

IPR Welcomes Eight New Fellows

New faculty to strengthen key research areas



IPR welcomes eight fellows, one of its largest cohorts. Clockwise from l.: Onnie Rogers, Director David Figlio, Rachel Beatty Riedl, Sera Young, Simone Ispa-Landa, Associate Director James Druckman, Mary McGrath, Beth Redbird, and Seema Jayachandran.

This September, IPR welcomed eight new fellows, one of its biggest incoming faculty cohorts ever. With research interests ranging from the economics and politics of developing countries to identity development and social inequality, these eight experts represent five disciplines, with six fellows housed in Northwestern's Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences and two in the University's School of Education and Social Policy.

"We are really excited about these faculty who will be joining IPR," said IPR Director **David Figlio**. "Their individual areas of expertise will strengthen the Institute in key research areas—inequality and race, social disparities and health, and the science of diversity."

The new fellows, four of whom were previously IPR associates, are addressing key questions related to inequality and disparities: Sociologists **Simone Ispa-Landa** and **Heather Schoenfeld**, who is also a scholar of legal studies, look at key aspects of the U.S. criminal justice system, expungement, and criminal justice reform in states. Political scientist **Mary McGrath** tackles issues related to distributive justice and voter turnout.

Two fellows are making inroads into the science of diversity: Social developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers** examines how social and educational disparities shape the identities of marginalized youth, and sociologist **Beth Redbird** studies social

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Tackling Global Inequality

IPR and Buffett combine strengths in joint workshop

In describing inequality across the globe, many often use GINI coefficients, statistics capturing the dispersion of a nation's income data; however, an income-only measure can miss important elements



Marianne Simonsen

of this critical issue. Thanks to a unique effort by two of Northwestern's premier research institutes, the 50 participants who took part in the Global Inequality Workshop added to a more nuanced and interdisciplinary understanding of inequality in the world.

(Continued on page 22)

Taking Research on the Road

Experts unpack policy topics

IPR brought its expertise to the wider public in two recent policy research briefings, one in Washington, D.C., on early education—welcoming U.S. Representatives **Bob Dold** (R-ILL, 10th) and **Dan Lipinski** (D-ILL, 3rd)—and another in Chicago on women in leadership.

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IPR RESEARCH NOTES

Unintended Effects of Expanding Educational Access

The “College for All” movement, the idea that every high school student should have access to higher education, has become a hot-button topic in recent years. But does increasing access to education always lead to positive effects? Not necessarily, finds economist and IPR associate **Nicola Bianchi**, who studied an Italian reform that drastically increased enrollment in college-level STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) programs in the 1960s. Tracking data for thousands of students affected by the reform, Bianchi unearthed the unintended consequences of making education more accessible.

Bianchi unearthed the unintended consequences of making education more accessible.

Before 1961, Italian high schools were divided so that only graduates of university-prep schools could attend university and enroll in the major of their choice. With the education reform in 1961, graduates of technical high schools, designed to train industry-sector professionals, were allowed to enroll in STEM majors at universities for the first time.

This policy change resulted in a 216 percent increase in students enrolled in STEM programs, a spike in enrollment that is “quite unusual,” Bianchi said.

Looking at the effects of the reform on learning, he found that increased enrollment in STEM majors was not matched by an increase in university resources, leading to overcrowding, fewer resources per student,

and a lower-quality learning experience.

Not only did the influx of new students stretch university resources, students entering STEM majors for the first time in 1961 had not been prepared for these programs during high school. Bianchi discovered that the change in classroom composition caused by the influx of new students led to less effective teaching and had negative effects on learning.

Additionally, graduates of university-prep schools were less likely to enroll in STEM majors following the reform. Enrollment for this group dropped from 1961–68, even as overall enrollment in STEM majors grew.

Bianchi also looked at students’ income later in life to measure the policy’s long-term effects beyond the classroom. Students who enrolled in STEM majors following the reform actually earned less in the long run than they would have absent the 1960s reform.

Though the reform achieved its purpose of increasing access to STEM majors, there were a number of unintended consequences, including overcrowding and negative peer effects, which hurt “even those students who should have benefited most from these policies,” he explained.

“It is important to understand how education policies—in particular, increasing access to education—affect how students learn,” Bianchi concluded.



Nicola Bianchi

S. Miller

Nicola Bianchi is assistant professor of strategy and an IPR associate.

For Women in India, Friendship Can Improve Business Success

No matter where they live, in rich or poor countries, women are less likely to succeed as entrepreneurs. A common policy prescription has been to offer business training. Yet emerging evidence is showing that training alone does not resolve this gender gap.

IPR development economist **Seema Jayachandran** and her colleagues examine if including peer support in training for female micro-entrepreneurs in India might increase their success.

In India, women face difficulty in entering the workforce, in part due to the country's stifling social restrictions. Women entrepreneurs can work around social restrictions by opening home-based businesses, from rolling incense sticks to working as tailors, but they probably don't encounter the same support network as their male peers.

Working with SEWA Bank, a women's bank with 170,000 members, the researchers identified 636 female entrepreneurs from a

pool of 1,900 eligible members in Ahmedabad. Bank employees invited them to attend a free, two-day business course teaching financial literacy, business skills, and short-term goal-setting. The women in the sample were randomly assigned into one of three groups: a control group, those invited to the training alone, and those who were invited to come with a friend.

Four months after the training, the researchers found the 207 women who trained with a friend were more likely to have taken out a business loan, set more ambitious business goals, and experienced "pretty sizeable increases in their income," Jayachandran said.

Jayachandran and her colleagues offer several explanations for this effect: Bringing along a friend could create a more supportive environment, giving women more confidence. Furthermore, attending the training with a friend could offer participants an enduring



Seema Jayachandran

Courtesy of S. Jayachandran

sense of support in the following months, as well as a resource for financial assistance and recalling information. The results offer important insight into the value of bringing peers into the workplace.

"Our friends push us and support us," Jayachandran concluded. "If you set ambitious goals, they're the ones who cheer you on."

Seema Jayachandran is associate professor of economics and an IPR fellow.

Connecting Compensation and Skill

When you go to work for the government versus a private sector company, you likely do so with the understanding that you will earn less working for your state or local government than say, Tim Cook at Apple. But is this true? And, if so, why? Recent research by law professor and IPR associate **Max Schanzenbach** reassesses this public-sector pay gap—the difference in earnings between public- and private-sector workers—to determine how differences in skill might account for those in pay.



Max Schanzenbach

S. Ryan

Focusing on college-educated workers, Schanzenbach shows that most of the existing pay gap can be explained by differences in worker skills between the sectors. Prior assessments have not considered skill differences, instead relying on rough proxies for skill such as years of education.

Schanzenbach considers two well-known measures of skill in his analysis: scores on the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), an assessment used by the U.S. military, and undergraduate college major.

He finds that higher AFQT scores translate into higher pay for college-educated workers in the private sector, but not in the public sector. This suggests that the public sector fails to pay college-educated workers according to their skills, and not surprisingly, those with higher AFQT scores are much less likely to work in the public sector.

Schanzenbach also discovers that differences in college major explain as much as 60 percent of the public-sector pay gap, as workers with lower-compensated majors disproportionately go into the public sector and those with higher-compensated majors are more likely to work in the private sector.

"You have to start thinking about how much these people would make working in the private sector," he explained. "And you have to think about how civil service rules and union contracts that encourage seniority pay and prevent significant performance pay would affect selection into the different sectors. Rather than saying public sector workers are over- or under-compensated, it may be more accurate to say they are 'mis-compensated' because state and local government do not pay for [their] skills."

Max Schanzenbach is Siegle Family Professor of Law and an IPR associate.

How Childcare Affects Dads' Testosterone

In a 2011 study, IPR biological anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa**, with his then-graduate student Lee Gettler and colleague **Thomas McDade**, discovered that a man's testosterone levels drop when he becomes a father, presumably making him more likely to stick around to help raise his child.

The study, published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, was the first to use longitudinal data to demonstrate that this phenomenon—previously observed in birds and other species—was also true in humans. But it also left many unanswered questions.

For instance, are new fathers who experience larger declines in testosterone better parents and spouses than fathers who experience smaller declines? Do their children fare better in school? And is there anything that might bump testosterone levels back up again?

To answer these and other questions, Kuzawa and his team are conducting a new study, funded by the National Science Foundation

(NSF), that is allowing them to follow up with these young fathers. The study participants come from the Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey, which has followed more than 3,000 pregnant mothers and their children in the Philippines since 1983.

With this new NSF study, Kuzawa's team has measured men's testosterone levels over the course of nearly a decade from 2005–14, allowing them to examine the effects of life events like marriage, fatherhood, and divorce on health, well-being, and education outcomes, among others.

In addition to looking at fathers' testosterone levels, Kuzawa and his team will also measure how satisfied they and their spouses are with their marriages and how their children do in school, in addition to one new metric: "For the first time, we're going to start quantifying how much time various members of the family are involved in raising the child," Kuzawa said.



Christopher Kuzawa

"One of our running hypotheses is that it is interacting with and engaging with a child—physically being present—that is driving hormones down," he said. "It's not just the fact that you're a father."

The 2011 study was "groundbreaking in showing this longitudinal relationship," Kuzawa said. "Now, the question is: Does it matter, and does it actually have the effects that everybody thinks it has?"

Christopher Kuzawa is professor of anthropology and an IPR fellow.

Conservative States Lead Effort to End U.S. Mass Incarceration

Long known as the world's biggest jailer, the United States is experimenting with prison reform.

California's prison downsizing experiment is the nation's largest. But Republican states are the ones leading the way, according to IPR sociologist of law **Heather Schoenfeld**.

In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Schoenfeld argues that while California was

implementing its reforms, states with "far more conservative credentials," like Texas and Georgia, were pushing forward with their own unmandated efforts—perhaps even aided by the rise of the Tea Party and its mistrust of big government.

"Mass incarceration is essentially a big government program," Schoenfeld said.

These Republican-dominated states have set reforms into motion that aim to save money by sending fewer people to prison and investing in rehabilitative programs to reduce recidivism. In an earlier era, these efforts might have been derided as "soft on crime."

Schoenfeld, a leading scholar on criminal punishment systems, has been researching how some states are responding to the issue and the take-home lessons for other states that are not.

"The question I'm interested in is, 'How are states making these policy decisions now?'" Schoenfeld said.

She hopes her research framework will lead to a better understanding of why a state like Georgia has embarked on a series of reforms, but not Florida, "which is one of those states where reform is moving very, very slowly," Schoenfeld said.

In the article, she calls for more research into the implementation of reforms and the measurement of their effects—not only to identify changes to costs and prison populations, but to assess whether they really reduce the size and scope of criminal punishment.

Heather Schoenfeld is assistant professor of human development and social policy and legal studies and an IPR fellow.



Heather Schoenfeld

College Success for Low-Income Students

In the United States, the unofficial education policy of “college-for-all” has succeeded in enrolling more students than ever in college. But only 20 percent of students who enroll in community college manage to get a bachelor’s degree, and those with low socioeconomic status (SES) and low test scores are even less likely to do so.

Yet these students have options beyond traditional bachelor’s programs, said IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum**.

Rosenbaum and IPR project coordinator **Caitlin Ahearn** have studied the benefits of “sub-baccalaureate” programs, such as associate’s degree or certificate programs, which train students for jobs in fields like manufacturing and computer science.

“Students plan BAs without considering their backgrounds, their achievement, or their occupational ambitions,” Rosenbaum said. For instance, many students believe they will earn a bachelor’s degree in four years at a community college, though it takes, on average, six years, generating added time conflicts and financial demands, he continued.

Meanwhile, certificate and associate’s degree programs take only one to three years to complete and still put the degree holder at a major advantage over high school graduates,

both in terms of earnings and other career rewards, like having jobs that are not repetitive or with regular hours.

Moreover, while students from low-SES backgrounds who have low test scores are less likely to complete a bachelor’s degree, those same students are just as likely to complete a certificate or associate’s degree program as those with a higher SES and test scores. And sub-BA credentials can also serve as a jumping-off point to earning a BA—and

landing an even better job—later on.

According to Rosenbaum, the policymakers’ challenge, then, is to inform students that traditional bachelor’s programs might not be the best first goal for everyone, and they can get valuable sub-BA credentials first.

“Community colleges have gone a long way toward providing access. They now need to provide success.”

He and Ahearn have studied one policy intervention, Florida’s College and Career Readiness Initiative. It offered a college readiness course to high-school juniors who fell below a certain score on college placement tests—alerting them to the fact that they might not be prepared academically for college. But the program did little to inform students of alternative education options.

The next generation of interventions, therefore, should incorporate more information on sub-BAs, Ahearn said: “High school activities can help these students find relevant and accessible programs, so that when they do enter college, they have a focused plan and knowledge of their options.”

“Community colleges have gone a long way toward providing access,” Rosenbaum said. “They now need to provide success.”

James Rosenbaum is professor of education and social policy and an IPR fellow.

Fan Forums Emulate (or Mirror) History Class



S. Drey

Jolie Matthews

Now that almost anyone can post historical fact (or fiction) on the web, has this jeopardized legitimate historical discourse?

In a *Journal of the Learning Sciences* article, digital learning expert and IPR associate **Jolie Matthews** examines how people talk about history in an online fan community.

Matthews analyzed 2,641 posts made over five months on a fan website for Showtime’s historical television series “The Tudors,” about the reign and many marriages of King Henry VIII.

“Even though this is a fan community around a historical television show, in a lot of ways, members’ practices run parallel to the practices that we advocate in the classroom,” Matthews said.

These include contextualizing and corroborating information, as well as drawing on reputable sources to back up one’s argument.

Matthews’s discoveries shed light on potential ways for educators to better measure student knowledge in the digital age.

“Students aren’t necessarily playing about online,” Matthews said. “The format of their activities may not be identical to how content is presented in a classroom, but that doesn’t mean that if you don’t dig beneath the surface, you won’t find students exploring critical issues in a variety of innovative ways.”

Jolie Matthews is assistant professor of learning sciences and an IPR associate.



P. Reese

James Rosenbaum

FACULTY SPOTLIGHTS

Matthew Notowidigdo

IPR labor economist scrutinizes ‘overlooked’ niches in economics

IPR labor economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** often kicks off his health economics course with a quote from an infrequently cited academic source, conservative talk show host Rush Limbaugh.

“Health insurance is not supposed to insure your health,” Limbaugh remarked on his radio program in 2009. “It’s supposed to insure your finances.”

Notowidigdo points out that the citation sums up one of his main research streams—studying health insurance’s often overlooked “nonhealth” effects, such as bankruptcy risk and financial strain. “Basically it’s supposed to protect you from financial ruin if you have to go to the hospital,” he said.

Notowidigdo’s scrutiny extends to other “overlooked” niches in economics, examining how different policies might affect a host of employment, health, and financial outcomes. This focus has led him to conducting some novel studies with unanticipated results.

Who Pays for the Uninsured?

As part of his research on healthcare and personal finance, Notowidigdo has traced how a hospital visit might affect a patient’s credit report, and whether that hinges on having health insurance. Combining hospital records and credit reports for more than 1 million consumers, the researchers found that uninsured patients accrue an average of \$5,000 in unpaid medical debt in the year following a hospital admission.

Using previously confidential financial data, Notowidigdo, IPR associate **Craig Garthwaite**, and Columbia University’s Tal Gross calculated that each uninsured person costs the treating hospital about \$800 per year, thereby increasing their costs and reducing their profits.

The study suggests that hospitals are filling in holes in the U.S. safety net by becoming

“insurers of last resort,” and it holds a warning for those states that have not signed on to the Affordable Care Act. The authors estimate that by 2022, the uninsured in these states will rack up \$6.4 billion in uncompensated hospital care, with hospitals bearing the brunt of those costs.

The Unemployment Plateau

In a series of studies, Notowidigdo and his colleagues examined the relationship between time spent unemployed and the odds of scoring an interview.

Beginning in August 2011, Notowidigdo and his fellow researchers created more than 12,000 mock resumes, using them to apply for more than 3,000 jobs posted online.

The researchers found those unemployed for one month had a 7 percent chance of getting an interview callback (the average callback rate hovers between 5 and 10 percent), while those out of work for eight months had just a 4 percent chance. Even more interesting, the rate plateaus at 4 percent for those who remain jobless beyond eight months—meaning after eight months, employers are less likely to view stretches of unemployment as indicative of a candidate’s quality.

This finding, which confirmed that, up to a certain point, employers do screen out applicants with longer jobless spells, was especially troubling in the wake of job losses generated by the Great Recession.

Food Stamps and Family Finances

For his latest project, Notowidigdo is trying to unpack why someone who is eligible for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)—formerly known as the food stamp program—might not sign up to receive it.

To explore why, he and his colleagues are conducting an experiment that involves sending letters to thousands of SNAP-eligible



Matthew Notowidigdo

Pennsylvanians. Some letters will provide information about eligibility, while others will provide more information about the program. Another group of letters will address the issue of stigma surrounding the program. The researchers hope to answer two key questions: Which letter will be most effective in getting people to sign up for benefits, and what types of people respond to the letters?

If enough people sign up for food stamp benefits through this study, Notowidigdo hopes to follow them and examine food stamps and financial security—for instance, does receiving food stamps reduce a family’s financial strain or help them pay their bills?

“There are 40 million Americans receiving food stamps, and we don’t really know what we’re getting for that,” Notowidigdo explained. “What’s really cool about this study is ... you can use that data to study the effect of food stamps on other outcomes, which we know surprisingly little about.”

Matthew Notowidigdo is associate professor of economics and an IPR fellow.

Christine Percheski

Sociological focus draws from strong social justice roots

IPR sociologist **Christine Percheski** credits undergraduate sociology classes at Dartmouth with giving her “a new way of looking at the world” and setting her on a path to academia.

Today, from research on health insurance and economic inequality, to studies of family formation and the Great Recession’s demographic effects, she is applying a sociological lens to some of the most timely health and social issues.

Changes in Health Insurance

Percheski has been studying health insurance since well before the Affordable Care Act (ACA), the passage of which changed the thrust of research on health insurance, including her own.

However, the ACA didn’t “fix all of our problems with health insurance overnight,” Percheski explained. “There’s still plenty to do.”

While much of the existing research on health insurance has focused on employers’ offers of employer-sponsored coverage, her research has taken a social demographic tack, looking at how marriage trends might explain changes in health insurance coverage prior to the ACA’s passage.

Percheski has found that the percentage of people with health insurance fell between the late 1980s and late 2000s. This occurred partly because the share of adults who were married fell, resulting in fewer wives and husbands getting covered through their spouse’s health insurance.

But the overall effects varied by gender.

Though fewer women were getting insurance through their spouse, more women were getting jobs and health insurance through their employers. So, while overall insurance rates decreased between the late 1980s and late 2000s, women became more likely to receive employer-sponsored insurance, and

married men were more likely to get coverage through their wives.

“I think we underestimate women’s contributions to their families when we don’t think about health insurance coverage, too,” Percheski said.

Defining Economic Inequality

Like health insurance, economic inequality has become a hot-button issue in recent years. But much of the conversation around economic inequality—and much of the research—has focused on differences in income, not wealth.

Percheski is examining the nuances between income and wealth in an ongoing project, specifically focusing on trends in wealth inequality, or the gap in net worth between families.

Along with Duke University’s Christina Gibson-Davis, she has found that most of the increase in wealth inequality between 1989 and 2013 was concentrated in families with children, rather than elderly households or working-age families without children.

They also documented large gaps in wealth by family type: Families headed by married couples were more likely to have a positive net worth than families led by unmarried parents who were living together—and much more likely to have a positive net worth than families led by a single mother.

In future work, Percheski hopes to investigate why this is—and how gaps in family net worth between racial groups have changed over time—to continue pushing wealth into the conversation around economic inequality.

Tackling Wealth Inequality

Bringing wealth into the conversation is key because most policies addressing economic inequality—like most of the research—have focused on income.



Christine Percheski

“There isn’t going to be a magic silver bullet to eliminate economic inequality or even to reduce it over night,” Percheski said. But when it comes to wealth inequality, “there are many policies with wealth implications that people haven’t really been thinking about or talking about.”

Take, for example, paid parental leave: Without paid leave, parents often dip into their savings to finance an unpaid leave of absence, meaning that such policies can directly affect Americans’ savings. She also notes the importance of policies that address higher education financing.

“It’s going to take a while to have positive net worth if you have \$30,000 in educational loans,” Percheski noted.

By connecting the dots between wealth inequality and seemingly unrelated policies like those related to paid parental leave and student loans, Percheski is working not only to document changes in wealth inequality, but also to pinpoint policy solutions to remedy the worrying gap in Americans’ net worth.

Christine Percheski is assistant professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

John Heinz

Steering an established career into new directions

Each summer, IPR legal scholar and social scientist **John Heinz** heads to northern New York where he relaxes by exploring shimmering Adirondack lakes in a canoe—perhaps not a surprising activity for someone who has consistently charted his own course throughout his career.

With a bachelor's in political science from Washington University in St. Louis in 1958 and a law degree from Yale in 1962, Heinz was faced with a choice of whether to pursue a PhD in political science—or steer in another direction altogether.

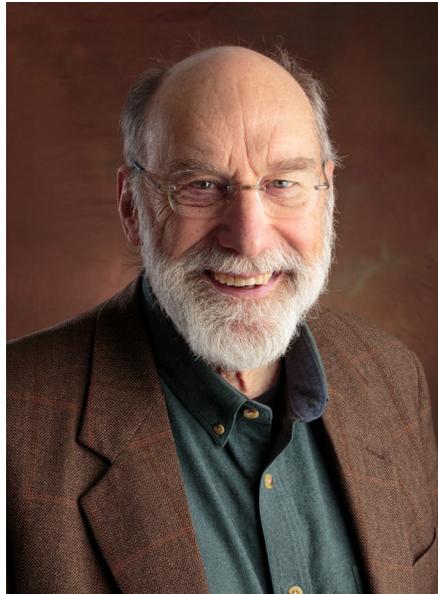
“I thought, ‘If I become a political scientist, I’m going to be just another political scientist,’” Heinz said. “But as a law professor doing interdisciplinary work, I could be a pioneer in law and social science.”

His decision to pursue law led to a half century-long career of research, teaching, and institutional service, encompassing groundbreaking studies on the legal profession's structure and networks, directing the American Bar Foundation, and his latest project, analyzing letters written by ordinary mid-19th-century women.

“One of the nice things about being an interdisciplinary scholar,” Heinz said, “is that you can charge off in all kinds of different directions.”

Characterizing Lawyers' Networks

Heinz is perhaps best known for *Chicago Lawyers: The Social Structure of the Bar* (Russell Sage Foundation and American Bar Foundation, 1982), written with the University of Chicago's Edward Laumann. After interviewing nearly 800 Chicago lawyers, the researchers discovered that there was “a very clear line” between law firms serving corporations and those representing individuals—in terms of their profits, size, and even their employees' religion. In 2005, their follow-up, *Urban Lawyers*, analyzed “tremendous” new changes to the profession—such as the rise of female lawyers.



John Heinz

In between publishing the two volumes, Heinz and Laumann, with Northwestern's Robert Nelson and Robert Salisbury of Washington University in St. Louis, tackled another project: analyzing the networks of government officials, lawyers, and lobbyists in Washington D.C., which became *The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making* (Harvard University Press, 1993). The title alludes to the researchers' conclusion that people tended to be involved in only one area of policy and to have few ties to those involved in other issues, leaving a “hollow core” devoid of go-betweens.

Heinz considers his use of social network analysis—a means of investigating social structures and relations—in this research as one of his major accomplishments.

As most social scientists considered it “exotic” in the 1970s, the use of social network analysis “was, in some ways, the most innovative part [of the work], from a technique standpoint,” Heinz said.

Not just content to examine and write about institutional links, Heinz was also keen to better those institutions he served. At

Northwestern, where he started teaching law in 1965, he was on, or chaired, many committees, including chairing two dean searches.

Steering into Other Disciplines

While other faculty might see their transition to emeritus status as a time to slow down, Heinz has not. He continues to keep tabs on developments in the legal profession. A speech on the “major disruption” caused by the Great Recession became “When Law Firms Fail.” In the article, which was published in the *Suffolk University Law Review*, he explored how the massive layoffs in the legal profession and a rising international market for legal services promised to transform how corporate firms practice law.

Heinz is also taking the opportunity to explore his diverse interests, with a new project based on a trove of 19th-century correspondence between a mother and her three daughters, who lived in central Illinois in the 1850s and 1860s.

The letters interested Heinz for a variety of reasons. For one, the women were not wealthy or politically prominent; for another, their ordinary letters provided an insider's perspective on some of the more extraordinary events of their times, including the fight for abolition and the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He and his wife Anne, a retired political scientist, have transcribed, edited, and commented on the 120 letters, and their book, *Women, Work, and Worship in Lincoln's Country: The Dumville Family Letters* (University of Illinois Press), was published in early 2016.

“It's a completely new venture for me,” Heinz said. “I'm a lawyer. But I'm also restless. One of the great things about IPR is that it puts you in contact with scholars in other disciplines, so that you are encouraged to pursue your ideas wherever they seem to lead you.”

John Heinz is Owen L. Coon Professor of Law Emeritus and IPR faculty emeritus.

Leslie McCall

Dismantling perceptions of inequality

Long before Occupy Wall Street or presidential candidates like Bernie Sanders raised the issue of income inequality, IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** was fixated on the topic.

She harks back to her time as a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in the late 1980s and 1990s, an era when the barometer on “inequality started increasing,” and she, like her professors, began following its upward climb.

Since then, her interest in it has fueled two books and many journal articles and book chapters, as well as a growing list of projects.

Nor is she alone in her attention to the issue. “Americans have been concerned about inequality—and desired less inequality—for at least the past 25 years,” McCall said. It is politicians who are finally tuning in to public preferences, rather than the public finally becoming aware of the issue, as is often assumed, she continued.

Revealing Public Perceptions of Income Inequality

Her latest book, *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), uses a quarter century of public opinion data to closely examine people’s perceptions of income inequality.

The book’s major revelation? It’s not the level of inequality per se that matters most to Americans but the perceived consequences of inequality for making a good living.

“If the country is doing well, but only for those at the top, that’s where they see the problem with inequality—that it’s not being shared,” McCall said. Therefore, Americans are most likely to believe the rich are “undeserving” of their wealth after a recession, when the economy’s growth is trickling up and not down.

She also sees flaws with how both parties aim to address inequality because they are not

connecting the issue persuasively to problems of economic opportunity.

“Republicans tend to focus only on jobs and growth, but not the fact that [growth] needs to benefit everyone, not just those at the top. And it’s not at all clear how taxing the rich [an approach favored by Democrats] is going to help address the major concern Americans have, which is with the economy, and their jobs, and their pay and benefits,” she said. “There hasn’t been any connection, policy-wise, to fill this vacuum that Americans are really concerned about.”

Surveying the American Dream

Setting out to obtain more insight into citizens’ perceptions of the relationship between inequality and opportunity, McCall has launched two survey projects.

In the first, she and IPR faculty adjunct **Jennifer Richeson**, now at Yale University, are measuring whether Americans who read a short article on how inequality is rising are less likely to believe in an “American Dream-type ideology,” and thus more likely to favor opportunity-enhancing policies over traditional government redistributive policies.



Leslie McCall

In the second project, McCall is collaborating with researchers in Sweden and Denmark to construct new questions about opportunity-enhancing policies for the U.S.’s General Social Survey (GSS) and the International Social Survey Program. The responses will illustrate who these citizens hold responsible for reducing inequality—the government for reducing income inequality or major corporations for reducing pay inequality, or both.

Studying the Overlap in Inequality

Though her recent research has focused on public perceptions of inequality, McCall hopes to devote more time in the upcoming months to another of her research streams: studying how racial, class, and gender inequality overlap and conflict with one another.

McCall and her colleagues are examining changes in patterns of gender and earnings inequality among families between 1970 and 2010. These days, she explained, more women are working and as such, depend less on men’s earnings, but it remains to be seen if men benefit from this change—that is, whether they depend more on their wives’ income to the same degree that wives depend less on their husbands’ income.

In looking into this question, McCall said she has found “some pretty counterintuitive” results. For instance, men do not increase their family income as much as women do when they marry, and this marriage premium for women greatly offsets the wage penalty they earn when they have children, even though the latter “motherhood wage penalty” receives much more attention from scholars.

“We’re flipping the question around and saying, ‘To what extent has the old set of patterns for men really changed?’” McCall said of this final project. “Lots of things are changing, but they are not changing to the same degree for men and women.”

Leslie McCall is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

OPINION

Giving Flint's Children the Services They Deserve

By Sandra Waxman

Government support, individual donations, and volunteer initiatives, so far, have jump-started many efforts that will make a difference in Flint to stem the tide of the worst lead crisis in recent memory. Providing safe drinking water and key nutrients goes a long way toward halting additional lead absorption. Increasing the frequency of pediatric visits offers much-needed support for concerned parents and permits us to trace the rate at which children's lead burdens are decreasing over time.

But this is not enough.

Until we integrate contributions like these with comprehensive intervention programs, designed to address the irreversible and long-lasting deficits in IQ, attention, language, and behavior caused by lead exposure, the help that the children of Flint so richly deserve will remain beyond reach.

Because their brains and nervous systems are so rapidly developing, fetuses, infants and young children are especially vulnerable to lead's ravages. That is why the most effective interventions, especially in low-income communities like Flint, are ones that begin early and that coordinate a range of developmental supports.

Decades of evidence-based research provide a road map for where to begin in Flint. This road map should be implemented fully and immediately, with funding from federal, state, and local governments.

The comprehensive and sustained programming should include at least these three elements:

High-Quality, Full-Time Early Childcare Programs

The most essential component is high-quality, center-based developmental intervention programming that begins in infancy, that

engages parents as their children's "first and best teachers," that are sustained throughout the preschool years, and that provide a central point of contact to facilitate coordination among families and among service providers.

Programs like Early Head Start, a federal program initiated in 1995 to serve low-income pregnant women and families with infants and toddlers within their own communities, have been especially effective at providing comprehensive early intervention with lasting benefits for children's language, cognitive, social, and emotional development.

But there have been long wait lists for Head Start in Flint. Access to high-quality, multi-faceted developmental programs like Early Head Start should be expanded immediately so every child can benefit. There is no time to lose.

Harness Our Nation's Strong Service Commitment

In response to emergencies worldwide, the United States has consistently been at the forefront, dispatching early childhood professionals to establish culturally appropriate interventions for young children and their families.

Closer to home, creative initiatives, including Teach for America and City Year, have developed successful models for attracting talented recent college graduates to join a corps of their peers as teachers.

It is time to harness these twin engines—experienced leadership in early childhood programming and young adults devoted to providing educational opportunities for young children—for the families of Flint. The federal government and the private sector could share the lead on this initiative.



Sandra Waxman

P. Reese

Policy Building

Flint may be the worst case of lead exposure in recent memory, but sadly it is not the only case and it will not be the last. If bold interventions are initiated in Flint, these may not only diminish the severity of the effects of lead in the children themselves, but may also serve as a rich foundation for developing policies about best practices in response to large-scale, community-wide lead exposure. This will require tracing the services that children receive, the age at which they receive it, and their progress across time. It will also require permission for data sharing across agencies.

For the children in Flint, whose brain and behavioral development has been thwarted irreversibly and whose parents' trust has been shattered, providing the gold standard of care is the very least we can offer.

Sandra Waxman is Louis W. Menk Professor of Psychology and an IPR fellow. This has been edited from her op-ed, which was originally published in The Hill on February 18, 2016.

Diversity Research and Policy

By Alice Eagly

You'd be forgiven for assuming a quick and sure way to multiply profits and amplify organizational success is to increase the gender and racial diversity of any group. According to claims in the mainstream media, the effects of gender and racial diversity are universally favorable.

The truth is there's actually no adequate scientific basis for these newsworthy assertions. And this lack of scientific evidence to guide such statements illustrates the troubled relations of science to advocacy and policy, which I have analyzed in an article in the current *Journal of Social Issues*.

A Chasm Between Research Findings and Advocates' Claims

In politically sensitive areas, advocates may eagerly invoke social scientific data that support their objectives but ignore nonsupportive findings. They may highlight politically congenial findings that are unrepresentative of the available scientific knowledge.

Researchers, in turn, may fail to communicate their findings effectively. Communication is challenging when study outcomes are more complex and less affirming of advocates' goals than what they desire and expect.

These issues often arise when research addresses controversial questions of social inequality. That's where social science myths can and do emerge.

Case Study: Diversity Research

To illustrate these problems, consider two prominent social science myths about diversity.

One concerns the effects of the gender diversity of corporate boards of directors on firms' financial performance. The other pertains to the effects of the gender and racial diversity of workgroups on their performance.

Advocates for diversity generally maintain that the addition of women to corporate boards enhances corporate financial success. And they hold that diversity in task groups enhances their effectiveness.

Taking into account all of the available research on corporate boards and diversity of task groups, the net effects are very close to a null, or zero, average. The most valid conclusion at this point is that, on average, diversity neither helps nor harms these important outcomes.

Given these overall findings, further studies are needed to identify the conditions under which diversity has positive or negative effects. And there is some progress here.

For example, research suggests that diversity tends to make decision-making groups more effective if their members create norms that foster personal ties across the races and genders as well as the exchange of ideas. Also, a positive and inclusive mindset about diversity increases the chances of favorable effects on group performance.

But such conditions are often absent. Diversity can create tensions within groups, and the newly introduced female or minority group members may encounter resistance that makes it difficult for them to gain a foothold in decision-making. It's hardly surprising that the results of empirical studies are inconsistent. These kinds of interpersonal relationships are messy and complicated—it makes sense that upping diversity, on its own, wouldn't be a magical key to success.

A Worthwhile Social Outcome

What's the harm in journalists announcing false generalizations about diversity if such statements help increase the number of women and minorities in important roles?



Alice Eagly

R. Anderson

Isn't any and all support for inclusion valuable? My answer to this question is no.

False generalizations can impede progress toward better science that may disentangle the causes of diversity's varied effects on group and organizational success.

Most advocates, policymakers, and social scientists may not be aware of sharp divergence in their claims about diversity. Yet policy based on sound social science should be a shared goal.

To achieve evidence-based policy, all parties should take a close look at what diversity research has produced so far. Rather than selectively featuring congenial results, they should work together to untangle diversity's complex effects on group and organizational performance.

Alice Eagly is James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences, professor of psychology, and an IPR fellow. This has been edited from her op-ed that was published in The Conversation on March 10, 2016.

New Fellows *(Continued from page 1)*

networks and how forms of closure affect women and minority groups, including Native Americans. Redbird, IPR's first fellow whose research focuses on Native American and indigenous studies, is part of the University's new Indigenous Studies Research Initiative.

Three fellows, economist **Seema Jayachandran**, political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl**, and anthropologist **Sera Young**, are not only investigating key issues related to inequality in developing countries, they are also "internationalizing" IPR's domestic-policy footprint. Their investigations uncover underlying mechanisms of social policy in other countries from which the United States can learn and vice versa.

"These eight new fellows are bolstering IPR in subjects that are at the heart of social policy research," Figlio said.

Digging into voter turnout and disparities in criminal justice

The United States, often called the "world's biggest jailer," has a long history of mass incarceration. Two new IPR fellows are digging into the causes and consequences of the American criminal justice system, with another investigating distributive justice and voting.



M. Marano

Simone Ispa-Landa, an education sociologist, seeks to unpack "subtle" inequalities—or the ways inequalities persist even when things are ostensibly equal. Her current

projects include an investigation of how individuals with criminal records seek to expunge, and live with, those records. From this research to her work on race and gender in school diversity programs, Ispa-Landa seeks to uncover how race, gender, and stigma operate day to day, with pertinent findings for the education and legal spheres. Previously an IPR associate, she holds a PhD from Harvard University that was awarded in 2011.

"These eight new fellows are bolstering IPR in subjects that are at the heart of social policy research."

Heather Schoenfeld works at the intersection of politics, policy, race, and the law, focusing on systems of criminal punishment. She is completing a book on the origins of mass incarceration in Florida, which focuses on policymakers' decisions over the past 60 years to expand the reach of the criminal justice system. Her current research includes a study of contemporary state-level reforms to reduce incarceration. Schoenfeld received her PhD from Northwestern in 2009 and was formerly an IPR associate.

A political scientist, **Mary McGrath** has conducted research on perceptions of distributive justice, examining how collaboration with others influences what we consider a fair



Mary McGrath

allocation of goods. More broadly, her research interests involve American politics, political behavior, and political economy. Her recent projects cover studies of voter turnout, candidate extremism, and the relationship between economic behavior and partisanship. McGrath joined Northwestern and IPR this fall after receiving a PhD from Yale University.

Using diversity science to address racial inequality

As the United States moves to a majority-minority nation, the complex racial/ethnic issues of today require 21st-century solutions rooted in research. Two new IPR fellows are bringing new vigor to IPR studies in the science of diversity.

In addition to tackling questions of Native American inequality, **Beth Redbird's**

research agenda is tied together by a common theme: Boundaries create inequality and change the relationships within and between groups affected by these boundaries. A special focus of her work involves how different forms of closure, or how one group's efforts to consolidate scarce resources for its sole benefit, affect Native American inequality. Redbird comes to IPR and Northwestern from Stanford University, where she received her PhD this year.



Beth Redbird

Onnie Rogers is especially interested in identity development among urban children and adolescents. She draws on quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate how stereotypes shape youth identities and relationships. In ongoing research, she is examining how children from low-income, ethnically diverse backgrounds talk about their racial and gender identities and navigate group stereotypes. Rogers joins IPR and Northwestern from the University of Washington. She received her PhD from New York University in 2012.



Onnie Rogers

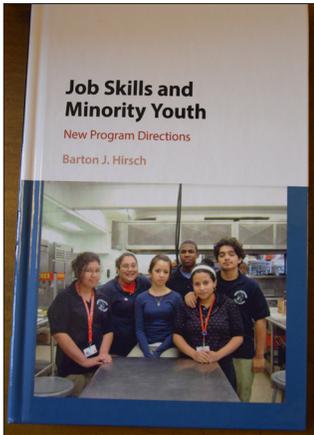
Taking a global approach to research

While much of IPR's research focuses on domestic issues, many of its experts also recognize that there is much to be learned beyond our borders. Three new fellows are boosting IPR's "internationalization" through their research in the developing world.

Seema Jayachandran focuses on health and gender in developing countries. This development economist's work extends to a broad range of topics and localities, from examining gender attitudes and entrepreneurship in India to testing an innovative program to reduce deforestation in Uganda. She also conducts research on labor markets, early

(Continued on page 13)

RECENT FACULTY BOOKS



Job Skills and Minority Youth New Program Directions

By Barton Hirsch, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 204 pp.

Low-income, urban youth are one of the most underemployed segments of the U.S. workforce. In his book, human development and social policy professor and IPR associate Barton Hirsch evaluates two new initiatives for minority high school students that seek to cultivate marketable job skills. The first is Chicago's flagship After School Matters program that provides experiences similar to apprenticeships, and the second is a mock job-interview program that emphasizes new ways of improving interview performance. Marketable job skills are assessed through a mock job interview administered by experienced human resource professionals. Mixed methods are utilized, with qualitative data shedding light on what actually happens inside the programs, and a developmental science approach situates the findings in terms of adolescent development. The book focuses on identifying the most promising strategies and addressing likely implementation issues.

Iraq and the Crimes of Aggressive War The Legal Cynicism of Criminal Militarism

By John Hagan, Joshua Kaiser, and Anna Hanson, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 260 pp.

Sociologist, legal scholar, and IPR associate John Hagan, along with Northwestern University's Joshua Kaiser and Anna Hanson, lays out an account of the violations of international criminal law committed during the United States invasion of Iraq. The authors show how the initial framing of the war in Iraq led to the creation of a new Shia-dominated Iraq state, provoking feelings of legal cynicism among Iraqis, especially the Sunni. They describe how such feelings of cynicism toward the law and its enforcement led to a Sunni insurgency in the aftermath of the U.S. withdrawal of troops in 2011. Drawing on more than a decade of evidence, the book makes the case that the American war in Iraq constituted a criminal war of aggression.

Digital Research Confidential The Secrets of Studying Behavior Online

Eszter Hargittai and Christian Sandvig, eds., MIT Press, 2015, 288 pp.

Because the digital environment for scholarship is constantly evolving, researchers must sometimes improvise, change their plans, and adapt. These details are often left out of research write-ups, leaving newcomers to the field frustrated when their approaches do not work as expected. IPR faculty adjunct Eszter Hargittai of the University of Zurich and the University of Michigan's Christian Sandvig offer scholars a chance to learn from their fellow researchers' mistakes—and their successes. They present behind-the-scenes stories of digital research projects, written by established and rising scholars. They discuss such challenges as archiving, web crawling, crowdsourcing, and confidentiality.

New Fellows (Continued from page 12)

childhood education, and political economy and is part of the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab and the National Bureau of Economic Research. She received her PhD from Harvard University in 2004.

Political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl**'s research focuses regionally on sub-Saharan Africa and thematically on political parties and institutions, democratization, identity politics, and local governance. Her recent projects include an award-winning book, *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), examining transitions from authoritarian regimes to democratic systems in Africa, as well as an ongoing study of the link between religious messages and political participation. A former IPR associate and current



Rachel Beatty Riedl

faculty affiliate of the Buffett Institute for Global Studies, Riedl received her PhD from Princeton University in 2008.

Anthropologist **Sera Young**'s research focuses on reducing maternal and child undernutrition in low-resource settings, particularly sub-Saharan Africa. Young takes a biocultural approach to her research—drawing on her training in medical anthropology, international nutrition, and HIV research—to understand how mothers in low-resource settings work to preserve their health and that of their families. Her current projects include studies of both food insecurity and water insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa. Young was previously on the faculty at Cornell University, where she received her PhD in 2008.



Sera Young

For more information about these and other IPR fellows, see www.ipr.northwestern.edu/faculty-experts.

RECENT IPR WORKING PAPERS

POVERTY, RACE, AND INEQUALITY

Beyond Income: What Else Predicts Very Low Food Security Among Children? (WP-15-25)

Patricia Anderson, Dartmouth College; Kristin Butcher, Wellesley College; and Hilary Hoynes, University of California, Berkeley, and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

Which U.S. households are more likely to report very low food security (VLFS) among their children? The researchers use data from multiple surveys to understand how those households where food is severely scarce for children differ from those where it is not. Household income plays an important role in determining VLFS among children, the researchers determine, but other household characteristics, such as if there are teens and if the households take part in safety-net programs are also important in explaining VLFS, even after controlling for income-to-poverty rates. Additionally, their examination of data suggests an important role for both mental and physical health of parents in their children's food security status. *This working paper has been published in the Southern Economic Journal.*

Why Are Indian Children So Short? The Role of Birth Order and Son Preference (WP-15-20)

Seema Jayachandran (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and Rohini Pande, Harvard University

Stunting due to malnutrition is widespread in India, such that Indian children are shorter than their counterparts in poorer regions like sub-Saharan Africa. Using data on more than 174,000 children from demographic and health surveys, the researchers show that Indian firstborns are actually taller than African firstborns, and that the Indian height disadvantage emerges with the second child and then increases with birth order. Several factors suggest that the culture of eldest-son preference underlies India's high rate of stunting: The Indian firstborn height advantage only exists for sons, and the drop-off varies with siblings' gender—as well as by religion and region within India—in ways consistent with the hope for a male heir determining Indian parents' fertility decisions and their allocation of resources among their children.

Relaxing Migration Constraints for Rural Households (WP-15-11)

Cynthia Kinnan (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; Shing-Yi Wang, University of Pennsylvania; and Yongxiang Wang, University of Southern California

This paper exploits two unique features of China's history to study the effects of access to internal migration: reforms to the household

registration (hukou) system and historical migration flows. The researchers show that historical migration—due to a government policy called the “sent-down youth” (SDY) program—created lasting links between provinces. They also find that present-day access to migration leads to higher consumption levels and lower consumption volatility for rural households, and that household production shifts into high-risk, high-return activities.

The Effect of Wealth on Individual and Household Labor Supply: Evidence from Swedish Lotteries (WP-15-18)

David Cesarini, New York University; Erik Lindqvist, Stockholm School of Economics; **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and Robert Östling, Stockholm University

The researchers study a large sample of lottery players in Sweden and find that many of the lottery winners “spend” their winnings by working a little less. Interestingly, the winners reduce their work hours much more than their spouses, regardless of the winners' gender. It seems like “who wins” in the household determines who gets to take it easier at their job. The researchers see very little evidence of early retirement upon winning, even for those who won large prizes.

EDUCATION POLICY

School Finance Reform and the Distribution of Student Achievement (WP-16-04)

Julien Lafortune and Jesse Rothstein, University of California, Berkeley; and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

Finance reforms are key for promoting equality of educational opportunity, according to Lafortune, Rothstein, and Schanzenbach. They study the impact of post-1990 school finance reforms on gaps in spending and achievement between high-income and low-income school districts. They observe that court orders, legislative reforms, and other reform events led to increases in spending in low-income school districts, eventually yielding gradual increases in low-income students' achievement.

What Do Test Scores Miss? The Importance of Teacher Effects on Non-Test Score Outcomes (WP-16-03)

Kirabo Jackson (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

A quality teacher is one who teaches students the skills necessary to be productive adults, but how can we measure this? Jackson examines teacher effects on measures of noncognitive skills by looking at

suspensions, absences, course grades, and on-time grade progression. He finds these outcomes go beyond test scores to help identify those teachers who improve students' longer-term outcomes—even though they do not raise students' test scores.

School Quality and the Gender Gap in Educational Achievement (WP-16-01)

David Autor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **David Figlio** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), **Krzysztof Karbownik** (IPR), Northwestern University; Jeffrey Roth, University of Florida; and Melanie Wasserman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Recent evidence suggests that the quantity and quality of family inputs received in childhood affects boys and girls differently. Autor, Figlio, and their colleagues assess whether this is also true for schooling inputs. Using matched Florida birth and school administrative records, they estimate the causal effect of school quality on the gender gap in educational outcomes by contrasting brothers and sisters who attend the same sets of schools and leveraging within-family variation in school quality arising from family moves. Looking at middle school test scores, absences, and suspensions, they find that attending higher-quality schools benefits boys more than girls. This working paper has been published in the *American Economic Review*.

First in the Class? Age and the Education Production Function (WP-15-28)

Elizabeth Cascio, Dartmouth College, and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

Cascio and Schanzenbach estimate the effects of having older peers in a classroom using data from an experiment where children of the same age were randomly assigned to different kindergarten classrooms. They use this experimental variation along with variation in expected kindergarten entry age to account for negative selection of some of the older students. They find that students exposed to older kindergarten classmates had higher test scores up to eight years after kindergarten; they were also less likely to be held back a grade and more likely to take a college-entry exam. These findings suggest that, holding a student's age constant, it is not beneficial to be older relative to one's peers. This working paper has been published in *Education Finance and Policy*.

Thinking, Fast and Slow? Some Field Experiments to Reduce Crime and Dropout in Chicago (WP-15-27)

Sara Heller, University of Pennsylvania; Anuj Shah, University of Chicago; **Jonathan Guryan** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; Jens Ludwig, University of Chicago; Sendhil Mullainathan, Harvard University; and Harold Pollack, University of Chicago

The researchers present the results of three large-scale randomized controlled trials (RCTs) carried out in Chicago, testing interventions to reduce crime and dropout by targeting the decision-making of economically disadvantaged youth. In two RCTs, they find that

participation in the Becoming a Man program reduced total arrests, as well as violent-crime arrests, and improved school engagement. The third RCT tested a program carried out in the Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center that reduced readmission rates to the facility by 21 percent. These large behavioral responses combined with modest program costs imply benefit-cost ratios for these interventions from 5 to 1 up to 30 to 1.

Motivation and Incentives in Education: Evidence from a Summer Reading Experiment (WP-15-24)

Jonathan Guryan (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; James S. Kim, Harvard University; and Kyung Park, Wellesley College

Who responds to incentives in education and under what conditions? In the context of a summer reading program, the researchers test if students' responses to an incentive are related to their initial motivation to read. To do so, they randomly assigned rising fourth- and fifth-grade students to one of three groups: One group received books weekly during the summer, another received books each week and prize points for each book read, and the third acted as a control group. The researchers show that the incentives most benefited students who were more motivated to read at baseline. This suggests that real-world incentives in education might be missing their target of encouraging the least motivated students.

Housing Booms and Busts, Labor Market Opportunities, and College Attendance (WP-15-23)

Kerwin Kofi Charles and Erik Hurst, University of Chicago; and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

The researchers show that the recent national housing boom improved labor market opportunities for young men and women, thereby raising their opportunity cost of going to college. They find that the boom substantially lowered college enrollment and attainment for both young men and women during the 2000s, with the effects concentrated at two-year colleges. The bust generally undid the boom's positive employment and wage effects. However, college attendance rates for those of college-going age during the housing boom remain persistently low after the end of the bust, suggesting that reduced educational attainment might be an enduring effect of the housing cycle.

The Effects of School Spending on Educational and Economic Outcomes: Evidence from School Finance Reforms (WP-15-19)

Kirabo Jackson (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; Rucker Johnson, University of California, Berkeley; and Claudia Persico, University of Wisconsin–Madison

The researchers link data on school spending and school finance reforms to detailed, nationally representative data on children born between 1955 and 1985 and followed through 2011, to see if children who were exposed to the reforms were more educated and more highly paid

(Continued on page 16)

Working Papers (Continued from page 15)

later in life. They find a 10 percent increase in per-pupil spending each year for all 12 years of a child's public school career leads to .27 more completed years of education, 7.25 percent higher wages, and a 3.67 percentage-point reduction in the annual incidence of adult poverty. These effects were much stronger for children from low-income families. This working paper was published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

Can a Scaffolded Summer Reading Intervention Reduce Socioeconomic Gaps in Children's Reading Comprehension Ability and Home Book Access? Results from a Randomized Experiment (WP-15-15)

Jonathan Guryan (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; **James S. Kim**, Harvard University; **Lauren Capotosto**, College of the Holy Cross; **David Quinn** and **Helen Chen Kingston**, Harvard University; **Lisa Foster**, Liberty University; and **North Cooc**, University of Texas, Austin

The researchers conducted a randomized experiment involving 824 third-grade children in 14 elementary schools (K-5) to examine the effects of a scaffolded summer reading intervention that provided books matched to children's reading level and interests, as well as teacher scaffolding in the form of end-of-year comprehension instruction. Children in high-poverty schools experienced larger positive effects than children in moderate-high poverty schools. In addition, among a random subsample of children who were part of a home visit study, there were positive treatment effects on the quantity and the diversity of books at home.

Family Disadvantage and the Gender Gap in Behavioral and Educational Outcomes (WP-15-16)

David Autor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **David Figlio** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy) and **Krzysztof Karbownik** (IPR), Northwestern University; **Jeffrey Roth**, University of Florida; and **Melanie Wasserman**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Why do boys fare worse than girls in households of low socioeconomic status—both behaviorally and educationally? To explore the question, the researchers use matched birth certificates, health, disciplinary, academic, and high school graduation records for more than 1 million children born in Florida from 1992–2002. Relative to their sisters, boys born to low-education and unmarried mothers, raised in low-income neighborhoods, and enrolled at poor-quality public schools have higher rates of truancy and behavioral problems in elementary and middle school, exhibit more behavioral and cognitive disability, perform worse on standardized tests, are less likely to graduate high school, and are more likely to commit serious crimes as juveniles. A surprising implication is that, relative to white siblings, black boys fare worse than their sisters in significant part because black children—both boys and girls—are raised in more disadvantaged family environments.

Education Research and Administrative Data (WP-15-13)

David Figlio (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy) and **Krzysztof Karbownik** (IPR), Northwestern University; and **Kjell Salvanes**, Norwegian School of Economics

It is now possible to collect, manage, and analyze data in magnitudes and in manners that would have been inconceivable just a short time ago. As the world has developed this remarkable capacity to store and analyze data, so have the world's governments developed large-scale, comprehensive data files on tax programs, workforce information, benefit programs, health, and education. While these data are collected for purely administrative purposes, they represent remarkable new opportunities for expanding our knowledge. The researchers describe some of the benefits and challenges associated with the use of administrative data in education research.

CHILD, ADOLESCENT, AND FAMILY STUDIES

Inequality Before Birth: The Developmental Consequences of Environmental Toxicants (WP-16-06)

Claudia Persico, University of Wisconsin–Madison; **David Figlio** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; and **Jeffrey Roth**, University of Florida

Using population-level data on children born in Florida from 1994–2002, the authors examine short- and long-term effects of prenatal exposure to environmental toxicants on children living within two miles of a Superfund site—a toxic waste site identified by the Environmental Protection Agency as particularly severe. Comparing siblings conceived before and after a waste site was cleaned, they find that children conceived to mothers living within 2 miles of a Superfund site before cleanup are 7.4 percentage points more likely to repeat a grade, have 0.06 of a standard deviation lower test scores, and are 6.6 percentage points more likely to be suspended than their siblings conceived after the site was cleaned. Children of mothers living within one mile of a Superfund site before cleanup are also 10 percentage points more likely to be diagnosed with a cognitive disability than their later-born siblings. The study suggests that cleaning up severe toxic waste sites has significant positive effects on long-term cognitive and developmental outcomes.

Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Attitudes: Evidence from India (WP-15-26)

Diva Dhar, Indian Statistical Institute; **Tarun Jain**, Indian School of Business; and **Seema Jayachandran** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

The authors examine how gender attitudes pass between generations in India, a country with extremely high rates of discrimination against women and girls, by surveying over 5,500 sixth- and seventh-grade boys and girls in 314 rural schools and their parents on their gender attitudes. The researchers find that when a parent holds a

more discriminatory attitude, her or his child is 15 percentage points, on average, more likely to hold the view. Parents' attitudes also affect their children's aspirations: Girls with more discriminatory parents are less likely to want to continue their education beyond high school.

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

Government Old-Age Support and Labor Supply: Evidence from the Old Age Assistance Program (WP-16-02)

Daniel Fetter, Wellesley College, and **Lee Lockwood** (Economics/IPR), Northwestern University

Many major government programs transfer resources to older people and tax their labor relative to that of younger people, both of which might reduce the number of older people working. The researchers shed new light on the labor-supply effects of these programs by investigating the Old Age Assistance Program (OAA), a means-tested and state-administered pension program created by the Social Security Act of 1935. Their estimates imply that OAA reduced the labor force participation rate among men aged 65–74 by 5.7 percentage points, or nearly half of its decline in 1930–40. Predictions based on their reduced-form estimates and an estimated model both suggest that Social Security could account for at least half of the large decline in late-life work from 1940–60.

Friendship at Work: Can Peer Effects Catalyze Female Entrepreneurship? (WP-15-22)

Erica Field, Duke University; **Seema Jayachandran** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; Rohini Pande, Harvard University; and Natalia Rigol, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Does a lack of peers contribute to the observed gender gap in entrepreneurial success—and is the constraint stronger for women facing more restrictive social norms? For Indian women who trained with a friend, a business counseling session had an immediate and significant impact on their business activity. Four months later, those female entrepreneurs who trained with a friend were more likely to have taken out business loans and were less likely to be housewives. They also reported increased business activity and higher household income, with the effects stronger among women from religious or caste groups with social norms that restrict female mobility. This working paper was published in the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*.

U.S. Food and Nutrition Programs (WP-15-21)

Hilary Hoynes, University of California, Berkeley; and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

Concerns about adequate nutrition figure prominently in discussions of the health and wellbeing of America's disadvantaged populations. At the same time, Americans' diet quality has been persistently low and unchanging over time and more than a third of adults and 17 percent of children are obese. To address these problems, a range of U.S. food and

nutrition programs are provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In this survey, the researchers focus on the four largest of these programs, including the Supplemental Nutrition Access Program (previously known as the Food Stamp Program); Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children; National School Lunch Program; and School Breakfast Program. To provide evidence about these programs' impacts, the researchers argue the USDA should be open to expanding access to administrative data and implementing well-designed social experiments.

How Do Right-To-Carry Laws Affect Crime Rates? Coping with Ambiguity Using Bounded-Variation Assumptions (WP-15-17)

Charles F. Manski (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and John V. Pepper, University of Virginia

Despite dozens of studies, research on U.S. crime has struggled to reach consensus about the impact of right-to-carry (RTC) gun laws. Empirical results are highly sensitive to seemingly minor variations in the data and model. How then should research proceed? Manski and Pepper formalize and apply a class of assumptions that flexibly restrict the degree to which policy outcomes might vary across time and space. They find there are no simple answers; empirical findings are sensitive to assumptions and can vary over crimes, years, and states.

The Political Relevance of Irrelevant Events (WP-15-14)

Ethan Busby, **James Druckman**, and **Alexandria Fredendall** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

Do events irrelevant to politics affect citizens' political opinions? A growing literature suggests that events such as football games and shark attacks shape political preferences, raising concerns about citizen competence. The researchers offer a framework for studying these kinds of effects on preferences. They find that irrelevant events can influence attitudes, mood, and public declarations. However, when it comes to political attitudes, the irrelevant-event effects appear to be short-lived. Despite their demonstration of irrelevant-event effects, the researchers underscore that it is too early to conclude such events play a substantial role in affecting citizens' political opinions.

No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Inter-Personal Discussions (WP-15-12)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Matthew Levendusky, University of Pennsylvania; and Audrey McLain, Yale University

How do partisan media sources influence public opinion? The researchers address this question by exploring not only how partisan media directly influence individuals' attitudes, but also how inter-personal discussions shape the impact of partisan media. They present experimental results showing that, depending on the nature of the discussion group, conversations can nullify or amplify partisan media effects. Perhaps more importantly, they also find that those not directly exposed to partisan media are still susceptible to its effects.

White House Report to Congress Cites IPR Researchers

Studies offer evidence for policies to tackle childhood inequality

The White House Council of Economic Advisers' 2016 economic report to Congress emphasized the need to reduce inequality in America, starting with children from an early age. The report, released in February, included evidence to support policies aiming to do just that from some of the nation's leading academics, including six IPR experts.

"IPR's purpose is to catalyze pathbreaking research on the most pressing social policy issues, and to communicate those findings to inform policy discussions," said IPR Director **David Figlio**. "I'm delighted that this work plays such a prominent role in current discussions in Washington."

Early Health Disparities

"Studies of birth weight find that it is not only a good predictor of short-term health and mortality, but also of longer-term health and human capital variables, including school achievement and earnings." (pp. 159–60)

According to research by IPR economists **Figlio** and **Jonathan Guryan**, IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik**, and University of Florida pediatrics scholar Jeffrey Roth, a baby's weight at birth is a critical factor in determining success later in life, with benefits to higher birth weight for babies all the way to 10 pounds.

The study suggests that babies weighing more at birth have higher test scores from third through eighth grade. Even the advantage of attending a higher-quality school was not enough to compensate for the disadvantage of a lower birth weight.

The birth-weight advantage held for all children—regardless of race, socioeconomic status, enrichment experiences provided by parents, maternal education, and a host of other factors. Thus, health disparities starting at birth—especially for children in poverty, who are twice as likely to be born underweight—can have a lasting, negative impact on school achievement.

Gender Differences and Environments

"Differences in early life investments and adaptation behaviors between genders can affect the efficacy of childhood policy interventions." (p. 171)

Using a dataset of 1.3 million children in Florida, **Figlio**, **Karbownik**, and Roth, with MIT's David Autor and Melanie Wasserman, reveal how childhood environments can intensify the effects of disadvantage and how effects can vary by gender. Compared with their sisters, boys born to unmarried mothers, most of whom dropped out of high school, are more likely to grow up in low-income neighborhoods, attend blighted public schools, be truant, and get called to the school office for behavioral problems. They also present a greater chance of having a behavioral and/or cognitive disability, lower test scores, and lower high school graduation rates. This suggests that policymakers should consider the effects of early environments and family disadvantage when designing policies aimed at improving the outcomes of boys in school.

Early Access to Healthcare

"The literature on desegregation of healthcare facilities also demonstrates that access to healthcare during childhood can have large impacts on children's long-term outcomes." (p. 183)

In another study, **Guryan** and his colleagues, Brown University's Kenneth Chay and Bhashkar Mazumder of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, demonstrate a link between hospital desegregation and improved adult IQs and better life outcomes. Using test score data from 1976–91, they examine the narrowing achievement gap between whites and African Americans and uncover an unexpected source—the 1965 integration of Southern hospitals. Hospital integration, they find, had a number of positive effects: The deaths of African-American infants declined dramatically, falling more than 40 percent between 1964 and 1972, and for those same

cohorts, African-American test scores improved between the early 1960s and early 1970s, African Americans were more likely to go to college, and they had higher earnings as adults. Their findings suggest that efforts to reduce racial inequalities should involve looking beyond school settings to early, and equal, healthcare access.

Early-Life Nutrition

"The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP, is the cornerstone of the U.S. policy to address food insecurity—it is the largest and most universal of a set of Federal food and nutrition programs designed to alleviate hunger by supplementing the food budgets of low-income households." (pp. 185–86)

IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, with colleagues Hilary Hoynes of the University of California, Berkeley and Columbia University's Douglas Almond, examines the progressive roll-out of food stamps from 1961–75. They show that being born, or living in, a county that offered food stamps positively impacted later life outcomes, making the biggest long-term difference when it was available from the in utero period and up to age five. The results stress the importance of intervening during early life, as SNAP had minimal effects on adult health if a child was first exposed after age 5.

Universal Preschool

"One likely source of the improving academic outcomes for children who are not enrolled in Head Start or other more narrowly targeted programs is the recent expansion of large, State-run public preschool programs." (p. 197)

Schanzenbach and Dartmouth economist Elizabeth Cascio find when a state adopts a universal preschool program, children from lower-income families are substantially more likely to enroll in preschool, and their subsequent test scores improve through eighth grade. Among children from higher-income families, though, the program has a



Wikimedia Commons

The White House Council of Economic Advisers' 2016 economic report to Congress cites studies by six IPR experts that offer evidence for policies to fight childhood inequality.

smaller impact on preschool enrollment and does not have a measurable impact on later test scores.

In another study of state prekindergarten programs led by former IPR graduate research assistant **Vivian Wong** (SESP '10), now at University of Virginia, with IPR social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** and their colleagues, the researchers examine preschool programs in five states: Michigan, New Jersey, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and West Virginia. They generally find positive effects, or those that trend positive, for raising preschoolers' vocabulary, math, and print awareness. The researchers conclude that state pre-K programs can have positive effects on children's cognitive skills, though effects can vary by state and learning subject.

Income-Support Programs

"... [C]hildren from families who received temporary income support at the start of the 20th century saw higher wages, more education, and lower mortality—with benefits from a few years of income support lasting for 80 years or more." (pp. 49–50)

Research by economist and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie** and his colleagues estimates the decades-long impact of the Mothers' Pension program, the first U.S. welfare program, which provided income support to low-income families from 1911–35. The researchers determine that the sons of mothers in the Mothers' Pension program lived a year longer than those of mothers who

were not accepted into the program, and they received more schooling and earned more as adults. This research exemplifies how present-day programs such as the Earned Income Tax Credit, which involve cash transfers to low-income families with young children, constitute an effective path to improve children's long-term outcomes.

In addition to work by Wong, the report also highlights research by former IPR graduate students, the University of Wisconsin–Madison's **Katherine Magnuson** (SESP '02) and **Aaron Sojourner** (WCAS '09), now at the University of Minnesota.

The White House economists close the section by calling the early childhood policies and their long-term benefits an "investment" and a "win-win opportunity for participating children, their parents, and society as a whole."

"This means society reaps the benefits of a better-educated, higher-earning, and healthier population in the future—including lower transfer payments, reduced involvement with the criminal justice system, lower health care costs, and a larger tax revenue base," they concluded.

David Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics. Jonathan Guryan is associate professor of human development and social policy. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is associate professor of human development and social policy. All three are IPR fellows. Thomas D. Cook is Harrison Chair Emeritus and IPR faculty emeritus. Joseph Ferrie is professor of economics and an IPR associate.

IPR Experts Present Policy Proposals in D.C.

On March 28 at The Hamilton Project in Washington, D.C., two IPR faculty experts presented new proposals for national policies to help strengthen U.S. student learning—one involves an intensive tutoring program for at-risk students and the other an online platform for evaluation of technology in K-12 classrooms.

IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan**, together with University of Chicago experts, recommended a national scale-up of an intensive tutoring program that has been proven to add up to two years of learning in math over a single school year for struggling high school students. The proposal, "Improving Academic Outcomes for Disadvantaged Students: Scaling Up the Match/SAGA Tutorials," calls for a national implementation of the program, which has been shown to narrow the black-white test score gap by almost one-third.

Professor of entrepreneurship and IPR associate **Benjamin Jones** and co-author Aaron Chatterji of Duke University discussed their proposal, "Learning What Works in Educational Technology with a Case Study of EDUSTAR," which shows how rigorous and continuous evaluation of educational technologies can spur innovation in the K-12 market. The two researchers suggested that evaluation systems built on existing, user-friendly content platforms have substantial advantages.

Jonathan Guryan is associate professor of education and social policy, an IPR fellow, and chair of IPR's education policy research program. Benjamin Jones is the Gordon and Llura Gund Family Professor of Entrepreneurship and an IPR associate.

Major Awards Recognize Research of Two IPR Fellows

Carnegie honors economist Kirabo Jackson; W. T. Grant honors psychologist Mesmin Destin

Two IPR fellows received competitive awards in April from two of the country's leading foundations recognizing their achievements and promise as researchers: IPR labor and education economist **Kirabo Jackson** was named an Andrew Carnegie Fellow and IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** a William T. Grant Foundation Scholar.

"Bo and Mesmin are two of the most innovative researchers in the field of education today," said IPR Director **David Figlio**, Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy. "If anyone is going to develop a breakthrough to help solve some of the country's most intractable education policy problems, they will be the ones to do it. We are delighted for both of them and proud that they are integral parts of IPR's and Northwestern's vibrant research community."

W. T. Grant Scholar Mesmin Destin

Destin was one of five researchers named to the 2016 class of William T. Grant Scholars, a program that supports the professional development of early career researchers in the social, behavioral, and health sciences.

Destin, an IPR fellow since 2014, will receive \$350,000 to support his five-year project, "Healthy Pathways Toward Academic Achievement and Social Mobility for Low-Socioeconomic Status (SES) Youth." He seeks to evaluate if an in-school intervention for students from low-SES backgrounds can increase their academic motivation and achievement, as well as have a positive impact on their health.

"Our foundation is dedicated to funding research to advance theory, build evidence, and improve policy and practice. Key to this goal is supporting a pipeline of diverse researchers who will tackle the weighty issues facing kids and families across the country," said **Vivian Tseng**, vice president of the William T. Grant Foundation.

Each year, a selection committee of prominent senior academics selects four to six new

scholars from a competitive pool of applicants nominated by their supporting institutions. Only researchers who have received their doctoral degrees or completed their first medical residencies in the past seven years are eligible. The foundation supports research that increases the understanding of the programs, policies, and practices that reduce inequality in youth outcomes, as well as how policymakers and practitioners acquire, interpret, and use research evidence.

Carnegie Fellow Kirabo Jackson

Jackson was one of 33 selected for the 2016 Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It provides fellowships to advance research in the social sciences and humanities.

Jackson, an IPR fellow since 2010, will receive up to \$200,000 for his research project on "Identifying Excellent Teachers."

The two-year project aims to provide evidence on how to better identify high-quality teachers who improve students' "soft" skills that are needed to succeed as adults. Jackson will compile a uniquely comprehensive longitudinal data set in collaboration with the Chicago Consortium of Public School Research, and document how measures of these skills in childhood predict adult success. He will also determine the extent to which teachers who improve soft skills in childhood have a causal effect on adult outcomes, including educational attainment, criminal activity, employment, and earnings.

More than 600 national leaders nominated some 200 fellowship candidates from across the nation, with the final selections made by a 16-juror panel. Fellows were selected based on the originality, promise, and potential impact of their proposals. The program supports both established and emerging scholars, journalists, and authors whose work distills knowledge, enriches the nation's culture, and equips leaders in the realms of science, law, technology, business, and public policy.

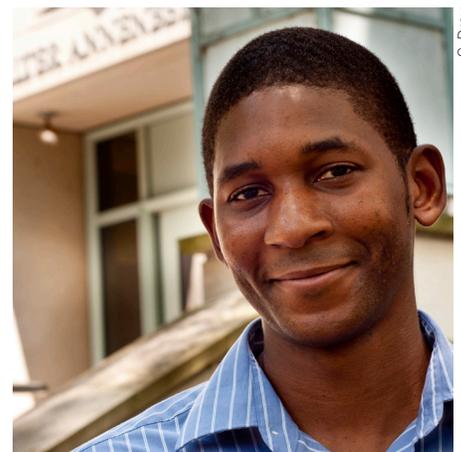


Mesmin Destin

"Our founder, Andrew Carnegie, charged Carnegie Corporation with the task of creating, advancing, and diffusing knowledge in order to enlighten American society and strengthen our democracy. This outstanding new cohort of 33 Carnegie Fellows is a result of that mandate," said **Vartan Gregorian**, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, established by Carnegie in 1911.

The anticipated result for each fellowship is the publication of a book or major study.

Mesmin Destin is assistant professor of psychology and human development and social policy, and an IPR fellow. Kirabo Jackson is associate professor of human development and social policy, and an IPR fellow.



Kirabo Jackson

Training Current, Future Researchers

IPR spreads research skills, understanding of research methodologies in education

Many college campuses go quiet over the summer, with students and faculty departing for other locations and endeavors, but Northwestern's Evanston campus saw an uptick in summer activity for more than 125 current and future researchers. Through three training opportunities, IPR experts helped undergraduates, researchers, and faculty fine tune their understanding of research and use of rigorous methodologies.

Undergraduate Research

Through the Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants (SURA) program, 35 undergraduates got first-hand experience in the conceptualization and conduct of policy-relevant social science research. This involved learning how to code data, conducting a literature search, recruiting study participants, and more.

Senior **Bryn Dougherty** (WCAS '17) has been working at IPR health psychologists **Greg Miller** and **Edith Chen's** lab since 2015, but SURA allowed her to work there full time.

"I've also been able to increase my interaction with the participants in the study so I can better put a face to the data with which I've been working for so long," Dougherty said.

As a part of the Foundations of Health Research Center, Dougherty examined the childhood origins of socioeconomic disparities in cardiovascular heart disease risk, probing disparities in the immunologic, neural, and psychosocial systems.

Miller said Bryn was "instrumental" to the study, helping in recruitment, data entry, and more. "Bryn gets the kids excited about participating, and puts them at ease about the blood draws and brain imaging, which understandably makes some of them anxious," Miller said. "She's also had some great insights about how to improve our protocol, and about questions that we should pursue in future waves of the project."

The program is valuable even if students do not continue research, said IPR education

researcher **James Rosenbaum**, who directs it. "The skills learned as an undergraduate research assistant are important—certainly if people decide to go into research career, but even if they don't," Rosenbaum said. "People who just want to be educated members of society need to understand these methods."



Daisy Carreon (r.) and Jill Bowdon explore methodologies at the CRT workshop.

IES-Sponsored Training Institutes

IPR also held two training sessions supported by the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) and its National Center for Education Research (NCER). IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** ran the 10th annual Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials (CRT) from July 18–28. And from August 1–12, IPR social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** led the Institute on Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis.

Cluster-Randomized Trials

Amy Proger of the American Institutes for Research plans to use what she learned at the CRT Institute to submit a study proposal. It would evaluate a program that trains high school guidance counselors on advising students about their college options.

"I learned a lot about different considerations in conducting cluster-randomized trials," Proger said. "I feel prepared to write a proposal using those methods."

The 10-day CRT workshop, which included lectures, skill-building labs, group projects, and mock proposals, plunged the 30 researchers into a deeper understanding of the use of cluster randomization in education research. CRT is particularly useful because it allows researchers to measure an intervention's effect on individual students while also accounting for group effects.

"This workshop was challenging, yet really gave me a feel for the overall concept of developing cluster-randomized trials," said **Doris Hill**, an assistant research professor at Auburn University. "Everyone was there to learn and help each other."

Quasi-Experimental Designs

The third training program on quasi-experimental designs exposed 30 participants to a variety of quasi-experimental designs. It allows researchers to compare groups when they cannot be randomized, such as when assigning children to specific classrooms.

"I walked away with a strong understanding of each quasi-experimental research method and the benefits and limitations of each approach," said **Stacy Kehoe**, a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh. She has already used workshop feedback to refine the analytic design of her dissertation study.

Peter Steiner, a former IPR postdoctoral fellow who helped organize the event and who is currently an associate professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, said quasi-experimental design is key for educational research.

"Strong research designs can help us find cause-effect relationships," Steiner said. "We want to find out what actually works in practice—what happens if we go out to schools and interfere."

Edith Chen and Greg Miller are professors of psychology. James Rosenbaum is professor of education and social policy. Larry Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor in Statistics, Education and Social Policy, and of psychology, and Thomas D. Cook is Harrison Chair Emeritus. All are IPR faculty.

Global Inequality Workshop (Continued from page 1)



Carola Frydman, Kellogg associate professor of finance, addresses questions related to her research on CEO compensation.

Held on May 12–13, the two-day workshop, jointly hosted by the Buffett Institute for Global Studies and the Institute for Policy Research (IPR) on Northwestern’s Evanston Campus, was a first for both.

According to Northwestern Provost **Daniel Linzer**, IPR’s focus was typically seen as ending at the water’s edge of the United States, while the Buffett Institute dealt with everything beyond that shoreline. Now, both seek to share and benefit from one another’s strengths—Buffett from IPR’s more policy-relevant mindset, and IPR from Buffett’s wider global focus.

“It’s great to see the synergy that is occurring between these two institutes,” Linzer said, noting that it can enable researchers to move forward with different perspectives in thinking about such pervasive problems as inequality.

Vice President for Research **Jay Walsh** said the initiative reflected Northwestern’s enthusiasm for advancing cross-disciplinary research collaborations “that develop high-impact practical solutions to complex global challenges.”

The 19 faculty presenters from Canada, Denmark, Singapore, the United States, and other countries constituted “an academic dream team,” said **Bruce Carruthers**, director

of the Buffett Institute for Global Studies. He spoke of his great satisfaction in putting together the framework for the workshop with **David Figlio**, director of IPR.

“Global inequality is of course much bigger than we can tackle in a workshop like this,” said Carruthers, John D. MacArthur Chair and professor of sociology. “But there are pieces that we can focus on and attempt to create solutions.”

“Global inequality is of course much bigger than we can tackle in a workshop like this. But there are pieces that we can focus on and attempt to create solutions.”

The six panels covered varying perspectives of inequality, starting with a global overview and followed by discussions of education, health, organizations, wages and labor, and public opinion. Yet all converged around the idea that rigorous social science research was key to addressing the many issues—and more is needed.

“It’s important to be thinking not just about what’s going on in the United States for solutions to the problems plaguing the country, but to also look around the world,” said Figlio, Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics. “At the same time, there are U.S. domestic policies that are relevant in other countries.”

The intimate workshop environment was designed to promote discussion and will possibly set the stage for a more comprehensive joint event in the future, according to Carruthers and Figlio.

“I’m convinced that one of the ways we can give groups of people more opportunities is by sharing proofs-of-concept across different disciplines, domains, and locations,” Figlio concluded.

A Global Perspective of Inequality

The first panel painted a broad overview of inequality, with University of Ottawa economist **Miles Corak** using Canada as an example to showcase three ways to consider intergenerational mobility—income, rank in the income distribution, and upward mobility.

While Canada does exhibit greater social mobility overall than the United States, for example, he said this method also reveals “a divided landscape.” Social mobility is not neatly contained within provincial borders and shows great variance, even between cities, with some of the most isolated communities in the country experiencing the least amount of mobility.

Max Planck social anthropologist **Chris Hann** questioned the common assumption that inequality is the unavoidable consequence of increasing social complexity. He noted the efforts of some socialist countries to introduce elements of the market, starting with Hungary, which pioneered “market socialism,” a model that is still followed by countries such as China and Vietnam. Today, many villagers on the Great Hungarian Plain hold “deep regrets” about at least some aspects of their lost socialist world, a salutary lesson for countries such as Cuba, which is on the cusp of its own transition.

More generally, Hann argued for a new vision of the human economy in the spirit of economic anthropologists Karl Polanyi and his influential defender, former Northwestern professor George Dalton. We need some “radical rethinking” of the links between inequality, market economy, and democracy, he said.

In thinking about the puzzling rise of wealth inequality in tandem with democracy, Buffett political scientist **Jeffrey Winters** asked, “Why does wealth concentration continue to increase despite having more freedom and democracy in the world?” While all governments closely track pay, he explained, almost none track wealth data and “that’s no accident.” Globally, wealth concentration is high, durable, and accelerating thanks to a highly paid “wealth defense industry” of lawyers, accountants, and lobbyists.

“Secrecy is the best friend of wealth concentration,” Winters said, suggesting that its elimination would be one way to help drive concentration down.

The Tails of the Distribution

The second panel investigated some of the phenomena taking place at the ends of the inequality distribution, with discussants broaching the issue of executive wages and “financialization.”

Kellogg associate finance professor **Carola Frydman** shared her research on CEO compensation. C-Suite pay rose rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s, but has essentially remained flat since 2000. Beyond salary figures, she

noted that it is also important to study how CEO pay is structured, as this can lead the CEOs to maximize shareholder value versus personal gain.

Fleshing out the idea of why “it matters what people do,” economist **Ariell Reshef** of the Paris School of Economics provided the example of how those countries with the most financial deregulation also saw the greatest increases in wages for that sector, with a corresponding rise in the fortunes of the 1 percent. He argued, therefore, how changes in institutional, legal, and regulatory environments also play a critical role in addressing inequality.

“It’s not just neoclassical economic forces that matter, but how we organize society that matters, and we can change it,” Reshef said.

Zeroing in on the idea of how the world of finance has affected inequality, economist **Olivier Godechot**, co-director of a joint Max Planck-Sciences Po center, discussed the trend of “financialization,” which promotes greater financial involvement by entities typically outside of the world of finance. It has encouraged nonfinancial firms and even households to engage in risky financial practices, such as acquiring more credit and debt. In particular, he described how when households engage in such practices it affects those at the top end of the income distribution. Godechot explained, however, increasing activity on financial markets is the main contributor to the rise in inequality.

Organizations and Inequality

Beyond compensation and financial mechanisms, how might organizational structures contribute to, and even address, issues of inequality? University of Michigan business sociologist **Jerry Davis** explained how the size and structure of organizations in a country might affect income inequality, as large firms tend to pay higher and more consistent wages than smaller companies. In the United States, the number of corporations listed on the stock market has dropped by more than half since 1997, and many are shedding jobs due to the demands of “shareholder value.” For instance, carmaker GM has the same number of employees as it

did in 1928, and the ride-sharing company Uber, with 327,000 regular drivers in the United States, is twice as big as GM. As the concentration of jobs in companies goes down, inequality rises, he said. “Uberization” is the “future of work,” Davis argued.

Harvard sociologist **Frank Dobbin** discussed the slow spread of diversity within companies: Despite growth in U.S. management positions, white men hold over 60 percent of these jobs today. Black men who work in medium and large private corporations have the same chance of becoming managers as they did in 1983, and at the current rate of change, it will take black women 300 years to catch up relative to white men. Many firms take steps to exert more control over managers to increase their workforce diversity, but this can lead instead to rebellion. Dobbin explained how research on over 800 firms, across more than 30 years, shows that engaging managers in promoting diversity, such as through mentoring and special college recruitment; that increasing contact between groups, through cross-training and self-managed teams; and that accountability to, for instance, diversity managers and task forces can help to promote diversity.

Kellogg sociologist **Lauren Rivera**, an IPR associate, explained how companies perpetuate workplace inequality through hiring based on social class. She conducted a

(Continued on page 24)



Buffett Institute Director Bruce Carruthers (r.) and IPR Director David Figlio welcome participants to the joint workshop.

Global Inequality Workshop (Continued from page 23)

randomized resume audit with András Tilcsik of the University of Toronto, finding that companies were more likely to call back an upper-class male for an interview over equally qualified males from more disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition to social stratification, she also found gender biases: Upper-class women were penalized due to a “commitment penalty,” where employers expect them to eventually drop out of the workforce to get married and have children.

“Employers are the gatekeepers to income brackets,” Rivera said.

Inequality and Education

Education is often seen as a great equalizer and antidote to inequality, but not everyone has the same access to education, and factors such as school spending can differ.

Discussing their research on Danish children starting school, Aarhus University economists **Marianne Simonsen** and **Helena Skyt Nielsen** presented joint work with Rasmus Kløve Landersø on the “shock” students and their families experience in entering first grade. They compared children who were 7 and a half, or slightly older, when starting school, with 6 and a half year olds. Starting school at an older age reduced shock and decreased school absences in the first year of school, while also increasing the number of mothers who went back into the workforce.

Continuing along the K–12 spectrum, IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** upended decades of thinking that school spending does not matter for outcomes. Using new and more rigorous research methods, Jackson and his colleagues, who include former IPR graduate research assistant **Claudia Persico**, now at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, exploited the variation in court-ordered reforms in U.S. states to capture changes in school spending. They revealed that a 10 percent increase in spending leads to an additional three months of education and nearly an 8 percent increase in adult wages—and the effects were even more pronounced for lower-income students, raising their additional amount of learning by six months.

Finally, Norwegian economist **Kjell Salvanes** highlighted the critical role of getting a college degree. College graduates have higher average earnings, as well as a wider range of earnings, than those with just a high school diploma, likely because there are more high-level opportunities open to those with a college degree.

Inequality and Health

Beyond external effects, inequality can also “get under the skin” of those it affects, eliciting biological responses that can perpetuate, or even widen, inequities.

“SES [socioeconomic status] is the single most

powerful determinant of health outcomes,” explained pediatrician **Tom Boyce** of the University of California, San Francisco. He illustrated that in any given population of children, a small subset—just 15 to 20 percent—account for over half of the morbidities and well over half of the healthcare use in that population. Low-SES children are disproportionately affected by this “nonrandom distribution,” he explained, as early poverty-related adversity affects long-term developmental and health outcomes by becoming biologically embedded in the body and brain.

IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** gave an overview of her research, showing how stress is implicated in socioeconomic and racial disparities in health. She noted that low-SES individuals and racial and ethnic minorities are exposed to a “wide variety” of stressful social conditions that can affect their levels of cortisol—a biomarker of stress. Notably, these individuals tend to have flatter cortisol rhythms, which are associated with lower educational attainment and worse health outcomes for adults.

According to INSEAD economist **Mark Stabile**, one way to improve child health is through cash benefits. He described how paying out cash benefits for children has had positive effects in Canada. His study showed that the low-income families receiving them have been found to spend the money wisely, allocating funds to food and childcare and investing in education. This additional income was also correlated with strong, positive effects on the children’s mental health and some physical health outcomes, as well as on mothers’ health.

Advances in Inequality Research

In the face of persistent global inequality, what do new approaches to measuring inequality tell us about which policy avenues we can follow to mitigate it?

Branko Milanovic of the CUNY Graduate Center emphasized three distinct ways to



From r.: Discussing health inequities, INSEAD’s Mark Stabile reviews a study of child cash benefits in Canada with Tom Boyce of the University of California, San Francisco and IPR fellows Emma Adam and Christopher Kuzawa.

think about inequality, that which occurs within a country, internationally between countries, and global inequality. His research on within-country inequality shows that each country responds differently to inequality, and that policy matters in how redistribution changes income inequality. Turning to international inequality, he discussed how large gaps in mean incomes between countries persist. This does not mean, however, that global inequality is on the rise: Even though inequality has increased within the majority of countries, he explained, the overall level of inequality is actually falling if one considers the world as a single unit.

Though current measures of inequality in the United States focus almost exclusively on views of government redistribution—such as transfer programs—IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** has identified a “different angle” for thinking about inequality: economic inclusion in the labor market. Framing her discussion around an opportunity model of beliefs, she noted that rising levels of inequality in the United States are most salient when they are perceived as restricting economic opportunity, meaning that inequality should reduce belief in the “American Dream.” Putting this into a global context, she compared American and Swedish views on inequality, finding surprisingly similar views, especially when it comes to tasking major companies with reducing labor-market inequalities.

Economist **Jessica Pan** of the National University of Singapore offered policy recommendations to reduce gender disparities in the labor market. Noting that women are significantly underrepresented in high-status and high-income fields, Pan suggested that businesses adopt policies, such as paid parental leave, and that women be exposed to female leaders.

“An important challenge is the design and evaluation of policies to address the remaining gender gaps,” Pan concluded.

For more information about the *Global Inequality Workshop*, go to www.ipr.northwestern.edu/events.

How ‘Magical Thinking’ and ‘Buy American’ Shape Public Opinion

10th annual conference offers topical research for discussion

In the 10 years since it started, the annual Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior (CAB) workshop has become a prime opportunity for the Midwest political science community to engage with leading social scientists on discussions of crossdisciplinary research—from a political scientist’s study of gender stereotypes to an economist’s take on probabilistic polling.

“The motivation is to bring together scholars who are interested in political and social behavior, very broadly speaking, and to allow time for interaction to encourage collaboration and sharing ideas,” said IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, who founded and organizes the event each year.

Scott Althaus of the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign attended the very first workshop, and has repeatedly returned to his “favorite academic gathering.”

“Its small size, conversational atmosphere, and focus on just a small number of well-developed presentations makes CAB predictably the most stimulating academic event of my year,” Althaus said.

More than 100 faculty and graduate students took part in the 2016 workshop, held on May 6 on Northwestern’s Evanston campus. The four nationally recognized presenters covered intriguing aspects of public opinion related to trade, corruption, bipartisanship, and contradicting beliefs held by the same person.



Lauree Harbridge Yong (r) engages Julie Lee Merseith in a conversation about bipartisanship in Congress.

Diana Mutz of the University of Pennsylvania discussed why many Americans are willing to pay a premium for products “Made in the USA,” arguing such buy-American purchasing decisions are emblematic of rising levels of U.S. isolationist sentiment. In a national survey, the majority of American respondents did not see trade as benefitting their own country so much as it benefitted others.

Thomas Holbrook of the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee explored people’s perceptions of corruption in their states and their cities. About 57 percent of the more than 6,000 respondents somewhat or strongly agreed that a high level of corruption exists in their city, with Detroit, Miami, and Cleveland having the highest levels of perceived corruption. Individual perception is affected by political party, racial representation in local government, and how “tuned in” to politics people are, Holbrook explained.

IPR political scientist **Lauree Harbridge Yong** explained that while legislators are generally viewed more positively when they compromise than when they do not (at least when legislative action is at stake), certain conditions provide “cushions” for legislators to avoid compromise without facing voter backlash. She and her colleagues found that voters are more willing to overlook a lack of compromise when their legislator belongs to the same party as them, and when they see the issue at stake as aligning with the legislator’s gender.

The University of Chicago’s **Eric Oliver** discussed what he calls “magical thinking,” which occurs when someone assigns causes to phenomena that cannot be directly observed and which contradict other prevalent beliefs. His findings suggest many political beliefs can be traced back to whether someone engages in magical thinking, rather than clear differences in political ideology.

For more information about the *CAB Workshop*, go to www.ipr.northwestern.edu/events.

Ready for School, Ready for Life

IPR researchers, congressmen highlight early childhood education at D.C. event

In tracking the education outcomes of more than 1 million Florida children over 10 years, IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, has captured what is at stake for children who are not in preschool or are in poor quality ones: Children who start behind in kindergarten stay behind—whether they come from well-off or poor families.

“If you aren’t reading at grade level in third grade, you’re unlikely to catch up,” Figlio said in prefacing a May 17 IPR policy research briefing on Capitol Hill.

Early education is an issue on lawmakers’ minds: President Barack Obama has proposed making preschool universal, and House Speaker Paul Ryan’s antipoverty plan emphasizes ways to strengthen early childhood development.

Figlio’s remarks set the stage for “Ready for School, Ready for Life,” where he and three IPR experts addressed key issues of early education, including cost effectiveness and quality, for more than 60 attendees.

U.S. Representatives **Bob Dold** (R-10th) and **Dan Lipinski** (D-3rd) of Illinois, who cosponsored the event, both stopped by.

“It’s important that we have good research when we’re making public policy, especially when we’re talking about early childhood education,” Lipinski said.

In his remarks, Dold called early childhood education “critical for setting our kids up for success in school, the economy, and ultimately, our communities.”

Preschool Quality, Cost, and Design

With calls for “preschool for all” and limited dollars to spend, how should policymakers go about designing preschool programs?

According to IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, “preschools can have extremely high payoffs,” but these depend on the quality of the learning environment and on the counterfactual—or what the child would be doing if not enrolled in preschool.

She cited the example of the federally funded Perry Preschool Project, which ran from 1962–67. It produced large, positive effects, including an \$8 return on investment for every \$1 spent on the program, as calculated by Nobel prize-winning economist James Heckman of the University of Chicago.

“It’s important that we have good research when we’re making public policy, especially ... [for] early childhood education.”

But expanding preschool access today is more complex, Schanzenbach said, and expansions to the federal Head Start preschool program have met with mixed success. Why? She explained that for children at the low end of the socioeconomic-status (SES) spectrum, attending Head Start was more likely an improvement over what they would have been doing otherwise. On the other hand, their higher-SES peers could lose out by switching from a higher-quality program to free Head Start.

This discrepancy also has important cost considerations: As higher-SES families switch from paying for private schools to enrolling in publicly funded preschools, the costs of providing universal preschool rise.

In considering the implications for preschool program design, Schanzenbach cited her research, concluding that “... near-universal attendance is probably the right policy goal, but free-for-all is probably not the right policy goal.” Rather, a better policy design could entail high-SES families “sharing the costs” of high-quality education, she said.

Measuring Preschool Quality

“Preschool ‘quality’ has become somewhat of a buzzword,” said **Terri Sabol**, an IPR associate and developmental psychologist. But what exactly does “high-quality” preschool mean?

Sabol enumerated two ways to think about quality: classrooms’ structural features, which comprise issues of health and safety, class size, staff qualifications, and curriculum, or “process-oriented measures,” such as class environments and teacher-child interactions.

Today, states mainly use the Quality Rating and Improvement System (QRIS) as their primary tool for gauging quality. The QRIS rates preschools on a number of key factors determined by each state, including both structural and process-oriented elements.

(Continued on page 28)



From r.: Developmental psychologist Lindsay Chase-Lansdale reviews two-generation programs, following presentations by psychologist Terri Sabol and economist Diane Schanzenbach.

Why Do So Few Women Hold Positions of Power?

IPR briefing examines potential, challenges of women leaders

Only 19 percent of the members of the U.S. Congress and less than 5 percent of Fortune 500 CEOs are women.

Clearly, “women are profoundly under-represented in the United States in truly high-powered roles,” said IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly** at a December 2015 IPR policy research briefing in Chicago.

Before nearly 90 attendees, Eagly, IPR economist **Lori Beaman**, and Brigham Young political scientist **Christopher Karpowitz** dove into an interdisciplinary discussion of this issue and what might be possible to ensure that more women attain—and maintain—positions of power.

“This panel makes it clear that in society, in academia, in scholarship, in politics—there’s an awful lot of promise, but also an awful lot of work we have to do together” to encourage gender equality, said education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**.

Navigating the Labyrinth

Gender stereotypes are holding women back, Eagly argued.

Americans tend to think of men as “agentic,” people who are assertive and take charge. They think of women as “communal,” individuals who are nice, friendly, and caring. But Americans think of leaders as being more agentic than communal, she continued.

Women who want to be leaders, therefore, run into two problems. The first is the “double standard”: A female candidate for a powerful role has to put her agentic side on display to reassure people that she can take charge, which is hardly ever an issue for men.

The second is the “double bind”: When women in leadership roles do act tough, there is a backlash against them for being too tough.

“You can see a problem here,” Eagly said. “The men and leaders match in our general stereotypes, and women and leaders don’t match as much.”



Economist Lori Beaman details her finding that gender quotas in India led to more female leaders.

There is evidence, however, that the United States is moving in the right direction when it comes to fixing these problems, Eagly finds. People’s perceptions of what it means to be a leader have changed in the past 40 years to incorporate more communal traits, like social skills. People are more open to having a female boss. And women are more open to being bosses than in the past.

So rather than seeing female leaders as pushing against a “glass ceiling,” we should instead picture them as navigating a labyrinth, Eagly says—finding the right path is a challenge but persistence and careful thought pay off.

Gender and Deliberation in Groups

Madeline Albright, America’s first female Secretary of State, once spoke about how she would think about making a comment and then refrain because people would find it “stupid.”

“And then a man would say exactly what I had in mind and the other participants would find it brilliant,” Eagly quoted her as saying.

Karpowitz decided to investigate what happened to the many women who, like Albright, participate in groups in which they are “vastly outnumbered” by men—from school boards to corporate boards and the Supreme Court.

He went on to discuss the research from his book with Princeton sociologist Tali Mendelberg, *The Silent Sex: Gender Deliberation and Institutions* (Princeton University Press, 2015), that examines how the male/female make-up of groups and their decision-making process affect women’s and men’s participation.

In groups that make decisions by majority rule, women “not only talk less than men, but they talk much less than their presence in the group [would otherwise indicate],” Karpowitz said. In other words, if women make up 20 percent of a group, the amount of their participation in the conversation typically falls short of 20 percent.

In unanimous-rule groups, however, women who were outnumbered by men came closer to making up an equal share of the conversation because every person had to agree to reach a final decision.

Women who spoke more also reported more confidence in their own influence, and in groups where women were empowered by numbers or decision rule, they also experienced “greater respect and more positive feedback” from the men in the group.

This is good news for majority-woman groups or women in groups that make decisions by unanimous rule, he continued.

But, as most often seems to be the case, when women are in the minority in a majority-rule group, they are less likely to speak up. This means no one will hear or vote on their policy preferences, and they will not earn this respect.

“If we care about authority, we ought to care both about who’s in the room and the norms and rules for decision-making,” Karpowitz concluded.

Women’s Political Empowerment

Another possible mechanism for bettering the ratio of female-to-male leaders involves the thorny topic of quotas. Beaman described

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Women in Power

(Continued from page 27)

several studies of social experiments she has led, looking specifically at how quotas might have helped increase the number of women in positions of power.

In India, a constitutional amendment requires that one-third of village council president positions be randomly reserved for women. In the short term, Beaman discovered that quotas led to more women being elected.

She also found long-run impacts: In villages that had a woman leader for more than a decade, voters tended to be less prejudiced about women leaders overall. In one study, Beaman had men and women recite the same political speech word for word, and then asked villagers who listened to it about each speaker's effectiveness. In places that had not had a woman leader, villagers were likely to say the female speaker was ineffective when compared with the male speaker. However, in those that had a woman leader, "that prejudice vanishes," Beaman explained.

In places where quotas had been in effect for 10 years, women were much more likely to run for election and more likely to win their races than in places that only had female politicians for a short time, or not at all.

In villages that had a woman leader for more than a decade, voters tended to be less prejudiced about women leaders overall.

But perhaps one of the most important long-term effects of the quota system was that in villages where a woman had led for at least 10 years, teenage girls, and their parents, were more likely to hold higher

aspirations for their education and their careers than those girls in places that never had a female leader.

"By influencing aspirations, these woman leaders might be able to have a big influence beyond just their direct policies, by serving as role models for future generations of girls," Beaman said.

Njoki Kamau of Northwestern's Women's Center closed out the question-and-answer portion of the event by asking a question on everyone's mind: Will Hillary Clinton become the United States' first female president?

The panelists declined to make a prediction, but Eagly remarked that Clinton has already been responding to the backlash against women leaders by conveying both strength and warmth at the same time.

"I think she is very aware," Eagly said.

Alice Eagly is James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences and professor of psychology. Lori Beaman is associate professor of economics. Both are IPR fellows. Christopher Karpowitz is associate professor of political science at Brigham Young University.

Ready for School

(Continued from page 26)

The problem with such systems, Sabol said, is their rollout has "far outpaced the evidence." To "get under the hood" of understanding high-quality preschool, Sabol and her colleagues tested if current QRIS ratings were linked to better learning outcomes.

They uncovered that structural improvements such as lower staff-child ratios and teachers with more education did not add to student benefits. What did matter, however, were class environment and teacher-child interactions. Sabol pointed out that these results are key for not only defining preschool quality and scaling up high-quality programs, but also for training teachers to engage in high-quality, high-impact interactions with their students.

A Two-Generation Approach

In addition to the clear impact that quality programs can have on children, [Lindsay Chase-Lansdale](#), an IPR developmental

psychologist, offers a two-generation approach that expands the policy focus to include parents. Since educational opportunities for parents and children often exist in "different silos, different funding streams, and different places in the community," she explained, "the idea is to link early childhood education with education and job training for parents simultaneously."

Testing the two-generation framework, Chase-Lansdale and her colleagues found that parents with a child randomly assigned to Head Start were 9 percent more likely to improve their own education. This effect was especially strong for certain groups: 23 percent of parents with some college increased their education, and 15 percent of African-American parents increased their education relative to those whose children were not enrolled in Head Start.

In Tulsa, Oklahoma, Chase-Lansdale continues to examine the short- and long-term impact of CareerAdvance®, a model two-generation program that provides

parents of preschoolers who enroll with free tuition to community colleges, career coaching, and peer-group support.

Early results show that 74 percent of parents in CareerAdvance earned a certification and left the program with better job prospects, compared with a 27 percent success rate for similar parents not enrolled in the program.

Chase-Lansdale's presentation, like the others, stressed the importance of early intervention.

"If we're starting to think about [early education] in seventh, eighth, or tenth grade, we're starting too late," Figlio concluded.

David Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics; Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is associate professor of human development and social policy and director of Brookings' Hamilton Project; Terri Sabol is assistant professor of human development and social policy; Lindsay Chase-Lansdale is Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, and Associate Provost for Faculty. All are IPR faculty.

Recent Faculty Recognition

Awards and Honors

In September, Thomson Reuters named IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** and IPR associate **David Cella**, a professor of medical social sciences, as highly cited researchers.

In July, President Barack Obama reappointed IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry V. Hedges** to the National Board for Education Sciences.



Larry Hedges

J. Reblando

Six IPR associates, and IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod**, were appointed to named professorships in July by Northwestern University: professor of medical social sciences **David Cella**, mechanical engineering associate professor **Elizabeth Gerber**, management and organizations professor **Brayden King**, communication studies researcher **Daniel O'Keefe**, communication studies scholar **Michelle Shumate**, and law professor **Max Schanzenbach**. IPR psychologists **Sandra Waxman** and **Alice Eagly**, and IPR associates **Seth Stein**, a geophysicist, and **John Hagan**, a sociologist and legal scholar, were reappointed to their chairs.

The American Statistical Association elected IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** as a fellow in June.

IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** was elected to the Harvard Board of Overseers in June.



Daniel Galvin

In June, IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** received the Best Paper on Public Policy Award from the public policy section of the American Political Science Association for his paper on

detering wage theft, workers' rights groups, and state policies on minimum wage.

In March, education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio** gave the Presidential Address at the 41st annual conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy.

IPR sociologist and African-American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** delivered the Doris P. Slesinger Lecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in March.

IPR associate **Carol Lee**, professor of human development and social policy, was named to the board of directors of the National Academy of Education in January.

In January, IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** was awarded the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, Attitudes & Social Influence Interest Group.

Grants

Northwestern's Two-Generation (NU2Gen) research program, which is led by IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** with IPR research associate professor **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, recently garnered a major award and sub-award from the Administration for Children and Families. Both will allow the NU2Gen research team to expand their work investigating outcomes of parents and children participating in Tulsa's CareerAdvance® Program.

IPR political scientist and associate director **James Druckman** received renewed support from the National Science Foundation (NSF) for the online platform Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS), which provides researchers with a no-cost method for collecting randomized, representative data for experiments.

IPR education economist **David Figlio** is being supported by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation to conduct research on schools that promote opportunity for all.

IPR biological anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** will be able to carry out a new

addition to the longitudinal Cebu Study in the Philippines on the evolutionary biology of telomeres, thanks to an NSF subaward.

IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** was a Russell Sage Foundation (RSF) Visiting Scholar last year, where she spent time working on her forthcoming book investigating the Reagan-era tax cut of 1981. Prasad also received a subaward from the U.S. Agency for International Development that will allow her to investigate the role civil servants can play in reducing corruption.



Monica Prasad

P. Reese

The National Institute of Justice and the NSF have both awarded doctoral dissertation grants to Northwestern PhD student **Samuel Norris**, who will study the intergenerational consequences of incarceration with IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan**.

IPR faculty adjunct **Jennifer Richeson** of Yale University received an RSF sub-award to continue a study of inequality, diversity, and working-class attitudes.

Notable Media Coverage

The Washington Post highlighted economist and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie's** finding that the multigenerational persistence of inequality stems back to grandparents and great-grandparents, October 6.

PBS NewsHour talked to IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** about the long-term effects of Head Start, September 8.

In USA Today, IPR political scientist **James Druckman** and IPR graduate research assistant **Ethan Busby** explained how college football games can affect public approval of the president, September 7.

IPR labor and education economist **Kirabo Jackson** discussed his research on school finance reforms with The Associated Press, September 6.

The Christian Science Monitor cited research by IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** on how widespread minimum wage-law violations have driven legal campaigns against employers, August 30.

Morton Schapiro, Northwestern president and IPR economist, co-authored a Los Angeles Times op-ed about diversity on college campuses, August 25.

NPR highlighted a study by IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller** and IPR associate **Daniel Mroczek** that shows an association between childhood abuse and risk of premature death in women, August 17.

WBEZ interviewed **Brian Mustanski**, associate professor of medical social sciences and an IPR associate, about efforts to use the internet to better inform young gay and bisexual men about HIV risks, August 17.

The Wall Street Journal covered research by IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** on the decline in U.S. manufacturing and the reduction in demand for less-educated workers, August 11.

The New Yorker featured research by IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, IPR graduate research assistant **Jenni**

Heissel, IPR faculty adjunct **Jennifer Richeson** of Yale University, and former Northwestern graduate student **Doraine Levy**, now a postdoctoral fellow at Indiana University, on racial discrimination and stress, July 16.

The Washington Post reported on a study co-authored by IPR development economist **Seema Jayachandran** that demonstrates how paying farmers not to cut down trees reduced deforestation and delayed carbon emissions, July 6.

James Spillane, education and social policy professor and IPR associate, told the Aurora Beacon-News that a school district's organization is just as important as its curriculum and textbooks when it comes to effective teaching and learning, June 24.

Reuters covered a study by IPR economists **David Figlio** and **Jonathan Guryan** and IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik** that finds children who are born late-term have better cognitive outcomes than those born full-term, June 6.

Communications studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella** told Reuters there is a need for more research into the impact of media use on children, May 3.

In the Associated Press, strategy professor and IPR associate **Craig Garthwaite** explained why there might be increased public pressure placed on hospitals when it comes to lowering the growth of healthcare spending, May 2.

The Atlantic cited **Mary Pattillo's** research on issues that limit the education options for poor and working-class African-American parents in Chicago, April 8.



Mary Pattillo

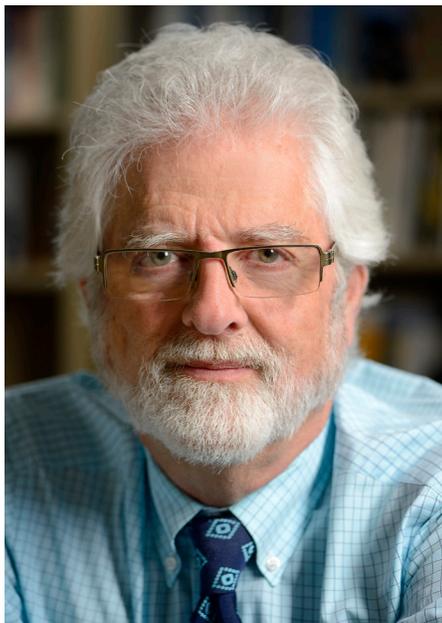
E. Caldwell

Inside Higher Ed talked with pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield** about how focusing on boys can help prevent teen pregnancies, March 31.

The Boston Globe covered IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin's** research on how learning about financial aid motivated low-income students, March 25.

Management and strategy professor and IPR associate **Brian Uzzi** penned an op-ed in Fortune about "language style matching" in political debates, March 9.

Fall Events Examine Families, Election, Political Economy



Courtesy of A. Cherlin

Andrew Cherlin

On October 26, **Andrew Cherlin**, Benjamin H. Griswold III Professor of Public Policy at Johns Hopkins University, will discuss the economy, family, and working-class discontent as IPR's Fall 2016 Distinguished Public Policy Lecturer. RSVP required.

Geophysicist and IPR associate **Seth Stein** will examine how to assess and mitigate natural hazards in a Fay Lomax Cook Monday Colloquium on November 7.

IPR will host a panel on November 14 to talk about the policy implications of the 2016 presidential election. Panelists are IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge Yong**, healthcare economist **Anthony LoSasso** of the University of Illinois at Chicago, political scientist and IPR associate **Julie Lee Merseeth**, and **Andrew Koppelman**, John Paul Stevens Professor of Law and professor of political science at Northwestern. RSVP required.

Daniel Rodriguez, dean of Northwestern's Pritzker School of Law and an IPR associate, will speak about local governance and the new political economy on November 21.

Full details of these and other events are available at ipr.northwestern.edu/events.

Can Chicago Restore Public Trust in Police?

Policing expert Wesley Skogan sees more oversight as a way forward

Creating key oversight functions, such as a powerful civilian oversight board and an independent inspector general for public safety, will help restore the trust of the public—and even its own officers—in the “internally and externally troubled” Chicago Police Department (CPD), said IPR political scientist and policing expert **Wesley G. Skogan**.

Skogan was one of the 46 experts on the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force that produced the hard-hitting report on the CPD released in April. The 190-page report begins with the “tipping point” of the shooting of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald by a CPD officer in October 2014, and goes on to document widespread racial disparities, excessive use of force, accountability failures, and inadequate recruitment and training.

Beyond these “hard truths,” the report also offers more than 100 recommendations to address the current ills facing the CPD. The recommendations were informed, in part, by a 2015 survey that Skogan led, asking

randomly selected Chicagoans about their experiences with the CPD.

The survey results showed that almost 70 percent of young African-American males in Chicago reported being stopped by police in the previous 12 months, a number that was far higher than any other demographic group. Due to this and other long-standing negative experiences laid out in the report, the “community’s lack of trust in CPD is justified,” the report stated.

Community policing could be one of the ways to address the problem, and in the past, the CPD had been a world leader in this area through its Chicago’s Alternative Police Strategy (CAPS). In recent years, however, the program fell on “hard times,” becoming “a shadow of its former self” because of a lack of focus in the department and cuts in funding, Skogan said.

Skogan called for reinvigorating the CAPS program and increasing academic research

on the CPD. He also highlighted other key proposals aimed at restoring public confidence and reducing racial bias, such as implementing a civilian oversight board.

However, Skogan pointed out that the public should not lose sight of the CPD’s bright spots, such as their work to gain insight on individuals’ quality of contact with police.

“The organization is so sprawling that good things and bad things can coexist at the same time,” Skogan said.

Wesley G. Skogan is professor of political science and an IPR fellow. He served on the task force’s Community Engagement Committee and advised the Police Oversight Committee.

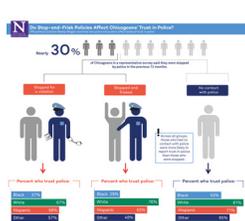


Wesley G. Skogan

S. Samoylov

Infographic: Do Stop-and-Frisk Policies Affect Trust in Police?

(Continued from page 32)



For police departments across the country, “stop and frisk”—an investigative procedure where

an officer stops and questions an individual and then searches him or her—has become the strategy of choice for deterring crime. In an IPR working paper, political scientist and policing expert **Wesley G. Skogan** examines the consequences of such a policy in Chicago, focusing on how police encounters affect public trust in police. His major finding? “Stop-and-frisk” policies can serve to lower the public’s trust in the police.

For his study, Skogan conducted a representative in-person survey of 1,450 Chicagoans in 2015, nearly 30 percent of

whom reported being stopped by police in the previous 12 months. He uncovered that Chicagoans’ encounters with police, or lack thereof, varied widely across demographic groups, and that police encounters shaped public trust in police:

- The frequency of police encounters varied widely across demographic groups: Only 11 percent of older, white females came into contact with police, but 68 percent of young African-American males reported a police encounter.
- Being stopped and frisked was “extremely common”: 75 percent of those who encountered police were stopped and frisked, compared with just 25 percent who were stopped for a violation.
- Racial minorities were more likely to report an abrasive or forceful encounter with

police: Only 17 percent of white respondents experienced police use of force, compared with more than 30 percent for other racial/ethnic groups.

- Police encounters, or lack thereof, affected trust in police: Across all racial and ethnic groups, those who had no police contact were more likely to trust police.

Recently, questions about the success of the Chicago Police Department’s stop-and-frisk policy have been raised by analyses, including those by the mayor’s 2015 Police Accountability Task Force on which Skogan served. Yet the future of the policy “remains to be seen,” according to Skogan.

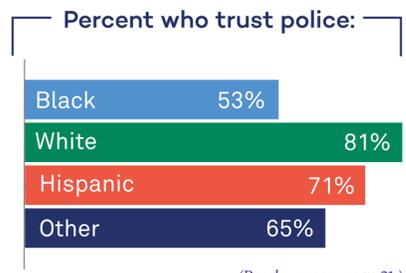
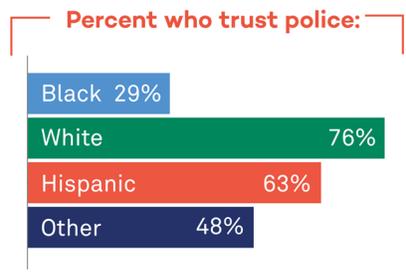
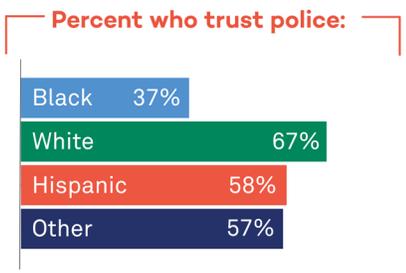
For more information, download the working paper, “Stop-and-Frisk and Trust in Police in Chicago” from ipr.northwestern.edu/publications/papers.

Do Stop-and-Frisk Policies Affect Chicagoans' Trust in Police?

Nearly **30%** of Chicagoans in a representative survey said they were stopped by police in the previous 12 months.



! Across all groups, those who had no contact with police were more likely to report trust in police than those who were stopped.



(Read more on page 31.)