

Crime in Chicago

IPR experts offer research and insights on city's violent crime



From left: Sociologist Mary Pattillo moderated the March 9 briefing in Chicago with economist Jonathan Guryan, sociologist Andrew Papachristos, and political scientist Wesley Skogan.

“We are gathered today to discuss what is perhaps one of the most pressing topics facing the city of Chicago today: crime and violence,” said Northwestern University sociologist and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo**, who moderated IPR’s March 9 policy research briefing on the topic.

She continued, “We hope to break beyond the news and instead focus on the research,” as she introduced three IPR experts, economist **Jonathan Guryan**, sociologist **Andrew Papachristos**, and political scientist **Wesley Skogan**. She added that the tools and information they would present could

help broach discussion of the causes and solutions to the city’s deadly crime problem, and perhaps even help to answer that oft-asked question that she—and likely many other Chicagoans—field when they travel: “Is it really as bad as all the news says it is?”

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, IPR director and economist, pointed out the importance of bringing together researchers and a diverse public.

“IPR policy research briefings provide us with a meaningful feedback loop, allowing us to bring our findings to you, as well as providing

(Continued on page 11)

A Vision for the Future of Education Research

Spencer Foundation president outlines challenges, opportunities

What does it mean to do education research in today’s unique political and social environment, in which the United States faces rising inequality? **Na’ilah Suad Nasir**, president of the Spencer Foundation, addressed her vision for the future of education research in a special lecture hosted by Northwestern University’s Institute for Policy Research (IPR) and School of Education and Social Policy (SESP) on November 14.

“Education research is a way to play a part in creating what we have not yet accomplished as a nation: schools that support all students and provide a mechanism for social mobility,” said Nasir, who took the helm at Spencer in July.



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SURA Puts Theory into Practice

Northwestern undergraduates take part in IPR summer research assistants program



K. Scovic

Elizabeth Diamond (center) with IPR associate Ellen Wartella (standing) and communications researcher Alexis Lauricella.

“What do we know and how do we know it?” These are the big questions that IPR’s Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants (SURA) program helps students unpack, according to IPR education researcher and SURA director **James Rosenbaum**.

Each summer, SURA pairs Northwestern undergraduate students with IPR faculty to collaborate on faculty research projects. This year’s program matched 37 undergraduates with 31 faculty members to study social science issues ranging from congressional gridlock to science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) education.

Rosenbaum stressed that SURA’s collaborative design provides students with hands-on research experience that they might not get in the classroom.

“We can teach about reliability and validity, and we can talk a little bit about the problems of causal inference and methodology,” he said. “But to really understand what’s involved and what needs to be done, you have to do [research].”

Isabella Pinerua, a senior majoring in mathematics, is working with social policy professor and IPR associate **Cynthia Coburn** to study changes in students’ math coherency from preschool to grade school. She echoed Rosenbaum’s point.

“I thought research had to be theoretical,” she said. “This project with Professor Coburn gave me an idea of how research can be quantitative, but also have human and social components.”

Pinerua said that she hopes to use what she’s learned through SURA to pursue a career in mathematical research.

Fellow Northwestern undergraduate **Elizabeth**

Diamond, a junior studying human development and psychological services, said participating in SURA has sparked an interest in leading her own research project next year.

Diamond spent the summer working in the Center on Media and Human Development, led by communications studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**, looking at issues such as how parents use media to teach their children STEM content.

This summer, Diamond hopes to secure an undergraduate research grant to conduct her own study that “bridges the gap between human development and communication.”

While many students find SURA a catalyst to conducting further research, Rosenbaum stressed that the program benefits students across fields and areas of interest.

What students learn in SURA is “relevant if students decide they want to go into research or get an advanced degree in the social sciences, but it’s also useful in other fields,” he said, noting the importance of social science research in fields ranging from law to medicine.

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

New Faculty Boost IPR Research

Experts in education, politics, crime, and development enhance research capacity

Three fellows have joined IPR since fall: political scientist **John Bullock**, economist **Ofer Malamud**, and sociologist **Andrew Papachristos**, with sociologist **Julia Behrman** arriving in September 2018.

“IPR has a unique interdisciplinary perspective when it comes to policy research, so we are very excited to welcome these fellows into the IPR fold,” said **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, IPR director and economist. “Our new colleagues are all conducting remarkable research in diverse areas with clear policy impact, and we look forward to their contributions and our collaborations with them.”

The new fellows will add their expertise to the Institute’s more than 140 IPR faculty in 30-plus departments across the University.

John Bullock

D. Geffin



John Bullock

Bullock studies how partisanship affects people’s political views. For example, he investigates how partisan polarization might affect bias in political thinking, or whether people make sensible political choices

when they generally know little about politics. These themes have led him to tackle concerns about “fake news” and partisan response patterns in surveys, to cite a few.

One of Bullock’s current research projects is among the first to examine how education might influence adults’ economic views. Culling data from cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys, he uncovers a surprising result of a U.S. high school education: It seems to push Americans toward a more accepting, and more conservative, view of economic inequality, making them less likely to favor redistributive programs, such as progressive income taxes and antipoverty programs.

“John’s findings on the relationship between education and attitudes about redistribution are critically important for those of us who

care about inequality and how people come to their beliefs about how to ameliorate inequalities,” said **James Druckman**, IPR political scientist and associate director, in discussing the importance of Bullock’s work.

Bullock earned his PhD from Stanford University and joined IPR from the University of Texas at Austin.

Ofer Malamud

J. Ziv



Ofer Malamud

A labor economist, Malamud studies the underlying mechanisms of education, asking why, for instance, education improves outcomes and how skills develop over a person’s life. His research extends to

other countries, such as Chile, Israel, Peru, and Romania, in addition to the United States.

“Ofer’s exciting research examines core human capital questions in various settings,” said IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson**. “By being attentive to both the similarities and differences that exist across national contexts, his research helps shed light on the underlying reasons why some policies may work in one context but not in others.”

One of Malamud’s current projects involves the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which is an independent foreign aid agency formed by the U.S. government. As a principal investigator, he is examining the potential for technical and vocational education to improve labor market outcomes in Mongolia. In preliminary work, he has found that admission to, and graduation from, technical and vocational schools leads to improved employment chances and higher earnings—especially for women.

Malamud earned his PhD from Harvard University and joined IPR from the University of Chicago.

Andrew Papachristos

Courtesy of A. Papachristos



Andrew Papachristos

A native Chicagoan who received his PhD from the University of Chicago, Papachristos was on the faculty at Yale University, but joined IPR and Northwestern as a fellow and professor

of sociology in January. Broadly, he applies network science to the study of gun violence, police misconduct, illegal gun markets, street gangs, and urban neighborhoods.

Currently, he is completing a manuscript on the evolution of African American street gangs and politics in Chicago from the 1950s to the early 2000s. Papachristos has also evaluated gun-violence prevention programs in more than a dozen U.S. cities, most notably the Project Safe Neighborhoods and the Group Violence Reduction Strategy in Chicago.

“Andy’s work has been fundamental in understanding the causes of neighborhood violence and in helping to point us toward solutions,” said **Lincoln Quillian**, IPR sociologist and chair of IPR’s research program on Urban Policy and Community Development. “He is the perfect scholar to bring together Northwestern’s strengths in criminology, legal studies, neighborhoods, and social networks.”

Papachristos is launching the Northwestern Neighborhood and Network Initiative (N3) at IPR, a space for research and policy engagement around cutting-edge developments and applications of neighborhood research and network science to the study of urban inequality, more broadly, and crime, violence, and the law, more specifically.

John Bullock is associate professor of political science. Ofer Malamud is associate professor of human development and social policy. Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology. All are IPR fellows.

IPR RESEARCH NOTES

Drawing Female Scientists



When drawing scientists, U.S. children now depict female scientists more often than ever, according to research by Northwestern PhD candidate David Miller, IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly**, and Northwestern professor David Uttal.

This change suggests that children's stereotypes linking science with men have weakened over time, said the researchers, consistent with more women becoming scientists and children's media depicting more female scientists on television shows, magazines, and other media.

The study is the first systematic, quantitative review of the "Draw-A-Scientist" literature and combined results from 78 U.S. studies, including more than 20,000 children in kindergarten through 12th grade.

In the first landmark study, conducted between 1966 and 1977, less than 1 percent of children drew an image resembling a woman when asked to draw a scientist. Their artwork almost exclusively depicted men working inside with laboratory equipment.

But in later studies (1985–2016), 28 percent of children drew a female scientist. In addition, both girls and boys drew female scientists more often over time, though girls overall drew female scientists much more often than boys.

"Our results suggest that children's stereotypes change as women's and men's roles change in society," Eagly said. "Children still draw more male than female scientists in recent studies, but that is expected because women remain a minority in several science fields."

Alice Eagly is the James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences, professor of psychology, and an IPR fellow.

The Police and Confrontational Tactics

Citizens depend on police to provide public safety while maintaining the trust of the community. How can democratic societies balance these two, often conflicting, aims—given citizens' often divergent views over basic tenets of criminal justice policy? IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** and Carnegie Mellon criminologist Daniel Nagin seek to provide a model that can help.

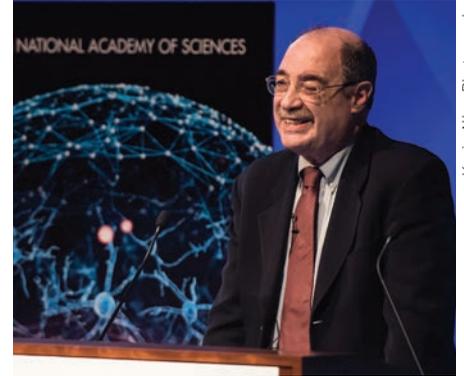
In the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Manski and Nagin outline a "formal model of optimal policing" that can be used to resolve tensions between public safety and community trust—and that can also help a public that is prone to privileging one over the other, depending on the circumstances, to keep both in mind.

While police use many tactics to prevent crime, the authors investigate those that involve direct interaction with the public. Taking the example of the widely used confrontational tactic of "stop, question, and frisk" (SQF), an investigative procedure where an officer stops and questions an individual and then searches him or her, the researchers assume that such confrontational police tactics deter crime but also invade individual privacy the more they are used.

In the case of Chicago, they find that rates of violent crime, which had been steadily decreasing since 2003, began increasing in 2016. Homicide rates increased by 54 percent over 2015, mainly in the city's poor, mostly African American neighborhoods. Manski and Nagin's model suggests that the choice of a police response should be attuned to the reason behind this upsurge in violence.

If it is, as some claim, due to an increase in gang violence, then their model suggests that an increase in the use of SQF might help lower homicide rates. In this case, they conjecture that the benefits of more intense police tactics might outweigh the costs of such enforcement on innocents.

If, however, one attributes the increase in homicides to decreased non-confrontational



Kevin Allen Photography

Charles F. Manski

police presence in these same neighborhoods following protests in the wake of the 2014 Laquan McDonald shooting, then a different solution should apply. In this case, they suggest that the police should return to their previous levels of presence in the community without enhancing their use of confrontational tactics.

Combing through data on the use of SQF in New York City, Manski and Nagin also highlight vast racial disparities. Of the nearly 5 million police stops that took place in the city between 2002 and 2013, 88 percent were "innocent," where no arrest or summons took place. Within these, one sees wide racial, ethnic, and age disparities. In particular, young black men accounted for nearly 25 percent of all innocent stops, yet they represented less than 2 percent of the city's population.

Manski also underscores that to start, he and Nagin deliberately constructed a simple model that isolated a specific crime in a specific neighborhood, but they will seek to generalize their model to contend with the more complex reality of multiple criminal acts, locations, and potential interactions.

"An essential task to make the model more useful for analyzing confrontational policing tactics is to better assess how the members of our democratic society weigh the benefits in crime reduction relative to the costs in intrusion on privacy," Manski said.

Charles F. Manski is the Board of Trustees Professor in Economics and an IPR fellow.

Promoting Unhealthy Foods to Kids Online

Food companies are marketing less to children online, which advocates consider a win in the fight against the epidemic of childhood obesity. Some of these same companies, however, have increased their online advertising budgets targeting children by 50 percent—and are embedding “advergames” on their websites. These online games commonly feature advertisements promoting unhealthy foods, according to a study by communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**.

In *Health Communication*, Wartella and her colleagues reported on a first-of-its-kind study that zeroes in on how food companies are marketing to kids online, and what this might mean for children’s eating habits in a country where 1 in 3 children is overweight or obese.

“Regulation is a dance between the industry and advocates for protection,” said Wartella, the Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication. “The dance around marketing healthier foods to children is still

going on, and research which demonstrates how the industry is performing is an important part of regulatory and policy discussions.”

Wartella conducted a content analysis of 95 brand websites. She determined that just 15 of these were targeted toward children, whereas about half of food marketing websites had special areas dedicated to children in 2006. The researchers suggest that self-regulatory measures, as well as public pressure, might have caused food companies to remove some child-oriented online marketing.

On the other hand, these 15 websites collectively featured a total of 86 games. Examining these advergames more closely, the researchers found that almost half included companion advertisements bordering the game, such as a McDonald’s logo, and asked children to manipulate pieces of food.

Previous research has shown these advergames are more effective than other forms of child-directed advertising, making them particularly



Ellen Wartella

worrying. In addition, brands used these games to promote the unhealthiest foods in the study.

Wartella and her colleagues recommend further research on advergames. They explain that with a stronger evidence base, advocates can call for more detailed policies regulating the use of gaming features to combat childhood obesity.

“Marketing practices to children are evolving,” Wartella said. “Advergames and online marketing are the major new practices we need more research on.”

Ellen Wartella is the Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication and an IPR associate.

New Evidence on Children’s Knowledge About Ecology

What do young children from diverse cultural communities think about the natural world? How do children’s existing knowledge and beliefs influence their subsequent learning? Questions like these have remained unanswered, largely because research in this area has focused almost exclusively on urban and suburban children living in majority-culture communities.

Research by IPR developmental psychologist **Sandra Waxman** sheds light on this topic. The

study reveals ecological knowledge in 4-year-old children from urban Native American, rural Native American, and urban non-Native American communities.

Waxman and her colleagues designed an open-ended task to tap into preschool children’s knowledge in all three communities. They created a forest diorama play set, furnished with realistic models of trees, other plants and a pond. Children were introduced to the forest scene, offered a set of realistic toy plants and animals, and simply asked to play. This offered an opportunity to observe how children from each community engineered interactions in the natural world.

“Children’s free play in this context revealed many similarities, but also some compelling differences among the communities,” Waxman said.

Native American children were more likely than non-Native American children to take the perspective of an animal, either by talking for

it (for example, saying “I’m thirsty!” while making the eagle fly to the pond) or by mimicking the animal’s actions (for instance, flapping their own arms like an eagle’s wings.) The ability to take the perspective of others is a developmental accomplishment.

Children from all communities engaged actively with the diorama, talking and playing freely. Importantly, the rural Native American children were especially verbal.

“The rural Native American children, who so often are described as less talkative than their peers, were actually more likely to talk and act out activities with the diorama than children from the other two communities,” said Karen Washinawatok, lead author of the study and former chair of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin. “This suggests that our free play activity provides an engaging, relevant cultural context for the rural Native American children.”

Sandra Waxman is Louis W. Menk Professor of Psychology and an IPR fellow.



Sandra Waxman

Creating Order During Civil War

Courtesy of Kellogg



Ana Arjona

Civil wars aren't necessarily chaotic, political scientist and IPR associate **Ana Arjona** argues in her book, *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Arjona constructs a theory in which wartime social order varies according to how much uncertainty civilians face in their daily life, and how much influence non-state armed groups have in the affairs of the community.

She points out that civilian-combatant relationships are central in determining wartime social order. Arjona shows how civilians in a given community can shape how much an armed group can intervene to regulate civilian conduct. In communities with legitimate and effective pre-existing local institutions, civilians can engage in collective action to resist and negotiate and limit the armed group's scope of rule.

In *Rebelocracy*, she argues that understanding this give-and-take between combatants and civilians has policy implications that extend beyond Colombia. While outside actors, such as governments and nonprofits, often focus on providing civilians with material goods during civil war, she says strengthening local institutions is also important to shield locals from armed groups.

"We are forgetting the importance of these institutions that are the foundation of social order," Arjona said. "We need rules that work for people to function as a society."

Ana Arjona is assistant professor of political science and an IPR associate.

Northwestern Explores Ties with Cuba

In a step towards continued cross-cultural collaborations, eight Northwestern faculty members and administrators traveled to Havana, Cuba, this past June to explore possible joint research opportunities with Cuban peers.

Four days of back-to-back meetings with University of Medical Sciences of Havana faculty and visits to family doctor offices, hospitals, and specialty clinics highlighted Cuba's public healthcare successes and yielded multiple possible research collaborations through diverse theoretical lenses.

The meetings come at a point in indefinite U.S.-Cuban relations. Yet Northwestern continues to intensify its ties with the country's academic community in an ongoing effort to promote the creation and sharing of knowledge across borders.

For pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield**, who researches parents' roles in early childhood development, possible research collaborations exist in cross-cultural examinations of child-family dynamics.

"I have always been interested in learning how other cultures deal with health, and as a pediatrician, how they deal with children and families specifically," Garfield said. "When you understand how other cultures include families in their decisions, you better understand that culture and often your own as well."

Meanwhile, IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, who studies the impact of childhood environments on development and health later in life, approaches the issue of early childhood development through a biological anthropology lens. For him, there is a lot to learn from Cuba.

"Despite the fact that Cuba has been incredibly strained for resources, it still has some of the world's highest rates of positive birth outcomes," McDade said. "I'm particularly interested in the pattern of social relationships that contribute to better outcomes for mothers and their babies in Cuba."

Since the early 1970s, the infant mortality rate in Cuba has decreased from 38 to 4.5 per 1,000 births, and life expectancy has increased to

82.7 years, putting Cuba's life expectancy at the same level as the United States.

Healthcare as a right for all is manifested in the Cuban constitution, and has been a priority for the Cuban government since the island's revolution in the late 1950s. Since then, the number of Cuban doctors has increased fourteenfold and has resulted in large gains in public health in recent years. Today, 100 percent of the Cuban population is immunized, and 99.6 percent are literate.

"Cuba has a very interesting healthcare system," said IPR anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman**, who studies mental health in cross-cultural perspectives. "It will be interesting to look at what happens to mental health as more economic inequality emerges in Cuba and whether Cuba maintains a socialized healthcare system in the same way it has. If so, will their public health system act as a buffer against negative mental health outcomes, or will inequality contribute to the emergence of more mental health problems?"

"Northwestern is strongly committed to developing and expanding collaborations in Cuba to include more faculty, scholars and fellows," said **Dévorá Grynsban**, vice president for international relations. "Faculty exchanges and research collaborations are some of the means through which this partnership can evolve."

Craig Garfield is associate professor of pediatrics and medical social sciences and an IPR associate. Thomas McDade is Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology and an IPR fellow. Rebecca Seligman is associate professor of anthropology and an IPR fellow.

J. Pieper



From left: Craig Garfield, Rebecca Seligman, and Thomas McDade in Havana, Cuba

Studying Food Insecurity Leads to New Area of Research

While in Kenya studying food insecurity during the first 1,000 days of life—or roughly the time between conception and a child's second birthday—IPR anthropologist **Sera Young** stumbled upon an equally severe problem facing new mothers and their children: access to water.

At the start of her project, Young had set out to track food insecurity among 360 women of mixed HIV status and their infants—59 percent of whom experienced moderate or severe food insecurity. To better understand their experiences, Young and her colleagues gave participants cameras and asked them to take photos of factors that influenced their food availability. In addition to snapshots of food, the women came back with something the researchers were not expecting to see.

“As it turns out, water was very much on people’s minds,” Young said in an IPR colloquium on October 23, as she pointed to a photo of a locked-up water cistern taken by a woman who lived next to it. However, the woman had to spend time and money getting water elsewhere.

Another woman explained the dilemma of being torn between buying water or buying food.



Sera Young leads a brainstorming session with Edward Frongillo of the University of South Carolina at the Household Water Insecurity Experiences Scale (HWISE) workshop held in August 2017 at Northwestern University.

“This makes the baby suffer because the money that ought to be used to buy her food ends up being spent on water,” Young recalled the woman telling her. “On the other hand, when the food is bought, that means that there is no water for cooking.”

Given these personal narratives, Young sought to include a water insecurity scale into the quantitative portion of her study, similar to the one she had already used to measure food insecurity. Surprisingly, she could not find an appropriate one. So she decided to develop one.

To do so, Young brought together a consortium of interdisciplinary researchers, practitioners, and on-the-ground collaborators from more than 24 sites globally. Over the course of two years, she and her colleagues have been working to finalize what will be the first cross-culturally validated household water-insecurity scale. Its questions cover various aspects of water use, including how frequently anyone in a household has had to drink unsafe water or gone to sleep thirsty in the last month.

Current estimates suggest that more than 4 billion people experience water insecurity around the world for at least one month each year. Given the diversity of cultures,

geography, and situations, Young discussed the necessity of creating a scale that can capture this wide range of experiences while still producing results that can be compared meaningfully across contexts.

The consortium, therefore, is working to refine a cross-culturally appropriate scale. With funding from several Northwestern University institutes and programs, including IPR, she hosted the consortium’s second workshop at the University’s Evanston campus from August 9–11. Researchers from 17 universities and six countries discussed how to improve ongoing data collection and methods for reducing the number of scale questions.

Since the workshop, the researchers have added study sites in India, Samoa, Guatemala, and Bangladesh, bringing the total to 29. They also completed data collection for more than 3,800 participants across 17 sites, including in Ghana, Tajikistan, and Nepal.

“A validated scale is really just the beginning—it will launch a whole new area of public health and policy inquiry,” Young said.

Sera Young is assistant professor of anthropology and an IPR fellow. The HWISE 2017 workshop was supported by IPR, the Buffett Institute for Global Studies, and the Center for Water Research at Northwestern University.



A woman collects water in Kenya while being interviewed about her water use.

Expanding Development Research at Northwestern

New efforts catalyze interdisciplinary collaboration

While the overall rate of global poverty has fallen—to under 10 percent from 35 percent in 1990, according to World Bank figures—the problem of deep and persistent poverty remains.

Looking for tools to break this cycle of poverty has “obsessed” development policy from the beginning, said **Christopher Udry**, an IPR associate and Northwestern development economist, in an October 30 IPR colloquium, but “there’s not good evidence of interventions, policies, or programs that can do this systematically, regularly, and effectively.”

Udry joined Northwestern’s faculty this fall, along with his long-time collaborator **Dean Karlan**. The two highly regarded researchers will be collaborating with a cadre of IPR development economists, **Lori Beaman**, **Seema Jayachandran**, and **Cynthia Kinnan**, who are also pushing the field forward with their own inquiries into development problems and policies with articles published in the *American Economic Review*, *Science*, and *Demography*, among others.

“We [have] this amazing set of people to collaborate with and to run ideas by, really making it a more dynamic environment,” said Beaman, who regularly collaborates with both Udry, her doctoral adviser at Yale University, and Karlan.

Udry, who was on Northwestern’s economics faculty from 1990–98, has said that in the intervening years, the University has become more committed to international development, creating a “strong base” that will be vital as they work towards making Northwestern a global leader in the field.

Part of that commitment involves the launch of the Global Poverty Research Lab that Udry and Karlan co-direct, housed in the Buffett Institute for Global Studies where they are fellows. The lab is seen as a catalyst to spur more research and teaching on myriad issues surrounding global poverty and development. Plans for the lab include research activities that revolve around either specific countries, like Ghana and the Philippines to start, or specific areas, such as agriculture and social protections.

The research lab will also catalyze student learning, attracting more students with an interest in the area and providing graduate students with the resources to allow them to conduct projects in the field without having to raise external funds. That’s a “game changer,” Beaman said.

IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, an economist, sees the potential for such collaboration. “Importantly, the lab will

present new opportunities for interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration between development economists and the psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, engineers, and management professors who are also conducting related policy-relevant work across the University,” she said.

In addition to Beaman, Jayachandran, and Kinnan, who are lab affiliates, this collaboration includes IPR fellows, such as anthropologists **Thomas McDade**, **Christopher Kuzawa**, and **Sera Young**, political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl**, developmental psychologist **Sandra Waxman**, economist **Ofer Malamud**, and sociologists **Monica Prasad** and **Julia Behrman**, an incoming fellow who will join IPR and Northwestern in fall 2018.

“Development economics deals with health, demography, productivity, investment, savings, education, household family dynamics, social networks, religion, politics, and many other things,” said **Bruce Carruthers**, director of the Buffett Institute. “In other words, it engages all the other social science disciplines in a way that will help drive interdisciplinarity forward at Northwestern University. The establishment of the Global Poverty Research Lab under the leadership of Chris and Dean brings new energy to cross-disciplinary research questions.”

Beaman sees this upsurge in development-related activities and research as enhancing the work of a core group of Northwestern development economists that began forming with her arrival in 2009, followed by Kinnan in 2010, and Jayachandran in 2011. Being associated with IPR has offered her an additional intellectual “home,” where she was able to connect with new ideas through “inspiring” interdisciplinary talks given by McDade, Kuzawa, and Adam, on their collection and use of biomarkers in longitudinal studies to investigate questions of health and well-being across a person’s life. IPR’s Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, has



Dean Karlan and Christopher Udry in the field

S. Schumacher



Clockwise from left: Dean Karlan, Cynthia Kinnan, Lori Beaman, Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, and Chris Udry discuss how to build sustainable income for the poor.

provided an intellectual hub at the Institute for work in this area over the past 10 years.

“There’s a growing interest in development economics exactly around those issues,” Beaman said, “and that could lead to more direct collaboration.” The group has already extended invitations to several IPR anthropologists to speak in the newly created Development Economics Lunch Seminar series that launched this spring.

Building on Cross-Disciplinary Synergy to Improve Research

McDade, who directs C2S at IPR, sees these efforts in development research and the lab’s establishment as a “great opportunity for collaboration around pressing global health challenges.” He offers that what the anthropologists bring to the table is their expertise in measuring biological processes and health in a wide range of settings, including challenging and remote ones that lack electricity and water.

On the other hand, McDade also sees how anthropologists and other social scientists can benefit from what the economists can bring to the table, in particular in terms of causal inference. He has led studies on the social and economic determinants of health, and the long-term effects of environments early in life, but they are mainly observational studies that are subject to confounding or bias.

“Collaborating with economists who share an interest in field-based research, and who

bring expertise in modeling and causal inference based on experimental or quasi-experimental research designs, would be very exciting,” McDade said.

Beaman acknowledges that economists are “obsessed with causation” and often use randomized controlled trials (RCTs) accordingly, but development economists use qualitative data, too—especially in the field to refine their designs. Such data, however, do not always show up in the published article. That said, Beaman thinks there are many “creative and thoughtful” ways that qualitative data can be used to enhance RCTs.

This methodological focus is also embedded in the Global Poverty Research Lab, which seeks to offer improvements to survey designs, data collection, and application development. Karlan noted how seeking to improve such quantitative aspects of the research process could help improve everyone’s work.

Hiring the right surveyor, for example, is not something that researchers tend to think deeply about or are even rewarded academically when they do, Karlan said. Does it matter if you hire the uneducated local who knows everyone over the educated urbanite? We just don’t know, he continued, but we should—and that is why the lab wants to invest in research in this area.

Domestic and Global Research Applications

While the lab will be focused on development issues in low-income countries around the world, the research produced could hold lessons for the United States.

In a recent column for *The New York Times* (see p. 16), Jayachandran applied the lessons from studies in other countries to what they might reveal about having a U.S. public insurance option.

“Why should jobs in India or food in Mexico have anything to do with health care in the United States?” she wrote. “They are linked by the logic of supply and demand, which applies in the United States and in countries

very different from it—countries that the United States doesn’t turn to often enough for policy lessons.”

Beaman discussed how a study in Malawi where women’s use of social networks leads to worse job outcomes for them vis-a-vis men is a case where she “thinks it is likely” that this is happening in the United States, too. However, another body of her work looking at how subsistence farmers use agricultural technologies in Africa does not translate to the United States because agriculture technology differs so much.

“Some work will be more relevant than others,” Beaman said.

Udry concurred: “One thing that’s characteristic of poor countries that makes them different from this country is that you’re a poor person surrounded by poverty, whereas in developed countries, you’re a poor person surrounded by rich people.”

However, “that doesn’t mean we can’t learn from each other,” Udry said.

Having such a strong cadre of development economists is a boon for Northwestern research, McDade noted. He sees Udry and Karlan bringing researchers and students together around health, globalization, education, and the environment—all issues of interest to many faculty associated with C2S—and beyond.

“They will help expand the global impact of our research and help make our research more global here,” McDade said. “I think there’s a lot of fertile ground here that we can explore for potential collaborations.”

Christopher Udry is the Robert E. and Emily King Professor of Economics and an IPR associate. Dean Karlan is the Frederic Esser Nemmers Professor of Economics and Finance and an IPR associate. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is IPR director and the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor. Bruce Carruthers is director of the Buffett Institute for Global Studies and the John D. MacArthur Professor of Sociology. Lori Beaman and Seema Jayachandran are associate professors of economics and IPR fellows. Thomas McDade is the Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology and an IPR fellow.

A Vision for the Future of Education Research (Continued from page 1)

During the lecture, Nasir outlined her “lofty goals” for the field, explaining that education research is at a critical moment: Schools of education are increasingly disrespected sources of training and knowledge, and their research is viewed as inaccessible and disconnected. However, she sees schools as one of the few social institutions that can provide a mechanism for social mobility.

“My relationship with research has always fundamentally been about research as a tool for positive change in a desperately and at times hopelessly unjust world, as a tool of empowerment, and as a tool of social change—not for the sake of change itself, but for the sake of better educating more of the nation’s and the world’s young people,” Nasir said.

She explained that the goal of the field should be to make high-quality, transformative education more readily available for students from pre-kindergarten through college. To do this, though, requires believing that education research can have a broad impact on the world.

It also requires certain types of research, including investment in the “big ideas.” Nasir explained this includes developing lenses and concepts that help us understand educational and learning processes in new ways.

Nasir called for work that is “deeply relevant” to the big challenges of education, highlighting issues with school and neighborhood segregation, recruiting and

training teachers, and the criminalization of vulnerable student populations.

This work also needs to move beyond identifying the challenges to helping move toward solutions. Community-engaged research could help, according to Nasir.

“We need to do work alongside the folks who will be subject to the impact of our research,” Nasir said.

But education researchers should not box themselves in and work only with those in their field. Interdisciplinary work is vital to help untangle what Nasir called some of the “large, messy problems in education.”

She highlighted the problem of school segregation and unequal access to high-quality instruction, which can be informed by work in sociology and psychology. For example, some children are exposed to violence on the way to school, which can have effects on mental health and negatively impact academic performance.

“Education issues cannot be disentangled from other key issues in society like healthcare or housing,” Nasir said.

Nasir drew attention to work by IPR associates and SESP professors **Cynthia Coburn** and **James Spillane**, who are seeking to improve instructional practices. They are focusing on multiple interacting factors, looking at school districts, teacher learning, and student thinking. Nasir also pointed to IPR associate and learning sciences professor **Reed Stevens’** work on the role of technology in children’s thinking and schooling.

Economist and IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** drew attention to the type of broad-based, interdisciplinary research that Nasir called for in her lecture that is already occurring at the University. “From designing learning environments to redesigning school finance systems, Northwestern faculty, postdoctoral fellows, graduate students, and undergraduates are working together to try to make education better for this country and this world,” Schanzenbach said.



S. Drey

Na'ilah Suad Nasir, president of the Spencer Foundation, outlined the challenges and opportunities facing the field of education research today.

SESP Dean and IPR economist **David Figlio** concurred, “One of the things that’s really special about both the Institute for Policy Research and the School of Education and Social Policy is the diversity of perspectives, disciplines, research techniques, and the like that each are using in order to address some of the most pressing and challenging questions today.”

Nasir argued that to address these pressing questions, researchers need to ensure that they are meeting their commitment as scientists and scholars to work on behalf of students.

“To even embark upon this road, we have to believe that our work should matter,” Nasir said.

Na'ilah Suad Nasir is president of the Spencer Foundation. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is IPR director and the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor. David Figlio is dean of the School of Education and Social Policy and the Orrington Lunt Professor at Northwestern University.

Watch a video of the lecture at bit.ly/nasir-video.



S. Schumacher

From left: IPR economists Jonathan Guryan and Kirabo Jackson, with Penny Bender Sebring of the University of Chicago

Crime in Chicago (Continued from page 1)

us with your insights,” she told an audience of more than 120 in attendance at the Union League Club of Chicago, whose Public Affairs Committee co-sponsored the event.

The Great Chicago Crime Spike

In 2016, the city saw a dramatic spike in violent crime rates, with more than 760 reported homicides—up 42 percent from the previous year. Meanwhile, non-gun homicides and other crimes were relatively constant.

“We’re talking about a gun spike when we talk about the great spike of 2016,” Skogan said.

The violence was also extremely concentrated. Skogan said 50 percent of all the shootings in 2016 occurred in just a handful of neighborhoods, including Austin, Garfield Park, North and South Lawndale, Englewood, and West Pullman. The crime is even more concentrated in those communities, often occurring within just a few blocks. There is one four-by-four block area in Humboldt Park, Skogan said, that has been in the top 5 percent of shootings in the city every year for 27 years.

“The most disturbing feature of the 2016 spike is that we’re not catching anybody,” Skogan added, noting that the ability of Chicago police to solve gun violence has plummeted to single digits. Because crimes have gone unsolved, the standard model of policing—in which the police receive a call, investigate, and arrest someone—has collapsed. As a result, the ability to deter crime has plummeted, and people protect themselves by carrying a weapon, adding more guns on the streets and encouraging retaliatory violence.

Guns and Social Networks

Network science can be used to understand the shootings, according to Papachristos.

Network science, he explained, examines how the connections between people, organizations, and places affect what we feel, think, and do. Those connections affect the votes people cast, the books they buy, and whether or not they are healthy.

“They also affect whether or not you get shot,” Papachristos said.

He pointed to the shooting death of 6-month-old Jonylah Watkins in 2013 to explain how gun violence is socially concentrated. In the three years leading up to Jonylah’s death, her father, the intended target, was arrested 23 times with 17 different people. Of those 17 people, 40 percent were shot in that time period.

“Jonylah and her father are literally in the network where people they are connected to and the people they are doing things with are getting shot,” Papachristos said.

He described violence as “contagious,” behaving like an epidemic. Much of the city’s violence erupts from interpersonal disputes, he said, which then trigger a series of retaliatory shootings. A young black gang member in Chicago who is frequently exposed to violence has more than a 20 percent probability of being shot.

While network science does not address problems with poverty, education, and unemployment, Papachristos noted that the information it provides can bring services, like violence intervention, outreach programs, and trauma specialists to communities—or even specific groups of people—where it is needed.

A Viable Solution to Gun Violence

One way to understand the violence is by examining the way people—particularly young people—think. While some argue that crimes are carried out by people who seek to break the law and who are hard to deter, Guryan offered a different view of why people commit crime, as well as a potential solution.

Guryan said many crimes come down to the way people think and respond to situations. He described two different ways of thinking: automatic thinking and reflective thinking.

The Becoming a Man (BAM) program, which Guryan has evaluated, uses this idea to help young men slow down and think before they act. “Sometimes people make decisions based on automatic thinking in situations where that automatic response is not appropriate,

particularly if you live in an environment where the situations are changing quickly and where the consequences for making the wrong decision are very large,” Guryan said.

A typical BAM session opens with a game: One person holds a small ball in his palm, while his partner has one minute to do whatever it takes to get it away from him. The young men start wrestling, trying to pry open each other’s hands by force. Afterward, the counselor asks, did anyone simply ask for the ball? Usually, Guryan said, no one considered that. The exercise demonstrates how easy it is to make assumptions about how others think, and the value of pausing to consider other solutions to a problem.

In their study of the program, Guryan and his colleagues found that students who participated in BAM between 2013 and 2015 were 50 percent less likely to be involved in violent crime. Students also did better in school, showing improved attendance, lower dropout rates, and higher graduation rates. In a similar program at a juvenile detention center, participants were 20 percent less likely to be arrested again.

“These are programs that cost money,” Guryan said. “But the benefits are very large relative to the cost.”

Guryan said the program’s success led to a visit from President Barack Obama, serving as a source of inspiration for Obama’s own initiative, My Brother’s Keeper.

“There are things that we can be doing to invest in the kids,” Guryan said. It is possible to help youth who are at risk of being involved in violent crime by teaching them how to pause, think, and make other choices.

Mary Pattillo is the Harold Washington Professor of Sociology and African American Studies and an IPR associate. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor and IPR director. Wesley Skogan is professor of political science and an IPR fellow emeritus. Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow. Jonathan Guryan is professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

Watch a video of the event at bit.ly/crime-in-chicago.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHTS

Beth Redbird

Pursuing new viewpoints in the study of inequality

Beth Redbird caught the research bug while working to promote affordable housing in Columbus, Ohio. A few years—and one Stanford doctorate in sociology—later, Redbird is pursuing a full and diverse research agenda since joining Northwestern and IPR in 2016.

“I’m interested in inequality,” Redbird said, adding with a laugh, “but what sociologist isn’t?”

Boundaries and Closure

When groups control resources, Redbird explains, they can draw boundaries and create closure, which then changes the groups themselves. Her research is illustrating institutional changes resulting from closure.

Occupational licensing—which governs hairdressers and counselors, for example—closes occupations to entrants who have not fulfilled necessary requirements, such as schooling and certification. Classical research into licensing generally supports the idea that it raises wages by restricting the number of people who can hold the jobs.

Redbird’s research turns this narrative on its head. Her findings demonstrate that licensing, rather than restricting access to occupational outsiders (such as women and minorities), actually encourages them to enter licensed occupations by standardizing the path to entry.

Though occupational licensing reduced inequality by enabling women and minorities to enter new occupations, it also raised inequality by creating job niches. Redbird shows that wages have not risen along with the rise of licensure over the past few decades. Instead, women and minority workers have clustered in lower-paying licensed occupations. For example, women tend to become school counselors, while men are more likely to become higher-paid family counselors.

Redbird also explores inequality and boundaries in Native American life and institutions. Redbird, who is Oglala Lakota and

Oklahoma Choctaw, came to Northwestern to join and help guide the University’s recently established Indigenous Studies Research Center.

She is exploring the connection between an Indian tribe’s economic resources and its determination of membership. Redbird is still collecting data, but plans to examine all 577 federally recognized tribes.

The Loneliness of Affluence

In other work, Redbird explores whether affluent Americans lead more socially segregated lives. She said the widely publicized 2012 videotape of presidential candidate Mitt Romney’s quip to donors, about the 47 percent of people who would never vote for him, got her thinking about this aspect of inequality.

“I thought about the waiters in the video and their reaction,” she remembered. “How isolated are the rich?”

This question led Redbird to examine the many small interactions we have every day, or the “microconnections” we all make, such as with our local coffeeshop barista or another parent at a soccer game. These microinteractions make up a large part of our social interactions, but have not yet been studied. To learn more, she is analyzing data collected from a national internet panel survey of approximately 5,000 people, in which affluent people were oversampled.

“Who you see impacts your perceptions of ‘facts,’” she noted.

How Politicians Talk About Policy

There is often a vast economic divide between political elites and their voters, yet Redbird argues that a “conversation” takes place between them nonetheless.

Her newest research project, with sociolinguist and IPR associate **Annette D’Onofrio**, examines this conversation. Under



B. Redbird

Beth Redbird

an IPR seed grant, the researchers are analyzing all presidential candidates’ speeches made since 2008.

Redbird will look at the speeches’ argumentation and rhetoric. She notes that, for example, politicians often use “we” when discussing tax cuts, but “they” when referring to those on welfare. D’Onofrio will undertake a phonic analysis, examining how candidates form words and the dialects they use.

The two researchers will then pair their analyses with responses to the speeches, such as tweets and public opinion polls, to understand the “conversation” between political elites and their audiences.

Redbird singled out IPR’s intellectual diversity for bringing her new viewpoints that push her work in challenging directions.

“Inequality is a multidimensional, multi-faceted, and complex problem,” Redbird said. “These people think of things I would never have thought of!”

Beth Redbird is assistant professor of sociology, an IPR fellow, and a faculty member in Northwestern’s Native American and Indigenous Peoples Initiative.

Joe Feinglass

Using science to fight health inequities

The “power of data to inform the public” is what research professor of medicine and IPR associate **Joe Feinglass** sees as defining his academic career.

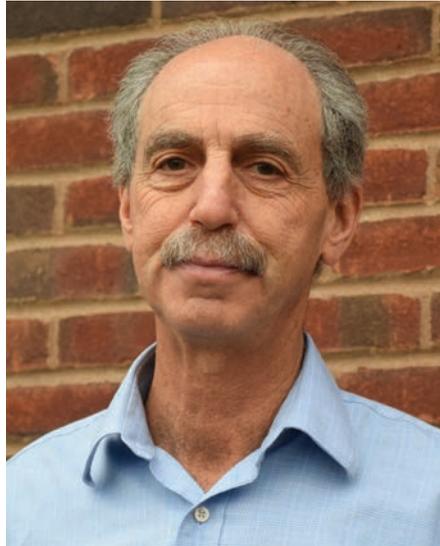
Feinglass began studying racial disparities in health access, treatment, and outcomes after obtaining his PhD in public policy in 1988. For the past 25 years, he has been analyzing and publicizing health data at Northwestern’s Feinberg School of Medicine, where his long-held interest in health inequities has also been shaped by his previous experiences as factory machinist, 1960s activist, campaigner for Chicago mayor Harold Washington, and community college professor.

Health Disparities

When Feinglass began his work at Northwestern, the large billing and coding data sets collected by the Medicare and Medicaid programs were just becoming available to researchers. The data enabled him to study the variations in medical practice around the country, exposing quality of care issues. He became intrigued and concerned by the huge racial disparities—particularly pronounced in Chicago—in treatments and outcomes in women’s health, breast cancer, and vascular surgery and amputations.

Feinglass and his colleagues documented in a 2000 *Archives of Surgery* article that among those hospitalized for peripheral vascular disease between 1993 and 1997, patients living in poor African American zip code areas in northern Illinois had between 14 and 36 percent higher odds of having a leg amputated versus undergoing limb-saving bypass surgery than those of the same age living in better-off, mostly white, zip codes.

Revisiting the issue using a larger dataset from 1987–2004 in the *Journal of Vascular Surgery* in 2008, Feinglass and fellow researchers found that racial disparities remained constant through the period, even as the absolute number of amputations dropped.



S. Schumacher

Joe Feinglass

In more recent work on breast cancer, Feinglass has continued to focus on the association between race, socioeconomic status (SES), and health outcomes. In the *Annals of Epidemiology* in 2015, he and his co-authors observed a large gap in death rates from 1998–2011 for women with breast cancer. Those in the lowest SES category were 27 percent more likely to have died from any cause than those in the highest SES.

Access to Care

Another aspect of Feinglass’ work is reforming healthcare delivery, and he urges a “public health orientation” when considering healthcare access.

In a 2017 research review in *Population Health Management*, Feinglass and his colleagues examined “home-based primary care”—longitudinal care to the homebound—as “a real alternative” to emergency department and hospital visits that might save money and improve patients’ health outcomes. Their analysis showed that home-based care “holds the greatest promise for delivery system reform.”

Feinglass recommends that policymakers pursue more home-based care that includes a social services team. “The current hospital

system is unsustainable,” he contended. “We have to integrate medical care with home- and community-based social services.”

The Role of Health Insurance

“If you believe that preventive medicine saves lives,” Feinglass pointed out, “then health insurance is a huge accomplishment.” A significant focus of his research is on the health effects of lacking health insurance.

In the *Journal of General Internal Medicine* in 2006, Feinglass and his colleagues showed that although Medicare did not lead to immediate health benefits for people who were uninsured before age 65, after two or more years of continuous coverage, the uninsured no longer had a higher risk of adverse health outcomes than people who had private insurance prior to Medicare.

Feinglass has been tracking the impact of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) in Illinois since 2014, notably its effect on increased emergency department usage by newly insured people. He notes that of the 1.5 million people who were uninsured prior to the ACA becoming law, 650,000 now have some sort of insurance.

Though Feinglass sees the ACA as “terribly compromised,” he points out that people’s self-reported health is better and their self-reported stress is lower when they obtain health insurance.

Feinglass sees his study of the effects of health insurance as his most important policy-related research, and he is passionate about the role that policy research can play in changing public opinion.

“Research can be used for good or evil,” he reminds us. He wants to use it for good.

Joe Feinglass is research professor of medicine (general internal medicine and geriatrics) and preventive medicine and an IPR associate.

Burton Weisbrod

A pioneer of the nonprofit economy

From his early studies in chemical engineering, IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod** found the “blanks” between elements in the periodic table intriguing. This idea of blanks stuck with him as he switched over to studying economics in college.

The economics he learned classified economic organizations into one of two categories, private enterprise or government. Weisbrod would eventually come to see this two-sector view as a “gross oversimplification,” and he filled in the space between them with a “hybrid” third sector—nonprofits.

“In the back of my mind was the periodic table of the elements,” Weisbrod said of his insight that led to over 40 years of pioneering research into the role of nonprofit organizations.

The Nonprofit Economy

In 2015, Weisbrod presented a conference keynote address on the 40th anniversary of his initial paper, “Toward a Theory of the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector in a Three-Sector Economy,” that envisioned the economy with more than two sectors. This paper would lead to the publication of three books about the nonprofit sector between 1978 and 1998, analyzing economic behavior of for-profit, governmental, and nonprofit organizations in a mixed system in which they compete with and complement each other.

Each sector plays a key role in our economy, Weisbrod finds. Government provides some social necessities that the for-profit world does not efficiently supply, such as education and healthcare, or does not supply at all, such as poverty abatement.

To Weisbrod, government cannot correct all the “shortcomings” of the for-profit sector because we as taxpayers—the funders of government—do not all agree on what we want to do. This “demand diversity” leaves a gap potentially filled by the nonprofit sector, which relies on donors who give what it is worth to them to address the issues.

In today’s atmosphere of “growing diversity and disagreements,” Weisbrod notes, “there is a



K. Scovic

Burton Weisbrod

growing role for nonprofits,” and they constitute an increasing share of the economy.

Linking Education and Healthcare

After receiving his PhD in economics from Northwestern in 1958, Weisbrod taught at Carleton College and Washington University in St. Louis. He also served as a senior staff economist on the Council of Economic Advisors to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1962–63. He founded and directed the Center for Health Economics and Law at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he was a faculty member in economics for 26 years.

His long-standing commitment to policy research brought him back to Northwestern in 1990 to lead the Institute for Policy Research, then known as the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research.

In 1991, his interest in healthcare policy led to publication of a *Journal of Economic Literature* article, examining the interplay of health insurance, technological change in healthcare—including prescription drugs—and the rising cost of healthcare. The article remains an important and widely cited economic work.

Most of Weisbrod’s career has seen him straddle three areas of economic and public

policy research—healthcare, education, and nonprofits. He is always striving to integrate knowledge and ideas among them, to fill in the blanks. “There’s almost always a counterpart between healthcare and education,” he notes. He looks especially for what they have in common.

Performance Measurement

One of the “integrating ties” between healthcare, education, and many other nonprofit or mixed fields is the search to measure whether nonprofits are achieving their mission. Improvement in any economic system, Weisbrod points out, depends upon good measurement of performance.

Weisbrod is pulling together his “long-evolving ideas” about performance measurement as he writes the book that he sees as the “capstone” of his career. *The Perils of Pay-for-Performance: Why Strong Rewards in Government and Nonprofits Don’t Work* is under contract with Stanford University Press.

He is looking for the commonalities in the disparate corners of the governmental and nonprofit economy, including K-12 and higher education, hospitals, policing, museums, private charities, prisons, and the federal judiciary. He also examines the consequences of the growing number of inadequate, biased measures of performance—such as standardized tests under No Child Left Behind and rewards to police departments for cutting crime.

Always Curious

Once he completes the book, what will he do? After nearly 60 years as an economist, Weisbrod’s next chapter is probably best summed up by one of his favorite reflective questions, “What do I want to be when I grow up?”

Whatever he does, he plans on remaining curious, asking questions, and looking for the “integrating ties” that will help him continue to fill in economic blanks.

Burton Weisbrod is Cardiss Collins Professor of Economics and an IPR fellow.

Mary McGrath

Examining political decision making

“Some of the most important decisions that we make as members of the public are political decisions,” explained IPR political scientist **Mary McGrath**. “I’m interested in decision making not in terms of who we normally think of as political decision makers—policymakers and political elites—but how do regular people make these decisions they’re faced with?”

Early Voting

Voting is one of the most recognizable forms of political decision making. Throughout the United States, between one-quarter and one-third of people who vote cast their ballots early. For a 2016 study in the *Election Law Journal*, McGrath and her colleagues assembled daily snapshots of early voting records across the United States during the 2012 election, confirming that partisans and older voters disproportionately take advantage of early voting. In states where 50–80 percent of older registrants are voting early, only about 20–40 percent of younger registrants are.

Taking a closer look, the researchers find that political independents and younger registrants who do vote early tend to do so much later in the early voting window. On October 24, two weeks before Election Day 2012, 14 percent of registered voters over age 60 had already voted, compared with just 3 percent of those under 30. Almost 50 percent of younger registrants who voted early cast their votes after November 1, while fewer than 25 percent of older voters cast a ballot that late in the early voting window.

Some policymakers have proposed lengthening the early voting period to increase participation among young and politically independent voters. The study shows, however, that extending voting windows much earlier likely would not do much to increase turnout.

“People who are otherwise less likely to vote are more likely to use the voting window closer to the election,” McGrath explained.

Voting for Extremists

In other work, McGrath tackles whether ideologically extreme candidates “pay” for their extremism by losing votes. She examines the landslide defeats of Barry Goldwater

in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972, which scholars often cite as evidence that U.S. voters are unwilling to cast their ballots for extremist presidential candidates.

But McGrath and her colleagues find little evidence of a relationship between candidate extremism and how the public decides to vote, based on data from the 17 presidential elections between 1948 and 2012.

In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in 2016, the researchers note that Goldwater and McGovern were not only extremist candidates, they were running against incumbents who had enjoyed a strong economy. While Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama were rated almost as extreme as Goldwater and McGovern, the fact that they were challenging incumbent party candidates with poor economic records might have worked in their favor.

How does this evidence on extremism hold up after the 2016 election?

“[Donald Trump] is certainly not a traditional conservative, but he is in many ways an extremist even if it’s not in the traditional way we think of liberal and conservative ideology,” McGrath said. “This goes along with our finding: It doesn’t seem like voters are scared away by extremist statements and extremist campaigns.”

Partisans’ Economic Behavior

“If you ask Democrats about the state of the economy when a Democratic administration is in office, Democrats are going to give rosy reports,” McGrath said. “Republicans are going to give bad reports.”

This is well-known based on survey data, but McGrath said these biased responses lead to more questions.

“Do they actually believe that the economy is great or in the toilet, depending on their partisanship, or are they just using it as a way to say whether or not they like who’s in office?” she asked.

Her 2017 study, published in the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, re-analyzes data on the first field test of the “perceptual screen”



Mary McGrath

hypothesis, or whether partisanship seeps into how people perceive the same facts.

In 2009, Yale University’s Alan Gerber and Gregory Huber tried to test whether partisans “put their money where their mouth is.” The researchers looked at changes in local consumption after a presidential election, discovering that economic activity differed between areas with opposing political beliefs.

However, McGrath’s re-analysis of the original dataset, with added data from the 2008 and 2012 elections, did not find evidence of this type of varied economic activity. She explains that her study suggests that economic perceptions are not being filtered through partisanship, although more research is needed.

To that end, McGrath is now extending this study to other countries to determine if they exhibit any evidence of partisanship affecting economic decision making.

“Just because we don’t see something doesn’t mean it’s not there,” McGrath said. “We might not have data that’s fine-grained enough, or we might not be looking in the right place.”

Mary McGrath is assistant professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

FACULTY OPINION

Why Public Health Insurance Could Help, Even if You Don't Want It

By Seema Jayachandran

It is anyone's guess whether Democrats will unite around the goal of creating a single-payer healthcare system or even take a less ambitious approach—introducing a public health insurance option.

Adding public insurance as an option in the complex American healthcare system has been treated as a consolation prize for those who really favor single-payer healthcare, but the lighter approach might pack much more punch than you might think. What's more, the best way to see that is by looking at the Indian labor market and the Mexican grocery market.

Why should jobs in India or food in Mexico have anything to do with healthcare in the United States? They are linked by the logic of supply and demand, which applies in the United States and in countries very different from it—countries that the United States doesn't turn to often enough for policy lessons.

In fact, India's and Mexico's experiences offer some of the best evidence on what happens when we add a public option to a marketplace: The private sector is forced to improve its game to retain customers, so more people benefit than just those who directly use the public services.

Here's how a public option could play out in American healthcare.

The government would begin to compete with private insurers by giving people the opportunity to buy healthcare coverage through an existing program like Medicaid or through an entirely new plan. Some people will buy the publicly run insurance, but many others will stick with the private insurance to which they have grown accustomed.

But the people who stick with private plans could still be helped by the public option because its mere existence will be a jolt to private insurers, which will need to reduce prices or improve quality to retain market

share. Consumers who stick with private plans will enjoy those benefits—even if they never buy the public plan.

We can't really know for sure that these predictions about the healthcare market will materialize until we try it, but the experience of the rural labor market in India is instructive.

For the last decade, the Indian government has been running a workfare program in villages throughout the country. The program offers people welfare payments in exchange for work on infrastructure projects, like digging irrigation ditches. Every household in rural India is entitled to 100 days of this publicly paid work a year. For many families, the extra earnings are a lifeline, though these public works jobs are a small part of the total employment in most villages.

One of the program's most striking effects has been indirect, maybe even inadvertent: It has led private employers to increase the wages they offer workers. Workfare is often thought of as welfare with strings attached. But you can also think of it as the government getting into the rural employment game, hiring tens of millions of people each year. The Indian government has essentially offered a "public option" for employment.

The program has paid a daily wage that was often higher than what local employers had offered. As a result, private-sector employers needed to make their jobs more attractive to retain workers.

The government's wage served as a de facto floor on the wage others could offer for similar work. Several studies found that the program caused local wages to increase 4–5 percent when it was active.



Seema Jayachandran

J. Smith

In Indian states that carried out the program most effectively, the increase in the private-sector wage was even bigger.

That higher wage applied to a vast amount of private employment, so it has added up to a lot: For each \$1 the government paid out in wages, workers earned an additional 50 cents to \$4.50 from higher wages in private sector jobs. The Indian government, in effect, created a matching program: For each \$1 it paid out, the private sector kicked in 50 cents to \$4.50 more. And this from a government program that has many deficiencies in how it is run. It suggests that even if the United States were to provide health insurance in an inefficient way, the indirect benefits to consumers could be substantial.

Shaking up the private market is especially useful if the labor market isn't very competitive to start with. Powerful employers in such a market can get away with paying a lower wage, allowing them to earn fatter profits (although this entails a probable sacrifice in output). Adding a public option to a market like this is not a zero-sum game where higher wages just shift money from employers to workers. Instead, with better paid workers, the size of the economic pie, or "surplus," increases.

(Continued on page 17)

FACULTY SOUNDBITES



J. Ziv

“Focusing only on the individual factors that led Nikolas Cruz, or Adam Lanza, or Stephen Paddock to their actions distracts from the systemic factors contributing to the social disconnection, estrangement, and profound anger these men experienced, and keeps us from recognizing the elements of our cultural and social context that link the causes of their distress to this particular form of expression.”

Rebecca Seligman, Los Angeles Review of Books, “Mental illnesses and school shootings,” March 22



P. Reese

“Despite the campaign promises, a national family leave program is not likely to be enacted anytime soon. This is a policy realm where we can make meaningful change at the state level. The gubernatorial race is heating up, and it’s time to talk about policies that will make Illinois thrive. Our state can combat poverty and improve the health of our children with a single policy: paid family leave.”

Christine Percheski, Crain’s Chicago Business, “Illinois should follow New York’s example on paid family leave,” January 12



J. Ziv

“This lack of investment is penny-wise and pound-foolish. If the Census Bureau does not have adequate resources to invest in developing a new modern infrastructure for 2020, it will have to do one of two things. It could resort to the old, expensive approach to ensure an adequate count, driving up costs to taxpayers. Or it could conduct a lower-quality census, diminishing the value of the data.”

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach and Michael Strain, Bloomberg, “Act now to save the 2020 Census,” August 11

Why Public Health Insurance Could Help (Continued from page 16)

In fact, there is evidence that India’s workfare program has increased both wages and private employment levels. This result goes against the most familiar supply-and-demand reasoning that by increasing employers’ costs, a higher wage decreases employment. That reasoning breaks down when a market isn’t competitive. Lack of competition also helps explain the related counterintuitive finding that raising the minimum wage sometimes increases employment in supposedly efficient markets like the United States.

The story plays out similarly among grocery stores in Mexico. In work with colleagues, I found that the few stores that sell beans,

vegetable oil, and other food staples in Mexico’s poor, remote villages often have considerable market power. We studied a program in which the Mexican government trucked boxes of staple foods into villages and delivered them to poor families.

For those families, the main benefit was the free food, but there was another boon: Local stores responded by reducing prices, and those prices dropped the most in villages with relatively few stores and little competition.

The counterparts to the Mexican villages with only one or two grocery stores—where prices fell a lot—are parts of the United States where

only one or two insurers offer plans on the health exchanges that have come into being under the Affordable Care Act.

In Mexico and India, when the government entered the market and started competing with private businesses, those businesses felt the pressure and offered their customers or employees a better deal. If the same thing happens with health insurance in the United States, a public option might help millions of people who don’t end up buying it.

Seema Jayachandran is associate professor of economics and an IPR fellow. This article was originally printed in The New York Times on September 29, 2017.

Policies to Protect Workers from Wage Theft

IPR political scientist Daniel Galvin finds stricter state laws lead to less wage theft

OVERVIEW

Raising the minimum wage is a hot-button topic in the United States, yet the discussion often ignores wage theft—when employers pay their employees below the minimum wage. Existing research views wage theft in economic terms—employers underpay their workers because the financial benefits outweigh the potential costs of getting caught—but research by IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** frames it as a policy issue. Analyzing wage-and-hour laws and minimum wage violations in all 50 states, Galvin finds that workers are significantly less likely to be paid below the minimum wage in states with stricter laws against wage theft. However, effective policies require three conditions: favorable partisan majorities in state government, determined coalitions of workers' advocates lobbying for change, and strong enforcement of penalties.

FINDINGS

Wage theft is concentrated among low-wage workers, especially women, minorities, non-U.S. citizens, and nonunion workers. An estimated 16.9 percent of low-wage workers experienced a minimum wage violation in 2013. On average, these workers lost nearly a quarter of their income to wage theft, earning \$5.92 an hour, on average, versus the \$7.68 an hour they might have earned at the minimum wage. Certain groups of low-wage workers—women, minorities, non-U.S. citizens, and nonunion are all more likely to suffer from wage theft, highlighting its unequal effects.

POLICY TAKEAWAYS

- Wage theft disproportionately affects low-wage workers, especially women, nonwhites, noncitizens, and nonunionized low-wage workers
- Stronger state-level wage and hour laws and their enforcement lead to lower incidences of wage theft.



IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin's** research focuses on the development of political institutions, political organizations, and public policy in the United States.

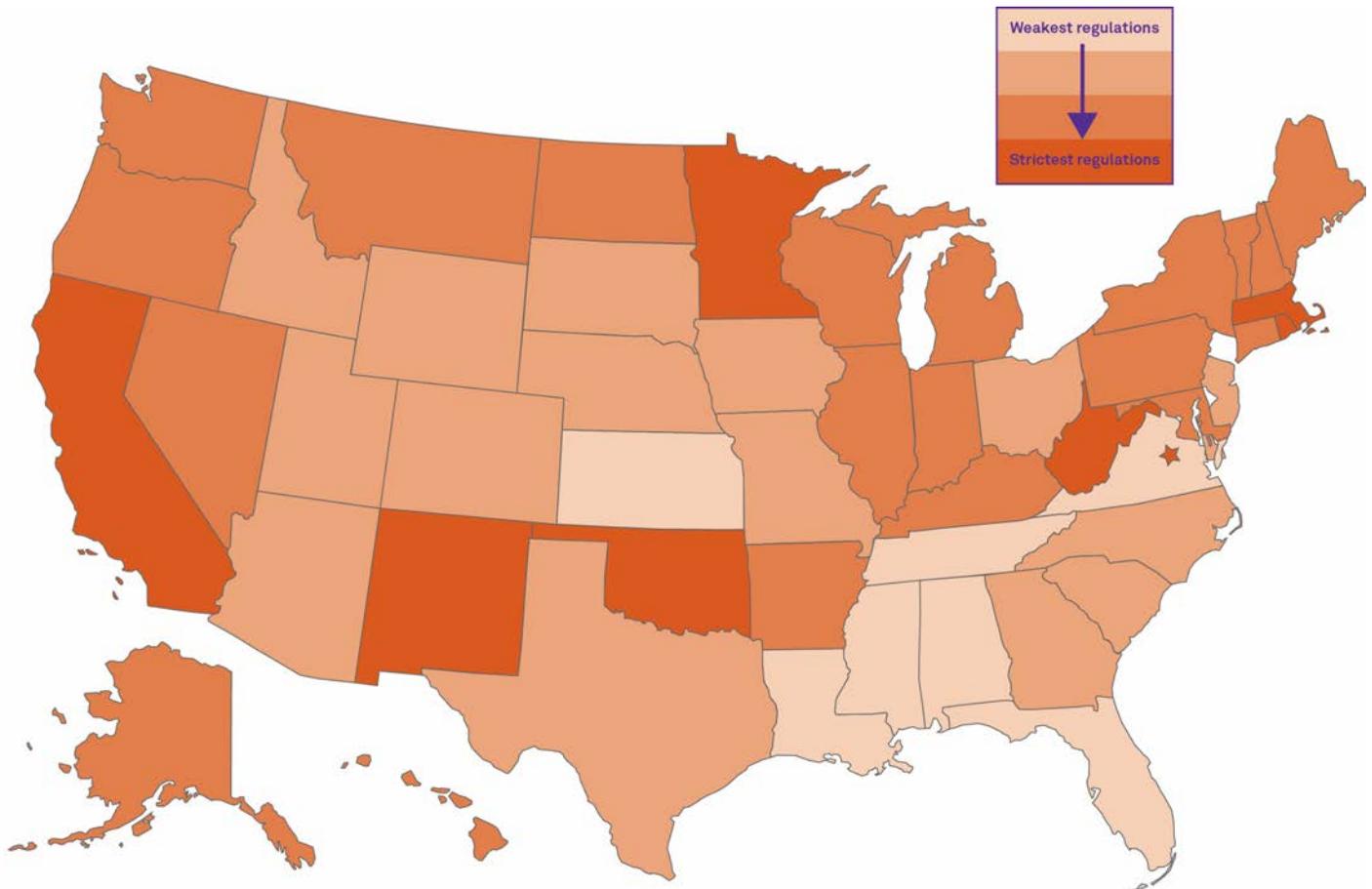
Federal enforcement of wage theft laws is weak, and state laws vary greatly. The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938 established national standards to protect workers and their pay, but its enforcement mechanisms—especially the Wage and Hour Division—have weakened over time. Weak federal enforcement means considerable state-level variation in wage-and-hour laws: For example, Mississippi has no laws on its books, while Massachusetts and New Mexico offer strong regulations and enforcement.

Stricter state laws lead to less wage theft.

Controlling for demographic and economic variation, Galvin shows that low-wage workers in states with stronger wage-and-hour laws are less likely to experience a minimum wage violation. While the probability of experiencing a minimum wage violation is still high even in states with stronger penalties, even a small reduction in violations can prevent lost wages for thousands of workers.

Enforcement of state-level laws is key to reducing minimum wage violations. Galvin also points to two additional conditions to enact effective policy: favorable partisan majorities in state government—almost all current state laws were passed under Democratic governors and Democratic legislative majorities—and determined coalitions of workers' advocates lobbying for change.

Wage and hour laws vary greatly by state, with stronger regulations leading to lower wage theft



METHODOLOGY

Galvin draws on an original database of state-level wage and hour laws in all 50 states to measure the strength of each state's wage-theft penalty scheme. He then estimates minimum wage violations in each state using Current Population Survey (CPS) data. Comparing state-level regulation scores to minimum wage violations, he finds that states with stricter penalties witness significantly lower levels of wage theft.

REFERENCE

Galvin, D. 2016. Deterring wage theft: Alt-labor, state politics, and the policy determinants of minimum wage compliance. *Perspective on Politics* 14(2): 324–50.

FACTS AND FIGURES

- One in six low-wage workers (16.9 percent) experienced a minimum wage violation in 2013.
- The victims of these violations lost 23 percent of their earnings on average.
- Wage and hour laws vary greatly by state, from no regulations in Mississippi to strict regulation and enforcement in Massachusetts.

The Impact of Violent Crime on Sleep and Stress

OVERVIEW

The United States registered nearly 1.25 million violent crimes in 2016. Strong evidence indicates that children exposed to violence in and around their neighborhoods suffer academically, but the mechanisms that explain how such crimes get “under the skin” are poorly understood. **Jennifer Heissel** (SESP PhD 17), who is on the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School and a former IPR graduate research assistant, IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, and their colleagues studied sleep and the stress hormone cortisol in adolescents exposed to violent crimes in their communities. They found that adolescents’ sleep and cortisol patterns were disrupted the night and day following nearby violence, and that more violent crimes led to more serious disruptions. Disruption of both sleep and cortisol have been linked to poorer academic performance.

FINDINGS

Following nearby crimes that involved homicide and criminal sexual assault, young people went to bed later and slept less. After a violent crime in their neighborhood that was between one-third and half a mile away from where they slept, local youths went to bed 26–38 minutes later on average. **Their cortisol levels skyrocketed the mornings after a local, violent crime.** A higher cortisol awakening response (CAR), a surge in cortisol levels measured shortly after waking up, suggests that their bodies anticipated more stress the day following a crime. The average CAR on the day following violence rose 111 percent compared with days not preceded by violence. Following nearby homicides, youth went to bed nearly two hours later, and their sleep decreased by 1.14 hours. A criminal sexual assault in their neighborhood increased how



Jennifer Heissel

Emma Adam

long it took youth to fall asleep—or sleep latency—by 29 minutes and decreased how long they slept overall by more than an hour. Robbery had no effect on sleep or cortisol levels.

METHODOLOGY

The researchers tracked the sleep and cortisol, a stress hormone, of 82 youth in a large Midwestern city. The 11–18 year olds attended public schools that were racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse. Police reports of all reported violent crimes during the study were matched to the students’ home addresses. The students filled out daily diaries over four days, wore activity-tracking watches that measured sleep, and provided three saliva samples a day for cortisol testing. For each youth, researchers compared the students’ sleep on the nights following a violent crime with their sleep on nights when no violent crimes were committed nearby, and did the same comparison for their cortisol levels the night of the crime and the following day.

POLICY TAKEAWAYS

- The closer teens were to the crime scene (half a mile, or around four blocks, or less), the larger the effect on their sleep, possibly due to increased tension in the household, more communication about the crimes, or even directly overhearing them (gunfire, shouting, or increased police activity, for example). The impact on teens should remind policymakers that violent crime has serious effects beyond the immediate victims.
- Wake times did not vary significantly following a violent crime: Teens might get less sleep overall since school start times do not change. This study provides further evidence for the advantages of later school start times; students would have longer to sleep and to recover following exposure to a violent crime. Alternatively, excused absences could be considered for students exposed to nearby crime.

How Exposure to Crime Affects Sleep and Cortisol

Adolescents went to sleep later on nights when a violent crime was committed nearby, resulting in fewer total hours of sleep. Additionally, their cortisol awakening response (CAR) more than doubles, indicating the biological pathway through which exposure to violence affects stress. Cortisol is a stress hormone.



FACTS AND FIGURES

- The 67 percent of teens in the sample who experienced a nearby violent crime went to bed between 26 and 38 minutes later than usual.
- Following a neighborhood homicide, the youths' bedtime was 1.8 hours later. After a criminal sexual assault in their neighborhood, it took youth 29 minutes longer to fall asleep. In both cases, they slept more than an hour less than usual.
- Their cortisol awakening response (CAR) increased 111 percent the day after exposure to nearby violent crime.

REFERENCE

- Heissel, J. A., P.T. Sharkey, G. Torrats-Espinosa, K. Grant, and E. K. Adam. 2017. Violence and vigilance: The acute effects of community violent crime on sleep and cortisol. *Child Development* doi:10.1111/cdev.12889.

RECENT IPR WORKING PAPERS

CHILD, ADOLESCENT, AND FAMILY STUDIES

Birth Order and Delinquency: Evidence from Denmark and Florida (WP-17-02)

Sanni Breining, Aarhus University; Joseph Doyle, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **David Figlio**, (IPR/Education and Social Policy), Northwestern University; **Krzysztof Karbownik** (IPR), Northwestern University; and Jeffrey Roth, University of Florida

Research has shown birth order has a large influence on educational attainment, yet much less is known about the role of birth order on delinquency outcomes, such as disciplinary problems in school, juvenile delinquency, and adult crime. The researchers use rich datasets from Denmark and Florida to examine these outcomes and explore potential mechanisms, finding that in families with two or more children, second-born boys are 20–40 percent more likely to be disciplined in school and enter the criminal justice system versus first-born boys, even when comparing siblings.

Sibling Spillovers (WP-17-04)

Sandra Black, University of Texas at Austin; Sanni Breining, Aarhus University; Joseph Doyle, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **David Figlio**, (IPR/Education and Social Policy), Northwestern University; **Jonathan Guryan** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; **Krzysztof Karbownik** (IPR), Northwestern University; Helena Skyt Nielsen, Aarhus University; Jeffrey Roth, University of Florida; and Marianne Simonsen, Aarhus University

The researchers compare the school outcomes of first- and second-born siblings who have a younger, disabled sibling to those in families where the third child is not disabled. Their findings suggest that the middle child will experience additional, negative effects from having a younger, disabled sibling—in addition to effects on all the children in a household with three children where the youngest one is disabled.

EDUCATION POLICY

The Effect of Single-Sex Education on Academic Outcomes and Crime: Fresh Evidence from Low-Performing Schools in Trinidad and Tobago (WP-16-23)

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

In 2010, the Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago converted 20 low-performing pilot secondary schools from coed to single-sex. Jackson exploits these conversions to identify the causal effect of single-sex

schooling holding other school inputs (such as teacher quality and leadership quality) constant. After also accounting for student selection, both boys and girls in single-sex cohorts at pilot schools score 0.14 higher in the academic subjects on national exams. There is no robust effect on nonacademic subjects. Additionally, treated students are more likely to earn the secondary-school leaving credential, and the all-male cohorts have fewer arrests. Survey evidence reveals that these single-sex effects reflect both direct gender peer effects due to interactions between classmates, and also indirect effects generated through changes in teacher behavior. Importantly, these benefits are achieved at zero financial cost.

Reducing Inequality Through Dynamic Complementarity: Evidence from Head Start and Public School Spending (WP-17-09)

Rucker C. Johnson, University of California, Berkeley; and **Kirabo Jackson** (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University

The researchers compare the adult outcomes of cohorts who were exposed, at different points in their childhoods and depending on where they grew up, to changes in Head Start spending and changes in public K–12 school spending induced by school finance reforms. For poor children, they find that increases in Head Start spending and increases in public K–12 spending each increased educational attainment and earnings, and reduced the likelihood of both poverty and incarceration in adulthood. Benefits were complementary as well: Benefits of Head Start spending were larger when followed by access to better-funded public K–12 schools, and the increases in K–12 spending were more efficacious for poor children who were exposed to higher levels of Head Start spending during their preschool years.

Unwelcome Guests? The Effects of Refugees on the Educational Outcomes of Incumbent Students (WP-17-12)

David Figlio (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; and Umut Özek, American Institutes for Research

The world is experiencing the second largest refugee crisis in a century, and one of the major points of contention involves the possible adverse effects of incoming refugees on host communities. The researchers examine the effects of a large refugee influx into Florida public schools following the Haitian earthquake of 2010 using unique matched birth and schooling records. They find precise zero estimated effects of refugees on the educational outcomes of incumbent students in the year of the earthquake or in the two years that follow, regardless of the socioeconomic status, grade level, ethnicity, or incumbent students' birthplace.

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

Consistent and Cautious: Congressional Campaigning on the Web in 2016 (WP-17-01)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Martin Kifer, High Point University; and Michael Parkin, Oberlin College

Did the unique nature of the 2016 election cause those involved with the creation and maintenance of congressional campaign websites to alter their approach to online campaigning? Using data from a survey of campaign insiders, the researchers find that the factors that influence how congressional campaigns view and use their websites were largely impervious to the unique electoral environment. Overall, the results suggest that congressional campaigning on the web is primarily driven by stable factors that transcend technological advancements and shifts in the political environment. *This working paper has been published in “The Internet and the 2016 Presidential Campaign” (Lexington Books, 2017).*

The Evolution of Political Behavior Research, 1980–2009 (WP-17-05)

Joshua Robison, Aarhus University; Randy Stevenson, Rice University; **James Druckman** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Simon Jackman, University of Sydney; Jonathan Katz, California Institute of Technology; and Lynn Vavreck, University of California, Los Angeles

What are the most important concepts in political behavior literature? Have experimental data sources supplanted surveys as the dominant method in political behavior research? What role does the American National Election Studies (ANES) continue to play in this literature? The researchers conduct a content analysis of more than 1,100 quantitative articles on American mass political behavior published between 1980 and 2009 to answer these questions. Their analysis provides a novel snapshot of the evolution of the field of political behavior. They conclude that the ANES is a critical investment for the scientific community and a main driver of political behavior research.

How Incivility on Partisan Media (De-)Polarizes the Electorate (WP-17-07)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; **Samuel Gubitz**, (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Matthew Levendusky, University of Pennsylvania; and Ashley Lloyd, Northwestern University

Partisan media—typically characterized by incivility—has become a defining element of the American political communication environment. The researchers outline a theory about why incivility on partisan outlets shapes attitudes, and how those effects depend on both the source and the audience. They test their argument using a population-based survey experiment, finding that incivility depolarizes partisans when it comes from a same-party source, such as MSNBC for Democrats or Fox News for Republicans. When it comes from the other-party source, however, it polarizes.

POVERTY, RACE, AND INEQUALITY

The Causes and Consequences of Increased Female Education and Labor Force Participation in Developing Countries (WP-16-22)

Rachel Heath, University of Washington; and **Seema Jayachandran** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Two important recent trends in developing countries have been the rise in female labor-force participation and the closing of gender gaps in school enrollment. In this study, Jayachandran and Heath explore both the causes of these trends and the effects that they have had on women’s lives. A central theme that emerges is the relationship between the two phenomena: As increases in education have prompted more women to enter the labor force, improved labor-market opportunities have also prompted increases in female education. *This working paper has been published in “The Oxford Handbook of Women and the Economy” (Oxford University Press, 2017).*

Unbiased? Race, Gender, and Sport Effects in University Medical Staff’s Perceptions of Injured Student-Athletes (WP-17-06)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Sophie Trawalter, University of Virginia; and Ivonne Montes, Northwestern University

Previous studies have documented racial and gender disparities in medical care; however, little is known about such disparities in care among college-sports medical staff. The researchers conduct a vignette survey experiment with 717 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I medical staff to explore perceptions of an injured student-athlete. For example, they asked respondents to gauge how likely it is that a student-athlete will follow medical recommendations. The researchers find little evidence of bias. They discuss why this population of medical practitioners might differ from others and offer suggestions for future work.

Racial Bias in Sport Medical Staff’s Perceptions of Others’ Pain (WP-17-08)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; Sophie Trawalter, University of Virginia; and Ivonne Montes and Alexandria Fredenhall, Northwestern University; Noah Kanter, Dartmouth College; and Allison Rubenstein, Northwestern University

In this related working paper (see “Unbiased?” above), Druckman and his colleagues examine how 651 college-sports medical staff perceive student-athletes coping with pain. Using vignettes about a student-athlete with a knee injury, the researchers find that a majority of the respondents view African Americans as having a greater tolerance for pain than white athletes—but only when the African Americans come from less privileged social backgrounds. The researchers offer this finding as a “starting place for thinking about interventions ... grounded in recognizing that hardship does not make one impervious to physical pain.” *This working paper has been published in The Journal of Social Psychology.*

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IPR Working Papers (Continued from page 23)

Political Protesting, Race, and College Athletics: Why Diversity Among Coaches Matters (WP-17-11)

James Druckman, Adam Howat, and Jacob Rothschild (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

How do coaches view student-athlete protests? The researchers surveyed 873 Division I and Division III coaches at NCAA schools. They find that African American coaches exhibit greater support for protests and are more likely to believe protests reflect concern about the issues, rather than attention-seeking behavior. The researchers note that greater diversity among coaches would lead to more varied opinions about the politicization of student-athletes.

Gender Policy Feedback: Perceptions of Sex Equity, Title IX, and Political Mobilization Among College Athletes (WP-17-13)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; **Jacob Rothschild** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; and **Elizabeth Sharrow**, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

The researchers study college student-athletes' reactions to one of the most celebrated anti-discriminatory gender policies in U.S. history: Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Using a novel survey, they show that one of the policy's core constituencies perceives substantial sex-based discrimination. This finding stands in stark contrast to the popular narrative of policy success over the four decades since the policy's initial implementation. Moreover, these perceptions are particularly salient for women and those who see persistent gender discrimination in society. *This working paper has been published in Political Research Quarterly.*

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS

The Economic Consequences of Hospital Admissions (WP-16-24)

Carlos Dobkin, University of California, Santa Cruz; **Amy Finkelstein** and **Raymond Kleunder**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

The researchers examine some economic impacts of hospital admissions using an event study approach in two datasets: survey data from the Health and Retirement Study, and hospital admissions data linked to consumer credit reports. They report estimates of the impact of hospital admissions on out-of-pocket medical spending, unpaid medical bills, bankruptcy, earnings, income (and its components), access to credit, and consumer borrowing. The results point to three primary conclusions: non-elderly adults with health insurance still face considerable exposure to uninsured earnings risk; a large share of the incremental risk exposure for uninsured non-elderly adults is borne by third parties who absorb their unpaid medical bills; and the elderly face very little economic risk from adverse health shocks. *This working paper has been published in the American Economic Review.*

Cash for Carbon: A Randomized Controlled Trial of Payments for Ecosystem Services to Reduce Deforestation (WP-16-25)

Seema Jayachandran (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; **Joost de Laat**, Porticus Foundation; **Eric Lambin**, Stanford University; and **Charlotte Stanton**, Carnegie Institution for Science

This paper evaluates a Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES) program in western Uganda that offered forest-owning households cash payments if they conserved their forest. The program was implemented as a randomized trial in 121 villages, 60 of which got the program for two years. The PES program reduced deforestation and forest degradation: Tree cover, measured using high-resolution satellite imagery, fell by 2-5 percent in treatment villages compared with 7-10 percent in control villages during the study period. The researchers find no evidence of shifting of tree-cutting to nearby land. They then use the estimated effect size and the "social cost of carbon" to value the delayed carbon dioxide emissions, and compare this benefit to the program's cost. *This working paper has been published in Science.*

University Innovation and the Professor's Privilege (WP-17-03)

Hans Hvide, University of Bergen; and **Benjamin Jones**, (Strategy/IPR), Northwestern University

National policies take varied approaches to encouraging university-based innovation. This paper studies a natural experiment—the end of the "professor's privilege" in 2003 in Norway, where university researchers previously enjoyed full rights to their innovations. The reform led Norway to adopt a typical U.S. model, where the university holds majority rights. Using comprehensive data on Norwegian workers, firms, and patents, the researchers detect a 50 percent decline in both entrepreneurship and patenting rates by university researchers following the reform. They also find a decline in quality for university start-ups and patents. *This working paper is forthcoming in the American Economic Review.*

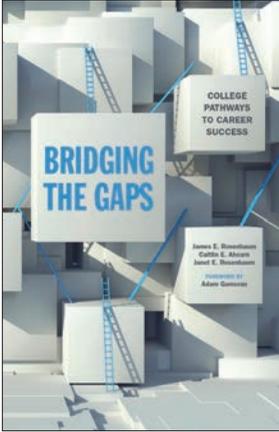
Survey Measurement of Probabilistic Macroeconomic Expectations: Progress and Promise (WP-17-10)

Charles F. Manski (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Manski describes research on three subjects that should be of direct concern to macroeconomists: expectations for equity returns, inflation expectations, and professional macroeconomic forecasters. He also describes work that questions the assumption that persons have well-defined probabilistic expectations and communicate them accurately in surveys. Last, Manski considers the evolution of thinking about forming expectations in macroeconomic policy analysis. To make progress, he urges measurement and analysis of the revisions to expectations that policymakers and others make following occurrence of unanticipated shocks. *This working paper is forthcoming in NBER Macroeconomics Annual.*

RECENT FACULTY BOOKS

Bridging the Gaps: College Pathways to Career Success



Responding to the increased labor-market demand for education, society has been pushing the idea of “college for all,” encouraging all young adults to attain a bachelor’s degree. National and state policies have also promoted increased college enrollment, with financial support from scholarships, grants, and loans.

These efforts are working: Most high school students want to attend college, and 90 percent of those who graduate on time enroll in higher education within eight years.

“That’s a really big accomplishment,” said IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum**. “But of course, it’s not the whole story.”

Colleges have traditionally been targeted to high-income and high-achieving students, but now, nontraditional students enroll at increasingly higher rates. So what can colleges do to help these students succeed?

More education options are one answer, Rosenbaum and his colleagues explain in *Bridging the Gaps: College Pathways to Career Success* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2017). Certificates and associate degrees have become strong alternatives to bachelor’s degrees with significant earnings payoffs over high school diplomas.

“Eighty-four percent of high school seniors are planning to get a BA. That’s not going to happen,” Rosenbaum said. “But they don’t know anything else. We haven’t told them about the value of alternatives.”

Using multiple longitudinal studies, the authors find that associate degrees and college certificates, such as those for computer technicians or paralegals, lead to higher employment rates and higher earnings

than high school diplomas, as well as more career opportunities and better job satisfaction. They can also be completed in less time than bachelor’s degrees, making them affordable options for low-income students who fear massive student loans.

However, nearly half of students drop out of community college before earning a degree. Some institutional barriers can prevent students from completing their degrees, Rosenbaum and his colleagues argue. For example, many students end up taking courses that do not count towards their degree—a particular problem for first-generation students, who cannot rely on their parents to answer their questions.

The authors recommend that community colleges create structured pathways to help students navigate their way toward a degree. Harper College in Palatine, Illinois, and Guttman College in New York are two that are taking their advice, Rosenbaum says.

Both provide detailed career information during classes and offer intensive advising systems, helping address students’ difficulties before they fail a class and end up dropping out. They are also working to ensure classes have dependable time slots every term, so students do not run into problems with changing work or childcare schedules.

In addition, Rosenbaum noted community colleges need better linkages with both high schools and four-year colleges. Harper, for example, is working with area high schools to prepare students for a college curriculum, and it is helping to ensure that students receive credit for Harper classes at four-year institutions.

Bridging all these gaps could help boost college completion and break the cycle of poverty, according to Rosenbaum.

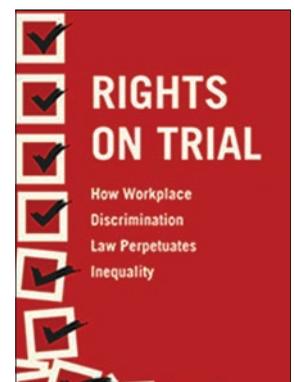
“The programs I’m talking about are really addressing the issue of how we can help low-income young people get skills that are valued, in high demand, and in vital positions in our society,” he said.

James Rosenbaum is professor of education and social policy, and of sociology. He is an IPR fellow and chair of IPR’s research program on Race, Poverty, and Inequality.

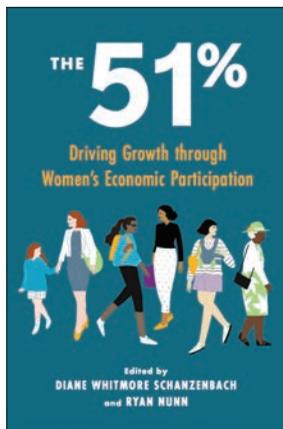
Rights on Trial: How Workplace Discrimination Law Perpetuates Inequality

By Ellen Berry, Robert Nelson, and Laura Beth Nielsen, University of Chicago Press, 2017, 320 pp.

On the surface, America’s commitment to equal opportunity in the workplace has never been clearer. Virtually every company has anti-discrimination policies in place, and there are laws designed to protect these rights across a range of marginalized groups. But, as sociologist and IPR associate **Robert Nelson** and his co-authors show, this progressive vision of the law falls far short in practice. Based on interviews with plaintiffs, attorneys, and representatives of defendants and an original national dataset on case outcomes, *Rights on Trial* reveals the fundamental flaws of workplace discrimination law and offers practical recommendations for how we might better respond to persistent patterns of discrimination.



The 51 Percent: Driving Growth Through Women's Economic Participation



Over the course of the 20th century, more American women have received college degrees and worked than ever before, adding an estimated \$2 trillion to the U.S. economy. Still, the U.S. economy has room to grow and will only reach its full potential if women are able to fully participate in the labor market, according to a recent book co-edited by economist and IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**. In *The 51 Percent: Driving Growth Through Women's Economic Participation* (Hamilton Project, 2017), the researchers

propose evidence-based public policy reforms aimed at addressing the structural problems in the economy that are holding women back.

Unlike in other developed countries, the U.S. economy has seen a drop in women's labor-force participation since 2000. Large gaps remain between men and women in the jobs they hold, the wages they earn, and their overall economic security.

Schanzenbach and two colleagues contributed the first chapter that traces women's participation in the U.S. labor force since the middle of the 20th century. They demonstrate that the number of women working

jumped dramatically between 1962 and 2000, but that since then the growth in women's labor-force involvement has stagnated and reversed.

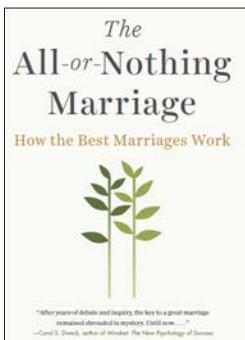
Countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have not experienced a similar decline in the numbers of women who work. Schanzenbach and her co-authors—Sandra Black of the University of Texas at Austin and Audrey Breitwieser of The Hamilton Project—suggest that U.S. policies and labor-market institutions have played a role.

These policies include rigid rules at many workplaces and the failure to adopt a national maternity leave model, which are at least partially responsible for the decline in women's labor participation and the continuing gaps in jobs, wages, and economic security between men and women in the workplace, according to the book's other policy papers.

The heart of the book consists of policy proposals “to support women from career through retirement” and “to address the needs of caregiving women.” These include expanding access to paid sick leave, parental leave, and childcare, and promoting fair scheduling and pay transparency.

“Evidence-based policies aimed at enhancing women's economic outcomes would provide a boost to the economy through increased productivity, labor force participation, and demand for goods and services,” Schanzenbach said.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is IPR director and the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor. She directed The Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution from 2015–17.



The All-or-Nothing Marriage: How the Best Marriages Work

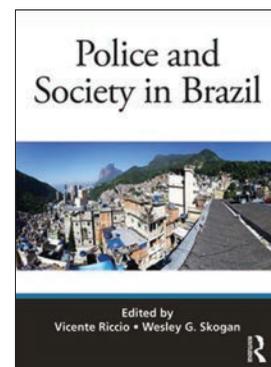
By Eli Finkel, Dutton, 2017, 352 pp.

The institution of marriage in America is struggling. But, as social psychologist and IPR associate **Eli Finkel's** most recent research reveals, the best marriages today are better than the best marriages of earlier eras. Indeed, they are the best marriages the world has ever known. Finkel provides a sweeping historic overview, showing that the primary functions of marriage from 1620–1850 revolved around food, shelter, and protection from violence. From 1850–1965, the primary functions increasingly revolved around love, companionship, and sexual fulfillment. Nowadays, a new kind of marriage has emerged, one that can promote self-discovery, self-esteem, and personal growth like never before.

Police and Society in Brazil

Vicente Riccio and Wesley G. Skogan, eds., Routledge, 2017, 206 pp.

In Brazil, where crime is closely associated with social inequality and failure of the criminal justice system, the police are considered by most to be corrupt, inefficient, and violent, especially when occupying poor areas, and they lack the widespread legitimacy enjoyed by police forces in many nations in the northern hemisphere. This book, co-edited by IPR fellow emeritus **Wesley Skogan**, a political scientist, covers hot-button issues like urban pacification squads, gangs, and drugs, as well as practical topics such as policy, dual civil and military models, and gender relations.



Galvin Honored With Russell Sage Award

Political scientist to study politics of workers' rights

S. Schumacher



Daniel Galvin

IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** recently received a Presidential Authority Award from the Russell Sage Foundation to study the evolution of labor politics and workers' rights since the 1960s (see pp. 18–19).

With the award, which is also supported by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, he will examine how the politics of workers' rights has changed even as national labor laws have remained essentially unchanged for the past 80 years.

"I'm looking at how New Deal-era labor laws—which are still on the books, despite becoming increasingly antiquated and even counter-productive in many ways—have shaped and channeled the efforts of workers and their advocates to assert their rights, organize collectively, and redress the widening power asymmetry in the workplace," Galvin explained.

He contends that a new politics of workers' rights has emerged that uses new channels for collective action, self-organization, and political activism. He will use data on state-level employment law, labor organizations, and interviews with workers' advocates to assess three major developments: the gradual shift in workplace governance from national to state-level employment law; the expansion and adaptation of labor unions' political and organizational repertoires; and the growth of "alt-labor" organizations.

Daniel Galvin is associate professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

Adam Receives Spencer Award

Psychobiologist to examine race-based stress, achievement gaps

IPR developmental psychologist **Emma Adam** received a \$1 million, five-year Lyle Spencer Research Award to study the relationship between race-based stress and achievement gaps.

Adam will use the Spencer Foundation's largest award to build on her prior work, which revealed racial differences in stress and the impact of perceived discrimination on stress hormones, sleep, and health.

"Race-based stress, including discrimination, is associated with dysregulated stress biology and sleep, which can contribute to problems with cognition and health," said Adam, professor of human development and social policy in Northwestern's School of Education and Social Policy. "We're looking for ways we can reduce those negative impacts, by promoting race-based strengths including greater knowledge of and positive views about one's racial and ethnic identity."

Adam and her team will measure and test how racial and ethnic stressors affect the stress hormone cortisol, sleep hours, sleep quality, cognition, and academic outcomes in a group of 300 students from a large, racially, and



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Emma Adam

ethnically diverse Midwestern high school, following students for at least four years.

They will also look for ways to improve regulation of stress biology and related academic outcomes. One group of students will be randomly assigned to an eight-week program that promotes developing a positive self-image related to culture, heritage, and race. Another group will receive eight weekly sessions on college and career planning. The researchers will study the impact of the programs on the body's response to stress, sleep patterns, emotional well-being, and academic outcomes.

Emma Adam is professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

Rogers Named Emerging Scholar Honored for 'dynamic impact' on higher education

IPR developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers** has been named an emerging scholar by *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, recognizing her "dynamic impact on the future of higher education."

Rogers' work has focused on the intersection of psychology, human development, and education. Her research emphasizes identity development among racially diverse children and adolescents in urban settings and seeks to explore how social groups and the accompanying stereotypes impact how we see ourselves and others.

One of her current projects examines the social and academic experiences of African American adolescents at an all-girls' high school. It seeks to discover how cultural stereotypes and messages, as well as school and community context, influence how the girls see themselves, their relationships, and their futures.

Onnie Rogers is assistant professor of psychology and an IPR fellow.



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Onnie Rogers

Recent Faculty Recognition

Awards and Honors

Oncofertility specialist and IPR associate **Teresa Woodruff**, who is also dean of The Graduate School and associate provost for graduate education, was named a 2018 fellow of the American Academy of Inventors.



Teresa Woodruff

T. Maday

Northwestern President, professor, and IPR economist **Morton Schapiro** received a Community Service Award on November 18 from the Evanston North Shore Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In November, health disparities scholar and IPR associate **Melissa Simon** received the Marion Spencer Fay Award in recognition of her contributions to women's health, health equity, and national health policy.

IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** was named the Heidi Fritz-Neggli Visiting Professor at the University of Zurich in September.

Developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Terri Sabol** was named an early career fellow by the American Educational Research Association and the Society for Research in Child Development in August.

In August, developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Claudia Haase** was awarded the 2017 NARSAD Young Investigator Grant from the Behavior and Brain Research Foundation. She will examine how caregivers for youth at ultra-high risk for psychosis are themselves at risk for mental health problems.

Grants

IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** received a grant from the Administration for Children and Families to continue her work on two-generation programs to educate both parents and their children.

IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** will use funding from the Institute of Education Sciences to further develop effect size estimators for single-case designs.

IPR labor and education economist **Kirabo Jackson** received funding from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to examine how schools and teachers influence socioemotional learning.

With support from the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** will investigate socioeconomic disparities in perinatal risk.

Under a Department of Labor grant, IPR sociologist **Beth Redbird** is exploring the relationship between reservation labor markets and the well-being of Native Americans.

IPR developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers** received a grant from the Spencer Foundation to study identity and resistance to stereotypes among young African American girls.

With support from the William T. Grant Foundation and the Smith Richardson Foundation, IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** is continuing his work on alternative college options.

Under a National Science Foundation grant, IPR sociologist and legal studies scholar **Heather Schoenfeld** is examining state variation in mass incarceration reforms.

IPR anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman** received support from the William T. Grant Foundation to explore inequalities in mental health services among Mexican-American youth.

Notable Media Coverage

The Cleveland Plain Dealer discussed IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin's** finding that stronger penalties can serve as an effective deterrent against wage theft, April 15.

Newsweek and others highlighted IPR associate and sleep researcher **Kristen Knutson's** finding that "night owls" have a higher risk of death than those who go to sleep earlier, April 12.

The Washington Post reported that romantic relationships can be an important source of support for LGBT youth, lessening the effects of bullying on their mental health, according to IPR associate **Brian Mustanski**, April 9.

The Associated Press and others featured a study by IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** and his colleagues, revealing that bankruptcies after hospitalization might not be as common as previously thought, March 21.

IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** told the Washington Post that lower-income children face persistent and structural obstacles—the kind where "pull yourself up by the bootstraps" approaches do not work, March 2.

IPR sociologist **Andrew Papachristos** told the New York Times that it is impossible to know how guns move through the U.S. population due to a lack of data, March 2.

CNN and others featured research from Northwestern PhD candidate **David Miller** and IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly**, which shows children today are more likely to draw a woman when asked to draw a scientist, March 16–20.

In a Chronicle of Higher Education op-ed, **Morton Schapiro**, Northwestern president, professor, and IPR economist, and his co-author call on colleges and universities to do more to provide students cross-disciplinary education and skills, March 4.

The Huffington Post discussed IPR health psychologist **Edith Chen's** finding that highly empathetic parents with depressed children showed evidence of chronic inflammation, rendering the parents vulnerable to chronic diseases in the long run, February 9.

Education Week noted that by locating classrooms of master teachers next to those of new ones, schools can increase their collaboration, said education researcher and IPR associate **James Spillane**, January 9.

The Economist noted that partisanship wins out when people form political opinions, as shown in a survey experiment by IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, January 3.

IPR Fellows Take on New Roles at University

Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Lindsay Chase-Lansdale to further research and leadership

Two IPR fellows have recently started new roles at the University: **Celeste Watkins-Hayes**, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher, has been named an associate vice president for research, and IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** became Northwestern's vice provost for academics.

"It is a thrill and an honor for me to join the Office for Research as an associate vice president. Northwestern's research enterprise has seen remarkable growth, and many exciting possibilities for additional important discoveries await us," Watkins-Hayes said. "I look forward to supporting my faculty colleagues in their research endeavors, working with the Office for Research team under the excellent leadership of Jay Walsh, and helping to expand Northwestern's research footprint given the University's diverse strengths and high-impact scholarship."

After earning her PhD in sociology from Harvard in 2003, Watkins-Hayes joined Northwestern as an assistant professor and is currently a professor. In addition to serving as an IPR fellow and executive committee member, she served as chair of the department of African American Studies from 2011–13. She earned a BA from Spelman College and is on its board of trustees. The Detroit Institute of Arts also recently appointed her to its board of directors.



Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

"In joining the Office for Research, Celeste will bring insights and perspective that help us further the University's mission of creating new knowledge with positive social impact," said **Jay Walsh**, vice president for research, announcing the appointment on November 13. "I look forward to collaborating with her as part of our senior leadership team as we support Northwestern's faculty and their widespread research."

Watkins-Hayes has published numerous articles about urban poverty; social policy; HIV/AIDS; nonprofit and government organizations; and race, class, and gender. Her book, *The New Welfare Bureaucrats: Entanglements of Race, Class, and Policy Reform* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), is an examination of how welfare officers navigate the increasingly tangled political and emotional terrain of their jobs. The book was a finalist for the 2009 C. Wright Mills Book Award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the 2011 Max Weber Book Award from the American Sociological Association. Her next book, *Remaking a Life: How Women Living with HIV/AIDS Confront Inequality*, will be published in 2019 by the University of California Press.

Provost **Jonathan Holloway** announced Chase-Lansdale's new appointment as part of the restructuring of his office on November 20. Two new high-level positions will report directly to him—Chase-Lansdale's and the vice provost for administration, to which he named Jake Julia, previously associate provost for academic initiatives.

In her new role as vice provost for academics, Chase-Lansdale will work with and counsel two new members who will join the Provost's Office by fall—the associate provosts for faculty and for undergraduate education—as well as the newly appointed associate provost for strategy and policy, **Andrea Bueschel**, and the associate provost for graduate education, **Teresa Woodruff**, who is also dean of The Graduate School. The overarching goal of the academic team is to work with the provost to promote even greater faculty excellence



Celeste Watkins-Hayes

Courtesy of C. Watkins-Hayes

and to strengthen the student experience at Northwestern, Chase-Lansdale said. She will also collaborate with Holloway on academic strategies and initiatives.

Chase-Lansdale is the Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy in the School of Education and Social Policy and was the founding director of IPR's Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health from 2004–11. A specialist in multidisciplinary research on social issues and how they affect families and child and youth development, she is internationally recognized for her research and its applications and is a national expert on the interface between research and public policy.

Among her many accomplishments and honors, Chase-Lansdale is an elected member of the National Academy of Education and a fellow in the American Psychological Association, as well as the Association for Psychological Science. She is also a member of Harvard University's Board of Overseers.

See ipr.northwestern.edu/faculty-experts for more information on IPR fellows Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, vice provost for academics, and Celeste Watkins-Hayes, associate vice president for research.

Northwestern Honors IPR Health Psychologists

Chen and Miller receive endowed chairs, trace their careers at ceremony

Internationally renowned IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller**, partners in both research and life, traced the influences on their respective and overlapping career paths at the investiture ceremony for their endowed chairs on November 28 at Northwestern University.

These chairs “are how we recognize our most distinguished faculty,” said **Adrian Randolph**, dean of the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, in welcoming the nearly 100 Northwestern faculty, staff, students, and family members in attendance.

Chen received the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Chair, and Miller, the Louis W. Menk Chair, both of which are in Weinberg College’s Department of Psychology.

As they each sketched the trajectory of their interdisciplinary careers, both recalled experiencing a career epiphany their junior year of college.

At Harvard, Chen took her first psychology class with Richard McNally, a specialist in anxiety disorders, and got “hooked.”

“I had no idea that the study of people could actually be a science,” she said.

At the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1991, Miller was reeling from the

violence that had erupted in Los Angeles following the Rodney King beating. Sitting in psychology class in the days following the aftermath, he recalled the professor, Hector Myers, ripping up the syllabus, exclaiming that they would use community psychology to understand what had happened. After that semester, Miller was also “hooked.”

“I wanted to address real-world problems by pulling together different social science disciplines and bridge the gap between those disciplines to make a difference,” Miller said.

They both enrolled at UCLA for their doctoral programs in psychology, where they met on their very first day—and their lives have been entwined ever since.

Following a “fabulous” four years at UCLA, the couple, just married, moved to Pittsburgh in 1998 for their postdoctoral fellowships. Chen was studying how the socioeconomic (SES) gradient affects health under Karen Matthews, a “giant” of health psychology, at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine. Miller was working with one of his “research heroes,” Sheldon Cohen at Carnegie Mellon University, on examining how chronic stressors lead to long-term health problems. They then spent three years at Washington University in St. Louis as assistant professors, before moving to the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver in 2003.

It was at UBC that the two produced one of their most important collaborations, their “amazing son,” Jonah. His birth also led to their research partnership because, as Chen said, once they realized they could work well together as parents, why not as researchers?

And so, the two started to map out connections from the social context of neighborhoods to interpersonal dynamics to individual immune cells and eventually gene function. Their work on the “psychobiology of socioeconomic status” continues and crisscrosses disparate disciplines such as psychology, immunology, public health, and medicine.

After nine years in Canada, “we made the best professional decision of our lives,” Chen said. They moved to Northwestern, attracted by its “true commitment to interdisciplinarity,” and “finally found a home for the quirky research that we do that doesn’t fit into any traditional psychology circles.”

They also pointed to IPR’s leading role in bringing them here through the persistent efforts of its faculty in Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health. Once here, they found “a group of deeply curious and thoughtful scholars who have the utmost respect for disciplines outside of their own, which leads to so many energizing and thought-provoking conversations,” Chen said.

At each step along the way to becoming the highly-cited, interdisciplinary researchers they are today, they found many who inspired, guided, and mentored them. As Miller noted, “I apologize if this starts to sound like an Academy Awards thank-you list, but there have been so many who have made such a difference in our lives.”

Chen and Miller also thanked the administration at Northwestern for supporting interdisciplinary research and collaboration from the top down, the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, and its Department of Psychology. They also recognized all of “the dedicated and committed staff and students who bring positive energy to our research and our lab,” Miller said. “We could not do half the work we do without them.”

“Who would have thought 25 years ago that we would be up here together celebrating our work with so many good friends, collaborators, and family?” Miller said.

Edith Chen holds the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Chair in Psychology. Greg Miller holds the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology. They are both IPR fellows and co-direct the Foundations of Health Research Center at Northwestern University.



G. Lemieux

Greg Miller and Edith Chen

In Memoriam

Cynthia (CC) DuBois, 1985–2018

Cynthia (CC) DuBois (SESP PhD 17), an emerging, award-winning scholar and former IPR graduate research assistant, died as a result of brain cancer on Jan. 2 in Chicago. She was 32.

IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor, one of her longtime mentors and a co-author, called her “one of the most promising young scholars” she has ever known.

“She possessed a high level of raw intellectual power, and coupled it with dogged perseverance and unusual creativity,” Schanzenbach said.

DuBois began her doctoral studies at Northwestern in 2012 after working as a research associate for the American Institutes for Research and interning with state and federal government entities, such as the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. International Trade Commission, among others.

As part of her dissertation, she studied the effects of “hard” and “soft” affirmative action policies on hiring from the football field to the classroom as she strove to address timely and relevant issues in labor economics.

Her research on hiring patterns in the National Football League (NFL) found that the general trend toward hiring more minority coaches can be traced to the Rooney Rule, or the 2003 policy that requires NFL teams to interview at least one minority candidate for any head coaching vacancy.

She and Schanzenbach recently argued in a Brookings Institution post based on their NBER working paper that school districts should explore these “soft” affirmative action policies—which are designed to change the composition of the candidate pool, rather than mandate hiring criteria—and other hiring reforms to help diversify the teaching profession.



Cynthia (CC) DuBois

Courtesy of the School of Education and Social Policy

DuBois received a master’s in public policy, with honors, from the University of Chicago in 2010. At Northwestern, DuBois was the first SESP doctoral student to receive a Presidential Fellowship, the University’s most prestigious graduate student award.

DuBois is survived by her partner, John Boller; her father, Bruce DuBois; and her sister, Shelley. Her mother, Alice, preceded her in death in 2015.

Infographic: Persistence of Racial Discrimination (See infographic on page 32)

In a Northwestern University meta-analysis, the largest and most comprehensive of its kind, researchers aiming to assess trends in hiring discrimination in America against African Americans and Latinos found no change in rates of discrimination against African Americans in field experiments of hiring from 1990–2015.

“It is often suggested that prejudice and discrimination are fading out over time through a gradual process of liberalization of attitudes,” said IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian**, senior author of the study and professor of sociology in the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences at Northwestern. “But we found striking stability in discrimination against African Americans.”

The researchers found some evidence that discrimination declined during this period for Latinos, although the small number of field experiments including Latinos means the trend results are not highly certain.

Quillian said the analysis was important to understanding the sources of racial inequality, especially in employment, and to generally understand the changing status of race in American society. They realized that this could be investigated by putting together data from field experiments of hiring discrimination, which provides a much more valid method to assess discrimination than the much more indirect methods that others have used.

Quillian said it was striking and depressing to find a lack of change in rates of hiring discrimination over a 25-year period.

“During this time, the country saw some favorable racial trends, like declining black-white test score gaps, slow declines in racial residential segregation and the election of the country’s first black president,” Quillian said. “But whites received on average 36 percent more callbacks to interview than African Americans with equal job qualifications, and we

found no evidence that this level of discrimination had changed.”

Quillian said the support for the principle of equal treatment regardless of race has increased, and explicit prejudice has declined, but other measures of more subtle racial biases had not shown similar change.

“Our results are consistent with the idea that the subtler racial biases are important for hiring discrimination,” Quillian said. “The results suggest we need to realize direct discrimination on the basis of race in hiring still exists and is something that the country needs to confront.”

Lincoln Quillian is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.



Lincoln Quillian

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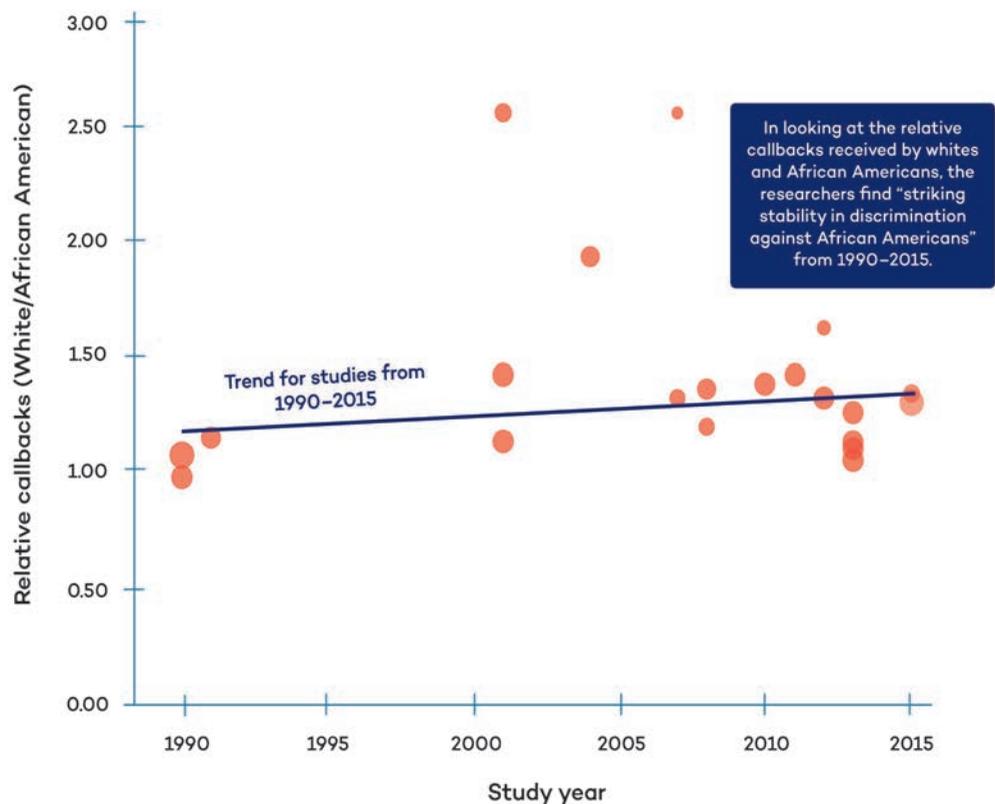
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Persistence of Racial Discrimination in U.S. Hiring

Trends in hiring discrimination against African Americans over time



Guillian, L., D. Pager, O. Hexel, A. Midtbøen. 2017. The persistence of racial discrimination in hiring: A meta-analysis of field experiments in hiring over time. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114(41): 10870-75.

(Read more about the infographic on page 31.)