

# Institute for Policy Research

## news

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NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

### Grants Support Diverse Faculty Research

Several recently funded projects showcase the diversity and breadth of IPR faculty research on important social policy issues including adolescent stress, neighborhood effects, teacher training, research methods for education, and the economics of adoption.



P. Reese

IPR Administrator Michael Weis meets with Michelle Reiningger on her grant.

### Recruiting Teachers that Thrive in Chicago Schools

As the nation's third largest urban school district, the Chicago Public School (CPS) system struggles each year to fill its classrooms with high-quality teachers, especially in hard-to-staff subjects such as math, science, and bilingual education.

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### Prescription for Change?

IPR policy briefing dissects candidates' healthcare plans

Healthcare has been a key concern of voters and a contentious topic of discussion on the campaign trail, with one Democratic presidential candidate having declared her intent to be the "healthcare president."

Despite all of the airtime devoted to the topic, however, little has been revealed about how the candidates' plans would actually alter America's healthcare system.

"We brought together three of the nation's leading healthcare scholars,

including two former members of the President's Council of Economic Advis-

ers, to help cut through the rhetoric on this vital campaign topic," said IPR Faculty Fellow **Therese McGuire**, who is the ConAgra Research Professor in Strategic Management at Kellogg and the organizer of the IPR policy briefing on December 10, "Prescription for Change? What the Presidential Candidates Are Saying—and Not Saying—About Their Healthcare Plans."

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J. Ziv

From left: Sherry Glied, Therese McGuire, and Katherine Baicker share thoughts on the candidates' healthcare plans.

### From Working Poor to Working Class

Could a national program benefit low-wage earners?

In 2005, more than 5 million American children lived in families in which an adult worked full time but the family was still poor. Hope for these families exists, according to IPR Faculty Fellow

**Greg J. Duncan**,

in a program called New Hope that helped bring many working families out of poverty in Milwaukee and is ready for a national test.

In a presentation at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., on Decem-



R. Alswang

Greg Duncan discusses New Hope at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

ber 12, sponsored by the Brookings Institution's Hamilton Project, Duncan told the audience that this rigorously evaluated program could constitute a new national approach to encourage work among those unemployed and reward low-income earners in the workforce.

Duncan, an economist, noted that the New Hope program hits the "trifecta" of values—it "makes work pay," its full-

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## Faculty Awards, Honors, and Presentations of Note

Social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice and an IPR faculty fellow, was awarded the 2007 Sells Award by the Society for Multivariate Experimental Psychology. The award recognizes an individual each year for distinguished lifetime achievement in contributions to the field.

“Democratic Competition and Public Opinion” by political scientists **Dennis Chong** and **James Druckman** received the 2007 Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award from the American Political Science Association. The two IPR faculty were recognized for their “outstanding paper” on “how experimental research can illuminate ... the extent to which political elites can control or manipulate mass behavior.” Chong is John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Professor, and Druckman is associate professor of political science.

IPR Faculty Associate **Daniel Diermeier**, IBM Distinguished Professor of Regulation and Competitive Practice,



Daniel Diermeier

was honored on November 16 by the Aspen Institute's Center for Business Education with a 2007 Faculty Pioneer Award for Institutional Impact. Described as the “Oscars of the business school world,” the awards recognize business school faculty who advance the principles of socially responsible leadership.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Alice Eagly** gave the inaugural lecture as the James Padilla Chair

in Arts and Sciences on October 23. It was on “Through the Labyrinth: Producing Politically Relevant Research and Explaining It to the Public.” In July, she received the Interamerican Psychologist Award from the Interamerican Society of Psychology for distinguished contributions to the field.

**Dan A. Lewis**, professor of human development and social policy and an IPR faculty fellow, was named the School of Education and Social Policy's Outstanding Undergraduate Professor for 2006-07.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Nancy MacLean**'s book *Freedom is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* has received multiple book awards for its “path-breaking” analysis of the U.S. labor movement: the Taft Prize for the outstanding book published in 2006 in U.S. labor history from the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, the 2007 Willard Hurst Prize for best book in sociolegal history by the Law and Society Association, the 2007 Labor History Best Book Prize by the International Association of Labor History Institutions, the Lillian Smith Book Award by the Southern Regional Council, and the Richard A. Lester Prize for the Outstanding Book in Labor Economics and Industrial Relations by the Industrial Relations Section. She is professor of history and African American studies.

**Benjamin Page**, Gordon S. Fulcher Professor of Decision Making and an IPR faculty associate, received the American Political Science Association's 2007 Krammerer Award for the best book in American politics in August. It was for *The Foreign Policy Disconnect: What Americans Want from Our Leaders But Don't Get*, written with Marshall Bouton.

*The Politics of Free Markets*, written by **Monica Prasad**, assistant professor of sociology and an IPR faculty fellow, received the Barrington Moore Book Award for best book from the Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Jennifer Richeson**, associate professor of psychology and African American studies, was named one of *Smithsonian* magazine's 2007 “America's Young Innovators in the Arts and Sciences” for her work at the forefront of discrimination research.

**James Rosenbaum**, professor of human development and social policy and an IPR faculty fellow, has been named as an adviser to the National Assessment of Career and Technical Education in the Department of Education until 2011.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Wesley G. Skogan**, professor of political science, gave the keynote lecture at the Apex Scottish Institute for Policing Research's annual conference on September 11 at the historic Signet Library in Edinburgh.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Kathy Thelen**, Payson S. Wild Professor in Political Science, was elected as a senior research fellow at Oxford University's Nuffield College.

**Jennifer Light**, associate professor of communication studies and an IPR faculty associate, received a 2007 New Directions Fellowship from the Mellon Foundation.

### Recent Grants

**Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice and an IPR faculty fellow, received two awards from the Spencer Foundation to support a visiting scholar and the 2008 series of quasi-experimentation workshops. (See the related story on p. 10.)

The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy awarded **Therese McGuire**, ConAgra Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management at Kellogg and an IPR faculty fellow, a grant to study how Illinois' system of property taxes is broken and what can be done to fix it.

**Greg Duncan**, Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR faculty fellow, received an award



Wesley G. Skogan

(continued on page 13)

## Four Fine Fellows

IPR welcomes four new scholars

### Alberto Palloni

Board of Trustees Professor in Sociology  
PhD, Sociology, University of Washington, 1977



A specialist in population health and ethnic disparities, Palloni comes to Northwestern with a broad and distinguished track record of scholarship. One of his main lines of inquiry is investigating the relationship between early health status and social stratification and inequality, in addition to health and mortality and the resulting disparities

among ethnic groups in the United States. In other regions of the world such as Latin America and Africa, he examines aging and mortality. Palloni is also recognized for his development and application of mathematical and statistical models. He is particularly well known for his role in describing the devastating consequences of HIV/AIDS on family structure in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s.

Palloni, who was appointed as one of Northwestern's highly esteemed Board of Trustees professors, is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a National Institutes of Health Merit Scholar, and a past president of the Population Association of America. He has served as a consultant for such organizations as the United Nations, World Bank, and U.S. Department of Commerce.

### Victoria DeFrancesco Soto

Assistant Professor of Political Science  
PhD, Political Science, Duke University, 2007



Political scientist DeFrancesco Soto's work focuses on campaigns and elections from the viewpoint of how cognition and affect shape the processing of political information within a dynamic political environment of changing racial and ethnic demographics. Her research examines the influence of social group identity on political behavior, in particular on campaigns, black-Latino intergroup relations, comparative race studies, and attitudes toward immigration.

DeFrancesco Soto also conducts research on campaign media effects. She and Jennifer Merolla of Claremont Graduate University were the first to publish a study on the role of Latino-angled campaign advertisements on electoral behavior in 2006. Other research projects include an examination of how Latinos evaluate co-ethnic candidates and how Latino growth is changing race relations in the new South.

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### Jeremy Freese

Professor of Sociology  
PhD, Sociology, Indiana University, 2000



Freese, who completed a two-year fellowship as a Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy at Harvard University in June, conducts research on the connections between biological, psychological, and social processes—especially in how large-scale social or technological changes alter them.

Freese's work evaluates different prospective contributions of evolutionary psychological and behavioral genetics to social science. In addition, he explores policy solutions that emphasize individual informed choice—such as the Medicare prescription drug benefit (Part D)—examining how such solutions might lead to differences in how much people benefit from them.

Freese also studies ways of improving data collection and methodology in the social sciences. He has written on how to better analyze large-scale surveys, proposed new standards for replication in sociology, demonstrated theoretical and measurement problems with the Ryff six-factor model of psychological well-being, and co-wrote one of the first books on how to interpret and use Stata software.

### Sergio Urzúa

Assistant Professor of Economics  
PhD, Economics, University of Chicago, 2007



Economist Sergio Urzúa's research focuses on the role of uncertainty and cognitive and noncognitive abilities as determinants of schooling decisions, labor market outcomes, and social behavior. His research in econometrics is concerned with estimating selection models with unobserved heterogeneity.

In recent research, he and economists James J. Heckman, the 2000 Nobel laureate in economics, and Jora Stixrud of the University of Chicago challenge the view that cognitive ability, as measured on tests, fully explains personal achievement. They find evidence that noncognitive skills such as motivation, persistence, and self-esteem have as much influence on outcomes for schooling, wages, and employment as cognitive ability.

For more information on these and other IPR faculty members, please visit  
[www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people).

## IPR RESEARCH NOTES

### Energizing America

#### Polls hint at what public wants in a national energy policy

Skyrocketing crude oil prices, yo-yo gas pricing, and growing awareness of global warming have all put formulating a national energy policy back on America's political map.

On December 19, President Bush signed the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007, which included the first increase in corporate average fuel economy standards since 1975 and requires domestic production of 36 billion gallons of renewable fuels by 2022.

While signing the bill was a step forward in formulating a national energy policy, IPR Director **Fay Lomax Cook** and graduate research assistant **Toby Bolsen** contend that although there has been much rhetoric about a national energy strategy, no comprehensive national policy exists. They argue that a large part of developing a national energy policy lies in examining what the public thinks about various aspects of existing energy sources, strategies, conservation efforts, and foreign oil dependency.

To gauge public understanding, Cook and Bolsen reviewed trends in public opinion polls such as Gallup and Roper from 1974 to 2006 on traditional energy sources, alternative energy sources, and citizens' priorities on energy alternatives. They find that public concern about the U.S. energy situation is as high as it was during the nation's first energy crises in the 1970s, with polls in March 2006 showing citizens even a



C. Jones

bit more concerned about today's energy situation.

Overall, they find a public engaged by energy issues and frustrated by President Bush's and Congress' long-term handling of them. Little is known about how Americans view al-

ternative energy sources, though the polls do frequently ask about nuclear energy options. On this issue, the researchers find rising support for nuclear energy in the intervening years between the Three Mile Island and Chernobyl disasters. They also show that citizens support conservation efforts through energy efficient appliances, vehicles, and homes and offices rather than higher fuel taxes at the pump.

Though Cook and Bolsen give some indication of what Americans might like to see in a national energy policy, they also stress that much remains to be done to flesh out a comprehensive understanding of what

Americans think about current and future energy policies and priorities.

The IPR working paper "Public Opinion on Energy Policy, 1974-2006" by Toby Bolsen and Fay Lomax Cook is available at [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/workingpapers/wpS07.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/workingpapers/wpS07.html). Cook is professor of human development and social policy and an IPR faculty fellow. Bolsen is a doctoral student in political science.

## How Accurate Are Jury Verdicts?

Juries across the country make decisions every day on the guilt or innocence of defendants, ideally convicting those demonstrably guilty and acquitting the innocent. Wrong verdicts do occur, but how can one measure the errors when the truth is unknown?

According to IPR Faculty Fellow **Bruce Spencer's** research, one can use statistical methods to estimate incorrect verdicts on average. In a study of 271 cases from four state courts, he found juries might have delivered wrong verdicts in at least 1 in 9 and as many as 1 in 6 of these particular cases.

"This small study is not representative of a larger set of cases," cautioned Spencer, a professor of statistics. "But what it does demonstrate is that larger, carefully designed statistical studies would have much to tell us about the accuracy of jury verdicts."

Spencer relied on data collected by the National Center for State Courts, which obtained verdicts from the judge as well as the jury on the same case. In other words, as a jury was deliberating about a particular verdict, the judge on the case filled out a questionnaire to report the verdict he or she

would have issued had it been a nonjury trial.

Spencer found that juries and judges disagreed on the verdict 23 percent of the time for these cases. "This means that we know at least one of them must be wrong at least 11.5 percent of the time for these cases, and there is evidence suggesting that juries are less accurate," Spencer said. A more complex statistical analysis suggests that the actual error rate in these cases is closer to 17 percent (or 1 in 6) for juries and about 12 percent for judges.

"Some of the errors are incorrect acquittals, where the guilty defendant goes free, and some are incorrect convictions," Spencer continued. For the cases under study, Spencer estimated a ratio of 1.3 wrongful acquittals to wrongful convictions by the jury, compared with a ratio of only 0.1 for judges.

Spencer is planning a new, larger study on the comparative accuracy of verdicts in different sets of cases.

"Estimating the Accuracy of Jury Verdicts" by Bruce Spencer was published in the *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 4(2): 305-29 in July.

## IPR RESEARCH NOTES

### Who's Bringing Home the Bacon?

#### Developing a new measure of economic independence between the sexes

Since the 1970s, more women have gone to work and received higher wages on average. Yet have women achieved the same level of economic independence as men?

Sociologist **Leslie McCall**, who is interested in questions of income and gender inequality, recently conducted a study to examine how marital status, marital patterns, earnings, and gender affect people's position in the income distribution. She is associate professor of sociology, AT&T Research Scholar, and an IPR faculty fellow.

McCall notes that it is important to study economic independence for men and women separately to provide a better understanding of men's growing dependence on spousal income, as well as women's increasing independence.

For her study, McCall developed a formula that correlates each worker's own earnings to his or her total family income from all sources, including the earnings of other family members and government transfers. This correlation produces a measure of equality in the degree of dependency for women and men in society overall—and not within each family, the usual measure of dependency on spousal earnings. She then used data from the Current Population Survey on 25- to 54-year-old mainly white men and women between



Mahalle

1968 and 2000 to determine how their positions in the income distribution have changed over time.

What she finds is that the women became more economically independent of family income, doubling their scores from 27 percent to 62 percent of men's correlation from 1970 to 2000. Surprisingly, the men's level of economic independence barely budged (rising to a correlation of 83 percent from 81 percent in 1970), despite a significant decrease in the number of husbands with stay-at-home wives.

McCall suggests that this finding reveals men's continued economic dominance in marriage as two-thirds of married couples continue to rely exclusively or primarily on the husband's earnings. This continued male dominance is due to several factors, but 80 percent of the higher independence of men stems from significantly higher male wages in families where their wives, who carry the load of childcare responsibilities, work part-time or not at all.

"Women's and Men's Position in the Income Distribution: The Changing Roles of Own Earnings and Other Family Income, 1970-2000" is online at [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/mccallpapers.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/mccallpapers.html).

## Hard Times Spur State Spending on Social Assistance

Since the passage of the 1996 welfare reform bill, analysts worried that states might cut back on their social assistance spending during economic downturns. Yet states actually increased such spending during the last recession, according to research by IPR Faculty Fellow **Therese McGuire** and her co-author **David Merriman**.

The two economists' research compares state spending during the 2001 recession to spending in two prior recessions. They find that states did not cut social welfare programs disproportionately during the last recession, but in fact, they were actually more responsive in spending on social welfare programs in times of economic distress than in pre-welfare reform recessions. McGuire and Merriman find this responsiveness surprising given the fact that states had more flexibility to cut aid programs because of the new funding mechanism of block grants.

Following welfare reform, social assistance spending became more counter-cyclical, or spending increased with rising rates of unemployment, while total state spending followed economic up- and downturns. They suggest that this might be due to a more diverse social safety net.

These new programs, an example of which is the Earned Income Tax Credit, are now playing a much larger role in pro-

viding economic well-being to low-income families than cash welfare did in the past.

McGuire and Merriman also find that state spending on public welfare programs increased as a share of total state spending, and this growth was driven largely by medical vendor payments for Medicaid. In fact, Medicaid spending has far outpaced social assistance spending over the last 25 years.

"This explosion will continue to be a major concern for states, even if state revenues stabilize," McGuire said.

"State Spending on Social Assistance Programs over the Business Cycle" appeared in *Working and Poor: How Economic and Policy Changes Are Affecting Low-Wage Workers*, edited by Rebecca Blank, Sheldon Danziger, and Robert Schoeni (Russell Sage Foundation, 2006).

McGuire is ConAgra Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management at Kellogg. Merriman is a professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago with a joint appointment between the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs and the Institute of Government and Public Affairs.



## State Budgets or Busts?

Three big funding challenges strain states: K-12 education, Medicaid, and pensions

States have barely emerged from their fiscal recovery of the early 2000s, yet it looks like another budgetary crisis might already loom on the horizon. In Illinois alone, the state's debt has been estimated at more than \$100 billion by the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club of Chicago.

Any proposals for a fix must address three big pieces of state budgets: funding for elementary and secondary education, Medicaid, and state pension liabilities. At a June 6 IPR policy briefing, three academic experts each took on one of those items, and a representative of the business community offered concluding remarks.

### Funding for Schools

While state responsibility for funding elementary and secondary education will continue to grow, IPR Faculty Fellow **Therese McGuire** said that it has limits. States already increased their funding for education substantially in recent decades and now shoulder about half the cost. During the same time, Medicaid has claimed a larger share of state budgets, and it will do so even more in the future.

What states can do, however, is "target resources where they're most needed," said McGuire, ConAgra Foods Research Professor in Strategic Management at Kellogg. Supporting this approach, court decisions in cases that challenge school funding have shifted from a standard of equity to one of adequacy. States with so-called "foundation aid" programs can target funds to districts that are most challenged to finance an adequate education and that require additional classroom resources.



*David Merriman and Sheila Weinberg of the Institute for Truth in Accounting talk about tax policy in Illinois.*

Although Illinois has a foundation aid program, "we're not funding it at the level we should," McGuire said. On the plus side in Illinois, the state aid program reduces the disparities across districts by bringing the bottom up, and it recognizes that districts with higher concentrations of poor students need more resources per pupil.

### Sharing Medicaid Costs

As for Medicaid, the social welfare program that eats the largest proportion of states' budgets, **David Merriman**, an economist at the University of Illinois at Chicago, noted that "formidable budgetary challenges loom" because the federal government is pressuring states to pick up more of the program's costs.



*R. Eden Martin of the Commercial Club of Chicago discusses Illinois' unfunded obligations.*

The federal government's role in funding Medicaid has increased since 1960 when the burden was shared about equally between the states and Washington. If the federal government were to change the rules on practices where it suspects abuses, such as intergovernmental transfer and upper-payment limits and provider assessments, "suddenly there would be a big hole in [states'] budgets," Merriman said.

Merriman noted that Illinois spending on Medicaid has not increased substantially in recent years and is less than the national average, but the state still faces challenges in financing Medicaid.

### Solving Pension Funding Crisis

State pension funding is a major problem in Illinois but does not have to be a looming catastrophe, said **J. Fred Giertz**, professor of economics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. "The problem is manageable, and it is one of will rather than of capacity," Giertz said. "Illinois has a lot of capacity but not a lot of will to deal with these issues."

Underfunding of state pension systems is not unique to Illinois, Giertz said, but this state is "egregious." Rather than funding the pension programs adequately, politicians divert revenues to current programs, leaving the problem for those who will come after them in office.

"They've underfunded the pension programs because they haven't been willing to step up to pay the full cost of government services," Giertz said. "The problem is not that pensions are out of line but that state spending is out of line compared with our revenue. Pensions are in fact something we have to deal with, but we have to deal with them within the broader budget problem."

### Commercial Club Recommendations

In closing remarks, **R. Eden Martin**, president of the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club of Chicago, discussed the committee's recent report on Illinois state finance. "Illinois incurs pension costs and healthcare obligations that are not reflected in the current fiscal-year budget," Martin said.

The December 2006 report, "Facing Facts: A Report of the Civic Committee Task Force on Illinois State Finance," recommended cutting expenses, reforming problematic programs, and increasing taxes to pay for the obligations the state has already incurred—rather than just shifting them forward to future taxpayers. But unfortunately, "There isn't a chance that will happen," Martin concluded. "It's easier to put the problem off to the future when it's some other governor's or some other legislator's problem."

Please go to [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingjune07.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingjune07.html) to view the presentations.

## A New Take on Taxes

Interdisciplinary conference provides a new agenda for research

Of the two things that are certain in life, death and taxes, sociologists have rarely studied the latter. “Yet it touches nearly every issue which concerns sociologists—from the legitimacy of the state to the inequalities of race and gender,” said IPR Faculty Fellow **Monica Prasad**.

Turn-of-the-century economist Joseph Schumpeter observed that public finance is key to understanding many important things about comparative history, she continued, “and historical sociology has its role to play in this.”

Prasad, assistant professor of sociology, organized an interdisciplinary conference on the subject with **Ajay Mehrotra** of Indiana University’s School of Law in Bloomington and **Isaac Martin** of the University of California, San Diego. “The Thunder of History: Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective” took place from May 4 to 5 at Northwestern University. IPR was a co-sponsor.

Scholars in sociology, history, economics, law, and political science from around the country converged to discuss issues from the historical origins of the tax code to the social consequences of taxation, historical lessons, and fiscal sociology.

In the keynote address, sociologist **Charles Tilly** of Columbia University argued that France’s Louis XIV and Russia’s Vladimir Putin created—or are creating—long-term changes leading to democratization. They accomplished this in large part, he said, by strengthening and centralizing their respective “state capacity,” or the ability of a state to accumulate sustainable resources through taxation, labor power, and military might.

In continuing the examination of the fiscal-military model,

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**“People don’t like to pay taxes, but they often very much like what those taxes buy.”**

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other scholars challenged the model. Analysis by economist **Joel Slemrod** of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, found very small effects of warfare on taxpayer compliance, and historian **W. Elliot Brownlee** of the University of California, Santa Barbara, showed that military conquest failed to remake the Japanese tax structure after World War II.

Other scholars also investigated state formation through

the lens of fiscal sociology, examining the welfare state, New Deal tax policy, social and political cleavages, and the sources and social consequences of tax policies.

Historian **Robin Einhorn** of the University of California, Berkeley, challenged the mainstream historical argument that it was Southern slaveholders such as Thomas Jefferson who pioneered American democracy. Instead, her research uncovers historical differences in taxation between the North and South showing that although the North was less democratic in its rhetoric, it was more democratic in its practices.

**Andrea Campbell**, a political scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), assembled public opinion data from 1947 to 2005 on American views on taxation. “People don’t like to pay taxes, but they often very much like what those taxes buy,” she noted.

Northwestern law school professor **Nancy Staudt** explained how U.S. courts and legislatures defined post-WWII tax policy.

**Christopher Howard**, a political scientist at William and Mary, revealed that the (private) welfare state is financed by sizeable tax exemptions.

**Joseph Thorndike** of the University of Virginia surmised that the United States created a small (public) welfare state because it adopted “soak-the-rich” taxation early in the century instead of taxation to raise revenue that would help the poor.

Prasad explained how globalization has not forced a “race to the bottom” in welfare protection because European welfare states tax items that are not subject to global competition such as labor and consumption instead of items that are such as capital.

“The workshop showcased an exciting range of intellectual output and will hopefully lead to the creation of an extensive research agenda for this little-researched area,” Prasad said.

The presented papers will be published in a forthcoming volume, tentatively titled “The Thunder of History: Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective.”

For more information about the conference, please see: [www.tgs.northwestern.edu/facultyandstaffinfo/facultyconferences/thunder/](http://www.tgs.northwestern.edu/facultyandstaffinfo/facultyconferences/thunder/).



*IPR Faculty Fellow Leslie McCall, associate professor of sociology, chats with MIT’s Andrea Campbell before the session on sources of tax policy.*

P. Reese

## Summer (Research) Break



Grace Noboa (seated) talks with Keenya Hofmaier about her project.

What kind of college student would want to study universities during summer break? **Grace Noboa** did. The sophomore jumped at a chance to conduct research on trends in higher education as an IPR summer undergraduate research assistant.

Noboa, who is majoring in economics, was one of 21 undergraduates paired with professors on projects this past summer ranging from studies of health and longevity to political Web campaigns. For 10 years, the Institute's summer undergraduate research program has opened the door for Northwestern students to conduct research with IPR faculty.

Recognizing the difficulty of finding hands-on undergraduate research opportunities, Noboa said she appreciated conducting analyses with real data for the first time. "I hadn't been exposed to that in my classes," she said.

And this hands-on experience is the greatest benefit of the program, noted IPR Faculty Fellow **Emma Adam**, who has worked with several undergraduates in the past and will direct this summer's program.

"My IPR summer assistants have made valuable contributions to my research and gained important research skills that they carried with them into the working world or graduate programs," said Adam, associate professor of human development and social policy. "It's a win-win situation for students and faculty."

Noboa, who worked with IPR Faculty Fellow **Burton Weisbrod**, John Evans Professor of Economics, said she compared the investments of nonprofit, public, and for-profit universities for Weisbrod's forthcoming book, *Mission and Money: Understanding the University*. For example, she found that each sector is investing in distance education to attract more adults pursuing higher degrees.

**Keenya Hofmaier**, a sophomore in social policy and legal studies, worked with IPR Faculty Associate **Mary Pattillo** on research involving school choice in Chicago Public Schools. Pattillo, professor of sociology and African American studies, sent Hofmaier to visit two schools on Chicago's low-income South Side. She interviewed parents of incoming freshmen about the process of choosing a district high school.

Most surprising to Hofmaier was how much parental involvement in a child's education plays a crucial role in their success, yet how little the parents seemed to know about the workings of the Chicago public school system.

For more information on IPR's Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants' program, please visit us online at [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/ugradresearch.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/ugradresearch.html).

## Universal Healthcare: Is America Ready?

A November panel on "Health Care Disparities and Solutions" addressed some of the issues and views for a universal U.S. plan. It was organized by the Undergraduate Lecture Series on Race, Poverty, and Inequality, and IPR was a co-sponsor.

**Benjamin Page**, an IPR faculty associate, addressed the question of whether Americans want universal healthcare. His recent research shows that a majority of Americans—Republicans and Democrats—favor a "single government plan" for healthcare.

Though Americans might worry about "big government" in the abstract, they actually favor programs and even taxes for them, said Page, the Fulcher Professor of Decision Making.

IPR Faculty Associate **Leemore Dafny** said a universal plan would require federal action and a big increase in public spending. "The data doesn't support the idea of a free lunch," said Dafny, assistant professor of management and strategy. "When people have health insurance, they spend more."

IPR Faculty Fellow **Burton Weisbrod** emphasized how the high cost of medical care results fundamentally from very expensive new medical technologies developed over the past 50 years—MRIs and organ transplants, for example. The artificial heart, soon available, will cost \$300,000 per person—or hundreds of billions if only a fraction of 1 percent of Americans over 65 needed one.

**Babs Waldman**, a medical director with the free health clinic Community Health, gave a street-level view of "disparities within disparities" where those without insurance, mainly the working poor and minorities, are three times more likely to die.

Cook County Commissioner **Larry Suffredin** described how the county's system had changed from delivering primary care in clinics to providing charity and emergency care in hospitals, driving costs up. Charity care, he noted, is everyone's problem: When emergency rooms are full, ambulances sometimes bypass several hospitals before finding one open.



Panelists (from left) Babs Waldman, Benjamin Page, Burton Weisbrod, Leemore Dafny, and Larry Suffredin tackle healthcare issues.

## Policy Perspective

# Running Through a Labyrinth—not into a Glass Ceiling

Women are advancing, but workplace discrimination and obstacles still remain

By Alice Eagly

For many years, the image of a glass ceiling has served as a very visual representation of what supposedly has kept women leaders out of the seats at the very top. Let us discard this timeworn metaphor. There are women leaders who have managed to make it because they have successfully navigated a complex labyrinth of challenges in the often winding paths toward leadership.

In my new book with Linda Carli, we argue that a labyrinth is a better symbol of why only 3 percent of CEOs in the Fortune 500 are women, for example. There isn't one absolute barrier stopping progress at a high level but rather a progressive falling away of women at every level, not just at the top.

Our study draws upon a broad range of research from economics, political science, psychology, and anthropology to offer a rich picture of how far women have come in recent decades—and how far they have to go to achieve equality.

In today's Western world, women are better educated, enrolling in higher education and attaining degrees at higher rates than men. Almost as many women as men are now part of the labor force. Women also earn more than they used to earn relative to men: In the United States, full-time working women now earn 81 cents for every dollar that men earn—up from 63 cents in 1979. And when all U.S. organizations are taken into account, women occupy 23 percent of chief executive posts.

Despite the progress, gender equality has not been achieved. Most obviously, there are still relatively few women occupying the top rungs of leadership. Even at lower managerial levels, women are not proportionally represented.

Research shows that women do not have nearly as much power and authority as men do. Even when male and female managers are in comparable jobs, women tend to wield less authority over others than men. The jobs women hold generally confer less power to make decisions and to determine others' wages.

Our research also shows that for equally qualified men and women, the women do not rise as fast as men. Wage and promotion gaps are only partially explained by women's less consistent labor force participation. Despite laws to the contrary, discrimination is alive and well—and found at every job level from entry level to top management jobs.

Stereotypes about men and women provide a window into why the inequity persists. Stereotypes depict women as warm, nice, and considerate, and men as directive, competent, and competitive. Because people's stereotypes about leaders are more similar to their stereotypes about men than those about women, people assume that women are less qualified than men for leadership, especially in male-dominated roles.

Thus women have to prove themselves by performing beyond expectations if they want to rise to higher positions.

However, women face a double bind in their quest for advancement. The research shows that when a woman is assertive and takes charge, people often react negatively, but if she fulfills the prescribed stereotype of a kind and gentle woman, she might be regarded as a poor leader.

It's not easy to find an appropriate and effective leadership style to overcome the double bind, but many women succeed. Part of their success stems from displaying a style that is more democratic and participative to men's more autocratic, command-and-control style. In managing subordinates, women also lead more by example, encourage creativity and development, and rely more on rewards and less on punishment to motivate them.

Fortunately, these leadership styles are generally consistent with well-regarded managerial practices and are, in fact, correlated with effectiveness. They also help solve some of the conflict created by the double bind because they are relatively neutral and combine assertive competence with supportive mentoring and warmth.

But the picture for women remains mixed. On the positive side, women have gained access to most lower- and middle-level positions, including in medical and health services (68 percent) and education (64 percent). On the negative side, women still face some discrimination in wages and promotions and skepticism about their leadership abilities. Most telling, more people say they prefer to have a male boss.

For women who aspire to leadership, routes exist but present twists and turns, both expected and unexpected. But labyrinths do have a route to the center, showing that goals are attainable. Women no longer face absolute barriers but impediments that can often be resolved through thoughtful problem-solving and careful negotiation.

*Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders* by Alice Eagly, James Padilla Professor in Arts and Sciences at Northwestern and an IPR faculty fellow, and Linda Carli of Wellesley College (Harvard Business School Press, 2007). See p. 12 for more information about the book.



Alice Eagly

R. Eagly

## Unique Learning Opportunities

### IPR faculty provide uncommon methodological training

Finding a workshop to learn how to make a meringue or throw a ceramic bowl is easy, yet where does one go to learn more about how to eliminate selection bias in a quasi-experiment or use biomarkers to evaluate adolescent stress?

“IPR faculty carry out the Institute’s core mission of conducting relevant and rigorous social policy research, but they also provide a unique opportunity for training in methodology that few other institutes can emulate,” said **Fay Lomax Cook**, the Institute’s director and professor of human development and social policy.

#### Quasi-Experimentation Workshops

Much interest abounds in the use of randomized experiments, the “gold standard” for evidence-based studies in educational research, but there are instances where they are not possible to conduct. In such cases, quasi-experiments provide a better research design, noted IPR Faculty Fellow **Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice.

Cook and his colleague **William R. Shadish** of the University of California, Merced, held their second series of workshops over the summer. The three workshops were specifically designed for educational researchers and welcomed more than 90 of them from universities, school districts, and a few research firms. The Spencer Foundation provided funding for the workshops.

The week-long curriculum covered theory and practice for regression-discontinuity designs and interrupted time series among others. Pointing to many examples from education, the two methodologists highlighted the advantages of using such practices, but also discussed the circumstances under which they would not work.

**Albert-Enéas Gakusi**, a researcher at the African Development Bank in Tunis, Tunisia, said he was very dissatisfied with the applied methods he was using for his program evaluations. After a long and fruitless search for some sort of training session, he eventually chanced upon the IPR quasi-experimentation workshops and into the “good hands” of Cook and Shadish.

“A lot of people talk about evaluating impacts without really knowing what they are talking about, and I didn’t want to be in this case,” Gakusi said.

Quasi-experimentation made him understand that it was possible to conduct robust studies with imperfect information. “The most important lesson I came away with is that it is really very complicated to establish causality,” Gakusi said. “And you have to spend a lot of effort to properly measure effects.” But, he noted, in most cases, this is not done in multilateral and bilateral donors’ evaluations, which have the unfortunate tendency to conclude on a positive note to avoid results that might run contrary to what senior managers or beneficiary governments would want to see.

#### Summer Biomarker Institute

Another area where IPR faculty are pushing the methodological envelope is in implementing biomarkers into large-scale population studies. For the second year, C2S, IPR’s Center on Social Disparities and Health, held its Summer Biomarker Institute, which is supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health. In all, more than 30 scholars came for the three-day workshop, including three international participants from Nigeria, China, and the United Kingdom.

Headed by three IPR faculty fellows, developmental psychologist **Emma Adam** and anthropologists **Thomas McDade** and **Christopher Kuzawa**, the program set the stage for two days of hands-on training. An entire session was devoted to conceptual and theoretical issues regarding the integration of biological measures into social science research. They then covered practical topics such as how to collect and analyze saliva, dried blood spots, and DNA and discussed lessons from a recent application of many of these methods, the National Social Life, Health, and Aging Project.

The workshop also covered ethical considerations in applying biological measures to community-based research by IPR Faculty Fellow **Dorothy Roberts**, Kirkland and Ellis Professor of Law.

Adam is associate professor of human development and social policy. McDade is Weinberg College Board of Visitors Research and Teaching Professor and associate director of C2S. Kuzawa is assistant professor of anthropology.

For more information about upcoming IPR workshops, please see IPR’s Web site, [www.northwestern.edu/ipr](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr).



*Thomas Cook explains how participants can use design elements in quasi-experimental studies.*



*Emma Adam demonstrates how to collect saliva samples in the field.*

P. Reese

## Diverse Research but a Common Interest

### Workshop forges connections between social and political scientists

More than 40 social scientists and graduate students from around the Midwest came together for a workshop, co-sponsored by IPR, which explored diverse topics from examining the black-white race gap in death penalty support to linking political rhetoric and ideology.

“Our underlying motivation in organizing the workshop was to foster connections between social scientists at different universities with common interests in political and social behavior,” said IPR Faculty Fellow **James Druckman**, who organized the May 11 workshop. He is associate professor of political science and chair of IPR’s Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy Program.

**Mark Peffley** of the University of Kentucky dug deeper into understanding the interracial gap in death penalty support. After randomly assigning respondents in a national survey to one of several arguments against the death penalty, he and Jon Hurwitz of the University of Pittsburgh found that arguments based on unfairness or racial bias were more persuasive for blacks. Whites, on the other hand, were practically immune to such arguments and even became more supportive of the death penalty upon learning that it discriminates against blacks. Peffley partially explained the gap by attributing it to how one views the criminal justice system: Blacks view it as more racially and generally unfair than whites, who believe that the system is fair and the reason blacks are imprisoned more is that blacks commit more crimes.

**William Howell** of the University of Chicago showed that public elites possess sizable influence in shaping public views about matters involving war. He and Douglas Kriner of Boston University linked more than 5,000 congressional speeches about the Iraq war to trends in public support for the war, and then followed up with a series of survey experiments. Howell and Kriner found that political elites exerted substantial influence on public opinion via public declarations made on the floors of the House and Senate. They also demonstrated that the most influential messages come from either co-partisan, trusted sources or from “costly sources,” where the message conflicts with a political elite’s self-interest or ideological beliefs.

IPR Faculty Associate **Daniel Diermeier** and his colleagues made novel use of a text classification algorithm to pinpoint congressional members’ political leanings. They extracted the terms most indicative of ideological positions from all Senate floor speeches in the 101<sup>st</sup> to 108<sup>th</sup> Congresses

(1989-2005). From it, the researchers achieved a 94 percent accuracy rate in predicting senators’ ideological positions (extreme conservative, moderate conservative, moderate liberal, or extreme liberal) in the 108th Congress. Their finding indicates that roll-call votes and floor debates are different but correlated expressions of underlying ideological belief systems—and are not simply the result of institutional



P. Reese

*Workshop organizer James Druckman speaks with a participant about the ideological positions of U.S. senators.*



*From left: IPR Faculty Associate Benjamin Page talks about black-white views on the death penalty with Mark Peffley of the University of Kentucky and Reuel Rogers of Northwestern University.*

P. Reese

factors such as the influence of party leadership or agenda control. Diermeier is IBM Distinguished Professor of Regulation and Competitive Practice at Northwestern University’s Kellogg School of Management.

**Jason Reifler** of Georgia State University and his colleagues are examining how citizens in advanced democracies structure their foreign policy beliefs. Though political scientists tend to dismiss foreign policy beliefs as ineffectual, volatile, and incoherent, their study of Canadian citizens’ beliefs adds to growing evidence that citizens can and do hold well-formed attitudes on international matters. In reviewing a nationally representative survey of Canadian voters’ foreign policy attitudes in 2004, they found that their attitudes were structured along three key dimensions: their level of support for a strong military for homeland defense, the amount of deference given to international organizations in using force abroad, and the level of engagement with the international community (e.g., preferences on immigration or peacekeeping missions).

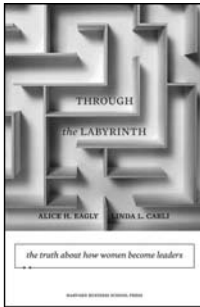
The workshop also served as an opportunity for graduate students to pair with a professor for a mentoring session and critique of their research projects. The next Chicago Area Behavior Workshop will take place on May 9 at Northwestern University. For more information, visit [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/workshops/cab.htm](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/workshops/cab.htm).

# Recently Published Books

## Faculty Fellows

### Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders

By Alice Eagly and Linda Carli  
Harvard Business School Press, 2007, 336 pages

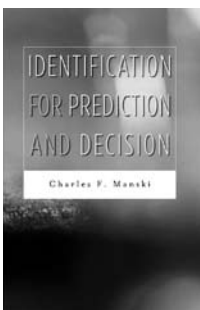


Despite real progress, women remain rare enough in elite positions of power that their presence still evokes a sense of wonder. In *Through the Labyrinth*, IPR Faculty Fellow Alice Eagly and Linda Carli examine why women's paths to power remain difficult to traverse. They propose the labyrinth as a better image than the glass ceiling and explain how to navigate through it. They also address questions of female leadership and stereotypes and

organizational obstacles to that leadership. Using research, anecdotes, and personal accounts, they paint a compelling portrait of the barriers and restrictions that women in leadership roles face. The authors evaluate whether such restrictions are present and, when they are, what we can do to eliminate those barriers. Eagly is James Padilla Chair in Arts and Sciences and professor of psychology. Carli is professor of psychology at Wellesley College.

### Identification for Prediction and Decision

By Charles F. Manski  
Harvard University Press, 2008, 368 pages

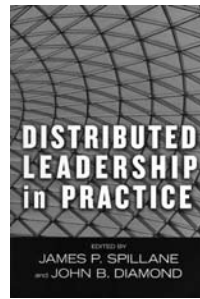


Charles Manski's new book is a full-scale exposition of his methodology for analyzing empirical questions in the social sciences. He recommends that researchers first ask what can be learned from data alone and then ask what can be learned when data are combined with credible weak assumptions. Inferences predicated on weak assumptions, he argues, can achieve wide consensus, while ones that require strong assumptions

almost inevitably are subject to sharp disagreements. Manski, Board of Trustees Professor in Economics and an IPR faculty fellow, organizes the book into three parts. Part I studies prediction with missing or otherwise incomplete data. Part II concerns the analysis of treatment response, which aims to predict outcomes when alternative treatment rules are applied to a population. Part III studies prediction of choice behavior.

### Distributed Leadership in Practice

James Spillane and John Diamond, eds.  
Critical Issues in Educational Leadership Series  
Teachers College Press, 2007, 208 pages



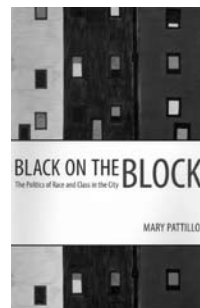
In *Distributed Leadership in Practice*, IPR Faculty Fellow James Spillane and his colleague John Diamond have edited a volume that illuminates the sometimes confusing and little understood concept of "distributed leadership." Designed for educational practitioners, policymakers, and researchers, the book explores how distributed leadership differs from other leadership frameworks and shows how the day-to-day practice of leadership is

an important line of inquiry for those interested in improving school leadership and by extension, school performance. The book is filled with case studies providing clear examples of what a distributed perspective is and how it can be connected to research. Spillane is Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Chair in Learning and Organizational Change. John Diamond is assistant professor of education at Harvard University.

## Faculty Associates

### Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City

By Mary Pattillo  
University of Chicago Press, 2007, 400 pages



Mary Pattillo's *Black on the Block* uses the historic rise, alarming fall, and equally dramatic renewal of the city's North Kenwood–Oakland neighborhood to explore the politics of race and class in contemporary urban America. There was a time when North Kenwood–Oakland was plagued by gangs, drugs, violence, and the font of poverty from which they sprang. But in the late 1980s, a group of activists rose up to tackle the social problems that

had plagued the area for decades. *Black on the Block* tells the remarkable story of how these residents laid the groundwork for a revitalized and self-consciously black neighborhood that continues to flourish today. Pattillo is professor of sociology and African American studies and an IPR faculty associate.

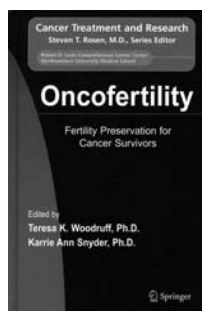
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## Recently Published Books

(continued from page 12)

### Oncofertility: Fertility Preservation for Cancer Survivors

By Teresa Woodruff and Karrie Ann Snyder  
Springer, 2007, 300 pages



Woodruff and Snyder's *Oncofertility* discusses this new medical phenomenon that has emerged as an interdisciplinary field bridging the biomedical and social sciences. They examine issues regarding an individual's fertility options, choice, and goals in light of cancer diagnosis, treatment, and survival. While cancer survival rates have increased steadily over several decades, particularly among younger patients, more aggressive forms of treatment

often compromise a cancer patient's ability to conceive. Today, emerging reproductive technologies are giving patients and their families more options at the time of diagnosis to ensure future fertility. Woodruff is Thomas J. Watkins Memorial Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology and an IPR faculty associate. Snyder is a lecturer in sociology and an IPR faculty associate.

### Exporting Press Freedom: Economic and Editorial Dilemmas in International Media Assistance

By Craig LaMay  
Transaction Publishers, 2007, 350 pages



In his new book *Exporting Press Freedom*, Craig LaMay details the extensive history of independent public affairs media, as well as the tribulations that it has faced due to hostile political regimes and the demands of the consumer marketplace. International media assistance first gained prominence in 1989, and it is still today an important aspect of international democracy-promotion aid. LaMay strives to show how the dilemma

of media independence and sustainability is best understood as an economic problem rather than one of poor editorial standards or lack of will. He is assistant professor of journalism and an IPR faculty associate.

## Faculty Awards, Honors, and Presentations of Note

(continued from page 2)

from the Foundation for Child Development to look at how students' third-grade skills relate to their later achievement and outcomes.

Duncan also received grants from the Bill and Melinda Gates and Smith Richardson foundations for a project that will investigate how neighborhoods influence the life outcomes of low-income youth. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation is also supporting the project. (See the related cover story for more information.)

The Institute of Education Sciences will fund a series of summer workshops for two years on randomized field trials, run by IPR Faculty Fellow **Larry V. Hedges**, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Social Policy, and two Vanderbilt colleagues. (See the related story on p. 16.)

**Leslie McCall**, associate professor of sociology, AT&T Research Scholar, and an IPR faculty fellow, is adding questions on inequality to the 2008 General Social Survey with support from the National Science Foundation.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Alberto Palloni**, Board of Trustees Professor in Sociology, was awarded a National Institutes of Health grant, for his work on health conditions among the elderly in Latin America.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Michelle Reininger**, assistant professor of human development and social policy, received a grant from the Joyce Foundation for her work on Targeting Recruitment Efforts at Promising Student Teachers: A New Approach

for Teacher Recruitment in the Chicago Public School System. (See the related cover story.)

**Dorothy Roberts**, Kirkland and Ellis Professor of Law and an IPR faculty fellow, received a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation award for her project on race consciousness in biomedicine, law, and social policy.

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development will provide funding for the Illinois site of Community Action for Child Health Equity (CACHE), a partnership between Evanston Northwestern Healthcare Research Institute and Lake County Health Department's community health centers. IPR Faculty Associate **Madeleine Shalowitz** is co-principal investigator, and several C2S and IPR faculty—**Emma Adam**, **Greg Duncan**, **Christopher Kuzawa**, **P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, **Thomas McDade**, and **Bruce Spencer**—are involved.

IPR Faculty Fellow **Burton Weisbrod**, John Evans Professor of Economics, received a grant from the Searle Center on Law, Regulation, and Economic Growth at Northwestern's Law School to measure and evaluate performance in the public and nonprofit sectors.



Dorothy Roberts

P. Reese

## Prescription for Change

(continued from page 1)

### The Democrats: All-for-One Universal Coverage

"You can't be a Democratic candidate without having a health plan," said **Sherry Glied**, a professor at Columbia's Mailman Public School of Health. And that's just it: "They all have pretty much the same one." Glied was a senior economist for the President's Council of Economic Advisers from 1992 to 1993 under presidents George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, and a participant on President Clinton's Healthcare Task Force.

Glied explained that Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, and Barack Obama are advocating very similar mixed coverage plans that include Medicaid, Medicare, and a purchasing umbrella for those not covered by employers or the government. To differentiate him or herself from the pack, each candidate emphasizes a different aspect of their plan: Clinton emphasizes coverage choices; Edwards, employer responsibility; and Obama, the high cost of healthcare.

The Democrats' primary concern is how close they can come to universal coverage, Glied noted, which explains their fixation on mandates. This is what was behind the November sparring match between Clinton and Obama over the number of people covered by each of their plans. Obama's plan would only require insurance for children, while Clinton's and Edwards' plans would mandate insurance for both adults and children.

"It's easy to say 'mandate,'" Glied said. "But nobody actually wants to spell out what a mandate means." There will be an issue of how to enforce these mandates, she continued.

After universal healthcare coverage, cost runs a distant second, she said. All of the Democratic candidates have declared their intent to roll back the Bush tax cuts and force U.S. insurance companies to spend their "fair share" of healthcare premiums to adequately cover their clients. But the cost estimates the candidates are providing are "PFA," "completely plucked from the air," she said wryly. "The actual differences will emerge as the legislation gets crafted, and real cost estimates are developed."

"In healthcare, it's not a question of how you finance the plan in Year 1, it's a question of how you finance the plan 10 years from now, ... and the candidates won't spell that out until after the election when the Congressional Budget Office forces them to," Glied said. "The candidates' plans are just out there to stake out territory and say, 'This is who I am.'"

### The Republicans: Less Government, More Market Solutions

On the Republican side, the candidates' healthcare plans are even sketchier, but the leading Republican candidates do

agree on several issues, especially "big government is bad," and "pie in diners is good," said Katherine Baicker, a professor at Harvard University's School of Public Health. Baicker was a member of President's Council of Economic Advisers under George W. Bush from 2005 to 2007.

Pitting themselves against big government also means that the Republicans are against mandates, raising taxes, expanding public programs, and most importantly a single-payer system, which largely lines up with popular opinion, Baicker said. "But being against big government still means being in favor of preserving Medicare as we know it today," Baicker smiled.

Some of the major areas of divergence among the Republican plans are how they would be financed, where most insurance would be purchased (through employers versus on the individual market), and the treatment of insured versus out-of-pocket care, Baicker pointed out.

Rudy Giuliani would seek a tax deduction (\$15,000 for families and \$7,500 for individuals) for those who do not have employer-sponsored insurance. Yet it would provide a new benefit without dropping other benefits or implementing tax cuts, which Baicker said would make it an expensive policy and one that contributed to

the erosion of employment-based insurance.

Mitt Romney's proposal, which stands apart from what he implemented as governor of Massachusetts, would allow people to purchase healthcare with pre-tax dollars. This would drive people to consume more healthcare relative to other goods, Baicker said, but would eliminate the tax preference that drives people to more expensive insurance plans.

John McCain, whom Baicker singled out as having the most detailed healthcare proposals of the Republicans, would offer a self-financing, flat-tax credit (\$5,000 for families and \$2,500 for individuals). She noted that he has also proposed some other "really sensible" changes such as pay-for-performance and longer-term insurance.

Finally, the formerly hefty Mike Huckabee's healthcare plan is slim on detail, with an emphasis on promoting healthier lifestyles so that Americans are "paying for health and not healthcare," she noted.

Despite the differences, the Republican plans share common ground: "If you are against big government, you are usually for the free market," Baicker said. "There's a big reliance on the market to provide competition that will bring costs down and drive value up. There's a lot of good there, but there's also some over-reliance."



*David Dranove points out that implementing electronic medical records can lower costs, improve quality, and expand access.*

(continued on page 15)

## Prescription for Change

(continued from page 14)

### What They Don't Say—But You Should Know

Despite all of their talk about healthcare and their plans, the candidates have “gone silent” on long-standing issues of cost containment, entitlement, and the role of technology, according to IPR Faculty Associate **David Dranove**, Walter J. McNerney Professor of Health Industry Management at the Kellogg School of Management.

Cost containment comes down to either cutting prices or quantity, Dranove said. “And the candidates should tell us which one of those two they are planning to control.”

Dranove gave the example of consumer-directed health plans that use financial incentives and transparent information to help consumers better manage their healthcare consumption and supposedly lower costs. While these plans are “the darling of Republican Party candidates,” they are unlikely to have any impact, he said, because they target healthy, well-educated individuals. He estimated that if the entire nation switched to such health plans this would only save \$50 to \$100 billion per year. “That sounds like a lot of money until we realize it’s just 3 percent of healthcare spending,” he said.

Next, Dranove attacked the issue of entitlement. “No one is promising a \$300,000 house to homeless families,” he reminded the audience. “But many candidates are promising equal access to the world’s most expensive and advanced healthcare system.” Leveling the healthcare playing field is a very expensive proposition, and if we are not going to have a level playing field, it will involve rationing, he said. But no one is forthcoming on what the rationing would look like.

Finally, technological change is the most important long-term driver of cost and quality, with many promising medical innovations waiting in the wings from pharmacogenomics to growing new organs. Yet most of the changes in how healthcare is financed will have huge consequences for the development and spread of these new medical technologies. So, he said, it’s important to know whether candidates are “Luddites,” who believe that people are better off with older, cheaper—and often less effective—medical technology, or those who are willing to implement the latest technology.

Dranove called on the candidates to support the implementation of electronic medical records in the decades-long quest to lower costs, improve quality, and expand access. He punctuated the point by listing all of the delivery systems that have fallen short because of outdated information systems.

“These are the kinds of information systems that any business in the ’07 economy would be hard pressed to function without,” he said.

Though expensive, medical innovation has proved to be “one the best investments that this nation or any other nation has made,” Dranove said.

This IPR policy briefing was co-sponsored with the Union League Club of Chicago and funded by a grant from the Joyce Foundation. To view the presentations, please go to [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingDec07.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingDec07.html).

## School Leadership Quality

By James Spillane

Teacher quality has garnered much attention from a diverse group of scholars. A natural next step is to focus on the quality of school leadership and management. After all, the policy environment holds schools, not individual classroom teachers, accountable.



A. Campbell

By extension, from the work on teacher quality, the obvious response is to examine principal quality by looking at their expertise, certification, experience, and so on. While this empirical research on principal quality is important and necessary, more will be needed for good proxies of leadership and management quality.

I’d argue that expertise or capability are not entirely an individual affair. Performance of core tasks critical to school improvement might be distributed over two or more leaders in a school.

This is an acknowledgment that the work of leading and managing the school involves a team of individuals with formally designated leadership positions, such as assistant principals and curriculum coordinators, and that this team’s “aggregate” expertise and capability might be key in ascertaining the school’s leadership and management quality. Were we really ambitious, we might even try to measure the contribution of informal leaders, especially teacher leaders.

Thinking about expertise and capability as distributed, we have to go beyond simply acknowledging individual expertise to considering how they complement one another in the performance of key school improvement tasks. Also, recognizing that expertise is situated further complicates the measurement task. A situated perspective would press us to acknowledge and understand how what counts as quality or capability in school leadership and management might differ, depending on such factors as the student population served and the teacher workforce in a school.

Work on teacher quality in the education sector has greatly benefited from the field of economics. Similar benefits can be gained from work in distributed and situated cognition. Let’s not fall into the trap of easy measures and quick fixes when it comes to studying and measuring that quality. If we do, our “easy measures” will eventually lead to the erroneous conclusion that measuring the quality of school leadership and management is impossible.

*IPR Faculty Fellow James Spillane is Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Chair of Learning and Organizational Change. This is an edited version of “Gauging the Quality of School Leadership” that appeared in Education Week on January 10.*

## Grants Support Diverse Faculty Research

(continued from page 1)

“Although CPS has implemented a very successful student teacher program that recruits as many as 1,500 student teachers each year, it faces a tremendous challenge in devising a dynamic selection process to identify those student teachers who will not just survive, but thrive in the urban environment of Chicago Public Schools,” said IPR Faculty Fellow **Michelle Reininger**, assistant professor of human development, social policy, and learning sciences.

This is why Reininger is launching a two-year project, thanks to funding from the Joyce Foundation, to develop a comprehensive district-level process that will allow CPS to identify and target promising student teachers. She noted that by retaining high-quality individuals after their student teaching, the Chicago Public School system hopes to close the achievement gap.

“And what works for Chicago might also work for the rest of the nation,” she said.

### Methodological Training for Educational Researchers

In the current K-12 educational climate dominated by No Child Left Behind, the stakes for educational testing and evaluating student outcomes have never been higher.

“Yet a national shortfall of qualified researchers limits America’s capacity to carry out high-quality educational research,” said research methodologist **Larry V. Hedges**. Recently, the Institute of Education Sciences awarded Northwestern University grants for postdoctoral training and summer workshops on randomized field trials.

Long-term, the postdoctoral fellowships will produce scholars with the necessary knowledge and training to carry out a wide range of quality educational research, but this will take years—as it should, Hedges noted. “The summer workshops will address the immediate need of training educational researchers already in the field.”

The workshops will focus on the design, implementation, and analysis of randomized experiments and will run for two weeks each summer for the next three years. Each session will train 30 researchers who are already planning to conduct randomized trials and have some experience already with them. Two of the three workshops will be held at Northwestern and one at Vanderbilt, a co-sponsor of the workshops.

Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Social Policy and co-director of IPR’s Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research or Q-Center. He will organize the workshops with **Mark Lipsey** and **David Cordray** of Vanderbilt University.

### Improving Better Quasi-Experimental Practices in Education

Social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** received a grant from the Institute of Education Sciences to investigate how

to improve quasi-experimental designs and analyses for educational experiments. Quasi-experimentation can be used when a randomized experiment is not possible or has broken down.

“Generally, the causal designs used in educational research are of poor quality,” Cook said. “Our aim is to show how quasi-experimental designs can work in a wide variety of situations to help educational researchers achieve superior empirical results.”

Cook and his collaborators, including **William Shadish** of the University of California, Merced, will seek to improve the four strongest quasi-experimental designs used in education: regression-discontinuity, some specific kinds of case matching, short-interrupted time series, and pattern matching.

The plan is to test the validity of the knowledge gained through reanalyzing data sets comparing quasi-experimental results to those from randomized experiments sharing the same treatment group.

“This would serve as a valid causal benchmark for estimating how much bias reduction is achieved by one way of improving a quasi-experimental design versus another,” Cook said.

Cook and Shadish have run six workshops on quasi-experimentation, with funding from the Spencer Foundation, for educational researchers from around the country and abroad. They will be combining their research with their experiences in running these workshops into a book.

Cook is Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice at Northwestern and co-director of IPR’s Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research or Q-Center.

### Measuring Adolescent Stress with Biomarkers

A team of IPR researchers has been selected to investigate the impact of socioeconomic status, social relationships, and neighborhood quality on biomarkers of health collected as part of the fourth wave of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, also known as Add Health.

“This is an unprecedented opportunity to integrate sophisticated biological measures with detailed information on the contextual factors that shape human development and health,” said **Thomas McDade**, an IPR faculty fellow.



Larry Hedges makes a point about training researchers in education.

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## Grants Support Diverse Faculty Research

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McDade, who is associate director of IPR's Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, helped design the biomarker protocols for the Add Health study, which includes a nationally representative sample of approximately 20,000 adolescents from across the United States.

"This project will be the most comprehensive investigation to date of how social stressors influence adolescent physical and mental health," McDade said. It will also examine how stress can lead to health disparities and affect later adult health outcomes, he continued. The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development has provided funding for the project.

McDade is collaborating with IPR faculty fellows **Emma Adam**, associate professor of human development and social policy; **P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, professor of human development and social policy and director of C2S; **Christopher Kuzawa**, assistant professor of anthropology; **Greg Duncan**, Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy; and **Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair in Ethics and Justice. McDade is associate professor of anthropology and Weinberg College Board of Visitors Research and Teaching Professor.

### Economics of Adoption

Americans adopt more children domestically and internationally than any other nationality in the world, with 2.5 percent—or two million—of all American children being adopted. IPR Faculty Fellow **Éva Nagypál** and her colleagues will conduct the first econometric analysis of the "adoption market," with funding from the National Science Foundation.

Nagypál, assistant professor of economics, and her col-

***"We aim to show how different elements such as adoption law reform, marriage market dynamics, and labor market policy changes affect decision making about constituting families in the United States..."***

leagues will create a new data set from the National Survey of Family Growth and the Survey of Income and Program Participation to trace historical U.S. adoption trends.

"We aim to show how different elements such as adoption law reform, marriage-market dynamics, and labor market policy changes affect decision making about constituting families in the United States," Nagypál said. "Eventually, we hope to show how different policy interventions influence decisions about adoption and fertility."

Nagypál is working with **Chiaki Moriguchi**, assistant professor of economics at Northwestern; **Luojia Hu**, a senior economist at the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank; and **Raquel Bernal**, assistant professor of economics at the

Universidad de los Andes in Bogota, Colombia.

### Neighborhood Effects on Low-Income Youth

Three prominent foundations, Bill and Melinda Gates, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur, and Smith Richardson, have awarded grants to a major new study on neighborhood effects led by IPR Faculty Fellow **Greg Duncan**, an economist and Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy. The project has also received funding from the Institute of Education Sciences and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

To date, no study has ever pinned down the exact magnitude of neighborhood effects on people's life chances because of a lack of randomized design. The researchers aim to provide the first rigorous measures of the long-term causal effects of neighborhoods on children and parents.

The study will interview families from the randomized mobility experiment, Moving to Opportunity, or MTO, implemented by HUD. From 1994 to 1998, more than 4,600 low-income families in five major U.S. cities enrolled in the MTO study. Each family was assigned to one of three groups, a low-poverty voucher group, a traditional Section 8 voucher group, or a control group.

Duncan and his four colleagues, **Lawrence Katz** and **Ronald Kessler** of Harvard University, **Jeffrey Kling** of the Brookings Institution, and **Jens Ludwig** of the University of Chicago, will examine the links between outcomes and housing mobility and neighborhoods 10 years after their original MTO random assignment. In particular, they will study children's schooling and educational outcomes, household learning and developmental environments, family income and jobs, and financial behavior and outcomes. This study is part of the congressionally mandated evaluation of MTO.

### Newsletter Staff

**Editor:** Patricia Reese  
**Copy Editor:** Gary Wisby  
**Additional Writers:** Sarah Levy and Marianne Goss  
**Editorial Assistance:** Bonnie Silver, Arlene Dattels, Shasha Zou, Chris Gentilviso, Ryan Luong, and Meryl Summers  
**Designer:** Alice Murray

### Institute for Policy Research

2040 Sheridan Road Phone: 847-491-3395  
 Evanston, IL 60208-4100 Fax: 847-491-9916

**Web:** [www.northwestern.edu/ipr](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr)  
**E-mail:** [ipr@northwestern.edu](mailto:ipr@northwestern.edu)

## From Working Poor to Working Class

(continued from page 1)

time work focus resonates with the business community, the public, and participants themselves; and its social-contract nature respects and challenges participants. He led the evaluation of the program and co-authored *Higher Ground: New Hope for the Working Poor and Their Children* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2007) with Aletha C. Huston and Thomas S. Weisner.

### The New Hope Project

New Hope was created and backed by a unique coalition of community activists, business leaders, and academics in Milwaukee. By the time it launched in 1994, 1,400 low-income families had volunteered for a chance to participate in this program that promised them a wage supplement and subsidies for childcare and healthcare in exchange for working a minimum of 30 hours per week. Temporary community service jobs were also available for those unable to find 30 hours of work in the private labor market.

"This is not a typical welfare-to-work program focused on long-term welfare recipients," Duncan noted at "New Hope: A Policy Model for the Working Poor and Their Children," a 2007 IPR policy briefing. "New Hope opened its doors to all low-income adults—men and women, regardless of whether they lived with children—who want to make work, work."

The overall poverty rate for New Hope families dropped by 16 percent—and the decrease in poverty persisted even when the earnings supplements stopped after three years.

"New Hope doesn't work for everyone," cautioned Julie Kerssick, director of the project, at the same briefing. It appeared particularly effective for roughly half of the enrolled families facing only one major employment barrier such as affordable childcare or little work experience.

More significant, perhaps, were the program's indirect effects on children. Teacher interviews showed that during the program New Hope children were both achieving more and behaving better in the classroom, with the strongest effects observed for boys.

"The gains for the boys are substantial," Duncan said. "It's similar to the effect of the Head Start program on kids or having a dramatically lower class size." Also noteworthy was the ethnographic evidence indicating that parents appeared to use the program to get their boys into more after-school programs and away from gangs.

### Is New Hope Worth What It Costs?

At the IPR policy briefing, businessman and philanthropist King Harris underlined that pulling people out of poverty and into living-wage jobs should be at the heart of the nation's domestic policy agenda. "But," he asked, "can we afford to provide these benefits on a mass basis along the lines suggested by New Hope?"

In totaling up average income plus the value of benefits such as childcare and healthcare, Harris calculated that the program pushed average family income just above poverty level. This was the equivalent of an average gain in income

of between \$1,400 and \$1,900 per family but at a cost of about \$6,600 per participant. (With recent increases in work supports offered by states, Duncan now estimates the program costs to be roughly half that much.)

Harris, who worked for the manufacturing and publishing conglomerate Pittway Corporation from 1971 to 2000, eventually serving as its President and CEO, also

pointed out how expensive the daycare component was and that the program's health benefits, used by half of participants, covered elective procedures, name-brand prescription drugs, mental health benefits, and dental care.

"I think we could provide very base-level benefits to everyone in the country," Harris said. But in light of the nation's budget deficit, "We cannot afford benefits as rich as those offered by the New Hope program."

Duncan acknowledged the childcare component cost the most, but whether the program is affordable depends on the value placed on the benefits to children. "I'm an economist by training," he stressed. "I am loath to recommend a policy that can't conceivably generate more benefits than costs."

Duncan said that a straight economic tally based on the benefits from the increased work effort of participants does not add up—the increases in earnings were only a fraction of the program cost. But the economic value of the benefits for children should be part of the equation as well, he noted. If the gains that New Hope children experienced were made permanent, this would translate into an increase in their total lifetime earnings and reductions in crime rates that could easily exceed the program's costs.

Harris did find other ideas intriguing, such as creating public service jobs, expanding daycare (but making it more affordable), and providing one-stop service centers for low-



Panelists (from left) Greg Duncan, Julie Kerssick, and King Harris continue their discussion of the New Hope Project after the policy briefing.

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# IPR Working Papers

Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

child, adolescent, and family studies, poverty, race, and inequality, politics, institutions, and public policy, social disparities and health, community policing, urban policy and community development, law and justice studies, educational policy, philanthropy and non-profit organizations, child, adolescent, and family studies, poverty, race, and inequality, politics, institutions, and public policy, social disparities and health, community policing, urban policy and community development, law and justice studies, educational policy, philanthropy and non-profit organizations, child, adolescent, and family studies, poverty, race, and inequality

## Winter 2008

**The Institute for Policy Research (IPR) is an interdisciplinary social science research center at Northwestern University that stimulates and supports research on significant public policy issues.**

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Institute for Policy Research  
Northwestern University  
2040 Sheridan Road  
Evanston, IL 60208-4100  
Phone: 847-491-3395  
Fax: 847-491-9916  
[www.northwestern.edu/ipr](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr)  
[ipr@northwestern.edu](mailto:ipr@northwestern.edu)

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# Abstracts of New Working Papers

## POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

### **Adaptive Partial Drug Approval** (WP-07-08)

Charles F. Manski, Economics and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

In the United States, the drug approval process of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is currently the main mechanism through which the government influences the production and dissemination of information on drug treatments. To obtain approval for a new drug, a pharmaceutical firm provides evidence on treatment response in randomized clinical trials that compare the new drug with an accepted treatment or a placebo. The FDA makes a binary approval decision after reviewing the empirical findings of these trials. This paper brings welfare-economic and decision-theoretic thinking to bear on drug approval. Considering the matter from the minimax-regret perspective suggests an adaptive social planning process in which treatment with a new drug would vary—instead of being either fully allowed or denied as in current practice—as empirical evidence accumulates. The stronger the evidence on identified health outcomes, then the more the drug could be used. The adaptive process would improve on the current one by stimulating production of stronger information on treatment response and by reducing the welfare losses that arise from errors in approval decisions. Manski suggests a pragmatic version of the adaptive process that the FDA could implement.

### **Segmented Representation: The Reagan White House and Disproportionate Responsiveness** (WP-07-10)

James Druckman, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; Lawrence Jacobs, Political Science, University of Minnesota

Are the decisions of American policymakers influenced by the attitudes of the general public or by the views of distinct subgroups of voters? This paper seeks to identify the disproportionate influence of economic and political subgroups on government policies of particular interest to them. Using a unique data set of private polls from Ronald Reagan's White House, the authors find variations in presidential issue positions across policy domains and note different types of public attitudes that reflect the views of high income earners, political independents, Baptists and born-again Protestants, and conservative Republicans. These findings have implications for both understanding the strategic calculations in how public opinion is collected and used, as well as identifying economic and political pathways for biasing government policy from serving the country's overall interests.

## COMMUNICATIONS, MEDIA, AND PUBLIC OPINION

### **The Technological Development of Candidate Web Sites: How and Why Candidates Use Web Innovations** (WP-07-09)

James Druckman, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; Martin Kifer, Graduate School, University of Minnesota; Michael Parkin, Politics, Oberlin College

The Internet offers political candidates a new way to campaign. Part of the Internet's novelty comes from technological options not available in most other media. Candidates, however, must weigh various benefits and costs in using a given technological innovation. For example, technology that allows for increased interactivity between users might lead to a more stimulating Web site, but it also has the potential to distract users from the campaign's central message. In this paper, the authors use data from 444 congressional campaign Web sites over two elections to examine how candidates approach Web technology. They also investigate what leads candidates to either use or avoid particular technological features. They show that both practical and strategic political considerations determine technological adoption. Of particular interest is that the competitiveness of a candidate's race leads the candidate to use more sophisticated presentation technologies but less advanced interactive innovations since these latter options interfere with the candidate's message.

**Going Negative in a New Media Age: Congressional Campaign Web Sites, 2002-2006** (WP-07-11)

James Druckman, Political Science and Institute for Policy Research; Martin Kifer, Graduate School, University of Minnesota; Michael Parkin, Politics, Oberlin College

Few topics have received more attention in recent years than negative campaigning. The bulk of this work focuses on the effects of negative campaigns and/or the normative consequences. The authors address a more basic question: When do congressional candidates go negative in the first place? Their approach differs from the few works that systematically explore the determinants of negative campaigning in three notable ways. First, they offer a new theory that specifies conditions under which they expect candidates to go negative against their opponents. Second, they test their predictions using a novel data set based on more than 730 candidate Web sites over three election cycles. This means they use non-mediated communication (e.g., compared with news reports), and they have an unbiased sample of campaigns (i.e., the researchers are not limited to competitive races that happen to produce television advertisements). They also offer insight into campaigning on this new medium. Third, they extend prior work by distinguishing issue negativity from personal attacks and by exploring alternative types of negativity such as negativity toward the parties and the president. They find that campaign specific variables, particularly competition, drive negativity towards opponents, but other more partisan forces lead to alternative types of negativity. They discuss the implications for understanding campaign strategy, methodologies for studying campaigns, and studying the formation of public opinion.

**QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR POLICY RESEARCH*****CENTER FOR IMPROVING METHODS FOR QUANTITATIVE POLICY RESEARCH (Q-CENTER)*****How Long Do Teacher Effects Persist?** (WP-07-12)

Spyros Konstantopoulos, Human Development, Social Policy, and Learning Sciences and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Previous findings from experimental and non-experimental studies have demonstrated that teachers differ in their effectiveness. In addition, evidence from non-experimental studies has indicated that teacher effects can last up to five years. This study uses high-quality data from a four-year randomized experiment in which teachers and students were randomly assigned to classes to examine whether the teacher effects on student achievement persist over time. Teacher effects are defined as teacher-specific residuals adjusted for student and treatment effects. The findings indicate that the teacher effects are cumulative and are not only observed in the current or the following grade, but up to three years in early elementary grades. The findings also suggest that teacher effects are important and that their additive effects on student achievement are as large as the additive effects of small classes. In addition, teacher effects are larger in reading than in mathematics.

**Effect Sizes in Three-Level Cluster Randomized Experiments** (WP-07-13)

Larry V. Hedges, Statistics, Social Policy, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Research designs involving cluster randomization are becoming increasingly important in educational and behavioral research. Many of these designs involve two levels of clustering or nesting (students within classes and classes within schools). Researchers would like to compute effect-size indexes based on the standardized mean difference to compare the results of cluster randomized studies with other studies and to combine information across studies in meta-analyses. This paper addresses the problem of defining effect sizes in designs with two levels of clustering and computing estimates of those effect sizes and their standard errors from information that is likely to be reported in journal articles. Five effect sizes are defined corresponding to different standardizations. Estimators of each effect-size index are also presented along with their sampling distributions (including standard errors).

**Correcting a Significance Test for Clustering in Designs With Two Levels of Nesting** (WP-07-14)

Larry V. Hedges, Statistics, Social Policy, and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

A common mistake in the analysis of cluster randomized experiments is to ignore the effect of clustering and analyze the data as if each treatment group were a simple random sample. This typically leads to an overstatement of the precision of results and anti-conservative conclusions about the precision and statistical significance of treatment effects. This paper gives a simple correction to the  $t$ -statistic that would be computed if clustering were (incorrectly) ignored in an experiment with two levels of nesting (e.g., classrooms and schools). The correction is a multiplicative factor depending on the number of clusters and subclusters, the subcluster sample size, the subcluster size, and the cluster and subcluster intraclass correlations  $\rho_s$  and  $\rho_c$ . The corrected  $t$ -statistic has a student's  $t$ -distribution with reduced degrees of freedom. The corrected statistic reduces to the  $t$ -statistic computed by ignoring clustering when  $\rho_s = \rho_c = 0$ . It reduces to the  $t$ -statistic computed using cluster means when  $\rho_s = 1$ . If  $\rho_s$  and  $\rho_c$  are between 0 and 1, the adjusted  $t$ -statistic lies between these two, and the degrees of freedom are in between those corresponding to these two extremes.

**Constructing a More Powerful Test in Three-Level Cluster Randomized Designs** (WP-07-15)

Spyros Konstantopoulos, Human Development, Social Policy, and Learning Sciences and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

Experiments that involve nested structures may assign treatment conditions either to entire groups (such as schools), or subgroups (such as classrooms) or individuals (such as students). A key aspect of the design of such experiments includes knowledge of the intraclass correlation structure. This study provides methods for constructing a test for the treatment effect that is more powerful than the typical test based on level-3 unit means in three-level cluster randomized designs with two levels of nesting. When the intraclass correlation structure at the second and third level is known, the proposed test provides higher estimates of power because it preserves the degrees of freedom associated with the number of level-2 and level-1 units. The advantage in power estimates is more pronounced when the number of level-3 units is small.

**SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH****CELLS TO SOCIETY (C2S): THE CENTER ON SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH****The Embodiment of Race: Health Disparities in the Age of Epigenetics** (WP-08-01)

Christopher Kuzawa, Anthropology and Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University; and Elizabeth Sweet, Doctoral Student, Anthropology, Northwestern University

The role of genetic and environmental influences on race-based health disparities has been a source of heated debate among the public health and clinical medical communities. In this article, the authors review new evidence for developmental and epigenetic origins of common adult metabolic diseases and argue that this field sheds new light on the origins of racial health disparities. African Americans not only suffer from a disproportionate burden of adult chronic diseases such as hypertension, diabetes, and cardiovascular disease, but they also have higher rates of the perinatal health disparities that are now known to be the antecedents of these conditions. There is extensive evidence for a social origin to prematurity and low birth weight in African Americans, working through pathways such as the effects of discrimination on maternal stress physiology. In light of the inverse relationship between birth weight and adult metabolic diseases, there is now a strong rationale to consider developmental and epigenetic mechanisms as links between social and environmental factors and adult race-based health disparities in conditions like hypertension, diabetes, and cardiovascular disease. Their model builds upon classic social constructivist perspectives by highlighting an important set of mechanisms by which social influences can become embodied, having durable and even transgenerational influences on the most pressing health disparities in the United States.

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Community policing papers and reports are available at [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing.html) free of charge.

## **POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY**

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## A Look Back at Welfare Reform

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Ron Haskins

by governments, with most benefits or at least many of them, contingent on work. And the second is responsible and disciplined behavior by individuals, including teenagers and children. To effectively fight poverty, we need more of both.”

the life chances of poorly educated immigrant children, increasing marriages to reduce poverty and improve child outcomes, and doing more to promote job retention and training. Even when you get to “\$18,000 or \$20,000, that is not even approaching middle-class income,” he said. “So we need to impart more skills.”

“Fighting poverty in an advanced, capitalist economy rests on two foundations,” Haskins ended. “The first is income redistribution

## From Working Poor to Working Class

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Policy briefing attendees take notes during the speakers' presentations.

comes that you saw in the New Hope book nationwide.”

Michael Alvarez, outreach coordinator for Sen. Barack Obama, noted that a plan like this would play well on both sides of the aisle, due the work requirement. But it also would

wage workers instead of “punting them all over the place.” In particular, he was most intrigued by the idea of a 30-hour workweek.

“As a businessman, I thought back to the factories and businesses we ran, and we could have created a lot of 30-hour per week jobs,” Harris said. “If there were a national program to encourage businesses to create jobs at 30—and not 40 hours—per week for women with children under 10 or 12 years old, it’s not only doable, it wouldn’t cost us a penny. And you might see some of the out-

come that you saw in the New Hope book nationwide.”

“Fighting poverty in an advanced, capitalist economy rests on two foundations,” Haskins ended. “The first is income redistribution by governments, with most benefits or at least many of them, contingent on work. And the second is responsible and disciplined behavior by individuals, including teenagers and children. To effectively fight poverty, we need more of both.”

“As a businessman, I thought back to the factories and businesses we ran, and we could have created a lot of 30-hour per week jobs,” Harris said. “If there were a national program to encourage businesses to create jobs at 30—and not 40 hours—per week for women with children under 10 or 12 years old, it’s not only doable, it wouldn’t cost us a penny. And you might see some of the out-

come that you saw in the New Hope book nationwide.”

### Panelists:

**Greg Duncan** is an IPR faculty fellow and Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy at Northwestern University. **King Harris** is chairman of Harris Holdings, Inc. and a senior executive at Chicago Metropolitan 2020. **Michael Alvarez** was outreach coordinator for Sen. Barack Obama (D-Ill.). **Julie Kerksick** is director of the New Hope Project in Milwaukee.

To view the video, please see: [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingMarch07.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/briefingMarch07.html) or please go to [www.newhopebook.com](http://www.newhopebook.com) for more information.

**David Ellwood** is Scott M. Black Professor of Political Economy and dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He was previously assistant secretary for planning and evaluation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and he also served as co-chair of President Clinton’s working group on welfare reform. He is the author or editor of four books, including *Welfare Realities: From Rhetoric to Reform* (Harvard University Press, 1996) and *Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family* (Basic Books, 1988).

**Ron Haskins** is a senior scholar at the Brookings Institution and co-director of the Center on Children and Families. He was counsel and then staff director for the House Ways and Means Human Resources Subcommittee and a senior White House adviser to President George W. Bush for welfare policy. His latest book is *Work Over Welfare: The Inside Story of the 1996 Welfare Reform Law* (Brookings, 2006).

Please visit [www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/lectures/ellwood-haskins.html](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/events/lectures/ellwood-haskins.html) to view the video and presentations.

## A Look Back at Welfare Reform

(continued from back cover)

In looking back at the lessons learned, Ellwood singled out three in particular: *Incentives matter*. Putting more money in people's pockets through tax credits and subsidies and allowing people to keep benefits such as Medicaid proved to be powerful incentives for welfare recipients to work. *The economy matters*. The "miracle economy" created a favorable environment for low-wage workers to find jobs, and states did their share by spending their block grants on services to aid low-wage workers. Finally, *messages and expectations matter*. Setting high expectations for recipients to work was "more effective than any plan ... devised to change the culture of welfare offices," he said.

However, more welfare or welfare reform is "a dead end," according to Ellwood. Real upward mobility is very hard to create, he said, noting that welfare recipients have not gotten a step onto a ladder to a better life, but a step onto a platform. Just giving a person a dollar so that he or she can get above the federally mandated poverty level is not going to radically change anyone's life, he noted.

Instead of implementing more welfare rules and restrictions, Ellwood suggested focusing on industry-specific training, creating more supports for putting men and childless adults to work, and increasing the number of two-parent households, where studies show that everyone does better. "Strengthening families is often talked about as being a right-wing idea, but it is clearly vital to what we do."

"Overall, I think things worked out better than many of us expected, but we still have basically the same problem that we had to start out with," Ellwood concluded. "How do we really make an end to poverty as we know it—and not just welfare as we know it?"

### A View from the Republican Side

Ron Haskins, who was a senior Republican staff member on the House Ways and Means Committee at the time, started by underscoring the bitterness of the debate. He read a passage from his book *Work Over Welfare* describing how Congressman John Lewis (D-Ga.) equated the Republicans with Nazis for their "mean-spirited" bill that "took food out of the mouths of children."

"Very few debates in the House have this intensity," he said, pointing to a shortage of facts and an abundance of emotion.

Looking back, Haskins noted that "the radical Republican agenda" consisted of wanting to increase work and marriage to have the greatest impact on poverty. "And this was what welfare reform did," he said.

Haskins listed the five fundamental changes to welfare: ending cash entitlements, creating block grants, instituting five-

year time limits, implementing strong work requirements, and applying sanctions.

"It is very rare that any program in Washington changes to this degree," Haskins added.



David Ellwood

Some of these changes, such as the five-year time limit, were highly controversial despite the bill's bipartisan support. As an example, he explained, much of the bill dealt with child support, with many of those pages coming directly off word processors at Health and Human Services where David Ellwood and his colleagues were in charge at the time.

Other controversial elements included taking away welfare from newly arriving noncitizens and changing the rules for Supplemental Security Income (SSI). One of the SSI rule changes ended the cash benefits of 200,000 drug addicts and alcoholics. "People should not be able to get a welfare check because they can prove that they're an alcoholic or a drug addict," Haskins said.

Welfare reform's triumph, he pointed out, was the "explosion of work by never-married mothers," which rose from 45 percent in 1995 to more than 60 percent between 2000 and 2005, representing a 30-percent increase in earnings. This also led to a substantial decline in child poverty, especially for black children. Overall rates of child poverty fell from 46 percent in 1993 to 30 percent in 2001. He said poverty fell because "moms got their money the old-fashioned way—they earned it."

Poverty rates went down, Haskins continued, because "we

***"[W]e still have basically the same problem that we had to start out with: How do we really make an end to poverty as we know it—and not just welfare as we know it?"***

radically changed the system of making work pay." He then showed how the new laws actually raised the amount spent on supporting low-income working families to \$52 billion—about 10 times more than the \$5.6 billion that would have been spent under the old rules for several work-support programs.

This increase in funding represents a second revolution that took place at the same time as the welfare reform revolution, Haskins pointed out. It was a quieter, bipartisan revolution in bolstering work-support reforms such as the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Looking forward, Haskins still sees major problems that encompass motivating unemployed males to work, improving

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## A Look Back at Welfare Reform

Though from opposite sides of aisle, lecturers agree on overall outcomes

David Ellwood and Ron Haskins worked on opposite sides of the aisle on welfare reform legislation during the often inimical negotiations that culminated in President Bill Clinton's signing of the 1996 welfare reform bill. For its 2007 Distinguished Public Policy Lecture, the Institute for Policy Research invited these two pre-eminent social policy scholars to share their thoughts on "Ten Years After Welfare Reform: Who Was Right, What Have We Learned, and Where Do We Need to Go Next?"

Despite being in opposing camps, both agreed on the hard numbers of drastic reductions in welfare caseloads and poverty, with Ellwood noting that "the Right was more right than wrong" and Haskins squelching any expectations for a "pugnacious fight." Yet the two did differ, most notably on what welfare reform should look like in the future.

### A View from the Democratic Side

Calling welfare reform "an extraordinary moment," Ellwood explained how welfare had reached the bottom of the barrel of public support by the mid-1990s.

"What was striking was everyone hated welfare," he said. "And the people who hated it the worst were those who were on it, who talked about the isolation, stigma, and the



From left: Fay Lomax Cook, Ron Haskins, and David Ellwood answer questions from the audience about welfare reform.

J.Zw frustration associated with the system." He pointed to the system's "terrible incentives" that kept people on the rolls and the "check-writing culture" of welfare offices where the ideal client was "someone who never worked."

Called to Washington because Clinton had read his 1998 book, *Poor Support*, Ellwood became a key player on Clinton's welfare reform team, rewriting the Earned Income Tax Credit in a mere three weeks and then moving to the more

difficult task of crafting the Democratic proposal for reform.

In crafting the Democrat's legislative proposal, Ellwood said he and his colleagues defined three core elements: making work pay, enforcing child support payments as a way of making both parents responsible for raising their children, and making welfare "a hand up and not a handout."

While Republicans and Democrats generally agreed upon and passed the make-work-pay and child support aspects, he said, they differed greatly on how to transition families to—and support them in—the world of work. Clinton originally wanted to provide job training coupled with time limits and subsidized jobs for those having difficulty finding work. Republicans wanted a five-year lifetime time limit on individuals' welfare benefits and block grants for the states. In the end, the Republican vision passed.

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## Institute for Policy Research

Northwestern University  
2040 Sheridan Road  
Evanston, IL 60208-4100

Phone: 847-491-3395

Fax: 847-491-9916

Web: [www.northwestern.edu/ipr](http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr)

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