the effects of housing instability from the effects of unobserved family characteristics, it will be possible to determine whether and how these changing schools and homes are affecting students’ educational outcomes. The results
Race, Poverty, and “Choice” Policies

“Choice” has become a buzzword across the policy spectrum, especially in housing, schools, and healthcare. Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein’s book, Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness, makes a case for “nudging” people toward choices that are in their best interest, but the authors do not address inequalities that inevitably arise when relying on a choice framework. Sociologist and African American studies researcher Mary Pattillo, Harold Washington Professor and an IPR associate, questions the assumptions, ideology, and philosophy that undergirds “choice.” She has conducted two small qualitative studies—one on parents choosing high schools for their children and the other on individuals using a housing choice voucher to search for an apartment. Preliminary results suggest that many on the receiving end of these policies are not even aware that they have a choice, that there are socioeconomic differences in who chooses, and that there is a misalignment in what policymakers and the targets of these policies deem important.

Destabilizing America’s Racial Order

A recent article in Daedalus co-authored by political scientist and IPR associate Traci Burch, with Harvard’s Jennifer Hochschild and Vesla Weaver of the University of Virginia, examines changes in the racial divide since the 1960s. The authors argue that younger Americans were raised in a different racial context and think about race differently than their older counterparts do. Young Americans’ racial attitudes are usually more liberal than those of older Americans, and their social networks are more intertwined. According to the authors, these changes in the views and behaviors of young people have the potential to produce a new American racial order—but only if Americans take the political and policy steps needed to diminish barriers that still block the chances of many young Americans.

Changing Race and Class Dynamics

IPR anthropologist Micaela di Leonardo is currently working on a book manuscript titled “The View from Cavallaro’s,” in which she provides a cross-class, cross-race, feminist historical ethnography of political economy and public culture in New Haven, Conn. Through decades of fieldwork, di Leonardo has been able to map shifting public/media consciousness of the city and its residents—especially varied and changing visions of political-economic movements and their effects on the quality of life for New Haveners. The final manuscript will also include recent data on how the city’s residents have weathered unemployment and other challenges of the economic recession.
Participants and instructors of the 2011 Summer Biomarker Institute.

**RESEARCH TOPICS:**
- Social disparities, stress, and health
- Intergenerational perspectives on health disparities
- Effects of early environments on health trajectories
- Families, interpersonal relationships, and health
- Biomarker development and training

**Biomarker Methodology and Training**

C2S hosted its sixth Summer Biomarker Institute in 2011, organized by IPR fellows Emma Adam, Thomas McDade, and Christopher Kuzawa, all nationally recognized leaders in biomarker development, implementation, usage, and analysis. The 30-plus participants learned about biological theory and methodology and received hands-on training for integrating salivary and blood-spot biomarkers into population-based social science research. The training covered technical as well as conceptual issues associated with biological measurement in naturalistic settings. C2S and the workshop are supported by a grant from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD).

McDade continues to refine the use of biomarkers as part of the Laboratory for Human Biology Research, which he directs. It works to develop methods for assaying biomarkers in a drop of blood collected on filter paper from a single finger prick. Three new projects seek to expand this methodological toolkit to include measures of inflammatory cytokines or messenger proteins, ovarian function, and exposure to heavy metals in a few drops of finger-stick whole blood. Adam is also working to improve salivary measures of cortisol.

**Global Studies Provide Local Insights**

Initially created to study infant-feeding patterns in as natural a setting as possible, the Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey in the Philippines has expanded to become one of the first large-scale, longitudinal surveys designed to capture how underlying social, economic, and environmental characteristics can affect health, which in turn influence outcomes such as development, risk for disease, and death. Scholars using Cebu data have published more than 125 papers, examining a wide variety of questions related to urbanization, family and individual health, child development, nutrition, and genetics. In an article for the *International Journal of Epidemiology*, Kuzawa and his colleagues document the interdisciplinary study’s framework, cohorts, and findings. The study recently received five additional years of funding from the National Institutes of Health.

In the Tsimane’ Amazonian Panel Study in Bolivia, McDade and his colleagues have followed 1,800 native Tsimane’ in all 260 households of 13 villages along the Maniqui River in the department of Beni. Started in 2000, the multidisciplinary panel study has served to provide a comprehensive view of how regional processes and globalization affect the well-being of villagers and their environment, taking into account
their respective distances to the closest regional commercial center; the city of San Borja. More than 80 papers using the data have been published. More recently, McDade is involved with a project in Ecuador that has shown the regulation of inflammation differs in this high-infectious disease environment from previous studies in the United States—a finding that might point toward ways to reduce levels of chronic inflammation that contribute to cardiovascular disease.

Fathers Wired to Care for Children

A widely reported Northwestern University study, co-authored by IPR biological anthropologists Kuzawa and McDade with doctoral student and lead author Lee Gettler, a former IPR graduate research assistant, provides compelling evidence that human males are biologically wired to care for their offspring, conclusively showing for the first time that fatherhood lowers a man’s testosterone levels. Their study followed a large group of men—624 males aged 21 to 26 years old—for four and a half years in the Philippines. These men were not fathers when the study started, and those who did go on to become fathers experienced large declines in testosterone levels. These findings suggest that much like other mammals, in which males help care for the young, trade-offs exist: Testosterone boosts behaviors and other traits that help a male compete for a mate. After they succeed and become fathers, “mating-related” activities might conflict with the responsibilities of fatherhood, making it advantageous for the body to reduce the hormone’s production. The reduction could also help explain why men who become fathers might have better health than men who remain childless, protecting them from disease as they age. The study was published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, and picked up by national and international media, including The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Scientific American, USA Today, and PBS Newshour. The National Science Foundation (NSF) and the Wenner-Gren Foundation supported the research.

Low-Income Dads and Kids’ Health

For the first time, a study has examined how low-income, urban fathers are involved in their children’s health. The study, led by pediatrician and IPR associate Craig Garfield, focused on 31 primarily African American and Hispanic fathers from Chicago and Milwaukee who were an average of 31 years old. The men were a subsample of the national Fragile Families and Child Well-Being Study. Of the sample, 55 percent were single and 41 percent had an income of $34,999 or less. More than half of the fathers reported modeling exercise behaviors and engaging their children in play as ways to promote their child’s health, the study reports. The fathers said they knew their behavior influences their children’s habits, and they often tried to set a good example. While fathers had no difficulty telling their children to eat more broccoli or run a lap, they were less comfortable dispensing medicine or handling an emergency room visit. Given the number of single dads, stay-at-home fathers, and the general increase in father involvement overall, Garfield calls this a “wake-up call” for healthcare providers to include and educate fathers as key partners in their children’s health, rather than exclusively focus on mothers. The study was published in the Psychology of Men and Masculinity.

About the Program

IPR’s Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health continues to expand its scope of activities to understand how social, economic, and cultural contexts affect physical and mental health, as well as cognitive achievement, at the population level. Faculty research overlaps with other IPR program areas, including Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies; Poverty, Race, and Inequality; and Education Policy.

Thomas McDade, Chair

Kuzawa is collaborating on a five-year, NSF-funded study with geneticists and research scientists at Wayne State University that explores why the human brain learns so quickly in childhood and adolescence and then tapers with age. The brain consumes enormous amounts of energy in the form of glucose during this learning ramp-up. By comparing human glucose consumption in the brain with that of primates across their respective lifespans, the researchers hope to identify differences between the two and pinpoint what gives the human species its extraordinary cognitive abilities. In an article for PLOS ONE, the research team sheds light on humans’ extended juvenile period during which the brain is more plastic as compared with primates. The team studied 37 samples of cerebral cortex tissue, obtained with consent from patients between 1 and 57 years old already scheduled for brain surgery. Adjusting for a person’s gender, they divided the samples by age, comparing gene expression patterns in children and adults. They found much greater variation in which genes were expressed (“turned on”) in the children when compared with the adults. Of the 302 genes that
showed evidence for high variability in expression in children, 84elong to the immune system. The researchers conclude that	heir data provide “compelling evidence” that gene expression
is more malleable in childhood, when the brain is developing
and learning rapidly. Their findings also point to a surprising link
between brain development and genes that were previously
thought only to be involved in regulating immunity.

**Epigenetics and Health Disparities**

While much research has pointed to the fact the individuals
from lower socioeconomic status are at greater risk for
disease and mortality, little is understood about the underlying
biological mechanisms that could drive disparities in class, race,
and ethnicity. The developing field of epigenetics is starting
to provide compelling evidence that the primary source of
health disparities might be due to social, not genetic, factors.
In an article for *Epigentics*, Kuzawa and graduate student
Zaneta Thayer review more than 120 epigenetic studies of
nutrition, psychosocial stress, and toxin exposure that reveal
how nonbiological, environmental factors are connected to
health disparities. These studies also show how these factors
can spread beyond a person’s life to push disparities across
generations. Findings from a decade’s worth of epigenetic
research underscores that these health gradients are rooted,
at least partially, in past experiences of either the person
or his or her recent ancestors. Kuzawa and Thayer point out to
policymakers that such research can help them move beyond
the popular “nature-nurture debates” toward a “more realistic”
understanding of the factors driving social disparities.

**Briefing on Effects of Early Life, Physical Environments**

At an IPR policy research briefing in Chicago, three experts
discussed how the study of social and physical environments
early in life informs understanding of human development and
public health and policy. Management and strategy professor
Therese McGuire moderated the May 23 event.

IPR clinical and developmental psychologist Lauren Wakschlag
discussed the effects of prenatal smoking on pregnant mothers
and their children. Mentioning the “larger constellation of
difficulties,” such as family and psychosocial problems that
surround these women, she pointed to consistent evidence
from dozens of studies, some of which she has led, confirming
up to a five-fold increase in risk for conduct problems for
their children from early childhood to adulthood. Patterns
of disruptive behavior appear early enough that they can be
identified via new types of developmentally based measurements
that she and others have pioneered, and through “protective
risk buffers,” such as responsive parenting. Early detection is
possible, Wakschlag said, adding that one did not need to “wait
until the handcuffs go on” to reduce antisocial behavior.

The black-white achievement gap has proved puzzling and
stubbornly persistent for many decades—except for a brief
period in the 1980s where it started to narrow, particularly for African Americans living in the South. IPR economist Jonathan Guryan and his colleagues traced the gap’s narrowing to an unexpected source—integration of Southern hospitals in 1965. From the late 1950s into the mid-1960s, the death rate for black newborns was increasing in the South relative to the Northeast, yet postneonatal mortality rates plunged almost immediately after the hospitals integrated. The findings suggest that early health could be a time to narrow inequalities.

MIT economist Michael Greenstone showed that the number of days exceeding 90 degrees in the United States will increase from an average of one per year to 30 by 2100. Examining U.S. death rates, Greenstone and his colleagues predict that moving a day from the 50-to-60 degree range into the 90-plus range translates to about one extra death per 100,000 Americans annually. In comparison, mortality data from India, a much poorer country with higher temperatures, indicates the same change in daily temperature averages leads to a death rate 10 times larger. Since people in India are already dying from high temperatures, Greenstone predicted they are more likely to concentrate on raising incomes in the near future rather than on long-term investments to prevent climate change.

**Racial Disparities in Causes of Death**

Currently, causal decomposition is the most common method used to estimate and compare death rates between groups of people. This method, however, harbors a major flaw, according to IPR social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart, in an article for *Mathematical Population Studies*. It does not account for the fact that underprivileged groups are more likely to die from nearly all other causes of death, skewing the results. To correct this, Stewart developed the “cause-deleted index.” In it, chronic but manageable illness. As part of her *Health, Hardship, and Renewal* study, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher Celeste Watkins-Hayes interviewed 30 HIV-positive African American women between 2005 and 2008. In this project’s first published study, she and her co-authors reveal how nonprofit and government institutions, or “framing institutions,” play a critical role in helping these women to cope. These organizations provide conceptual frameworks for understanding what it means to have HIV, language to talk about their condition, and resources to begin restructuring their lives in the wake of a diagnosis. The authors also show how such institutions help the women to renegotiate their self-conceptions as black women after receiving another stigmatizing social marker. The study was written with Jean Beaman, an IPR postdoctoral fellow, and LaShawnDa Pittman-Gay, a postdoctoral fellow at Georgia State University and a former IPR graduate research assistant. It was published in *Social Science & Medicine.* The project receives support from the R.W. Johnson Foundation and National Science Foundation.

**Redefining Race**

Decoding the human genome has confirmed that human beings are not biologically divided into races. Yet in this supposedly “post-racial” era, race has taken on a new—and disturbing—guise, driven by profits, politics, and scientific probing, according to IPR law professor Dorothy Roberts. She tackled this issue in her most recent book, *Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-First Century* (The New Press, 2011). In her book, Roberts underscores that race is a social and cultural invention. She reasons that it is not a biological category that naturally produces health disparities because of genetic differences, but rather a political category that has staggering biological consequences because of the impact of social inequality on people’s health. Key points from her research highlight this, including how race is being used in reproductive science, DNA-based criminal databases, and drug marketing. She points to how the pharmaceutical and biotech industries are poised to exploit race as a convenient but unscientific proxy for genetic difference to market new drugs. Roberts discussed her book in several events over the year, including at a lecture sponsored by IPR and the YWCA Evanston/North Shore.

**Learning How to Live with HIV**

An HIV diagnosis is no longer a death sentence, with individuals now living for decades thanks to life-saving drug regimens. Yet many HIV-positive individuals grapple with how to transition from believing and behaving as though they have been sentenced to death to interpreting and coping with HIV as a chronic but manageable illness. As part of her *Health, Hardship, and Renewal* Study, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher Celeste Watkins-Hayes interviewed 30 HIV-positive African American women between 2005 and 2008. In this project’s first published study, she and her co-authors reveal how nonprofit and government institutions, or “framing institutions,” play a critical role in helping these women to cope. These organizations provide conceptual frameworks for understanding what it means to have HIV, language to talk about their condition, and resources to begin restructuring their lives in the wake of a diagnosis. The authors also show how such institutions help the women to renegotiate their self-conceptions as black women after receiving another stigmatizing social marker. The study was written with Jean Beaman, an IPR postdoctoral fellow, and LaShawnDa Pittman-Gay, a postdoctoral fellow at Georgia State University and a former IPR graduate research assistant. It was published in *Social Science & Medicine.* The project receives support from the R.W. Johnson Foundation and National Science Foundation.
he deletes each individual cause and then evaluates the impact of the missing data on the survival rates of African Americans relative to whites. It tries to answer the question, “How much would the relative survival rates of blacks improve if deaths from cause X were eliminated?” Stewart tested the method by compiling 2,000 unique pairs of hypothetical mortality profiles from vital statistics collected between 1940 and 2000 and then by comparing the estimates both methods generated. In certain cases, results from both the causal decomposition method and cause-deleted index (CDI) agreed. But not always. In running the CDI for cancer, Stewart found a 35 percent increase in disparities between black and white women when it was eliminated as a cause of death. This means that in the real world, where cancer does exist and has a higher prevalence, it operates to reduce the overall racial difference in female death rates. The cause-deleted index provides additional information that, when used with causal decomposition, can pinpoint the major causes of death behind health disparities. Using both methods, Stewart advises, would also provide a more accurate map for future research and policies to reduce these differences.

Perceived Discrimination and Health

In the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study, Daily Diary Study, IPR psychobiologist Emma Adam, along with her fellow investigators Margaret Kemeny and Wendy Mendes of the University of California, San Francisco and Jacquelynne Eccles of the University of Michigan, is examining associations between 20 years of prospective data on perceived racial and ethnic discrimination, starting in adolescence, and biomarkers of stress and health in early adulthood. This study, supported by a National Institutes of Health Grand Opportunities grant, as part of federal stimulus funding, has just completed data collection. Their initial results show that histories of perceived discrimination, from early adolescence onward, are strong predictors of stress biology, including levels of the stress hormone cortisol, in early adulthood.

Socioeconomic Status and Disease Risk

Many studies document racial variation, gender differences, and socioeconomic status (SES) patterning in cardiovascular disease risk factors, but few studies have investigated heterogeneity in SES differences by race, ethnicity, or gender. Using data from more than 55,000 participants in the Multi-Ethnic Study of Atherosclerosis, obesity researcher and IPR associate Mercedes Carnethon and her colleagues investigated racial and ethnic differences in the SES patterns of diabetes, hypertension, smoking, and body mass index (BMI). They observed inverse socioeconomic gradients in hypertension, diabetes, smoking, and BMI in white and black women, but associations were weaker or absent in Hispanic and Chinese women—except in the case of diabetes for Hispanic women. The research team found even greater differences in social patterning of risk factors in men. In white men, all four risk factors were inversely associated with socioeconomic position, with education being stronger than income. The inverse socioeconomic patterning was much less consistent in men of other races or ethnic groups, and higher SES was associated with higher BMI in non-white men. The study was published in the Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved.

Health Disparities and Development

Supported by NICHD, the Community Child Health Network is a longitudinal study examining health disparities in fetal growth and preterm birth, child development, obesity, and asthma at five sites, including the Illinois site, Community Action for Child Health Equity (CACHE). CACHE explores how community, family, and individual influences interact with biological influences, resulting in disparities in perinatal health outcomes and infant and early childhood mortality and morbidity. Pediatrician and IPR associate Madeleine Shalowitz is co-principal investigator, and several IPR/C2S faculty are involved. Adam is working with Clarissa Simon, a Northwestern graduate student, to study how the transition to parenthood affects the stress biology and health of new mothers and fathers.

National Children’s Study

IPR associate and pediatrician Jane Holl is leading the Greater Chicago Study Center of the National Children’s Study. It will follow 100,000 women from across the United States—who are pregnant or expect to become pregnant—and their child from birth to 21 years of age. The Chicago team has taken an innovative recruitment and enrollment approach that relies on direct outreach through community engagement, advertising, and social media to potential participants. The study will employ a comprehensive, open-source information management system. It also includes many innovative research projects, including a study by anthropologists McDade and...
William Funk, an IPR associate, to develop and evaluate an efficient and cost-effective method to assess infant and child exposures to environmentally toxic heavy metals such as lead, mercury, cadmium, and arsenic, in addition to chemicals related to traffic pollution.

**Stressed Teens, Happy Teens, and Health**

Adam and McDade are co-principal investigators of a grant examining social influences on stress biology in a nationally representative sample of approximately 15,000 young adults, (from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health or Add Health), who have been studied since their early adolescence. The researchers are investigating connections between socioeconomic, neighborhood, and interpersonal stressors and multiple measures of stress biology and emotional and physical health in young adults. The team has published four papers so far, including a *Journal of Adolescent Health* article that examines how multiple types of adverse relationship experiences—loneliness, low parental support, relationship instability, intimate partner violence, and loss—relate to self-reported general health and depressive symptoms in young adulthood, both individually and cumulatively. In it, Adam and her co-authors describe how each relationship risk factor matters for adult health, but find additive rather than multiplicative effects of increasing numbers of adverse relationship experiences. The R01 project has received funding from the NICHD.

In another study, the Add Health team uncovered an association between positive psychological characteristics in adolescence and long-term health. Researchers examined answers to a series of “well-being” questions from the Add Health survey that gauged the teens’ sense of happiness, enjoyment of life, optimism, self-esteem, and social acceptance. They used these measures of positive well-being during adolescence, measured in 1994, to predict perceived general health and risky health behaviors in young adulthood, measured in 2001. The researchers controlled the study for pre-existing health conditions, socioeconomic status, depressive symptoms, and other known predictors of long-term health. A second outcome showed adolescents who reported higher positive well-being as teens were less likely to engage in risky health behaviors as young adults. The study raises important, policy-relevant questions about fostering positive youth development instead of focusing on problem behaviors. Published in the *Journal of Adolescent Health*, the research team was composed of lead author and IPR graduate research assistant Lindsay Till Hoyt, Adam, McDade, and IPR developmental psychologist Lindsay Chase-Lansdale. The study was covered widely in the press by *The Atlantic*, Fox News, and *Chicago Sun-Times*, among others.

**Disease Risk Set in the Womb**

Preterm births pose a major health problem and have been on the rise, with more than 50 percent attributable to no known cause. Despite much research on the topic, no consensus has coalesced around the importance of the role stress might play in preterm births. Obstetrician and IPR associate Ann Borders and her co-authors decided to examine existing research to see if one reason might be variation in how stress in pregnancies is measured. They found 136 studies in four different medical databases that met their criteria. In these, 85 different methods...
were used. Twelve different instruments were used to measure major life events, but it seems as if chronic stress, rather than the stress of a single life event, is what might lead more to preterm births. They counted 11 different ways of measuring social support, with each one used between one and three times. They also point to how recent research has fingered race, such as being African American, as a factor in high-risk, early-term pregnancies, but most studies did not stratify results for race and ethnicity. They conclude that measures need to be systematically tailored to pregnant populations and made more reliable. Their findings were published in the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*.

**Quality of Life in Breast Cancer Cases**

The most aggressive forms of breast cancer require highly toxic treatment regimes with noxious side effects which—even though they do not promote a patient’s long-term survival—can delay death and provide a better quality of life. In a study of 670 women participating in the Eastern Cooperative Oncology Group phase III trial, IPR associate David Cella, professor and chair of Feinberg’s Medical Social Sciences department, and his colleagues ask how physicians can evaluate trade-offs—survival time, disease symptom relief, and treatment toxicity—when considering the efficacy of new treatments. In the trial, patients were randomly assigned to receive the chemotherapy drugs of either paclitaxel plus bevacizumab or paclitaxel alone. The researchers asked the women to complete a form on their physical, functional, emotional, and social well-being, following four and eight cycles of treatment. The study shows those women who received the dual-drug regime lived longer without progression of their disease and reported no significant side effects in addition to having fewer breast cancer-specific concerns. The article appeared in *Breast Cancer Research and Treatment*.

**Cigarette Exposure and Disruptive Behavior**

IPR clinical and developmental psychologist Lauren Wakschlag continues her work to map out how to distinguish children’s “normal” disruptive behavior from clinical problems. Previous research has shown a robust link between children exposed to cigarettes when they were in utero and later patterns of disruptive behavior. In new work, Wakschlag and her colleagues interviewed and assessed 211 teens and their parents from the East Boston Family Study. The researchers measured damage from prenatal exposure to cigarettes on the teens’ cerebral cortex. They then used tightly defined measures to examine the cohort for four different types of disruptive behavior: being aggressive, not complying with rules and social norms, losing one’s temper; and lack of concern or disregard for others. Using multivariate models, they controlled for the teens’ age and sex, prenatal and present second-hand tobacco exposure, maternal and paternal antisocial behavior, and family adversity. Exposure uniquely predicts whether the teens tended to be aggressive and noncompliant. Whereas other studies have found boys exhibit more disruptive behaviors, they uncover no differences by gender. Their results, here and from prior work, also show that involved parenting might have provided a protective effect against the problems associated with prenatal exposure even into late adolescence. This points to a need for development of parenting-based prevention efforts to reduce risk to children exposed to tobacco in utero and in childhood. Their findings were published in *Neurotoxicology and Teratology*. The study was supported by a National Institute on Drug Abuse grant.

**Blood Test to Diagnose Adolescent Depression**

Neuroscientist and IPR associate Eva Redei and her colleagues developed the first blood test to diagnose major depression in teens, a breakthrough approach that allows an objective diagnosis by measuring the levels of a specific set of transcriptomic markers found in a patient’s blood. Redei tested the blood of depressed adolescents for 26 blood markers she had identified in previous research. She discovered 11 of the markers were able to differentiate between depressed and nondepressed adolescents. In addition, 18 of the 26 markers distinguished between patients who had major depression and those who had major depression combined with anxiety disorder. Published in *Translational Psychiatry*, the study received attention from the international and national press.
How does it feel for a student from a modest middle-class background to attend an elite private university? In work with IPR postdoctoral fellow Sarah Johnson and psychologist and IPR associate Eli Finkel, IPR social psychologist Jennifer Richeson investigates how students’ SES backgrounds, and their acute awareness of their status vis-à-vis peers, would influence their experiences in a context of privilege. The trio conducted four experiments to explore such students’ psychological burdens in terms of social identity threat, or how a lower-SES student might feel his or her identity threatened and devalued in a perceived higher-status environment. Prior research in this area has mainly focused on understanding “visible characteristics” of race and gender, not an invisible stigma such as socioeconomic status. In two of the studies, students made a presentation outlining their academic record, following which lower-SES students ate more candy and exhibited slower reaction times in a Stroop Test, which is used to measure executive function, compared with their higher-SES peers. This indicates more cognitive depletion. In contrast, there were no differences between students after a discussion of their geographic preferences, a nonacademic and nonstigmatizing topic. The results suggest what matters is not simply being a member of a stigmatized group but managing concerns about stigma. Even for relatively privileged groups (the middle-class students in this study were able to gain admittance to an elite university), managing feelings of inferiority in terms of academic achievement can leave students “ego depleted.” This sets them up to fail in fulfilling their potential, such as in completing class assignments, successfully navigating personal relationships, and avoiding unhealthy behaviors. The study was published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

### Acquiring Biological Understanding

Psychologist and IPR associate Sandra Waxman continues her work into understanding how acquisition of fundamental biological concepts like “alive” and “die” are incredibly difficult and can affect children’s understanding of the natural world. In a paper published in the *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, she and co-authors Northwestern postdoctoral fellow Erin Leddon and psychologist Douglas Medin compare how English- and Indonesian-speaking children pick up these two concepts. Past research has indicated that parents help shape such conceptualization in informal conversations at home. The researchers transcribed and coded 1.5 million words from child-parent conversations between English-speaking 1- and 5-year-olds (1- to 4-year-olds for Indonesian speakers) and their parents every several weeks over nearly three years. Their main finding is that children do learn from their parents, but such understandings are heavily focused on animate objects such as humans and animals, often failing to show how plants are animate objects, too. Children, therefore, have to learn how to integrate information from other sources to form overarching biological concepts.

### Face Recognition and Other-Race Effect

Why is it that people are less likely to remember a face from a racial group other than their own? A team of researchers that included neuroscientist and IPR associate Joan Chiao used EEG recordings to measure brain activity while people attempted to remember faces. They shed light on this well-documented phenomenon known as the “other-race effect” in which the brain works differently when memorizing the face of a person from one’s own race than a face from another race. Their biological evidence shows that brain activity increases in the first 200 to 250 milliseconds after seeing a face, regardless of race. The brain activity showed that analyzing the uniquely individual features of a face is essential for strong face memory and is sometimes lacking when people view faces of another race. The research team included Northwestern cognitive scientist Ken Paller and graduate student and lead author Heather Lucas. The article was published in *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*.

### Health Information and the Internet

Has the proliferation of health information online reduced inequalities in access to information that was once only available through health professionals and those with access to them? Using survey data collected from 1,060 first-year college students at a Midwestern public university, IPR researchers Christine Percheski and Eszter Hargittai examined the types of sources that young adults consult for health information. Their analysis, published in the *Journal of American College Health*, shows that women were more likely than men to seek out information on the Internet, and that students who used the web did not eschew other sources of health information such as medical professionals, family and friends, and traditional media. The study also finds that students’ use of online sources of information varied considerably, suggesting that health professionals should not assume that students all use the Internet similarly.

### Culture and Medical Treatment

IPR anthropologist Rebecca Seligman’s research adds to growing awareness of how various cultural and social factors help shape individual experiences of mental and physical illness. Her recent work focuses on disparities in mental and physical health among Mexican immigrants in the United States. Findings from her mixed-methods research on diabetes and depression among first- and second-generation Mexican immigrants suggest that in this population, negative emotions are closely associated with social, economic, and political hardship. Such emotions are perceived as tightly linked to blood-sugar control, so for many of the participants in her study, structural factors were experienced as directly affecting diabetes control. Her findings also suggest that participants prioritized family well-
Latino health expert and preventive medicine professor Aida Giachello addresses how community and system change can alleviate health disparities.

practical agendas that sometimes coexist, and at other times directly compete. Sociologist Steven Epstein, an IPR associate and John C. Shaffer Professor in the Humanities, is writing a book that will seek to understand the contexts in which the term has arisen, the consequences of attempts to lay claim to it, the kinds of bodies and embodied subjectivity that are linked to its uses, and its implications for what we imagine sexuality to be.

The Sexualities Project at Northwestern (SPAN) is a multipronged, critical, and interdisciplinary initiative to promote research and education on sexuality, sexual orientation, and health in social context. Sociologists and sexualities studies researchers Héctor Carrillo and Epstein, both IPR associates, are co-conveners of the project, organized by Northwestern’s Gender Studies Program in collaboration with IPR and the Science in Human Culture Program. SPAN supports research by Northwestern faculty members; selects postdoctoral fellows in an international competition; and awards dissertation fellowships, summer research grants, and conference travel support to Northwestern graduate students. SPAN also organizes workshops, brings speakers to campus, and promotes a range of educational activities. SPAN held its first workshop on April 28–29. It explored “Epistemologies of Desire: Beyond Single-Discipline Approaches,” with the keynote, “The Curious History of ‘Sexual Repression,’” given by Yale University historian Joanne Meyerowitz.

Fostering a Community of Scholars

Through its colloquia, C2S continues to foster a community of scholars interested in multidisciplinary research, human development, health, and well-being. Over the year, C2S brought in several speakers, beginning with economist Bhash Mazumder, who directs the Chicago Census Research Data Center. He spoke on the effect of Ramadan observance during pregnancy. Other speakers included Stephen Suomi, chief of the Laboratory of Comparative Ethology at the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, who examined risk, resilience, and gene-environment interplay in primates. University of Minnesota professor Arthur Reynolds, who directs the Chicago Longitudinal Study, exposed how programs and practices from preschool to third grade can promote developmental continuity. Northwestern preventive medicine professor and Latino health expert Aida Giachello reviewed efforts to address social determinants of health through community interventions.

“Sexual health” is one of the great buzzwords of the early 21st century. The recent, exponential growth of discourses, practices, techniques, and industries that reference or profess the goal of sexual health marks a new moment in the history of engagement by health institutions within the domain of sexuality. At the same time, the convergence around the specific term masks a remarkable diversity of scientific, political, economic, and
IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach points to how higher quality kindergarten classrooms, which include smaller class sizes and more effective teachers, can lead to better adult outcomes, including higher earnings.

Does it matter who your teacher is in kindergarten? In an innovative study, Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, an IPR economist, and her colleagues at Harvard and the University of California, Berkeley test whether kindergarten classroom quality and student test scores affect adult outcomes. They use 1980s data from the Tennessee Project STAR experiment, which randomly assigned nearly 12,000 children to kindergarten classes of varying sizes. The researchers then use tax data to link the students’ kindergarten class experience and test scores to adult outcomes, such as wages and education. Though the students’ test-score boost from small class sizes and high-quality teachers tends to diminish later in elementary school, a substantial impact is found for a variety of adult outcomes. In particular, students randomly assigned to a higher quality kindergarten classroom earned more at age 30 and were more likely to own a home, be married, and have retirement savings than their kindergarten schoolmates assigned to a worse class. Showing that early classroom environments have a long-term impact not captured by standardized test scores, the researchers also point to the potential hazard of relying on such scores to evaluate long-term student achievement. Published in The Quarterly Journal of Economics, the study was covered by The New York Times.

In a working paper with Susan Dynarski and Joshua Hyman of the University of Michigan, Schanzenbach examines the effects of reducing elementary school class sizes on college enrollment and getting a degree. Using Project STAR data, they find being randomly assigned to attend a smaller class in kindergarten through third grade increases the probability of attending college. Assignment to a small class increases the probability of attending college by 2.7 percentage points, with effects more than twice as large among African Americans. Among those with the lowest ex ante probability of attending college, the effect is 11 percentage points. In addition, small classes in the early grades improve the likelihood of earning a college degree and majoring in a more technical and high-earning field, such as a STEM field (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), business, or economics. The paper points to the relationship between short- and long-term effects of an education intervention. More specifically, it documents short- and long-term effects of early education interventions. The actual long-run impacts were larger than what short-run test score gains alone would have predicted. This implies that cost-benefit analyses based on short-run impacts might misestimate the true long-run effectiveness of interventions.
Do High School Teachers Really Matter?

Research has shown that elementary school teachers matter, but what about high school teachers? Some have just extrapolated the findings from studies of elementary school teachers and applied them to those in high school, but IPR labor economist Kirabo Jackson advises against this. In a new paper, he argues that in high school settings, even with random assignment of students to teachers, there will be bias due to “track treatment effects.” This happens when different teachers teach in different tracks and students in different tracks are exposed to different treatments. These “track treatment effects” might arise due to other teachers, the content of other courses, or explicit track-level treatments, such as honors courses or college-prep courses. To counter this, Jackson outlines a new method for identifying teacher-quality effects in high schools, testing it with data on all North Carolina ninth graders from 2005 to 2010. He shows that high school Algebra I teachers have modest effects on student math scores. However, contrary to previous studies, he finds no effects for English I teachers on students’ English scores. The Spencer Foundation is supporting the project.

School and Teacher Matching

Using data from North Carolina and again with Spencer Foundation support, Jackson is investigating the importance of the match between teachers and schools for student achievement. From a sample of mobile teachers, he documents that teacher effectiveness—as measured by improvements in student test scores—increases after a move to a different school. He then estimates the importance of teacher-school match quality for the resulting improvement in student outcomes. Preliminary results reveal that between one-quarter and one-half of what is typically measured as a teacher effect is, in fact, due to the specific teacher-school pairing and is not portable across schools. Moreover, he establishes that match quality is as economically important as teacher quality in explaining student achievement.

Urban Dropouts and Truancy

While urban high school dropouts have received a great deal of policy attention, the problem almost always starts much earlier with truancy from school. However, very little is known about the risk and protective factors that lead to truancy—and even less about effective remedies. To shed light on this issue, IPR economist Jonathan Guryan is leading the first large-scale, randomized effectiveness trial of Check & Connect, a structured mentoring, monitoring, and case management program. This intervention focuses on reducing chronic absenteeism and improving school engagement by pairing a mentor with students at risk for dropping out of school. Sixteen mentors, trained in methods for promoting school engagement, began working with 415 students in fall 2011 for two years. The students have a record of chronic absences in Chicago Public Schools (CPS). The researchers will then compare the assigned students to control groups of more than 4,000 CPS students within the 24 treatment and control schools. Other data, such as arrest records, will be included, and researchers are conducting personal surveys with students and their parents to pinpoint changes in family structure and dynamics that might contribute to the student’s truancy. The project is supported by the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Institute of Education Sciences, and William T. Grant Foundation.

Urban Education Lab

Guryan and University of Chicago colleagues Jens Ludwig, Steve Raudenbush, and Timothy Knowles created and launched the Urban Education Lab. The idea is to promote the use of randomized experiments in evaluating metropolitan school districts’ education policies and programs. The lab counts more than 40 affiliated researchers from universities around the country, including IPR faculty Schanzenbach, Jackson, David Figlio, and James Spillane. In particular, the lab aims to build relationships with urban school leaders and focus on relevant projects, such as evaluating the longer school day policy brought forward by Mayor Rahm Emanuel and CPS CEO Jean-Claude Brizard that was implemented in 37 pilot schools in 2011–12.
**Closing Persistently Failing Schools**

While many schools have succeeded at improving student performance and proficiency rates on the standardized tests mandated by the No Child Left Behind Act, others fail to reach proficiency year after year and face increasing penalties, culminating with required “reconstitution.” This necessitates either dramatically restructuring or completely closing the schools, which disproportionately serve disadvantaged and inner-city populations. Schanzenbach and colleagues Lisa Barrow and Kyung-Hong Park are analyzing longitudinal data on the standardized test scores of Chicago Public School students since 1993. They are investigating how school closures can have an impact on the students actually attending those schools, particularly whether the affected students perform better at their new, non-failing schools. The study will better inform school administrators trying to decide whether to close a persistently underperforming school. This project is supported by a grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation.

**Accountability Pressure and Practice**

While numerous recent authors have studied the effects of school accountability systems on student test performance and school “gaming” of accountability incentives, little attention has been paid to substantive changes in instructional policies and practices resulting from school accountability pressures. This lack of research is primarily due to the unavailability of appropriate data to carry out such an analysis. A study co-authored by IPR education economist David Figlio offers new evidence from a five-year survey conducted of a census of public schools in Florida, coupled with detailed administrative data on student performance. Figlio and his colleagues show that schools facing accountability pressure changed their instructional practices in meaningful ways. In addition, with Princeton’s Cecilia Rouse, Urban Institute’s Jane Hannaway, and Dan Goldhaber of the University of Washington, Figlio presents medium-run evidence of the effects of school accountability on student test scores, concluding that a significant portion of these test score gains can likely be attributed to the changes in school policies and practices that they uncover in their surveys. The study is forthcoming in the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, and it was supported by grants from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and Institute of Education Sciences (IES).

**Single-Sex Schools and Achievement**

Does being in an all-male or all-female school lead to better education outcomes? Amendments to Title IX regulations banning sex discrimination in education have made it easier to provide single-sex education in the United States since 2006, but little credible evidence exists on how such schools affect achievement. For the first time, the topic was examined within a quasi-experimental design conducted by Jackson. It uses a unique data set from Trinidad and Tobago, where almost all of its 123 secondary schools, including the most selective, are public, and approximately one-quarter are single sex. Jackson compared scores from two nationwide tests to evaluate outcomes, finding that although students with similar incoming characteristics at single-sex schools appeared to perform better, the likelihood that families will enroll their children in private schools. The researchers also show that accountability systems influence where new residents to a metropolitan area choose to reside. The results are particularly pronounced in those states with low assessment standards, where large fractions of students—and therefore, schools—pass the accountability standards. The results differ by family type. The MacArthur Foundation and IES provided funding. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics.

**School Accountability and Residency**

Using U.S. Census microdata, Figlio and his colleagues are investigating whether school accountability systems affect families’ decisions about school choice and about where they reside. Exploiting time differences in the introduction of a state-level school accountability system, the researchers confirm evidence for school accountability systems increasing the likelihood that families will enroll their children in private schools. The researchers also show that accountability systems influence where new residents to a metropolitan area choose to reside. The results are particularly pronounced in those states with low assessment standards, where large fractions of students—and therefore, schools—pass the accountability standards. The results differ by family type. The MacArthur Foundation and IES provided funding. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics.
it was due to being admitted to a preferred school rather than a single-sex school per se. Once he accounted for this, there was no effect on achievement for more than 85 percent of students, suggesting that U.S. policymakers should use caution when creating more single-sex classes and schools, as they are likely to have little impact on overall achievement.

College-Prep Programs and Outcomes

Many new education reforms use cash incentives to promote better student outcomes. The Advanced Placement Incentive Program (APIP) is one example. With private donors financing 70 percent of costs, the APIP trains AP teachers and motivates both students and teachers by paying substantial cash bonuses for passing scores on AP exams. So does it work? In an IPR working paper, Jackson examines the APIP in Texas, tracking over 290,000 high school students between 1993 and 2008. He compared changes in student outcomes before and after APIP adoption at the 58 participating schools with changes across the same cohorts in comparable schools that did not adopt the APIP. APIP adoption increased taking an AP course by 21 percent and passing an AP exam by 45 percent. More importantly, Jackson finds benefits beyond the program: For those participating in APIP four years after it was adopted, the probability of students persisting in college as sophomores rose by about 20 percent and earnings increased by 3.7 percent. The pay increases erased the Hispanic-white earnings gap and reduced the black-white earnings gap by one-third. The results imply a per-pupil lifetime earnings benefit of $16,650 for a cost of $450. Jackson’s results suggest that one can raise achievement for students “consigned” to low-achieving, urban schools—and that high quality college-preparatory programs might be a viable alternative to transferring such students to higher achieving schools.

Summer Reading and Achievement

Once children enter school, a reading gap between students of high and low socioeconomic status (SES) appears and begins to grow, likely exacerbated by summer vacation, as low-SES students are less likely to receive continued reading instruction over the break. Guryan and James Kim of Harvard University are leading a five-year, multidistrict randomized controlled trial to implement and evaluate Project READS, Reading Enhances Achievement During the Summer. Already the program is showing promising results, moderately reducing “summer loss” and improving reading skills. The program, developed by Kim, will be administered to approximately 10,000 students in 70 North Carolina elementary schools over the course of the study. Students are sent two books biweekly over summer break. Matched to student interests and reading level, the books are also paired with family activities to support summer reading. Members of the control group receive the books and activities at the start of school. Pre- and post-tests as well as reading tests are used to measure impact. In addition to monitoring student achievement and overall progress, Guryan is also examining different variations of READS that could improve its effectiveness, measuring cost-effectiveness, and seeking to identify those elements useful for replicating and further expanding the program. It is being supported by the U.S. Department of Education.

Evaluating After-School Programs

In light of the explosive growth of after-school programs in recent years, education and social policy professor and IPR associate Barton Hirsch and his co-authors (see p. 63) explore the impact these programs have on youth in After-School Centers and Youth Development: Case Studies of Success and Failure (Cambridge University Press, 2011). The three researchers present findings from an intensive study of three after-school centers that differed dramatically in quality. Drawing from 233 site visits, the co-authors examine how—and why—young people thrive in good programs and suffer in weak ones. The book features in-depth case studies and highlights the importance of factors such as collective mentoring, synergies among different programs and activities, and organizational culture and practices. Hirsch notes the importance of after-school centers as resources for impoverished urban communities, but many centers do not live up to their potential and need to focus on improving positive youth development.
Why After-School Programs Matter

Hirsch and IPR statistician and education researcher Larry Hedges concluded a three-year evaluation of After School Matters—a nationally recognized nonprofit organization providing out-of-school, apprenticeship-type activities for teens at more than 60 Chicago public high schools. The large-scale project was the first randomized controlled study of a high school after-school program since the 1980s, following 535 students from 10 Chicago public high schools. Although there was no statistically significant difference between students in After School Matters and the control group in the areas of job skills and academic performance, youth in the program engaged in fewer problem behaviors, particularly gang activity and selling drugs. The study also points to enrolled youth demonstrating more “self-regulation,” or the ability to stay focused on achieving goals despite emotional and other distractions. With the help of human resources professionals, the researchers designed a brief curriculum to strengthen the program that included mock job interviews to assess marketable job skills. Support for the study came from the William T. Grant Foundation, Wallace Foundation, and Searle Fund.

Should College Be for All?

With a grant from the Spencer Foundation, IPR education researcher James Rosenbaum is continuing research on his “College for All” project. While the nation’s high schools have embraced the idea of trying to get all high school seniors into college, little attention has been paid to the processes that increase the number of students who actually go and complete their degree. Rosenbaum’s research team is conducting a longitudinal study of all seniors at 82 public high schools in Chicago, seeking to extend understanding of the varied institutional procedures that shape the high-school-to-college transition process for students. Using data generated by the Consortium on Chicago School Research, it is possible to model trajectories from sixth grade through the year following high school, using postsecondary enrollment information from the National Student Clearinghouse. Results will be used to determine the effectiveness of guidance programs and provide school administrators and guidance counselors with highly relevant information about how to help their students make the transition to college.

Community Colleges and Remediation

Many courses in community colleges are not college courses at all, but remedial courses required because of poor scores on placement tests. Surveys show that many high school seniors and students entering college are unaware of these tests and colleges mostly avoid providing crucial information about them. In a paper co-authored with IPR postdoctoral fellow Pamela Schuetz and IPR research project coordinator Amy Foran, Rosenbaum suggests procedures that could lead to better prepared students and less need for remediation. A large component relies on the community colleges’ websites, as they have become the main source of information about the colleges. Improving them would be easy and inexpensive. The researchers suggest heavy emphasis on not only what the test is on and how students should prepare for it, but why the test is important. Taking the test while still in high school would also benefit students because there is time to improve before entering college while high school skills are fresh. Some states have implemented this reform.

College Attendance and “Coaching”

Since 2005, Rosenbaum has been gathering ethnographic and administrative data from a new college counseling program in Chicago public schools that targets disadvantaged students, many of whom are the first in their families to attend college. Beyond cost and academic achievement, previous research finds that these students have a lack of college-related social capital. The program helps students overcome these cultural barriers by pairing them with “college coaches,” who advise them on their options for college, demonstrate how to work with admissions counselors, and assist with scholarship applications. Following nearly all Chicago public school seniors through the fall after high school, Rosenbaum and Jennifer Stephan of the American Institutes for Research find that coaches improve the types of colleges students attend by getting students to complete key actions, with the most disadvantaged students benefiting the most, suggesting that targeting social capital might improve the high-school-to-college transition for these students. This idea is being implemented in other school systems across the country.

Education and social policy professor Barton Hirsch, an IPR associate, reviews his research on how a mock job-interview program is helping low-income youth access entry-level jobs.
Scholarships and College Enrollment

Rosenbaum and IPR graduate research assistant Kelly Iwanaga Becker are examining the ways different high schools handle the college and financial aid application process. To assess how much money scholarships actually provide and whether they have an impact on college attendance, the researchers compared three types of schools and how they differ in the ways they present scholarship information. In an urban school with mostly low-income students, they find little guidance or structure is provided. Students frequently experienced “scholarship overload,” overwhelmed by the amount of available information. Their examination also included a suburban school with a small percentage of low-income students and an urban school that was mostly low-income, but was college-focused. These schools used specific timetables and deadlines, and they focused on institutional aid rather than private scholarships. This was found to be a more effective strategy, suggesting that encouraging students to apply for private scholarships—which are typically very competitive with smaller financial awards—might derail some students from seeking more attainable sources of aid. The research project is being extended to examine all high schools in Chicago.

College for Disadvantaged Students

In an IPR working paper, Rosenbaum and Northwestern graduate student Michelle Naffziger analyze ethnographic data collected at two low-income, public high schools, seeking to understand the subtle cultural elements that impede disadvantaged students, how school staff in a new program try to identify and overcome these cultural barriers, and how students respond. The researchers show that students have difficulties with three specific cultural tasks in the college application process—seeing the pros and cons of the various college options, knowing how to identify which options match their own interests and needs, and knowing which attributes colleges value in admissions and how to present themselves accordingly. They consider how cultural capital translators could help students understand these requirements and overcome the associated barriers.

Educational “Goodwill”

How does a prospective college student value attending one university over a similar one during the college admissions process? Northwestern University President and higher education economist Morton Schapiro and his colleagues propose that the difference might be due to educational “goodwill.” Universities, much like businesses, have built up their goodwill over the years through a variety of intangible assets, such as institutional identity and branding, faculty accomplishments, alumni loyalty, etc. Using admissions data from their benchmark institution, Williams College, the researchers test their conceptual framework by examining students who were admitted to Williams College, but chose instead to attend another similar school. By using objective criteria to make “head-to-head” comparisons, they can examine whether a school does better than it “should” based on a range of indicators, thus providing a quantitative measure of educational goodwill. Their analysis does not seek to provide a definitive ranking in terms of universities’ goodwill. Rather, it aims to tease out the intangibles of these institutions’ attractiveness to potential undergraduates, thus accounting for a school’s greater success—or failure—in the market for prospective students relative to other institutions.

Principal Policy and Practice

The Principal Policy and Practice (P3) Study relies on the research strengths of education researcher and IPR associate James Spillane, Olin Professor of Learning and Organizational Change, on school leadership and education researcher and IPR adjunct faculty Michelle Reininger on teacher training and preparation to examine Chicago public school principals. Studying the issue from a supply-and-demand perspective,
they are working closely with both Chicago Public Schools and the Consortium for Chicago School Research to analyze the principals’ routes to preparation, recruitment, and retention, in addition to tracking their career paths. The two investigators hope the study will shore up a significant lack of data and contribute to better school policies, given the principal’s importance in shepherding school improvements. In addition to these analyses, they plan to carry out a broader program of research that could include similar studies in other U.S. cities and a longitudinal analysis of a national survey database of school principals.

Social Ties for Advice and Information

In schools and school districts, social relations can be a source of various resources including trust, opportunities for joint learning, and incentives for improvement through peer pressure or sense of obligation. In ongoing work supported by the National Science Foundation in collaboration with colleagues at the University of Nebraska, Spillane is working to understand the fundamentals of social capital development in schools. In an IPR working paper, Spillane and his colleagues use data from 30 elementary schools in a midsized, urban U.S. school district to investigate social tie formation for advice and seeking information in language arts and math classes. Their results suggest that while individuals’ personal characteristics, such as race and gender, are significantly associated with how social ties are formed, the formal organization in terms of grade-level assignment and formal position is also significant, having a larger effect than personal characteristics.

Improving Generalizability in Research

If an education intervention proves to be successful in the study sample, will it actually work in schools outside of the study too? The results of a well-designed experiment can also apply to the relevant population. With the support of the National Science Foundation and the Institute of Education Sciences, Hedges is investigating new methods to improve the generalizability of findings from education research so that results from one study can be used to make statistical claims in another population or place. His work builds on propensity score methods and a database of national covariates to create a statistical approach that uses study samples to estimate parameters of the distribution of treatment effects in an inference population. Hedges will conduct training workshops on using new methods at four national education conferences for other researchers.

Assessing Spatial Learning

Workers in a high-tech, global economy need adequate scientific, technical, engineering, and mathematical skills. Northwestern’s Spatial Intelligence and Learning Center (SILC) aims to achieve a better understanding of spatial relationships, which serve as a basis for many of these skills. Hedges is part of the team leading the SILC project. Researchers within SILC recently reviewed more than 200 research studies on education interventions to improve spatial thinking. The meta-analysis is the first all-encompassing study of how and how much training influences spatial thinking. It considers gender and age differences in relation to spatial thinking. In males and females, adults and children alike, even a small amount of training can improve spatial reasoning and have long-lasting impact, showing that the skills are malleable and that spatial training transfers to other fields. The research team was led by Northwestern psychologist David Uttal and included former IPR graduate research assistant Elizabeth Tipton, now on the faculty at Columbia University. The article was published in Psychological Bulletin.

School Finance Reform

In a working paper, public finance economist and IPR associate Therese McGuire and Nathan Anderson of the University of Illinois at Chicago examine the important episode of school finance reform in the 1970s and 1980s to shed light on sub-national government revenue-setting behavior and the prevailing theories of subnational government behavior. The early wave of court-ordered school finance reforms of these decades is noteworthy because state spending became perceptibly more progressive in those states subject to the court orders. Existing analyses of this period in state and local public finance have not focused on the implications for state revenues. In their paper, McGuire and Anderson examine how states respond on the revenue side to an arguably exogenous progressive shock on the spending side, finding that the individual income tax became more progressive in states subject to court-ordered school finance reform.

Leading Economists Speak at Seminars

IPR continued its joint Applied Microeconomics and Labor & Education Policy Seminar Series with the economics department at Northwestern. Economists speaking in 2011 included Jennifer Hunt of Rutgers University, who spoke on how immigration affects the completed schooling of Americans, and Abhijit Banerjee, director of the MIT Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, who demonstrated how microfinance program participation diffuses through social networks. Marianne Page from the University of California, Davis explored how higher education levels for returning World War II veterans led them to marry women with comparable levels of education, suggesting a method for passing on socioeconomic status to the next generation.
Seminars in Performance Measurement and Rewards

The IPR Seminar Series on Performance Measurement and Rewards in the Public and Nonprofit Sectors welcomed a multidisciplinary billboard of researchers, speaking on topics that center on the challenges of measuring and incentivizing performance, no matter the activity. Speakers included Northwestern law and economics professor David Haddock on taxpayer subsidization of sports franchises, law and finance professor and IPR associate Bernard Black speaking on hospital infection reporting, and MIT economist Benjamin Olken on performance incentives in aid programs (see p. 72 for the full list).

Consequences of Pay for Performance

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation represents the nation’s most consequential education reform in decades—and its reach and impact are still being measured. A key component of the policy debate surrounding it has centered on whether the strong rewards for performance under NCLB—and its increasing reliance on measurable performance—should be expanded to other areas of government and the nonprofit world. IPR economist Burton Weisbrod, John Evans Professor of Economics, is writing a book, under contract with Stanford University Press, that will consider the unintended—but foreseeable—consequences of the rising tide of efforts to measure “performance” and then to reward it. Titled “The Perils of Pay for Performance: Not Just a Few Bad Apples,” the book will cover a wide array of public and nonprofit sector services, such as higher education, hospitals, policing, museums, private charities, and the federal judiciary in addition to K–12 education.

Differences in Mixed Ownership Forms

Weisbrod has examined the reasons for expecting that in mixed industries such as hospitals, nursing homes, higher education, and book publishing, for-profit, public, religious nonprofit, and secular nonprofit organizations act the same in some dimensions—in markets where output is profitable—but differently in markets where outputs are unprofitable but socially desirable. His new working paper, “How Mixed Industries Exist: Modeling Output Choices in For-Profit, Public, Religious Nonprofit, and Secular Nonprofit Organizations, with Application to Hospitals,” uses a two-good model of organizational behavior to explain how ownership affects output choice, why nonprofits and for-profits...
choose outputs that are both alike and different, and how these forms can coexist despite differential constraints. Testing is for the mixed hospital industry. An appendix estimates the ability of differential CEO incentives—base salary, bonus, and their total—to explain the output differentials.

### Individual Health Plan Exchanges

According to provisions of the Affordable Healthcare Act, states are supposed to have a “health insurance exchange” in place by January 1, 2014. Through these exchanges, individuals and employees of small firms will be able to select among plans deemed “qualified” by the federal government, to easily compare the benefits offered by these plans, and to determine how much the federal government will subsidize their premiums and cost-sharing. While much has been written about the costs associated with the exchanges, some of the benefits have been poorly quantified—including the “value of choice.” What would such choice mean in a nation where 80 percent of firms offering health insurance give workers only one “choice” of plans? While limited choice can spur cost savings and create better risk pools, it also prevents employees from selecting plans that best suit their needs. In a forthcoming article in the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy,* healthcare economist and IPR associate Leemore Dafny, with economists Katherine Ho of Columbia University and Mauricio Varela of the University of Arizona, uses proprietary data on plan offerings and enrollment for more than 800 large employers to compare the choices offered by employers with the choices their employees would make on their own. Their main finding is that gains from offering more plan choices seem to outweigh potential premium increases associated with a transition from large-group to individual pricing.

### Transparency and Medical Pricing

In the *New England Journal of Medicine,* Dafny and Harvard University economist David Cutler take on one of the few areas to enjoy bipartisan congressional support in the healthcare debates, price transparency. Around two-thirds of states have laws mandating full disclosure of pricing (via Sunshine laws) with the idea being they can help patients compare prices and make better care choices. But Dafny and Cutler argue that “the wrong kind of transparency could actually harm patients, rather than help them.” They point to a discouraging history of use of the “most favored nation” (MFN) clause in healthcare, which works to limit competition. Imagine a case where under an MFN contract, a hospital agrees not to charge a lower price to any other buyer. Thus, after signing an MFN clause with Insurer B, it could not offer a lower price to Insurer A, without offering the same to Insurer B. So prices to Insurer A would tend to rise. The researchers provide examples of where MFN and transparency have raised prices in healthcare and other industries such as ready-mix concrete. While the two laud efforts to raise consumer cost consciousness and advocate for “copayment transparency”—they worry that a pricing menu of negotiated payer-provider prices could raise costs instead of lowering them.

### Healthcare Markets, Regulators, and Certifiers

Discussing economist Kenneth Arrow’s seminal analysis of how uncertainty and lack of consumer information affect the market, healthcare economist and IPR associate David Dranove traces the evolution of research in the field. Better methodology now confirms that competition has driven costs down. He also tackles the performance of competitive healthcare markets, regulatory approaches to containing prices, the use and effectiveness of healthcare report cards as a quality assurance mechanism, and pay-for-performance schemes. Dranove, Walter McNerney Professor of Health Industry Management, argues that many misunderstood Arrow’s analysis and proposes that fundamental economic principals can successfully be applied in the field as long as one accounts for particular insurance and physician characteristics. He enumerates the research questions revolving around how to enhance efficiency—i.e., competitive versus regulated systems, compensation systems to address conflicts of interest, and third-party certification. The chapter was included in the *Handbook of Health Economics, Vol. 2.*
Hospital Infection Reporting and Rates

Healthcare-associated infections (HAIs) are often preventable, yet they kill about 100,000 people each year. In response, many states and the federal government require hospitals to publicly report their infection rates for one important infection type—central line-associated bloodstream infection (CLABSI). There is little evidence, however, on whether public HAI reporting affects infection rates. Bernard Black, an IPR associate and Chabraja Professor of Law and Finance, and his colleagues are studying this question. In a case study of Pennsylvania, they find evidence that hospitals respond to public HAI reporting both by reducing infection rates and through time-inconsistent reporting (“gaming”). CLABSI rates in both Pennsylvania and control states, estimated from inpatient data (“inpatient rates”), rise at similar rates during the pre-reporting period (1998 to 2003). During the 2004–08 reporting period, Pennsylvania rates dropped by 15 percent, compared to control states. Hospitals did not report inpatient rates and had no direct incentive to manipulate them. Publicly reported CLABSI rates fell in Pennsylvania by 41 percent over 2005–07, much faster than inpatient rates. This difference suggests gaming of the public reports.

Dysfunction in Statistical Evaluations for Nonprofits

IPR statistician Bruce Spencer is starting a new project inspired by the IPR Performance Measurement Seminar Series. Many of the seminars reveal that performance measurement can lead to corrupting behavior in nonprofit organizations—and likely in many for-profit organizations as well. When performance is statistically assessed, efforts within the organization shift to enhance the statistical performance and diminish what is not being statistically assessed. For example, schools under No Child Left Behind place more emphasis on tested subjects than those that are not. In healthcare organizations, this might lead to resource-allocation shifts to improve medical report cards, even when such improvement comes at the cost of more direct healthcare priorities of the organization. Working with Dranove, Spencer plans to develop statistical models to analyze the interaction of the cost and quality of performance measurement, reward structures, and agents’ costs of modifying their performance under optimal behavior.

Regulating Risk in Nanotechnology

As development of nanotechnology zooms ahead, research on its effects on health and the environment lags. The Nanotechnology Challenge (Cambridge University Press, 2011), edited by Northwestern law professor and IPR associate David Dana, attempts to address this gap. The book offers views by legal scholars and scientists on how to assess the potential unknowns and risks of nanotechnology. It also examines the public perception of these risks and its influence on regulatory trends. Research in a chapter by Daniel Diermeier, an IPR associate and IBM Professor of Regulation and Competitive Practice, suggests that the public is largely ignorant about nanotechnology but nevertheless holds increasingly firm attitudes about it. IPR political scientist James Druckman, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science, and co-author Toby Bolsen of Georgia State University examine how scientific evidence links attitudes to behaviors using an experiment to survey perceptions of carbon nanotubes. Dana, who is Stanford Clinton Sr. and Zylpha Kilbride Clinton Research Professor, writes about adaptive definitions and environmental assurance bonds in nanotechnology regulation (see p. 62).

Performance in Education and Policing

Faculty also have projects in other IPR research programs, particularly in education and urban policy, that look at various aspects of performance measurement. IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is looking at how accountability measures such as No Child Left Behind affect child health (see p. 13) and how kindergarten teacher quality can affect kindergarteners’ adult outcomes, including earnings (see p. 29). IPR labor economist Kirabo Jackson is developing a new method for identifying teacher-quality effects in high schools and examining the importance of the match between teachers and schools for student achievement (see p. 30). IPR education economist David Figlio is looking at the effects of school accountability on various aspects of student achievement and household decision making (see p. 31). IPR economist Jonathan Guryan is evaluating a summer reading program in North Carolina that seeks to narrow the achievement gap for low-income students (see p. 32). IPR political scientist Wesley G. Skogan, who examines effectiveness in policing, is part of a national effort to develop a new policing research platform for data collection and benchmarking (see p. 57).
Political Identity and Ideology

More than 80 social scientists and graduate students gathered to discuss the formation of political identity and ideology at the fifth Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior (CAB) Workshop at Northwestern on May 6. It was organized by IPR political scientist James Druckman and co-sponsored by the Institute. The workshop welcomed top political scientists who examined the roles of geography, ideology, political elites, and misinformation within the U.S. political landscape.

Indiana University’s Edward Carmines unpacked the role of citizens in the political polarization of elites. Cara Wong of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign examined how people understand their environments as a map-based measure of context. In her talk on the “geography of power,” the University of Wisconsin–Madison’s Katherine Cramer Walsh explored rural perspectives of political inequality. MIT’s Adam Berinsky talked about his research analyzing the factors behind whether people believe or reject political misinformation. The workshop concluded with a roundtable on political polarization, with Carmines, IPR political scientists Daniel Galvin and Laurel Harbridge, and the University of Notre Dame’s Geoff Layman.

The Politics of America’s 1 Percent

What political attitudes do the very wealthy hold? A new study led by IPR associate and political scientist Benjamin Page and colleagues, including IPR social policy professor Fay Lomax Cook and IPR graduate research assistant Rachel Moskowitz, sheds light on how the wealthiest 1 percent think about social and economic issues and engage in politics. The pilot study, which randomly surveyed 104 Chicagoans with a median household wealth of $7.5 million, discovered some large differences between the wealthy and average Americans. Marked differences were found on questions of tax policy, economic regulation, and social welfare policy. Particularly stark were contrasting attitudes toward federal government programs, with the wealthy tilting toward cutbacks and the public generally preferring their expansion. Page, Gordon S. Fulcher Professor of Decision Making, and his colleagues are currently expanding the pilot study into a nationwide survey. Several working papers have been written that examine methods for interviewing wealthy Americans about their philanthropy and their political attitudes and behaviors (see p. 70). The pilot study received support from the Russell Sage Foundation, and the MacArthur Foundation is supporting ongoing work.
Americans’ Beliefs About Income Inequality

The Occupy Wall Street movement ignited an ongoing conversation about income inequality in America, the topic of IPR sociologist Leslie McCall’s forthcoming book, “The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution” (Cambridge University Press). In a March 23 New York Times piece, she drew from some of the themes of her book: “National polls show that since the late 1980s, a majority agrees that U.S. income differences are too large and executives are overpaid. So even though Americans might not realize how much inequality there is, they still want less of it. Moreover, far from believing naively in the American dream, Americans are well aware of barriers to opportunity, such as the decline in good paying jobs and in affordable college access for the lower and middle classes. Americans’ perceived lack of viable alternatives is what leads them to desire educational attainment and economic growth as the best means to restoring greater equality and opportunity.” In her book, McCall also examines views about redistributive policies in the labor market and by government, views about both the deserving and undeserving rich, and the development of American norms of equality throughout history.

Class and Public Opinion Research

McCall and New York University sociologist Jeff Manza examine the “vexing” thesis of class in public opinion research, in which political and social attitudes are said to vary based on whether one is rich or poor. Such attitudes are thought to persist even in periods of rising affluence and to strengthen in those of widening inequality. In reviewing classical and current theoretical debates, the two ask: “Are ‘classes dying,’ as some have suggested, ‘or does class remain a robust force in contemporary public opinion?’ “ The studies that the two exhume never fully prove one side or the other. McCall and Manza suggest a need to approach such questions with multiple measures of class and across a range of social, economic, and political issues. They do, however, point to one all-important argument emerging from both past and recent research: Socioeconomic differences matter in the formation of public opinion, but their impact varies across issue areas, becoming more salient in the expected ways when electoral and economic preferences are on the line. Their chapter was published in The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media.

Public Opinion and Energy Policy

Over the year, policymakers dealt with several controversial events related to energy policy, including the bankruptcy of solar panel maker Solyndra and controversy over the Keystone Pipeline. Do the views of the general public align with what policymakers and energy scientists generally think about energy sources, technologies, and policies? Druckman and Cook with political scientist Toby Bolsen of Georgia State University are working on a series of papers based on their analysis of survey data from three surveys conducted in summer 2010 to gauge knowledge and attitudes about traditional and alternative energy sources, as well as how Americans support various energy policies and programs. The surveys are the first to compare views between citizens, scientists, and policymakers and to consider the amount of agreement between them, which is particularly important since these groups collectively help determine the course of energy policy. Using an online survey experiment, the researchers also investigate how individuals go about conserving energy, finding that rhetoric plays a crucial role in shaping behavior. The researchers received funding for the project from the Initiative for Sustainability and Energy at Northwestern. Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science.

Public Opinion on Social Security

Americans’ support for Social Security remains stalwart. Yet the nation’s polarized political environment has spilled over into calls to privatize it—and in some cases, to deliberately misinform the public about the program. For example, Rick Perry, the Republican governor of Texas, famously called Social Security
a “Ponzi scheme” during a Republican presidential primary debate. Despite such attacks, Cook pointed to strong and stable public support for Social Security, devoid of polarization by party, ideology, and age. Nearly 80 percent of respondents said they considered it an “extremely important” program in the 2010 General Social Survey, and that support has grown by 15 percent since the early 1990s. Americans, however, are concerned about the future viability of the program, which is scheduled to stop paying full benefits in 2037 (after which time it will only pay 75 percent). Cook is working on a project with Moskowitz to examine how opinions about Social Security have changed over the last 30 years, including knowledge of, confidence in, and support for changes to the program.

How Presidents Use Public Opinion

With Larry Jacobs of the University of Minnesota, Druckman is completing a book manuscript on the impact of public opinion on the policy responsiveness of three presidents—Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan. The researchers rely on public statements, memoranda, and other archival materials, including private polls run from the White House. Scrutinizing private polls from the Reagan White House, Druckman and Jacobs show that certain issue positions taken by Reagan were responding to the concerns of the wealthy, political independents, Baptists, born-again Protestants, and conservative Republicans. The finding points to a more nuanced understanding of how public opinion can be collected and used at the highest levels of policymaking. It also demonstrates how some economic and political interest groups can sway government policy from the overall interests of the country.

Counter-Framing

Druckman and fellow political scientist Dennis Chong, an IPR associate, continue their work into further developing their theory of how citizens form political opinions and how political and media elites might affect these views. In particular they have been testing their theories about which frames are more likely to win when in competition and how long their effects last. One of their latest papers looks at how electoral campaigns and policy debates are dynamic processes that unfold over time. In the contest for public opinion, each side tries to frame issues to its advantage, but success also depends on developing effective responses to opposition frames. In this research, Druckman and Chong explore how the timing and repetition of counter-frames affect their success. Using an over-time experiment, they test several hypotheses about whether the best counter-framing strategy depends on the target audience. Their results show that, among individuals who initially form strong opinions, a counter-frame has more impact when it is not repeated and when more time elapses between the initial frame and the counter-frame. But for those people whose opinions are susceptible to change, the opposite is true: Counter-frames generally are effective, and repetition can strengthen those effects. Given the differences in how individuals react, a single communication strategy might be impossible to implement as the tactics that work on those with weak viewpoints might backfire with those who hold stronger ones. Chong is John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Professor of Political Science.

American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty

IPR sociologist Monica Prasad’s forthcoming book, *The Land of Too Much* (Harvard University Press), centers around three key questions: Why does the United States have more poverty than any other developed country? Why did it experience an attack on state intervention starting in the 1980s, known today as the neoliberal revolution? And why did it recently suffer the greatest economic meltdown in 75 years? Prasad explores the puzzle of why the United States has the most progressive tax system of the advanced industrial world, yet one of the world’s smallest public welfare states. She traces how U.S. economic development grew from a model based on consumption while European states focused on an economic model driven by exports and investment. Fueled by a tradition of sweeping government interventions, U.S. economic growth and strict financial regulation increased private credit, which became the means for meeting citizens’ needs—a stark contrast to the cradle-to-grave social policies of a more protectionist Europe. In turn, the U.S. economic path eventually wound its way to more poverty, the “mortgage Keynesianism” that created the housing bubble, and an anti-tax and anti-regulation sentiment embodied by the recent rise of the Tea Party.
Voters Overrate Favorite Candidates

A study using data from the American Life Panel suggests that people tend to believe that their preferred candidate will win an election, no matter what the polls predict. Calling it one of the strongest empirical regularities he has ever seen, IPR economist Charles F. Manski and his co-author Adeline Delavande of the University of Essex find that people thought their preferred candidate had a 20 to 30 percent better chance of winning over the others, in every election, no matter in which state they lived, no matter who was running, no matter which political party. The effect was consistently strong even after controlling for gender, education, and race. Also, when individuals changed their candidate preferences over time, their expectations of election outcomes changed similarly. Survey data came from the nonprofit RAND Corporation’s American Life Panel, an online survey of several thousand adult Americans. Responses were collected around the 2008 U.S. presidential election and the 2010 senatorial and gubernatorial state elections. Since the survey allowed respondents to flexibly express uncertainty, it provides new empirical evidence that the “false consensus effect”—a psychological phenomenon in which people project their own preferences onto others—could influence voting behavior. Manski is Board of Trustees Professor in Economics. The study received funding from the National Institute on Aging.

Partisan Biases and the Budget

Debt-ceiling debates and a looming government shutdown repeatedly strained federal budget negotiations between congressional Republicans, Democrats, and President Obama in 2011. Harbridge and Sarah Anderson of the University of California, Santa Barbara are using a unique budgetary database to explore interaction between three factors: congressional turnover, party control, and budgetary constraints on spending outcomes, including ending or creating programs and changes in funding levels. A new paper examines how parties change the budget when they sweep to power in the House, Senate, or White House. Do these partisan changes lead to spending cuts or increases? And if cuts or increases are made, are they large or small? The two argue that motivated reasoning among partisans—even among elected officials—leads to ignoring signals to move spending in ways that run counter to partisan predispositions. Empirically, they show that while Republicans generally tend to cut spending more—while Democrats tend to increase it more—motivated reasoning and disproportionate information processing is seen when the parties act counter to these predispositions. When Democrats cut spending, they tend to make large cuts. If spending is set to increase, Republican gains in control lead to bigger increases. Their findings highlight how partisan biases translate into policy outcomes.

Bipartisanship in Congress

IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge is working on a book manuscript on how bipartisanship has changed over the last 40 years in Congress that will include a systematic empirical analysis of coalitions on House bills, as well as interviews with congressional staff members and former members. Looking back, she starts from the premise that there has been an increase in polarization in Congress since the 1970s but little to none in public attitudes. One might assume that these two patterns of polarization indicate that congressional members have become less responsive to their constituents. Harbridge, however, takes a broader view of bipartisan cooperation, looking at House roll call votes and bill co-sponsorship coalitions. She finds that while roll call votes have become more partisan, bill co-sponsorship coalitions have not. This suggests that responsiveness has declined for roll call voting, but increased for co-sponsorship coalitions. She reconciles these divergent patterns with how parties control the content of the congressional agenda. In effect, she argues that political parties are contributing to a rise in party polarization by selecting which bills face roll call votes—thus calling the public’s attention to an increased upswing in congressional polarization and declining bipartisanship.
**Polarization in Congress**

Why does congressional polarization persist if the public claims to want less of it? Does partisan conflict damage citizens’ perceptions of Congress? In the *American Journal of Political Science*, Harbridge and Neil Malhotra of Stanford University explain that part of the answer might lie with differences in how voters evaluate Congress as a whole versus individual lawmakers. While all voters might like to see Congress acting in a more bipartisan manner, some groups prefer the opposite when it comes to judging their own representatives. In a survey, the researchers find Independents and weak partisans are most supportive of bipartisan behavior, but strong Democrats and strong Republicans (who are most likely to be party activists, volunteers, and financial contributors) express greater disapproval of individual members who voted with the opposing party, despite desiring bipartisanship from Congress as a whole. Harbridge, Malhotra, and Northwestern graduate student Brian Harrison are currently working on a follow-up project to examine the limitations of public support for bipartisanship in Congress. In a series of three experiments, they find that despite abstract support for bipartisan compromise, voters do not express any special preference for bipartisan coalitions, preferring them as much as coalitions dominated by their own party. Consequently, members of Congress do not have electoral incentives to reach across the aisle to build costly bipartisan coalitions.

**The Regulatory State Since Nixon**

Looking at variation in the trajectory and character of economic regulation across selected sectors of the economy since the 1970s, IPR sociologist Anthony Chen is exploring changes in the way that economic risks are distributed between taxpayers and the private sector. Chen is interested in understanding whether and how any observed changes might be linked to the political and legal mobilization of organized business.

**Party Organization and Policymaking**

Since the 1970s, left-leaning parties around the world have been under pressure to adapt to changing economic and political conditions. With globalization and deindustrialization shrinking organized labor’s membership base and undermining the credibility of traditional social-democratic policy agendas, these parties have faced incentives to develop new policy initiatives and court new electoral constituencies. The Democratic Party in the United States is usually thought to have responded to these incentives slowly, poorly, or not at all, and this is presumed to help explain their electoral difficulties since the Reagan presidency. But is this narrative correct? And if Democrats did have trouble adapting, then why?

To investigate the question, IPR political scientist Daniel Galvin turns to the Rust Belt—the region hit hardest by globalization-related trends—and finds surprising variation in the adaptive capacities of Democratic parties in the four heaviest manufacturing states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Drawing upon extensive primary-source research, Galvin finds that these parties’ historical ties to organized labor, urban machines, and liberal interest groups (in different proportions in each state) had important consequences for their downstream activities. Modifying prominent theories of party adaptation and refining our understanding of party networks, Galvin argues that a party’s organizational arrangements and historical alliances can strongly influence its capacities to undertake programmatic and coalitional change. Challenging standard characterizations of the Democratic Party as in decline, Galvin contends that the party’s development has not been all of a piece: Different subnational units have adapted in different ways, at different rates, and with different degrees of success.

This project has already turned up some surprising findings. For example, in Michigan, Galvin has found that the relationship between the Michigan Democratic Party and the UAW remained unusually strong between 1970 and 2010, yet Democratic politicians frequently promoted “third-way” policies that contradicted labor’s longstanding priorities. Deep party-union integration over many years, he argues, led union officials to internalize the party’s strategic considerations and support adaptation, while magnifying the party’s organizational capacities and providing base stability. The case suggests that past a certain point of integration, strong party-union linkages might not be a hindrance—but can generate synergies that help foster electoral resilience.
Party Nomination Rules and Campaigns

IPR political scientist Georgia Kernell examines the effect of intraparty candidate selection rules on active participation in electoral campaigns. Parties with decentralized candidate selection allow individual members to participate in nominating candidates to the party ticket, while those with centralized selection maintain control in the hands of the national executive. Kernell argues that individuals who vote for decentralized parties should be more informed about party processes than those who vote for centralized parties. She presents two countervailing arguments—one states that political information mobilizes party support and the other contends that information exposes internal party divisions and consequently reduces participation. She tests the arguments using original data on candidate selection and surveys from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. Her results suggest that voters are more likely to participate where nominations are centralized in a party’s national leadership than where local party organizations select candidates.

Political Lawyers and Networks

Research by IPR legal scholar John Heinz and his co-authors examined the organizational and professional ties for 1,149 lawyers in 119 organizations between 2004 and 2005. The lawyers occupied prominent posts in the organizations and were involved in legislation or litigation on 14 national policy issues ranging from guns and judicial nominations to abortion and gay rights. The analysis revealed a “donut-shaped” network sharply divided by party, with the conservatives packed together on one side and the liberals spread out on the other. Also notable is the big hole in the middle of the network. Their research indicates that networks and organizations matter: Lawyers active in conservative politics are better organized to seek legislative goals than are liberal lawyers. The article was published in Law & Social Inquiry.

Campaigns and New Media

Some research exists on documenting how the Internet, Twitter, Facebook, and other social media affect citizen deliberation, news consumption, and participation. Yet little exists to explain how these new communication technologies shape electoral campaigns. Druckman and two former students, Michael Parkin of Oberlin College and Martin Kifer of High Point University, are filling this gap with their ongoing, award-winning study of how U.S. congressional candidates use the web to run their campaigns. Their unique data set covers more than 1,300 Senate and House candidates’ websites between 2002 and 2010 and will include 2012 data. They have also started to collect data on incumbents’ websites. In addition to being able to track the evolution of political campaigns over time, this data collection permits them to test campaign theories on a representative sample—not just the best-funded and/or most well-known ones—as almost all candidates now have campaign websites. Examples of theories they test include issue ownership, negative campaigning, issue engagement, image ownership, and position taking. The researchers also compare strategies across different media, such as websites, advertisements, and direct mail. They can study if a candidate’s campaign promises are fulfilled after taking office. They also continue their large-scale experiment, launched in 2010, to test the effectiveness of congressional campaign websites. The National Science Foundation provides funding for the research.

Young Adults and Political Engagement

Popular narratives of the 2008 presidential election have assumed that digital media played a central role in mobilizing voters, especially young adults. Less is known about the extent to which various people embraced online political activities and their links to voting and other forms of political participation. Communication and technology researcher Eszter Hargittai, an IPR associate, and University of California, Berkeley graduate student Aaron Shaw examine unique, post-election survey data from a diverse sample of
young adults, whose voting mirrors that of their age group in the general population. The researchers consider various types of activities—from visiting political websites to volunteering for campaigns—while taking into account more traditional measures, such as demographics, political knowledge, and political ideology. Their findings suggest that though Internet usage alone is unlikely to transform existing patterns in political participation radically, it might facilitate the creation of new pathways for engagement.

News Industry and the Demos

For 60 years, the three pillars of journalism’s social responsibility theory have guided the news industry: to serve as a forum for discussion and debate, to provide information to the public, and to function as a watchdog. In today’s seemingly worsening journalistic landscape, scholars are calling attention to the press’s inability to meet its social responsibility. They argue that new producers, new media, and new delivery systems lack the Fourth Estate’s best qualities (such as objectivity, accuracy, etc.), and they also find newspapers, in particular, are mortally wounded. Yet IPR media scholar Rachel Davis Mersey shows that newspapers hold a potential competitive advantage as “community assets,” and they should position themselves accordingly. She establishes that current measures of circulation and penetration are weak indicators of community service. Mersey’s alternative measure of community service is based on the “echo effect” that focuses on the power over the dissemination of viewpoints, the sense of community, and different types of civic knowledge. This new instrument opens up a critical discussion of the diversity of voices in the public sphere.

Age-Based Online Privacy Laws

A major nationwide study, co-authored by Hargittai, shows that many parents know that their underage children are on Facebook in violation of the site’s minimum age of 13. These data call into question whether the federal Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act, or COPPA, is doing what it should to protect young children online. More than 1,000 parents with children 10 to 14 years old living at home participated in the survey. It found that more than one-third of them knew that their children joined the site before the age of 13, with nearly two-thirds of these parents participating in the creation of a Facebook account for their underage child. Four out of five surveyed parents gave various reasons for why it was acceptable for their child to violate the minimum age restrictions for online services. Carried out in July when Congress was reviewing COPPA, the survey points to many of the act’s unintended consequences, including privacy and safety issues stemming from the prevalent subterfuge of lying about one’s age online, frequently with parental knowledge and help.

Racial Differences in Media Use

The major finding of a widely covered study by communication studies researcher Ellen Wartella, an IPR associate, and her colleagues was that minority youth between 8 and 18 years old consume an average of 13 hours of media content a day—about four and a half hours more than their white peers. The first national study to focus exclusively on children’s media use by race and ethnicity, it details how daily media use doubled for blacks and quadrupled for Hispanics over the usage for whites in the past decade. The researchers analyzed a nationally representative sample by race of 1,858 students between 8 and 18 years old who had taken part in the Kaiser Family Foundation 2010 media use survey, in addition to nearly 1,000 parents of children under the age of 6. Minority children spend more time watching TV and videos, listening to music, using computers, and playing video games than white children. Reading print materials for pleasure 30 to 40 minutes a day is the only finding that is the same for all children. After controlling for a variety of factors such as parental education and family composition, the researchers found the results remained robust. A longtime Sesame Workshop trustee and Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication, Wartella noted that the point of the study was not to blame parents but to “help parents, educators, and policymakers better understand how children’s media use might influence health and educational disparities.”

Community Information Gaps

Some have argued that society has left the information age for the attention age, the justification being that the total, and seemingly unending, amount of information available
has led to the commoditization of attention in a way previously unobserved. While evidence of such a shift exists, an overemphasis on attention neglects real concerns about differences between the “information rich and poor.” In a report for the Chicago Community Trust, Mersey identified several problems in information availability, accessibility, and quality in the Chicago area. Half of the survey respondents felt that newspapers’ political information and media coverage and watchdogging were inadequate, and two-thirds said they did not have enough opportunity to get the views of others. She also points to significant disparities: Those who were most unhappy and had more difficulty with their news consumption tended to have less education and income and live on the city’s south and west sides.

**Liberalism and the Academy**

Why are business people generally considered more conservative and academics more liberal? In a working paper, Ethan Fosse of Harvard, Neil Gross of the University of British Columbia, and IPR sociologist Jeremy Freese set out to answer some long-standing claims about self-selection, cognitive ability, and the influence of the academy on those who pursue a PhD. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), they tracked nearly 1,000 seventh-to-twelfth graders who go on to pursue PhDs. The researchers find support for claims about “self-selection”—that young Americans who consider themselves liberal are more likely to enroll in graduate programs to obtain a PhD. They do not, however, find support for claims that PhD programs lead people to become substantially more liberal, thus rejecting the idea that increase in doctoral programs over the last decade has pushed America further to the left. Nonetheless, their findings on self-selection lead the researchers to suspect a growing consolidation among the nation’s most educated: Nearly 15 percent of Americans who call themselves liberal hold advanced degrees, twice as many as in the 1970s, representing a major constituency of the Democratic Party. They call for further research on the role that a person’s political affiliation might play in choosing an occupation and in influencing one’s social identity, worldview, and lifestyle.

**Uncertainty in Policy Analysis**

Douglas Elmendorf, director of the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), reported to Congress in March 2010 that enactment of the proposed healthcare legislation would lower the deficit by $138 billion between 2010 and 2019. In his 25-page letter, Elmendorf expressed no uncertainty about the figure, which the media subsequently reported without question. Yet Manski underscores that given the complicated nature of the legislation, the CBO figure of $138 billion is at best a very rough estimate. In contrast, he cited a former CBO director who predicted that the same bill would instead increase the deficit by $562 billion. In an article for *The Economic Journal*, Manski used this $700 billion difference to underscore why policy analysts should be upfront about the amount of uncertainty in their predictions. Transparency is key in creating more credible policy
Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy

The Politics of Motivation

In their widely cited 2006 paper, “Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs,” political scientists Charles Taber and Milton Lodge of Stony Brook University offer a powerful case for the prevalence of directional reasoning that aims not at truth, but at vindicating prior opinions. Taber and Lodge’s results have far-reaching implications for empirical scholarship and normative theory. Indeed, the very citizens often seen as performing “best” on tests of political knowledge, sophistication, and ideological constraint appear to be those who are the most susceptible to directional reasoning. However, in a Critical Review article, Druckman points out that while Taber and Lodge’s study could be considered methodologically beyond reproach, it could also substantially overstate the presence of motivated reasoning in political settings. That said, the focus on accuracy motivation has the potential to bring together two models of opinion formation that many treat as competitors and to offer a basis for assessing citizen competence.

Male/Female Differences and Similarities

Evolutionary psychologists and feminist psychologists are locked in fierce debate over widely different interpretations of the causes of sex differences and similarities. IPR social psychologist Alice Eagly, James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences, and her colleague Wendy Wood of the University of Southern California continue their investigation into this topic. In a special issue of Sex Roles devoted to the debate, the co-authors trace the source of the mutual distrust of feminist and evolutionary psychologists and suggest that the two sides of the debate might be “mired in an old-fashioned nature versus nurture dynamic.” Eagly and Wood urge their colleagues to consider research by evolutionary scientists in a wider range of scientific domains—beyond the realm of psychology. As an example, they explain how they came to develop their “biosocial constructionist” evolutionary theory, which integrates human culture in both ultimate and proximal causes of female and male behavior. Adequate theorizing requires that feminists acknowledge the distant evolutionary

Jury Deliberations and Damage Anchors

As part of her ongoing analysis of live jury deliberations in the Arizona Jury Project, law professor and psychologist Shari Seidman Diamond and her colleagues recently assessed how juries arrive at a dollar amount in awarding damages. Jurors often cite determining the amount as one of the hardest aspects of the jury process. Many hard-to-predict values such as future medical expenses or injuries that lack market values, such as pain and suffering, are difficult to translate into reasonable compensation. Attorneys are generally permitted to offer recommendations for damage amounts, presenting potentially powerful cognitive anchors for jurors in reaching their decisions on dam-

ages. Although these recommendations are likely to be influenced by the evidence presented at trial, no formal constraints limit the amounts attorneys might suggest. One worry is that the recommendations can mislead jurors. Studying the deliberations of jurors in 31 cases involving 33 plaintiffs in which the jury awarded damages, Diamond and her colleagues found that jurors often perceive plaintiff ad damnum not only as irrelevant but also as outrageous, and they view defense damage suggestions as more legitimate estimates than plaintiff ad damnum. Together, these findings suggest that extreme plaintiff ad damnum might exert less unwarranted influence than critics fear. The article appeared in Empirical Legal Studies. Diamond is an IPR associate and Howard J. Trienens Professor of Law.

IRP social psychologist Alice Eagly introduces her co-author; University of Illinois at Chicago professor Stephanie Riger, at a talk on how feminism has transformed the science of psychology.
origins, as well as more immediate causes, of sex differences and similarities, and the evolutionists would have to recognize and incorporate the dynamic cultural processes that shape female and male behavior. To support such a transformative integration, Eagly and Wood call for standardized metrics to describe the results of male/female comparisons, more diverse research methods for measuring biological and psychological processes, and greater acceptance of divergent findings. They also point to the necessity of theoretical growth in the field.

**Stereotypes of Male/Female Leaders**

Despite women’s advances in the workplace since the 1960s, a meta-analysis by Eagly and her colleagues shows that even today, leadership continues to be viewed as culturally masculine. Published in *Psychological Bulletin*, the research shows that women are viewed as less qualified than men for most leadership roles because of cultural stereotypes about men, women, and leadership. Previous research on gender stereotypes thus found that predominantly “communal” qualities, such as being nice or compassionate, are associated with women, and predominantly “agentic” qualities, such as being assertive or competitive, are associated with men. Because agentic qualities are seen as essential to successful leadership, men fit the cultural stereotype of leadership better than women, thus adding barriers to women in assuming important leadership roles. One of the challenges for women is that their enactment of culturally masculine behaviors often required by leadership roles can be viewed as inappropriate or presumptuous. However, the meta-analysis also reveals that the masculine understanding of leadership has weakened in recent decades because the cultural concept of good leadership has gradually included more social skills associated with women.

**Feminism and the Science of Psychology**

For the past three years, Eagly has chaired the Feminist Transformations Task Force of the Society for the Psychology of Women. Its members are evaluating the influence of feminism on the field. Starting in the 1960s, feminists mounted a far-reaching critique of the discipline of psychology, claiming that researchers had neglected the study of women and gender and misrepresented women in the meager efforts they put forth. To evaluate whether this situation has changed, the task force published an article in *American Psychologist* tracing and cataloging the incorporation of research on women and gender into psychological science. The task force analyzed the content of journal articles cataloged by PsychINFO between 1960 and 2009, as well as current introductory psychology course textbooks. Overall, they find that feminism has catalyzed research on women and gender, which now encompasses a large array of theories, methods, and topics. This work has been disseminated beyond gender-specialty books and journals into mainstream psychology journals, especially in developmental, social, and personality psychology. With Stephanie Riger of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Eagly is working on a second paper evaluating psychological science in relation to feminists’ methodological and epistemological critiques.

**Taxing the Poor**

IPR and the department of sociology co-sponsored the first annual Social Inequality and Difference Lecture on May 19, featuring sociologist and poverty expert Katherine Newman. She and co-author Rourke O’Brien, a New America Foundation Research Fellow, discussed their book *Taxing the Poor: Doing Damage to the Truly Disadvantaged* (University of California Press, 2011). In recent years, many states have implemented regressive sales taxes to fill revenue gaps from corporate and property taxes. However, the authors argue, many of these policies actually punish the poor and contribute in unrecognized ways to poverty-related problems, such as obesity, early mortality, teen pregnancy, and crime. Newman is the Knapp Dean of Arts and Sciences at Johns Hopkins University.

**The Great Recession and Poverty**

IPR welcomed Sheldon Danziger, Henry J. Meyer Distinguished University Professor of Public Policy and director of the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan, for a joint IPR/Sociology seminar on May 26. Danziger’s research focuses on trends in poverty and inequality and the effects of economic and demographic changes, as well as government social programs, on disadvantaged groups. In the talk, Danziger discussed the role of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act in alleviating poverty and the types of policies needed to reduce U.S. poverty rates in the future.

**Implications of Midterm Elections**

More than 65 people crowded into an IPR forum to hear three faculty experts discuss some potential policy implications of the 2010 midterm elections in January 2011. IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge explained that she found little reason to hope for more bipartisanism in Congress, because even though most Americans say they want more bipartisan cooperation, this is less true for more partisan voters, with Republicans currently more resolute. Healthcare economist and IPR associate David Dranove correctly called the shot that House Republicans would vote to repeal healthcare reform legislation, also asserting, however, that certain parts of the law were popular with Democrats and Independents—and they were here to stay. Professor emeritus Kenneth Janda closed with a discussion of the Tea Party movement, which he argued was not a movement that is naturally cohesive. Druckman organized and moderated the forum.
From left: Vanderbilt University researcher Mark Lipsey, Institute of Education Sciences Director John Easton, and IPR statistician and methodologist Larry Hedges pause during a break at the IES workshop on cluster-randomized trials in education.

**RESEARCH TOPICS:**

- Improving the design and quality of experiments
- Developing new methods for research in education
- Data use, quality, and cost in policy research
- Framing methods and pretreatment effects
- Interdisciplinary methodological innovation

**IES-Sponsored Research Training**

The Institute of Education Sciences (IES), the research wing of the U.S. Department of Education and its National Center for Education Research, supported two workshops at IPR in summer 2011 to improve methodological practices in education research, each co-organized by an IPR fellow.

Complementing the interest in randomized experiments in education, the Workshop on Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis in Education seeks to improve the quality of quasi-experiments in education, which have been shown to generally be below state of the art. Two weeklong sessions were held between August 8 and 19, led by IPR social psychologist Thomas D. Cook, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice, and William Shadish of the University of California, Merced. More than 120 researchers studied three quasi-experimental techniques—regression discontinuity, interrupted time series, and nonequivalent group design using propensity scores and matching—and the advantages and disadvantages of each.

The fifth summer institute on cluster-randomized trials (CRTs) in education was led by IPR statistician and education researcher Larry Hedges, Board of Trustees Professor in Statistics and Social Policy, and professors Mark Lipsey and David Cordray of Vanderbilt University, June 19 to 30, at Northwestern. Thirty researchers from around the country participated in the two-week training, which focuses on the use of cluster-randomization—a methodological tool that helps account for the group effects of teachers and classrooms when measuring an intervention's effects on individual student achievement. Sessions cover a range of specific topics in the design, implementation, and analysis of education CRTs, from conceptual and operational models to sampling size and statistical power. Participants also learn to use software such as STATA and HLM to conduct hierarchical data modeling and work in groups to create mock funding applications.

**Multilevel Methods in Education**

In a project supported by IES, Hedges continues his development of improved statistical methods for analyzing and reporting the results of multilevel experiments in education. Many education evaluations employ complex, multilevel designs to account for the effects of clustering—or the fact that students are situated within certain classrooms in certain schools. The project also
Most researchers and academics tend to stick with the research methods they know best, learned mainly in graduate school—even though those methods might not represent current best practices or the most appropriate method. This is why statistician and education researcher Larry Hedges, with the support of a group of distinguished interdisciplinary scholars, launched the Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research, or Q-Center, at IPR. The work of Q-Center faculty often overlaps with IPR’s Education Policy researchers.

New Parameters for State Test Scores

IES is also sponsoring a project co-led by Hedges that seeks to design new parameters for education experiments at the state, local, school, and classroom levels. Many current education experiments use designs that involve the random assignment of entire pre-existing groups (e.g., classrooms and schools) to treatments, but these groups are not themselves composed at random. As a result, individuals in the same group tend to be more alike than individuals in different groups, so results obtained from single-district data might be too imprecise to provide useful guidance. This project will decompose the total variation of state achievement test scores to estimate experiment design parameters for students in particular grades in each state. The new parameters will take into account achievement status and year-to-year improvement for a particular grade, as well as demographic covariates. Designs will also differ across different school contexts with a focus on low-performing schools, schools serving low-income populations, or schools with large minority populations.

Pretreatment Effects in Political Communication Experiments

Research on political communication effects has seen great progress over the past 25 years. A key ingredient underlying these advances is the increased usage of experiments that demonstrate how communications influence opinions and behaviors. But virtually none of these studies pay attention to events that occur before the experiment, or “pretreatment events.” Given that many, if not most, researchers design experiments aimed at capturing “real world” political communications, the likelihood of pretreatment contamination is substantial. In a new working paper, IPR political scientist James Druckman and IPR graduate research assistant Thomas Leeper explore how and when the pretreatment environment affects experimental outcomes. They present two studies—one where they controlled the pretreatment environment and one where it naturally occurred—to show how pretreatment effects influence experimental outcomes, presenting the first conclusive evidence of a pretreatment dynamic. More importantly, they identify the conditions under which these effects occur. When accounting for the pretreatment context, they found that average experimental treatment effects might miss important variations among subgroups. Furthermore, the non-existence of experimental effects might stem from a large number of individuals forming strong attitudes in response to earlier communications prior to the experiment, making them more likely to reject subsequent contrary arguments. They argue that, under certain conditions, attending to pretreatment dynamics leads to a more accurate portrait of the mass public and its political flexibility.

Party Heterogeneity in Candidates

IPR political scientist Georgia Kernell is examining the conditions under which parties benefit from fielding more or less heterogeneous candidate teams. While most spatial voting models assume or imply that homogeneous candidate teams offer parties the best prospect for winning elections—in reality, candidates from the same political party often adopt divergent policy positions. She reconciles theory and reality by identifying a strategic rationale for political parties to recruit a diverse pool of candidates. Kernell develops a spatial model in which two parties each select a distribution of candidates to compete in an upcoming election. The model demonstrates that parties positioned close to the median voter should field a more homogeneous set of candidates than parties with platforms that are more distant. Kernell tests this prediction using data on the policy positions of Democratic and Republican candidates for congressional and state legislative elections since 1990. In line with the model’s predictions, she finds that minority parties—presumably more distant from the median voter—are more heterogeneous than majority parties.
But the researchers found no evidence that either gain- or loss-framed appeals held any persuasive advantage in influencing healthy eating behaviors. They advised designers of messages aimed at specifically obesity-relevant eating practices not to spend much time worrying about whether those messages are gain- or loss-framed.

**Statistical Theories for Census Data**

A new project led by IPR statistician Bruce Spencer with IPR economist Charles F. Manski will address fundamental problems for government statistical agencies: how to understand the value of the statistics they produce, how to compare value to cost to guide rational setting of statistical priorities, and how to increase value for a given cost. Because data use is so complicated and difficult to study, Spencer argues that new theory is needed so that case studies for use of data in policymaking and research in the social, behavioral, and economic sciences can be developed, analyzed, and interpreted. The practical implications of research findings are important for statistical agencies, both in the long term and the short term, to understand and communicate the value of data programs the agencies might seek to carry out. Supported by a grant from the U.S. Census Bureau, the researchers propose to extend and apply statistical decision theory, including cost-benefit analysis, to attack such basic questions of the statistical agencies. The research will focus on data use, data quality, data cost, and optimization, and the findings will be applied to problems of the U.S. Census Bureau with the goal of carrying out a cost-benefit analysis of the 2020 census, which is facing severe cost constraints.

**Sampling Theory and Methodology for Networks**

Government data collections are tempting targets for budget cutters—not because the budgets are so large, but because ignorance about data use makes the effects of data reductions hard to see. There is a reason that so little is known about data use, however. Inferring the impacts of data use is a problem of assessing the causal effect of an intervention—people either observe what happened when the data program was conducted, or what happened when it was not conducted, but not both. Spencer is currently reviewing the state of knowledge about whether and how data are used, including both theoretical and empirical research. His work pays particular attention to the effects of data quality.

**Human Capital Forecasting**

Spencer is working on estimates and forecasts for selected areas of human capital, such as those that categorize U.S. workers employed in science and technology jobs according to skill. Past studies of U.S. educational attainment have
tended to focus on differences in averages across groups. This is consistent with most demographic research, which has focused on rates rather than totals. Total numbers of people with certain types of human capital are important for U.S. competitiveness, however. Thus, Spencer is developing a new model that allows for aging and retirement, international movement, and potential policy effects of improved incentives for attracting and training students. Having a framework for systematically organizing information about human capital could help U.S. policymakers both in tracking progress and in developing strategies to increase particular kinds of human capital. Spencer also hopes the statistics will be useful in discussions about the future of U.S. higher education, and, by extension, K–12 and even preschool education.

Reliable Covariate Measurement

The effect of unreliability of measurement on propensity score adjusted treatment effects is a topic that has largely been unexamined. A study published in the Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics by IPR social psychologist Thomas D. Cook and his colleagues Peter Steiner of the University of Wisconsin–Madison and William Shadish of the University of California, Merced presents results from their work simulating different degrees of unreliability in the multiple covariates that were used to estimate a propensity score. The simulation uses the same data as two prior studies where the researchers showed that a propensity score formed from many covariates demonstrably reduced selection bias. They also identified the subsets of covariates from the larger set that were most effective for bias reduction. Adding different degrees of random error to these covariates in a simulation, the researchers demonstrate that unreliability of measurement can degrade the ability of propensity scores to reduce bias. Specifically, increases in reliability only promote bias reduction if the covariates are effective in reducing bias to begin with. They found that increasing or decreasing the reliability of covariates that do not effectively reduce selection bias makes no difference at all.

Random and Cutoff-Based Assignment

Cook and IPR postdoctoral fellow Vivian Wong co-authored a study in Psychological Methods reviewing past studies comparing randomized experiments to regression discontinuity designs, which mostly found similar results—but with some significant exceptions. The authors argue that these exceptions might be due to potential confounds of study characteristics with assignment method or with failure to estimate the same parameter over methods. In their study, they correct the problems by randomly assigning 588 participants to be in a randomized experiment or a regression discontinuity design in which they are otherwise treated identically, comparing results estimating both the same and different parameters. Analysis includes parametric, semiparametric, and nonparametric methods of modeling nonlinearities. Results suggest that estimates from regression discontinuity designs approximate the results of randomized experiments reasonably well but also raise the issue of what constitutes agreement between the two estimates.

Accounting for Missing Survey Data

Missing data are prevalent in social science and health studies, both in the form of attrition—in which responses “drop out” of the data set after a certain point—and in nonmonotone patterns of intermittently missing values. Yet even within these patterns, not all missing data can be treated equally; certain trends in missing data might indicate wider trends that should be taken into account when forming conclusions about the data set as a whole. In an article published in Biometrics, marketing professor and IPR associate Yi Qian, with Hua Yun Chen and Hui Xie of the University of Illinois at Chicago investigate the use of a generalized additive missing data model that, contrary to the existing literature, does not assume a restricted linear relationship between missing data and the potentially missing outcome. Using a bone fracture data set, they conduct an extensive simulation study. Their simulation shows that the proposed method helps reduce bias that might arise from the misspecification of the functional forms of predictors in the missing data model.

Learning Interventions Institute

Hedges co-led the 2011 American Society for Microbiology (ASM)/National Institute of General Medical Sciences Learning Interventions Institute on “Understanding Research Techniques to Study Student Interventions,” held January 10–13 in Washington, D.C. The institute aims to introduce new behavioral and social science research methods that can be used to understand factors affecting student interest, motivation, and preparedness for research careers in science and medicine. The program used an intensive “learn, apply, and share” process of lectures and discussions, followed by small group work. All elements of the process are focused on how research can be used to learn what efforts drive and support academic success and commitment by students who are studying in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields.

Evaluating Fellowship Programs

Evaluating the quality of researchers is a key component of any strategy to improve the overall quality of research output. Hedges and IPR research associate Evelyn Asch were part of the Spencer Foundation’s full-scale review of its two highly prestigious fellowship programs, designed to determine the programs’ effectiveness in helping fellows become stronger researchers than they would be otherwise. Hedges and Asch, along with graduate student Jennifer Hanis, completed evaluations of the Spencer Postdoctoral Fellowship program and
the Spencer Dissertation Fellowship program. Their principal question in the evaluations was not whether those who received the fellowships had more successful careers than those who did not, but whether they had more successful careers because they received a fellowship. They also examined whether the Dissertation Fellowship program has helped to build a community of scholars related to the Spencer Foundation and whether there is any evidence that it has attracted scholars into education research. Using a regression discontinuity analysis, they examined the fellowships’ impact on the total number of publications, citations, editorial positions, and grants received by fellows versus finalists who were not selected as fellows. Their findings indicated that both programs have a significant causal impact on several outcomes, especially in the fellows’ success garnering research support through both federal and nonfederal grants.

Time-Sharing Experiments

IPR sociologist Jeremy Freese and Penny Visser of the University of Chicago continue to expand the research capacity of Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS), a website that facilitates original experiments on nationally representative samples at no cost to investigators. Recently, TESS joined forces with the Human Factors and Behavioral Sciences Division of the Department of Homeland Security’s Science and Technology Directorate to encourage survey research related to terrorism and government countermeasures. Specifically, the partnership will allow social and behavioral scientists to investigate the factors contributing to terrorism-related attitudes, beliefs, judgments, and behaviors with a field study larger than normally permitted in a standard TESS proposal. TESS was launched in 2008 as an infrastructure project of the National Science Foundation. Faculty, graduate students, and postdoctoral researchers can simply submit their proposals for peer review, and if successful, TESS then fields the Internet-based survey or experiment on a random sample of the U.S. population.

Fostering a Methodological Network

The Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness (SREE) gathered hundreds of researchers and educators from all over the nation in 2011 to participate in its first September conference, in addition to the organization’s annual conference in the spring. Several IPR members presented their research at the three-day meetings, both held in Washington, D.C., including education economist David Figlio, Cook, and Hedges, who serves as SREE’s president. Founded in 2005, SREE is a professional society that brings together scholars from a diversity of disciplines in the social sciences, behavioral sciences, and statistics who seek to advance and disseminate research on the causal effects of education interventions, practices, programs, and policies. It also publishes the Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness, a peer-reviewed publication of research articles focused on cause-and-effect relations important for education, which Hedges co-edits. SREE is supported by a grant from the Institute of Education Sciences.

Methodologists Stimulate Q-Center Series

Designed to showcase and promote discussion of methodological innovation across disciplines, the Q-Center continued its colloquia series in 2011 with several renowned experts, including MDRC Chief Social Scientist Howard Bloom, who spoke about the design and analysis of a recent, large-scale MDRC study of New York City’s small schools initiative. Stephen Raudenbush, who is Lewis-Sebring Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago, presented his research on the impact of a math curricular reform program launched in 2004 by Chicago Public Schools on course-taking, classroom composition, and achievement. Andrew Gelman of Columbia University and Kosuke Imai of Princeton University were among other invited speakers (see p. 72).
Three of the nation’s leading researchers on crime and criminal justice discussed some major changes in the American criminal justice system and policy implications at a March 28 IPR forum at Northwestern University. IPR political scientist Wesley G. Skogan took stock of policing reforms. Though enthusiastically brought forward, reforms and innovations often fail due to factors such as rapid leadership turnover and poor inter-agency cooperation. Looking ahead, Skogan pointed to technological innovations—such as in-car cameras and data warehouses. IPR associate John Hagan, John D. MacArthur Professor of Sociology and Law, discussed changes in prison funding in California. Since 1992, prisons are no longer built with pay-as-you-go funding, but with lease-revenue bonds, which do not require voter approval, create public debt, and generate fees for the institutions servicing the debt—helping to create economic incentives to build more. Discussing the enormous difficulties of trying to change gun regulations, University of Chicago economist Jens Ludwig recommended focusing on stepped-up enforcement by reducing young people’s access to and use of guns, targeting illegal gun-carrying, and cracking down on gun-supply networks to prevent criminals from obtaining them.

At the 2011 annual meeting of the Population Association of America, IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian discussed his work to provide a formal demographic model of how segregation contributes to inequality through increasing the level of contextual advantage experienced by members of advantaged segregated groups and the level of contextual disadvantage of disadvantaged segregated groups. His model begins with two groups that differ along a dimension of average advantage and disadvantage, such as two racial groups that differ in their poverty rates. The model employs standard measures of segregation and contact, and illustrates how the contextual advantages and disadvantages from segregation are affected by the size of the group and the rates of group advantage (or disadvantage). It also considers complexities that occur when the characteristics that define advantages or disadvantages, such as income or poverty, have independent effects. The decomposition can be applied to understand how segregation contributes to contextual advantage for advantaged group members in a variety of situations, including neighborhoods, schools, and friendship networks.
Three Segregations and Concentrated Urban Poverty

Research published in the *American Sociological Review* by Quillian finds that blacks and Hispanics tend to have neighbors from other racial groups who are disproportionately likely to be poor, even for high-income black and Hispanic households. This contributes importantly to the high poverty rates of the neighborhoods lived in by black and Hispanic families and to high poverty rates in the schools attended by black and Hispanic children. Quillian analyzed data from the 2000 census and found that the disproportionate poverty of blacks’ and Hispanics’ neighbors who are of other races plays an important role in creating racial disparities in neighborhood poverty. He develops a model to mathematically decompose sources of poverty concentration as a product of demographic conditions including forms of segregation. He finds that concentrated poverty in minority communities results from three segregations: racial segregation, poverty-status segregation within race, and segregation from high- and middle-income members of other racial groups. Past work has emphasized racial segregation and poverty-status segregation within race, but has missed the important role played by the disproportionately low-income levels of different-race neighbors of blacks and Hispanics. Quillian concludes that we need to consider the complex combination of race and income segregation in policies to reduce poverty concentration.

Dynamic Models of Race and Income Segregation

Housing trends in many U.S. cities clearly reflect decades of racial segregation. But why do current residents continue to relocate along racial lines? Quillian is examining the modern-day causes of urban racial segregation in a project with Elizabeth Bruch of the University of Michigan. One hypothesis is that a community’s racial make up directly affects the decision to move—or not to move—to a certain community, either due to prejudice or to a preference for living among neighbors of one’s own race. A second hypothesis is that race only appears to matter because it is associated with other characteristics that do matter to households, such as school quality or poverty and crime rates. To test these hypotheses, Quillian and Bruch have developed new methods for modeling residential mobility across neighborhoods. Their discrete choice models incorporate multiple characteristics of destination neighborhoods, thus improving the model’s realism in replicating residential decision making. Preliminary results suggest that racial composition is a major factor in residential mobility decisions, even controlling for housing prices, economic status, and other factors of the communities to which people move. The research is supported by the National Institutes of Health.

Inequality in France and the United States

Focusing on inequalities found in neighborhoods and institutions between France and the United States, 25 researchers came together for a two-day workshop to discuss issues related to education, health, and employment. Held on June 23–24, the second annual transnational workshop was co-sponsored by IPR and Science Po’s Observatoire Sociologique du Changement (OSC) and took place at Northwestern University.

The opening panel examined the relationship between neighborhoods and education. In France, a recent reform now allows students to apply to go to any public school within their district. The hope was that it would send more disadvantaged students to better schools. Yet from interviews and a comparison of the reform’s effects in two départements (counties), one more advantaged than the other, OSC sociologist Marco Oberti and professor emeritus Edmond Prêteceille find the reform has instead destabilized the system. Not only has it failed so far to create more educational opportunities for low-income students, it also seems to be contributing to growing stratification between schools.

In the United States, levels of residential segregation are typically higher than in France. IPR social psychologist Thomas D. Cook and IPR postdoctoral fellow Coady Wing discussed the results of three experiments with the Housing Choice Voucher Program, also referred to as “Section 8,” the main U.S. housing program for low-income families. Averaging around $7,600 per family a year, this federal program amounts to $40 billion...
per year, yet surprisingly little research has been conducted on it. Cook and Wing examine the three major studies involving voucher programs—Moving to Opportunity, Chicago Housing Authority, and Welfare to Work. The two researchers find that all three experiments resulted in small improvements in moves to better neighborhoods and housing quality; however, the program basically serves as an income-support program.

IPR education economist David Figlio launched the second panel with a presentation on the pathways through which the intergenerational transmission of advantage operates and its effect on school choice and voucher programs. Related research on the effect of class on school choice and competition in France was discussed by OSC’s Agnès van Zanten, followed by a presentation by Northwestern doctoral student Dawna Goens on parent-school relationships and parent empowerment.

The focus was on economic well-being in the following panel, which featured IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach and IPR sociologist Christine Percheski. Schanzenbach discussed the long-term health and economic effects of the U.S. Food Stamp Program for children, while Percheski compared and contrasted family characteristics and economic well-being in the recent recession versus the recessions of the early 1980s. Additional panels analyzed the various ways class inequality influences the behavior of young people and included IPR associate Barton Hirsch, who spoke about the school-to-work transition among low-income and minority youth, Northwestern doctoral student Robert Vargas, and Agathe Voisin and Hugues Lagrange of OSC.

The second day began with a joint presentation by OSC’s Philippe Coulangeon and Mirna Safi on the social mobility of second-generation immigrants in France, and then economist Joseph Ferrie, an IPR associate, discussed his research on lead exposure, SES, and cognitive disparities. The next panel discussed the various ways in which inequality impacts urban areas with presentations by IPR political scientist Wesley G. Skogan on his work examining neighborhood context and crime, as well as Bruno Cousin of the University of Lille I, who examined refounded neighborhoods, and OSC director Alain Chenu, who discussed social capital loss and political abstention.

IPR sociologist James Rosenbaum and IPR graduate research assistant Kelly Iwanaga Becker each presented a lecture on ways to reduce inequality in college enrollment rates that resulted from a recent study examining the ways different high schools handle the college application process. Inequality in relation to child welfare was discussed next—first by IPR law professor Dorothy Roberts, who discussed how child welfare systems in the United States disproportionately affect minorities, and then by Mathieu Ichou, a doctoral student from OSC, who focused on inequities for children who have immigrated to France. The workshop’s last panel included a presentation from IPR associate and education researcher James Spillane on ways in which urban students are perceived, and concluded with a comparison of social mobility experiences in France, India, and the United States by OSC postdoctoral fellow Jules Naudet.

Skogan was part of a research team that completed a study to determine whether public housing relocatees have a significant impact on crime in the neighborhoods they move to when using housing vouchers. Commissioned by the Chicago Housing Authority, the researchers examined the moves of Plan for Transformation housing voucher recipients from 1999 to 2008, collecting 25,000 data points from 813 different census tracts. They tracked those who moved in or out of a census tract on a quarterly basis and then looked at crime in the same tract in the ensuing quarter and plugged this information into a regression model. In both Chicago and Atlanta, which they also studied, they found citywide decreases in violent, gun, and property crime. Crime in neighborhoods where the public...
Study, they looked for trends in arrests to determine whether the 1996 welfare reform legislation enacted under the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program affected the criminal behavior of current and former recipients. They found that, when available, employment seems to prevent criminal behavior, lending some support to the work-first focus of TANF. However, they found that the loss of income (whether from work or welfare), coupled with human capital characteristics, predicts criminal behavior among female welfare recipients. This suggests that those with fewer personal resources competing in the highly unstable lower-reaches of the labor market might be more likely to turn to crime. It also indicates that for some individuals, the current welfare system could actually increase the odds of criminal behavior, rather than decreasing them.

Learning About Police Organizations

To improve police policies and practices, researchers and practitioners must work toward a shared understanding of when and how particular data and research efforts can be used. With support from the National Institute of Justice, a team of police executives and leading police researchers that includes Skogan is developing a new, more productive and efficient way to learn about policing in the United States. This initiative, called the National Police Research Platform, is being implemented in selected jurisdictions around the country. Skogan and his team have conducted 108 surveys involving more than 12,000 police employees and developed Internet-based procedures for police surveying, as well as negotiated the cooperation of many police chiefs in the project. The platform hopes to better enable law enforcement executives and supervisors to collect valid, useful data on their own organizations to determine the best organizational practices, and allow other organizations to compare their information to benchmarks for agencies of similar size and type.

Project CeaseFire

Despite 15 years of declining crime, Chicago continues to be one of the nation’s leading cities for homicide. Project CeaseFire, a community-based initiative of the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention, aims to address this issue by reducing gun and gun-related violence in targeted areas in Chicago and the state. Skogan and his team recently completed a three-year, multisite evaluation of the program’s effectiveness, and he is currently at work on a book about the study, which will be published by Oxford University Press. In addition to fieldwork, interviews, and surveys, the researchers also examined the program’s impact on shootings and killings through a statistical analysis of time series data, a network analysis of gang homicide, and innovative use of computerized crime mapping techniques that use geographic information systems (GIS). The project was supported by the National Institute of Justice and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Welfare Reform and Criminal Behavior

In an article in Poverty & Public Policy, IPR social policy professor Dan Lewis and co-author Lindsay Monte of the U.S. Census Bureau examine the links between gender, welfare receipt, financial hardship, and crime. Using data from the Illinois Families
Awards, Honors, and Presentations of Note

Faculty Fellows

Emma Adam

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale
Award for Distinguished Contributions to Public Policy for Children, Society for Research in Child Development, March 31, Montreal; Elected Fellow, Ascend Fellowship, The Aspen Institute, December 12

David Figlio
Phi Beta Kappa Convocation, March 10, Washington and Lee University; “The Political Accountability of Schools,” Seminário Itaú Internacional de Avaliação Econômica de Projetos Sociais, October 17, Rio de Janeiro

Daniel Galvin
Faculty Honor Roll, Northwestern University

Larry Hedges
Voting Member, National Board for Education Sciences, Institute of Education Sciences

Charles F. Manski

Leslie McCall
Elected Member, Sociological Research Association

Charles F. Manski

Leslie McCall
Elected Member, Sociological Research Association

James Rosenbaum
“New Structures for Improving College Completion for Today’s Students,” Complete College America Conference, Annual Conference of the Alliance States, October 19, Austin, Texas

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach
“Understanding Factors Behind Education Outcomes of Children in Poverty,” Center of Excellence to Prepare Teachers of Children of Poverty, March 3, Francis Marion University

Wesley G. Skogan

Faculty Associates

Pablo Boczkowski
Best Book Award from the Communication and Information Technology Section for News at Work, American Sociological Association, August 21, Las Vegas

Dennis Chong
Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award and Best Paper Award in Political Psychology for “Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects Over Time,” with James Druckman, American Political Science Association, September 1, Seattle

Alice Eagly
Metro Berlin Prize, American Academy in Berlin; Raymond A. Katzell Award, Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, April 13, Chicago; “Gender Stereotypes: How They Discourage Unconventional Career Choices and Limit Opportunities,” Allen L. Edwards Psychology Lecture Series, February 16, University of Washington

James Druckman
Chair, Political Psychology Section, American Political Science Association; Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award and Best Paper Award in Political Psychology for “Dynamic Public Opinion: Communication Effects Over Time,” with Dennis Chong, American Political Science Association, September 1, Seattle; Weinberg College Outstanding Freshman Advising Award, Northwestern University

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale (center) accepts her award for distinguished contributions from the Society for Research in Child Development from Nancy Hill and Oscar Barbarin.
Katherine Kaufer Christoffel
Benjamin Gingiss Award, The Bright Promises Foundation, October 28, Chicago

Jeannette Colyvas
Faculty Honor Roll, Northwestern University

Shari Seidman Diamond

Daniel Diermeier
Chookaszian Prize in Risk Management for Reputation Rules, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University

Steven Epstein
Elected Member, Sociological Research Association; Chair Elect, Section on Science, Knowledge, Technology, American Sociological Association, 2011–13; and Faculty Honor Roll, Northwestern University

Philip Greenland
“Predicting the Future: Can We Predict Who Will Develop Cardiovascular Events?” Great Teachers Lecture, National Institutes of Health, March 9, Bethesda, Md.

Shane Greenstein
Kellogg Chair in Information Technology, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University; Testimony on H.J. Res. 37, Subcommittee on Communications, Technology, and the Internet of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, March 29, Washington, D.C.

John Heinz
Lifetime Achievement Award, Chicago Appleseed Fund for Justice and Chicago Council of Lawyers, October 5, Chicago

Seema Jayachandran
Faculty Early Career Development Award, National Science Foundation, 2011–16; Research Fellowship, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

John Kretzmann
Faculty Honor Roll, Northwestern University

Jennifer Light
Elected Member; School of Social Science, Institute for Advanced Study, September 19, Princeton, N.J.; Catherine Bauer Wurster Prize, Society for American City and Regional Planning History

Brian Mustanski
Award for Distinguished Scientific Contribution, Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Issues, August 7, Washington, D.C.

Mary Pattillo
Elected Member, Sociological Research Association; “Race, Poverty, and Choice Policies,” Charles Phelps Taft Lecture, March 4, University of Cincinnati

Karrie Ann Snyder
Faculty Honor Roll, Northwestern University

James Spillane
“Leadership Practice for Improvement: Cultivating a Diagnostic and Design Mindset,” Keynote, New Zealand Principals’ Federation Annual Meeting, April 7, Wellington, New Zealand

Linda Teplin
Member, Task Force on Suicide Prevention for Youth in Contact with the Juvenile Justice System, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP); Member, Science Advisory Board, OJJDP Subcommittee, Office of Justice Programs

Ellen Wartella
National Associate, National Research Council of the National Academies

Sandra Waxman
Elected Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, October 1, Cambridge, Mass.; Visiting Professor, Harvard University

Teresa Woodruff
Discovery Research Award, Center for Molecular Innovation and Drug Discovery, Northwestern University; Presidential Award for Excellence in Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Mentoring, December 12, Washington, D.C.
Major news outlets, including The New York Times, The Economist, The Atlantic, and Chicago Tribune, covered a study led by IPR associate and political scientist Benjamin Page, with colleagues including IPR director and social policy professor Fay Lomax Cook that sheds light on how the wealthiest 1 percent think about social and economic issues and engage in politics.

In mid-July, a team of IPR/C2S researchers that included Emma Adam, Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Thomas McDade, and graduate student Lindsay Till Hoyt found that teens with a positive disposition were less likely to engage in problem behaviors, such as drug use, binge drinking, and smoking, as young adults in a study covered by Fox News, UPI, The Atlantic, Chicago Sun-Times, and others.

A study released on September 12 and co-authored by IPRanthropologists Christopher Kuzawa and Thomas McDade with graduate student Lee Gettler provided compelling evidence that human males are biologically wired to care for their offspring. It conclusively showed for the first time that fatherhood lowers a man’s testosterone levels and was picked up by dozens of media outlets worldwide, including Time, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, and the BBC.

In an opinion piece for The New York Times’ "Room for Debate" on March 23, IPR sociologist Leslie McCall pointed out that Americans are not just naive believers in the American dream, and they understand that income inequality exists, even though they might underestimate how much of it there is.

In another “Room for Debate” piece on July 25, sociologist and African American studies researcher Mary Pattillo, an IPR associate, wrote about how the loss of public sector jobs affects black middle-class families disproportionately.

In a March 29 Salon article on the 10 most segregated urban areas in America, IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian explained that Chicago, which ranks third on the list, has been segregated since even before significant black migration to the city, which started in about 1915.

IPR political scientist Wesley G. Skogan was quoted in the Chicago Tribune and UPI in early January, explaining that though smarter policing tactics and higher incarceration rates in the 1990s helped to bring down both total crime and violence in Chicago, many African American neighborhoods have not seen the same decline in crime as in the city’s white and Hispanic neighborhoods.

During a segment of Chicago Public Radio’s “Eight Forty-Eight,” and other shows including WTTW’s Chicago Tonight, IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge explained the role of partisanship in federal budget negotiations.

The Economist covered a working paper co-authored by IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach that examines the effect of early childhood investments on college enrollment and degree completion on October 24.

IPR social demographer Christine Percheski spoke about her research on changing family demographics in the United States and Americans’ current ideas on the institution of marriage with Chicago Public Radio’s “Eight Forty-Eight” on June 20.

Research co-authored by psychologists Alice Eagly, an IPR fellow, and Eli Finkel, an IPR associate, shows that there is a disconnect between what people say they want in a partner and the qualities that they actually find attractive. The study was featured in Cosmopolitan, Business Insider, and others in November.

Businessweek, US News & World Report, and NPR featured a study in June by IPR associate and communication studies researcher Ellen Wartella showing that minority youth aged 8 to 18 consume an average of 13 hours of media content per day, which is about 4 hours more than white youth.

A November report co-authored by IPR associate and media researcher Eszter Hargittai showed that many parents help their preteen children lie so they can join age-restricted sites like Facebook. It calls the efficacy of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act into question. Forbes, the Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and others picked up the report.

IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher Celeste Watkins-Hayes was December’s writer-in-residence for Chicago Magazine’s blog “Off the Grid.” She addressed urban poverty, social policy, HIV/AIDS, as well as race, class, and gender issues.

As debate in February 2011 heated up in Pennsylvania over whether to adopt a statewide school voucher program for low-income students, IPR education economist David Figlio was interviewed about his research on the topic by several state news outlets, including The Philadelphia Inquirer. He was also quoted in The New York Times about Jeb Bush’s role in advising other states that are interested in imitating the “Florida formula,” April 26.

The New York Times covered novel research by IPR sociologist Jeremy Freese and his colleagues, Ethan Fosse and Neil Gross, examining if those who attend graduate school are more likely to be liberal by tracking career plans and political orientations for 15,000 teens, July 22.

IPR sociologist Jeremy Freese
Recent Faculty Books

Faculty Fellows

Anthony Chen

Fay Lomax Cook

Micaela di Leonardo

James Druckman

Daniel Galvin

Larry Hedges


Dan Lewis

Charles F. Manski

Leslie McCall

Rachel Davis Mersey

Monica Prasad


Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science
ed. by James Druckman, Donald Green, James Kuklinski, and Arthur Lupia
Cambridge University Press

Called a “monumental undertaking,” this handbook co-edited by IPR political scientist James Druckman provides the first comprehensive overview of how experimental research is transforming the field. In addition to defining and explaining core concepts in experimental design and analysis, it provides an intellectual history of the experimental movement. Written by the field’s leading scholars, the chapters cover experimentation, decision making, institutions and behavior, and elite bargaining, among other topics.

Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-First Century
by Dorothy Roberts
The New Press

In Fatal Invention, IPR law professor Dorothy Roberts focuses on the ways in which some scientists and biotech companies are trying to provide an updated version of race as a biological classification by using cutting-edge genomic science and technology. She examines the contemporary consequences of a new racial science that claims racial differences exist at the molecular level—at a time when race appears less significant in a supposedly “post-racial society.”
Dorothy Roberts

Morton Schapiro

Celeste Watkins-Hayes

Burton Weisbrod

Faculty Associates

Pablo Boczkowski

Carolyn Chen

Joan Chiao

David Dana

Daniel Diermeier

David Dranove

Steven Epstein

Eli Finkel

John Hagan


The Nanotechnology Challenge: Creating Legal Institutions for Uncertain Risks
ed. by David Dana
Cambridge University Press

As development of nanotechnology zooms ahead, research on its effects on health and the environment lags. *The Nanotechnology Challenge*, edited by law professor and IPR associate David Dana with contributions from IPR faculty James Druckman and Daniel Diermeier, attempts to address this gap. The book offers views by legal scholars and scientists on how to assess the potential unknowns and risks of nanotechnology. It also examines the public perception of these risks and its influence on regulatory trends.

A Behavioral Theory of Elections
by Jonathan Bendor, Daniel Diermeier, David Siegel, and Michael Ting
Princeton University Press

Daniel Diermeier, a Kellogg professor and IPR associate, and his co-authors have mined the field of behavioral economics to provide a new theory of elections, rooted in the idea that neither politicians nor voters are fully rational. The authors construct formal models of party competition, turnout, and voter candidate preferences. These models predict substantial turnout levels and voters sorting into parties, among others—generating results more consistent with actual election data.
After-School Centers and Youth Development: Case Studies of Success and Failure
by Barton Hirsch, Nancy Deutsch, and David DuBois
Cambridge University Press

In light of the explosive growth of after-school programs in recent years, education and social policy professor and IPR associate Barton Hirsch and his colleagues explore the impact these programs have on youth. The three co-authors present findings from an intensive study of three after-school centers that differed dramatically in quality. Drawing from 233 site visits, the co-authors examine how—and why—young people thrive in good programs and suffer in weak ones.

Diagnosis and Design for School Improvement: Using a Distributed Perspective to Lead and Manage Change
by James Spillane and Amy Franz Coldren
Teachers College Press

Drawing on 10 years of empirical study, education researcher and IPR associate James Spillane and his co-author argue that school leaders and managers cannot simply adopt and implement pre-packaged reforms to improve student learning. Rather, effective reforms are based on an understanding of both the formal and informal organizational structures of each individual school. Written as a practical guide, the book is intended for school administrators, teachers, and stakeholders.


Anthony Chen

Fay Lomax Cook

Thomas D. Cook


James Druckman


“Our finding that neighborhood environments are associated with the prevalence of obesity and diabetes may have implications for understanding trends and disparities in overall health across the United States. The increase in U.S. residential segregation according to income in recent decades suggests that a larger proportion of the population is being exposed to distressed neighborhood environments.”


Alice Eagly


David Figlio


Jeremy Freese


“In our opinion, a more complete understanding of gender equality would be gained by research on aspects of human psychology other than mating, such as leadership, dominance, competitiveness as well as interpersonal caring, nurturing, and other qualities involved in the division of domestic labor. In addressing sex differences and similarities in the aspects of behavior such as dominance that have obvious relevance to gender equality, psychologists should consider both their distal evolutionary origins and their proximal causes in societal, interactional, and self-regulatory processes.”

From a policy perspective, the results suggest that single-sex schools may improve the academic outcomes only for those students who tend to select to single-sex schools. More importantly, the results also suggest that most students do not benefit from attending single-sex schools. As such, while a school choice policy that included single-sex schools as an option for students is likely to improve student outcomes, an expansion of single-sex schools to a large segment of the population may have little benefit.”


Dan Lewis

Charles F. Manski


Leslie McCall


Thomas McDade


“*There is considerable interest in the health differentials between fathers and single men, and it is often reported that married men and fathers have lower risk for certain diseases and mortality. Our findings suggest that fathers are likely exposed to lower levels of testosterone throughout much of their prime reproductive years, which could contribute to some of these health differentials.*”

Christine Percheski

Monica Prasad

Jennifer Richeson


Dorothy Roberts


“Whites may experience the rising numbers of non-white Americans as an identity threat, resulting in renewed white racial solidarity and increased, intensified bias directed toward racial outgroup members. Given that whites continue to possess disproportionate social, economic, and political power in the United States, such a reaction would serve to reduce racial equality and crystallize the current racial hierarchy.”

James Rosenbaum


Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach


Wesley G. Skogan


Quincy Thomas Stewart

Lauren Wakschlag


Celeste Watkins-Hayes


“Racial diversity within institutions can create the possibility for a level of responsiveness that is shaped by social group commonality. However, it is not an automatic relationship that emerges from the demographic composition of the staff and clientele. It must be cultivated and supported by organizational structure, unless minority bureaucrats opt to risk their institutional standing through covert or overt acts of racial representation.”

Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy

The Prevalence of Smartphone Use Among a Wired Group of Young Adults by Eszter Hargittai and Su Jung Kim (WP-11-01)

Overwhelmed and Underinformed? How Americans Keep Up with Current Events in the Age of Social Media by Eszter Hargittai, W. Russell Neuman, and Olivia Curry (WP-11-02)

How Do the Elderly Fare in Medical Malpractice Litigation, Before and After Tort Reform? Evidence from Texas, 1988–2007 by Myungho Paik, Bernard Black, David Hyman, William Sage, and Charles Silver (WP-11-03)

Candidate Preferences and Expectations of Election Outcomes: Evidence from the American Life Panel by Adeline Delavande and Charles F. Manski (WP-11-05)

Interviewing Wealthy Americans by Benjamin Page, Larry Bartels, and Jason Seawright (WP-11-07)

What Affluent Americans Want from Politics by Benjamin Page and Cari Lynn Hennessy (WP-11-08)

Learning More from Political Communication Experiments: The Importance of Pretreatment Effects by James Druckman and Thomas Leeper (WP-11-09)

Counter-Framing Effects by Dennis Chong and James Druckman (WP-11-10)

Congressional Campaign Communications in an Internet Age by James Druckman (WP-11-11)

Deterrence and the Death Penalty: Partial Identification Analysis Using Repeated Cross Sections by Charles F. Manski and John Pepper (WP-11-12)

Deterrence and the Death Penalty: Partial Identification Analysis Using Repeated Cross Sections

“Imposing certain assumptions implies that adoption of a death penalty statute increases homicide, but other assumptions imply that the death penalty deters it. Thus, society at large can draw strong conclusions only if there is a consensus favoring particular assumptions. Without such a consensus, data on sanctions and murder rates cannot settle the debate about deterrence.” (p.34, WP-11-12)

Wealthy Americans, Philanthropy, and the Common Good by Benjamin Page, Fay Lomax Cook, and Rachel Moskowitz (WP-11-13)

Education Policy

Information Is Not Enough: Cultural Capital, Cultural Capital Translators, and College Access for Disadvantaged Students by James Rosenbaum and Michelle Naffziger (WP-11-04)

Can High Schools Reduce College Enrollment Gaps with a New Counseling Model? by Jennifer Stephan and James Rosenbaum (WP-11-06)

Instructional Advice and Information Seeking Behavior in Elementary Schools: Exploring Tie Formation as a Building Block in Social Capital Development by James Spillane, Chong Min Kim, and Kenneth Frank (WP-11-14)

Wealthy Americans, Philanthropy, and the Common Good

“We have rediscovered something important that has long been true: Many wealthy Americans make extraordinarily generous contributions of their time, effort, and money to a wide range of charitable causes. At the same time, we find that this generosity has certain limits. These limits deserve serious discussion if we want to further improve the practice of philanthropy in the United States.” (p.14, WP-11-13)
**IPR Monday Colloquia**

January 10, “Radical Shift or Politics as Usual? Implications of the 2010 U.S. Congressional Elections” by Laurel Harbridge, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow; David Dranove, Walter J. McNerney Professor of Health Industry Management and IPR Associate; and Kenneth Janda, Payson S. Wild Professor Emeritus of Political Science

January 24, “How Does Your Kindergarten Classroom Affect Your Earnings? Evidence From Project STAR” by Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

January 31, “Income Inequality and the Demand for Counterfeits” by Yi Qian, Assistant Professor of Marketing, Kraft Research Professor, and IPR Associate

February 7, “When Supply and Demand Do Not Meet: The Divergent Online News Preferences of Journalists and Consumers and What They Mean for the Future of Media and Democracy” by Pablo Boczkowski, Professor of Communication Studies and IPR Associate

February 14, “School Finance Reform and the Progressivity of State Taxes” by Therese McGuire, ConAgra Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management, Director of the Guthrie Center for Real Estate Research, and IPR Associate

February 21, “The News Industry and the Demos: The Paradox of Community Creation and Inequality” by Rachel Davis Mersey, Assistant Professor of Journalism and IPR Fellow

February 28, “Beyond the Open Door: The Forgotten Origins of Affirmative Action in College Admissions” by Anthony Chen, Associate Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

March 7, “Early Experience, Genes, Sleep, and Stress in Young Adults at Risk for Major Depressive Disorder” by Emma Adam, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

April 11, “Has Feminism Transformed the Science of Psychology? Analysis of a Half Century of Research” by Alice Eagly, James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences and IPR Fellow; and Stephanie Riger, Professor of Gender and Women’s Studies and Professor of Psychology, University of Illinois at Chicago

April 18, “The Role of Marketing in the Childhood Obesity Crisis” by Ellen Wartella, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifah Al-Thani Professor of Communication, Professor of Psychology and Human Development and Social Policy, and IPR Associate

April 25, “The Internet, Young Adults, and Political Engagement” by Eszter Hargittai, Associate Professor of Communication Studies and IPR Associate; and Aaron Shaw, Doctoral Student, University of California, Berkeley

May 9, “Family Structure, Women’s Employment, and Inequality Among American Women” by Christine Percheski, Assistant Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

October 3, “Motivation and Incentives in Education: Evidence from a Summer Reading Experiment” by Jonathan Guryan, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

More than 100 people attended IPR’s 2011 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture with Robert Groves, U.S. Census Bureau director from 2009–12.
October 17, “Party Priorities, Agenda Content, and Bipartisan Cooperation in Congress” by Laurel Harbridge, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow

October 24, “Deterrence and the Death Penalty: Partial Identification Analysis Using Repeated Cross Sections” by Charles F. Manski, Board of Trustees Professor in Economics and IPR Fellow

October 31, “The Price Effects of Cash Versus In-Kind Transfers” by Seema Jayachandran, Associate Professor of Economics and IPR Associate

November 7, “Turning College Dreams into Reality for Disadvantaged Students” by James Rosenbaum, Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR Fellow, with IPR Graduate Research Assistants Kelly Iwanaga Becker and Claudia Zapata

November 14, “Segregation and Poverty Concentration” by Lincoln Quillian, Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

November 21, “Research on Data Use—or Measuring the Value of Data Requires Knowing How Data Get Used” by Bruce Spencer, Professor of Statistics and IPR Fellow

November 28, “Single-Sex Schools, Student Achievement, and Course Selection: Evidence from Rule-Based Student Assignments in Trinidad and Tobago” by Kirabo Jackson, Assistant Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

December 5, “Early Non-Marital Childbearing and the ‘Culture of Despair’” by Melissa Kearney, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Maryland

Q-Center Colloquia

January 18, “Unpacking the Black Box: Learning About Causal Mechanisms from Experimental and Observational Studies” by Kosuke Imai, Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University

March 15, “The New York City Small Schools of Choice Evaluation: Design and Methodological Issues” by Howard Bloom, Chief Social Scientist, MDRC

April 7, “Of Beauty, Sex, and Power: Statistical Challenges in Estimating Small Effects” by Andrew Gelman, Professor of Statistics and Political Science, and Director of the Applied Statistics Center, Columbia University

May 3, “The Impact of Math Curricular Reform on Course-Taking, Classroom Composition, and Achievement: A Multisite Regression Discontinuity Design,” by Stephen Raudenbush, Lewis-Sebring Distinguished Service Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

C2S Colloquia and Events

April 4, “Health Capital and the Prenatal Environment: The Effect of Ramadan Observance During Pregnancy on Birth and Adult Outcomes” by Bhash Mazumder, Director; Chicago Census Research Data Center; Senior Economist, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

May 16, “Addressing Health Disparities Through Community and System Change” by Aida Giachello, Professor of Preventive Medicine, Northwestern University

October 10, “Risk, Resilience, and Gene-Environment Interplay in Primates” by Stephen Suomi, Chief, Laboratory of Comparative Ethology, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health


November 15, “Preschool to Third Grade Programs and Practices: Promoting Developmental Continuity for Sustainable Impacts” by Arthur Reynolds, Professor of Child Development, Institute of Child Development, University of Minnesota; Director, Chicago Longitudinal Study; Co-Director, Human Capital Research Collaborative

IPR Seminars on Performance Measurement

February 17, “Manipulation in the Grading of New York’s Regents Examinations” by Justin McCrary, Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley

April 20, “Does Hospital Infection Reporting Affect Actual Infection Rates, Reported Rates, or Both? A Case Study of Pennsylvania” by Bernard Black, Nicholas J. Chabraja Professor of Law and Finance and IPR Associate

May 11, “Should Aid Reward Performance? Evidence from a Field Experiment on Health and Education in Indonesia” by Benjamin Olken, Associate Professor of Economics, MIT

May 25, “A Very Long History of the Lower Mississippi Valley” by David Haddock, Professor of Law and Economics, Northwestern University

October 26, “Strategic Responses to Third-Party Ratings: Theory and Evidence from Charities” by Laura Grant, Postdoctoral Fellow, Becker Center on Price Theory, University of Chicago; and Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
**November 30,** “Poor Taxpayers Subsidizing Wealthy Professional Sports Franchises” by David Haddock, Professor of Law and Economics, Northwestern University

**Joint Economics/IPR Seminar Series**

- **February 24,** “Bounds on Elasticities with Optimization Frictions: A Synthesis of Micro and Macro Evidence on Labor Supply” by Raj Chetty, Professor of Economics, Harvard University
- **March 3,** “The Political Economy of Deforestation in the Tropics” by Benjamin Olken, Associate Professor of Economics, MIT
- **March 31,** “Violence Beyond Reason: Prohibition of Alcohol and the Decline of Lynching in the U.S. South” by Hoyt Bleakley, Associate Professor of Economics, Booth School of Business, University of Chicago
- **April 7,** “Vote-Buying and Reciprocity” by Laura Schechter, Assistant Professor of Economics, Michigan State University
- **April 28,** “Two Studies of Class-Size Effects: Evidence from a Multicenter Randomized Controlled Trial” by Elizabeth Wilde, Assistant Professor of Health Policy and Management, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University
- **May 12,** “Information Asymmetry and Equilibrium Monitoring in Education” by Maria Ferreyra, Associate Professor of Economics, Tepper School of Business, Carnegie Mellon University
- **September 29,** “The Impact of Immigration on the Educational Attainment of Natives” by Jennifer Hunt, Professor of Economics, Rutgers University
- **October 5,** “War and Marriage: Assortative Mating and the World War II G.I. Bill” by Marianne Page, Professor of Economics, University of California, Davis
- **October 13,** “School Choice, School Quality, and Postsecondary Attainment” by David Deming, Assistant Professor of Education and Economics, Harvard University
- **October 27,** “The Diffusion of Microfinance” by Abhijit Banerjee, Ford Foundation International Professor of Economics and Director of the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, MIT

**IPR Policy Research Briefing**

- **May 23,** Chicago, “Effects of Early Environments on Behavior, Achievement, and Health” by Lauren Wakschlag, Professor and Vice Chair for Scientific and Faculty Development, Department of Medical Social Sciences, and IPR Fellow; Jonathan Guryan, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow; and Michael Greenstone, 3M Professor of Environmental Economics, MIT

**IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecture**


**Conferences, Workshops, and Special Events**

- **February 9,** “Research Opportunities at the Chicago RDC” by Bhash Mazumder, Director, Chicago Census Research Data (CRDC) Center; and Senior Economist, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; and Frank Limehouse, U.S. Census Bureau, and Economist and CRDC Administrator
- **March 28,** “IPR Forum: 21st Century Justice: Current Research on Policing, Criminals, Prisons, and Guns” by Wesley G. Skogan, Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow; John Hagan, John D. MacArthur Professor of Sociology and Law and IPR Associate; and Jens Ludwig, McCormick Foundation Professor of Social Service Administration, Law, and Public Policy, University of Chicago
- **May 5,** “The Oil and Natural Gas Industry in a Changing, Global-Influencing Environment” by Ken Cohen, Vice President of Public and Government Affairs, ExxonMobil, co-sponsored with the Initiative for Sustainability and Energy at Northwestern (ISEN), Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences, Buffett Center; and Corporate Relations
- **May 6,** Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior (CAB) Workshop, organized by James Druckman, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow
# IPR Community of Scholars and Staff

## Faculty Fellows

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Emma Adam</td>
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<td>Morton Schapiro</td>
<td>University President and Economics, Kellogg, and Education and Social Policy</td>
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## Faculty Associates

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<td>Rebecca Seligman</td>
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<td>Teresa Woodruff</td>
<td>Obstetrics and Gynecology</td>
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**Adjunct Faculty**

- Greg Duncan, University of California, Irvine
- Michelle Reininger, Stanford University

**Faculty Emeriti**

- Paul Friesema, Political Science
- John Heinz, Law
- John McKnight, Communication Studies
- Peter Miller, Communication Studies

**Executive Committee**

- Fay Lomax Cook, Human Development and Social Policy
- James Druckman, Political Science
- David Figlio, Human Development and Social Policy
- Jonathan Guryan, Human Development and Social Policy
- Larry Hedges, Statistics and Social Policy
- Leslie McCall, Sociology
- Thomas McDade, Anthropology
- Dorothy Roberts, Law
### Administration

- **Fay Lomax Cook**, Director
- **David Figlio**, Associate Director
- **Michael Weis**, Business Administrator*  
- **Eric Betzold**, Business Administrator**  
- **Patricia Reese**, Director of Communications

### Administrative Staff

- **Leslie Bailey**, Auxiliary Webmaster
- **Arlene Dattels**, Accounting Assistant
- **Ellen Dunleavy**, Office Assistant
- **Lena Henderson**, Finance and Administration Coordinator
- **Cynthia Kendall**, Assistant to the Director
- **Audrey McLain**, Assistant Editor
- **Beverly Zack**, Program Assistant

### Research Associates

- **Evelyn Asch**, Prizes’ Impact on Minority Students’ Entry into Biomedical Research Careers
- **Ashley Cureton**, Chicago Truancy Project
- **Megan Ferrier**, Chicago Truancy Project
- **Amanda Hoffman**, Sexual Fluidity Among Heterosexually Identified Men
- **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, Two-Generation Education Project
- **Coady Wing**, Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis in Education

### Research Staff

- **Kennan Cepa**, College-to-Careers Project
- **Zena Ellison**, Pre-service Teachers’ Project
- **Patricia Ferguson**, Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research (Q-Center)
- **Patricia Lasley**, Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health
- **Valerie Lyne**, Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis in Education

### Visiting Scholars

- **Rob Greenwald**, Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness
- **Krzysztof Karbownik**, Uppsala University (Sweden)
- **Arthur Reynolds**, University of Minnesota
- **Richard Steckel**, Ohio State University

### Postdoctoral Fellows

- **Jean Beaman**, Survival Strategies Among Women Living with HIV/AIDS; Adviser: Dr. Celeste Watkins-Hayes
- **Laura Chyu**, Social Influences on Early Adult Stress Biomarkers; Advisers: Dr. Emma Adam and Dr. Thomas McDade
- **Amy DeSantis**, Social Influences on Early Adult Stress Biomarkers; Advisers: Dr. Emma Adam and Dr. Thomas McDade
- **Shanette Porter**, Motivational Components of Intergroup Interactions; Adviser: Dr. Jennifer Richeson
- **Terri Sabol**, Two-Generation Education Project; Adviser: Dr. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale
- **Dana Sauter Van Ness**, National Children’s Study: Greater Chicago Study Center; Advisers: Dr. William Funk and Dr. Thomas McDade
- **Pamela Schuetz**, College-to-Careers Project; Adviser: Dr. James Rosenbaum
- **Vivian Wong**, Improving Quasi-Experimental Design; Adviser: Dr. Thomas Cook

### Graduate Research Assistants

- **Rayane Alamuddin**, Human Development and Social Policy
- **Elisabeth Anderson**, Sociology
- **Lauren Lowenstein Bauer**, Human Development and Social Policy
- **Kelly Iwanaga Becker**, Sociology
- **Sara Bernang Becker**, Human Development and Social Policy
- **Derek Burk**, Sociology
- **Sarah Cannon**, Human Development and Social Policy
- **Fiona Chin**, Sociology
- **Joseph Guisti**, Sociology

*Until July 2012  **As of July 2012*
**IPR COMMUNITY of SCHOLARS and STAFF**

- Kelly Hallberg, Human Development and Social Policy
- Morgan Hoke, Medical Anthropology
- Stuart Jenkins, Human Development and Social Policy
- Samara Klar, Political Science
- Arend Kuyper, Statistics
- Thomas Leeper, Political Science
- Sheena Lewis, Technology and Social Behavior
- Christina LiCalsi Labelle, Human Development and Social Policy
- Gemma Mangione, Sociology
- Matthew Masten, Economics
- Chelsea McKinney, Human Development and Social Policy
- Molly Metzger, Human Development and Social Policy
- Rachel Moskowitz, Political Science
- Tiago Pires, Economics
- James Pustejovsky, Statistics
- Scott Richman, Human Development and Social Policy
- Joshua Robison, Political Science
- Diana Rodriguez-Franco, Sociology
- Katie Rotella, Psychology
- Matthew Shirrell, Human Development and Social Policy
- Xin Sun, Political Science
- Yang (Tanya) Tang, Statistics
- Stuart Taylor, Economics
- Lindsay Till Hoyt, Human Development and Social Policy
- Claudia Zapata, Human Development and Social Policy

**Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants**

- Annie Adams, Human Development and Psychological Services
- Hayley Altabef, History
- Philip Butta, Journalism and Anthropology
- Jessica Chan, Medicine
- William Doyoon Kim, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences and Economics
- Eric Felland, Anthropology

**IPR graduate research assistant Stuart Jenkins presents his regression analysis of the effects of drinking on student achievement.**

- Allison Frost, Human Development and Psychological Services and Psychology
- Christine Hazday, Anthropology and Art History
- Claire Hunt, Social Policy and History
- Melissa Hyre, Psychology
- Debbie Jang, Social Policy and Political Science
- Chung Kim, Economics
- Lauren Linzmeier, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences and Economics
- Christine Mulhern, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences and Economics
- Anne Nash, Psychology and International Studies
- Elizabeth Nick, Human Development and Psychological Services
- Leah Patterson, Economics and Political Science
- Sarah Reibstein, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences, Anthropology, and Economics
- Rene Rodriguez, Human Development and Social Policy
- Bill Russell, Economics and Philosophy
- Bennett Silbert, Economics
- Igor Uzilevskiy, Human Development and Social Policy
- Jeremy Yablon, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences, Economics, and Political Science
- Benzheng Zhu, Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences and Industrial Engineering
- Weijia Zhang, Political Science
### Funding Organizations and Projects

#### Foundations and Organizations

**American Institute of Bisexuality**
- Sexual Fluidity Among Heterosexually Identified Men: Bisexual Behavior and Health Outcomes, Héctor Carrillo
- Exploring Partner Intimacy and Sexual Identity Shifts, Héctor Carrillo

**Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation**
- The Effects of Disadvantaged Neighborhoods on the Life Chances of Low-Income Families, Greg Duncan
- Secondary and Postsecondary Pathways to Labor Market Success: A Research Program to Improve Policy/Practice, David Figlio

**John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation**
- Planning a Possible Network on Housing and Families with Children, Thomas D. Cook
- How Housing Matters for Families and Children: A Research Network, Thomas D. Cook
- The Effects of Housing Instability on Children’s Educational Outcomes, David Figlio
- The Long-Term Effects of Neighborhoods on Low-Income Youth (with Biomarker Supplement), Greg Duncan

**Joyce Foundation**
- The Transition to Teaching Project: Understanding Entry and Non-Entry into Teaching Among Recent Teacher Preparation Graduates, Michelle Reininger

**Robert Wood Johnson Foundation**
- Race Consciousness in Biomedicine, Law, and Social Policy, Dorothy Roberts

**Russell Sage Foundation**
- Affluent Americans and the Common Good, Benjamin Page

**Smith Richardson Foundation**
- Reducing Juvenile Delinquency by Building Noncognitive Skills: Experimental Evidence, Jonathan Guryan
- Assessing the Impact on Students of Closing Persistently Failing Schools, Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach
- The Effects of School and Neighborhood Socioeconomic Mix on Long-Term Youth Outcomes, Greg Duncan

**Spencer Foundation**
- How Important Is the Match Between Teachers and Schools in Determining Student Achievement, and Why Do Certain Teachers Perform Better at Certain Schools? Kirabo Jackson
- Comparative Analysis of the Community Effects of Promise Programs, Lincoln Quillian
- High School Procedures for Creating College-for-All, James Rosenbaum

**William T. Grant Foundation**
- Preventing Truancy and Dropout: A Mixed-Methods Study of an Experimental Intervention in Chicago Public Schools, Jonathan Guryan

#### Government Agencies

**National Institutes of Health**
- Cognitive Aging in Context: Abilities, Genes, and the Social Environment, Jeremy Freese

**Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development**
- Community Child Health Network–Lake County, Ill., Emma Adam, and Minority Supplement for Graduate Research Assistant Chelsea McKinney (Adviser: Lindsay Chase-Lansdale)
- Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, Lindsay Chase-Lansdale
- Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital, David Figlio
- A Randomized Study to Abate Truancy and Violence in Grades 3–9, Jonathan Guryan
- Environmental and Biological Variation and Language Growth, Larry Hedges
- Influence of Placental Structure and Function on Birth Weight in the Philippines, Christopher Kuzawa
- Social Influences on Early Adult Stress Biomarkers, Thomas McDade and Emma Adam

**National Cancer Institute**
- Dynamic Models of Race and Income Segregation, Lincoln Quillian

**National Institute on Aging**
- Race-Based Social Stress and Health Trajectories from Adolescence to Adulthood, Emma Adam and Jennifer Richeson
FUNDING ORGANIZATIONS AND PROJECTS

Wisconsin Longitudinal Study: As We Age, Jeremy Freese
Wisconsin Longitudinal Study: Tracking the Life Course, Jeremy Freese
Probabilistic Thinking and Economic Behavior, Charles F. Manski
Multidimensional Pathways to Healthy Aging Among Filipino Women, Thomas McDade

National Institute on Drug Abuse
Translational Approaches to Multilevel Models of Prenatal Exposure to Cigarettes, Lauren Wakschlag

National Institute of General Medical Sciences
Why Do Research Prizes Have Effects on Minorities’ Biomedical Research Careers? Larry Hedges

National Science Foundation
Using Web Data to Study the Nature and Consequences of U.S. Congressional Campaigns, James Druckman
Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS), Jeremy Freese
Center for Advancing Research and Communication in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (ARC), Larry Hedges
Improving the Generalizability of Findings from Educational Evaluations, Larry Hedges
Fetal Growth and a Cue of Matrilineal Nutrition History in the Philippines, Christopher Kuzawa
Identification and Decision, Charles F. Manski
Ecology of Inflammation in Lowland Bolivia, Thomas McDade
Tax Progressivity and American Political Economy (CAREER Award), Monica Prasad
Early Aspirants: A Longitudinal Study of the Path to Teaching, Michelle Reininger
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The Costs of Covering: Psychological and Physiological Implications of Managing a Stigmatized Identity, Jennifer Richeson
Resource Attainment and Social Context in Negotiating Illness Among Marginalized Populations (CAREER Award), Celeste Watkins-Hayes

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Does Postsecondary Advising Improve Student Motivation and Progress in High School? James Rosenbaum

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Representing and Combining the Results of Randomized Experiments in Education, Larry Hedges

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Administration for Children and Families
CareerAdvance®, Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice
National Police Research Platform, Wesley G. Skogan

IPR political scientist Wesley G. Skogan describes how Chicago’s community policing program uses beat meetings to involve citizens in responses to crime in their neighborhoods.
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From left: Beth Tipton of Columbia University and IPR graduate research assistant James Pustejovsky discuss New York City’s small schools initiative with Howard Bloom of MDRC and IPR education researcher and statistician Larry Hedges.

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Director of communications: Patricia Reese
Assistant editor: Audrey McLain
Layout and design: Leslie Bailey
Copy editing: Evelyn Asch

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