



Northwestern University

news

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY RESEARCH

INTERDISCIPLINARY • NONPARTISAN • POLICY RELEVANT

The State of Healthcare

Former Bush adviser discusses research, policy

At a time when healthcare has been high on the public's radar, more than 90 people turned out to hear Harvard's **Katherine Baicker**, a former economic adviser to President George W. Bush, discuss the topic as IPR's Fall 2013 Distinguished Public Policy Lecturer.



Katherine Baicker tells David Figlio what her study might indicate about the ACA.

The Oregon Experiment

Event moderator and IPR Director **David Figlio** began by asking Baicker about the "whiplash" that he experienced when listening to media coverage about the first findings from Oregon's Medicaid experiment, the evaluation of which Baicker co-led, and what these results might indicate for the Affordable Care Act (ACA).

The Oregon Health Insurance Experiment is the first randomized controlled evaluation of Medicaid in the United States. Baicker and her colleagues got in at the ground level to design the study

(Continued on page 19)

Inside this Issue

- Faculty News, Honors, Grants, Media ... 2-3
- Pre-K Ratings • Tenure, Teachers, Students ... 4
- Breast-Fed Benefits • Politicizing Science ... 5
- Faculty Spotlight: Adam, Jackson, Galvin ... 6-8
- War on Hunger • New Health Center ... 10-11
- Recent Books • Working Papers ... 12-15
- Summer Undergraduate Researchers ... 20
- A "Know" Vote • Neighborhood Effects ... 21, 24

Matching Administrative Data to Inform Policy

New network sets goals, begins to build community



From left: UW-Madison's Katherine Magnuson, Harvard's Raj Chetty, IPR's Quincy Stewart, and the University of Chicago's Jens Ludwig discuss the long-term impacts of teachers.

The federal government has spent more than half a billion dollars so far on building longitudinal, state-level data sets around the nation. While viewed as a national priority, states' data collection efforts are still in their infancy, with little in the way of best practices or minimum guidelines to optimize data collection or use.

In October, more than 50 academics, policymakers, and practitioners gathered at Northwestern for an inaugural meeting to establish an interdisciplinary network, with support from the National Science Foundation, and connect these three groups around building state-level matched data sets.

(Continued on page 16)

Hometown Solutions for National Issues



E. Semark

Evanston Township High School

IPR faculty lead and conduct policy-relevant research in sites throughout the United States and abroad, but they also work on innovative projects that test and evaluate important social policies for their home community of Evanston, Illinois.

(Continued on page 18)

A CAREER-Enhancing Award for IPR Economist

Lori Beaman, an IPR developmental economist, received a National Science Foundation Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) Award in March. The highly competitive award program recognizes promising young scholars with a demonstrated talent for integrating their research with educational activities.



P. Reese

Lori Beaman

Beaman joined IPR and Northwestern in 2009 following her postdoctoral

(Continued on page 9)

Faculty Recognition

M. Hanlon



Emma Adam

Emma Adam, a developmental psychologist, received the Curt Richter Award in August from the International Society of Psychoneuroendocrinology for her contributions to the field and work on stress biology and health (see p. 6).

Political scientist and IPR Associate Director **James Druckman** received three 2013 American Political Science Association (APSA) awards in August for two papers: “When and How Partisan Identification Works,” co-authored by former IPR graduate research assistant Toby Bolsen, now at Georgia State University, and social policy researcher **Fay Lomax Cook**, won the Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award. “How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation,” co-authored by former IPR undergraduate research assistant Erik Peterson and Rune Slothuus of Aarhus University in Denmark, won best paper awards from APSA’s political communication and political psychology sections.

Education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio** was appointed to the Institute of Medicine’s Committee on the Science of Children Birth to Age 8: Deepening and Broadening the Foundation for Success in October.

Sociologist **Jeremy Freese** was named as the Ethel and John Lindgren Professor by Northwestern University’s Board of Trustees in September.

Political scientist **Daniel Galvin** was named an AT&T Research Fellow for 2013–15 in September.

Sociologists **Monica Prasad** and **Lincoln Quillian** each won three 2013 American Sociological Association (ASA) awards. For her 2012 book *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty* (Harvard University Press), Prasad received the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award from the political sociology section, plus awards from the comparative and historical sociology section and the economic sociology section. Quillian’s paper

Chase-Lansdale Appointed Associate Provost for Faculty



Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, a developmental psychologist, became Northwestern’s Associate Provost for Faculty in September. To recognize her outstanding teaching and scholarship, she was also appointed the Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy. She specializes in multidisciplinary research on issues affecting families and the development of children and youth—especially those who are economically disadvantaged.

Hedges named 2013–14 Statistician of the Year



Chicago ASA President Mary Kwasny and Larry Hedges

Larry Hedges was named Statistician of the Year for 2013–14 by the Chicago chapter of the American Statistical Association. The October 24 award ceremony featured a talk by Hedges, an education researcher and statistician, on the consequences of big data

for science, society, and the statistical profession. Some notable past winners of the award include William Cochran, Bradley Efron, James Heckman, and Donald Rubin. Nominees are selected by a special committee chaired by the past president of the chapter and voted on by past awardees. Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education & Social Policy.

“Segregation and Poverty Concentration: The Role of Three Segregations,” published in the *American Sociological Review*, won the Award for Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship in Population, as well as outstanding article awards from the mathematical sociology section and the inequality, poverty, and mobility section of the ASA.

In November, **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, an economist, was awarded the 2013 Vernon Memorial Award by the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, for co-authoring the best research article published in the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*.

Sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** was named the inaugural recipient of the Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson Early Career Scholar Award by the Association of Black Sociologists in August.

Recent Grants

Developmental economist **Lori Beaman** received a CAREER Award from the National Science Foundation in March, which will allow her to continue her research on social networks, labor markets, and the adoption of agricultural technology in developing countries (see p. 1).

A grant from Ascend at the Aspen Institute will support an innovative two-generation education initiative for low-income parents and their children, as well as an accompanying research study of the program led by **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** (see p. 18). She also received a grant from the Administration for Children and Families in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, in collaboration with the Community

(Continued on page 3)

IPR Welcomes Esteemed Cognitive Psychologist

Waxman studies language formation and cognitive development

IPR welcomed cognitive psychologist **Sandra Waxman**, who holds the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology, as a faculty fellow this fall. An expert on the interface between early language and cognition, Waxman focuses on how language and cognition “come together” in the mind. She examines the origin and unfolding of these links—across development, across cultures, and across languages. Her work showcases the powerful relation between our innate endowments and the shaping role of experience. According to Waxman, “Nature and nurture are not opposing forces, but are instead twin engines of development, working together intricately and naturally.”

Waxman is the principal investigator of research examining the relationship between language and concepts in the first years of life. This work, conducted in the United States and abroad, considers acquisition in several different languages. One recent study focused on word learning in infants acquiring either English, Mandarin, or Korean.

“We know that even before infants begin to say words, they begin to understand them,” Waxman said. “What this new research tells us is that the information that infants need to ‘get’ that understanding varies, depending upon the native language they are learning. This piece of the language acquisition process is not universal. Rather, it is ‘language-specific.’ ”

In another complementary line of work, Waxman examines how children’s notions of the natural world unfold in diverse cultural and linguistic communities. Together with colleagues, she is co-principal investigator of *Living in Relations*, a project that aims to identify the contribution of culture in the development of scientific knowledge and reasoning in both Native American and non-Native American communities.



Sandra Waxman

Waxman directs Northwestern University’s Project on Child Development, a research center in Evanston welcoming infants, children, and their families who take part in projects examining different aspects of language acquisition. She is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Psychological Association, and the Association for Psychological Science. Waxman received her PhD from the University of Pennsylvania and taught at Harvard University before joining Northwestern in 1992.

Recent Grants *(Continued from page 2)*

Action Project of Tulsa to investigate the impact of a dual-generation education project involving Head Start.

The Institute of Education Sciences awarded **David Figlio** a grant to continue his project with the National Center for the Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Education Research (CALDER) on state and local education systems.

Political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** is pursuing research on the role of gender in legislative compromise thanks to a grant from the Everett McKinley Dirksen Endowment Fund.

The Institute of Education Sciences is providing funding for an annual summer training institute, led by **Larry Hedges**, on randomized controlled trials in education research.

Labor economist **Kirabo Jackson** received three new grants. The Carnegie Corporation of New York and the S. D. Betchel, Jr. Foundation will support the project Learning Infrastructure for 100K in 10 that seeks to improve U.S. STEM education, and the Spencer Foundation will provide funding for an experiment in Trinidad and Tobago investigating the impact of single-sex education (see p. 7).

The National Science Foundation awarded a grant to biological anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** for ongoing research on male reproductive ecology and responses to changing social roles, along with their impact on offspring and relationship quality.

Sociologist **Leslie McCall** and social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** have begun studying public views of inequality, opportunity, and redistribution by using experiments and examining media coverage, with support from the Russell Sage Foundation.

James Rosenbaum, an education researcher, received a grant from One Million Degrees: The Community College Project for his research on urban community-college students.

The Joyce Foundation awarded political scientist and policing expert **Wesley G. Skogan** a grant for his ongoing analysis of Chicago police reforms.



Jennifer Richeson

Recent Media Coverage

Between September and November, IPR faculty members and their research were cited in many prominent media outlets. Following is a selection of this coverage.

IPR education economists **David Figlio** and **Morton Schapiro** were featured in *The Atlantic*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *The New York Times*, and others for their working paper looking at the difference between primarily

(Continued on page 22)

IPR RESEARCH NOTES

Interactions Key for Kindergarten Readiness



Terri Sabol

Publicly funded pre-kindergarten classrooms that received the highest marks in quality rating systems used by the majority of states are no better at fostering children's school readiness than classrooms with lower ratings, according to findings published in *Science* in August. However, the researchers isolated one factor of the many used in the rating systems that did make a difference in school readiness: the quality of teacher-student interactions.

"Children who were in classrooms with higher ratings based on observed interactions between teachers and students were more prepared for kindergarten," said **Terri Sabol**, the study's lead author and an IPR postdoctoral fellow.

This study suggests that states ought to make changes in the ways they rate the quality of pre-K programs. Rating systems should simplify their systems and focus on measuring and improving the components that matter most for children's learning, Sabol said.

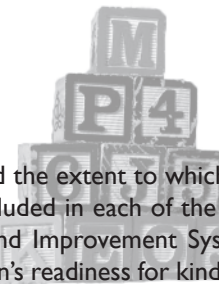
The researchers used data from two studies of nearly 3,000 children in 703 state-funded pre-kindergarten classrooms from nine states, representing a variety of pre-kindergarten models in use across the United States. Using this

data set, investigators calculated the extent to which various features of program quality included in each of the nine different states' Quality Rating and Improvement Systems, or QRIS, actually predicted children's readiness for kindergarten at the end of their year in pre-K.

A QRIS is a method for collecting and compiling information on program features presumed to measure program quality. Higher ratings should equal higher quality. To the extent that enrollment in high-quality pre-K programs is a means of fostering children's success in school, then children attending higher-rated programs should perform better on measures of kindergarten readiness. To determine readiness, children's learning and development were evaluated by assessing gains in academic, language, and social skills, and problem behaviors in the pre-kindergarten year.

The researchers selected the five most common measures of quality used in multiple states: staff qualifications, physical environment, class size, teacher-to-child ratio, and qualities of interactions between teachers and children. They combined the indicators to calculate overall quality ratings using formulas from the QRIS systems used in nine states.

Results demonstrated that whether a child was enrolled in a highly rated program was unrelated to their gains in learning during pre-K or their readiness to begin kindergarten.



Are Tenure-Track Professors Better Teachers?



David Figlio

Tenure in American higher education is on the wane. In the mid-1970s, more than 50 percent of faculty held tenure, dropping to 30 percent by 2009. A new working paper by IPR education economists **David Figlio** and **Morton Schapiro**, Northwestern University president, and **Kevin Soter** (WCAS '12) compares learning outcomes for undergraduates in classes with tenure- and nontenure-track faculty.

Previous studies have suggested that part-time instructors do not serve students' needs as well as full-time ones, but they do not address if undergraduates learn more from faculty who are more active in research than those who do more teaching, Figlio remarked at an October 7 IPR colloquium.

"To be clear, this is not a paper about tenure," said Figlio, who is also director of IPR. And the paper's applicability has limits, as it uses data for more than 15,000 freshmen on only their first year of classwork at Northwestern, not more advanced classes. "You can likely generalize these results to highly selective schools with labor practices similar to Northwestern, but probably not to others," he explained.

The three co-authors looked at whether freshmen entering Northwestern between 2001 and 2008 were more likely to

take a second course in a subject where they had a nontenure-track rather than a tenure-track instructor for the introductory course, as well as whether their performance was better in the subsequent course in the same subject.

"The paper says nontenure-track faculty members at Northwestern tend to induce freshmen to do two things," said Soter, whose senior thesis inspired the study. "One is to take more classes in their subjects, by about 7 to 10 percent, and the other is to have more success in that following course by about .06 grade points," a meaningful increase given the observed grade distribution.

Controlling for fixed effects for students as well as the next class taken, the researchers looked at many other variables, such as subjects taken, grading, and teaching experience, but "nothing we did statistically altered our results," Figlio said. Interestingly, the beneficial effects of adjunct faculty were bigger for Northwestern students who were less academically prepared and who tended to take more difficult classes.

The paper, which generated a wave of media coverage, also called into question whether the rise of hiring full-time designated teachers in U.S. higher education is "cause for alarm." Rather, the three researchers suggest that such a trend might offer colleges and universities a way to be great institutions of research and of undergraduate learning at the same time.



IPR RESEARCH NOTES

Birth Weight, Breast-Feeding, and Health



Thomas McDade

Overall, Americans are not as healthy, spend twice as much on healthcare, and experience greater health disparities than the citizens of many other developed nations—and even some less-developed ones, said IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade**. When it comes to health, McDade noted, “It’s better to be poor in Europe, than rich in the United States.”

McDade’s research agenda examines issues associated with this “U.S. health disadvantage,” in particular how early environments shape adult health, a key research theme of the IPR center he now directs, Cells to Society (C2S):The Center on Social Disparities and Health.

At an October 14 IPR talk, McDade presented a new study, available as an IPR working paper, examining links between breast-feeding, birth weight, and inflammation in adulthood.

“The case of breast-feeding and the case of birth weight are particularly illuminating,” McDade said, explaining that rates for many adult diseases “completely mirrored” rates of low birth weight and low breast-feeding uptake and duration.

Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, McDade and his co-authors, including IPR psychologist **Emma Adam**, evaluated how levels of C-reactive

protein (CRP), a key biomarker of inflammation, linked back to birth weight and breast-feeding duration for 7,000 24- to 32-year-olds. The study’s innovative use of sibling comparison models controls for many factors that might bias previous estimates of the impact of birth weight and breast-feeding.

They found dramatic racial, ethnic, and education disparities. More educated mothers were more likely to breast-feed, as were whites and Hispanics. Both lower birth weights and shorter durations of breast-feeding also predicted higher CRP levels in young adults, and thus higher disease risk.

Each pound of additional birth weight predicted a CRP concentration that was 5 percent lower. Three to 12 months of breast-feeding predicted CRP levels that were 20 to 30 percent lower than for those who were not breast-fed. In fact, breast-feeding had the same or greater effect as drug therapies in reducing young adult CRP, as measured in previous studies. McDade cited research showing that if 90 percent of U.S. babies were breast-fed exclusively for six months, it could significantly reduce childhood illnesses, potentially saving billions in healthcare expenditures.

“In terms of intervention and breaking that cycle, it really points toward the need to invest in interventions early in life,” McDade said. “That may ultimately address the relatively intractable social disparities we see in adult health in the U.S.”

The Politicization of Science



James Druckman

“A politically motivated, decades-long war on expertise has eroded the popular consensus on a wide variety of scientifically validated topics,” *Popular Science* explained in September after disabling its online comments. Such comments on the politicization of science seem more frequent in the public sphere, but does politicizing science really affect what the public thinks about scientific innovations?

In some of the first empirical research on how it might (forthcoming in *Public Opinion Quarterly*), IPR associate director and political scientist **James Druckman**, with IPR social policy professor **Fay Lomax Cook** and Toby Bolsen of Georgia State University, find that politicization negatively affects support for an emerging technology—in this case, nuclear energy, selected because of a renewed U.S. focus on building nuclear plants. The trio conducted a nationally representative survey of 1,600 Americans. They randomly exposed respondents in treatment groups to one of nine conditions, in which they were exposed to one of two frames—either on the politicization or benefits of science—or they received no frame at all.

The most striking finding stems from the politicization

frame. Participants were told, “It is increasingly difficult for nonexperts to evaluate science—politicians and others often color scientific work and advocate selective science to favor their agendas,” before answering questions on nuclear energy. Respondents receiving this statement were more likely to oppose nuclear energy use, even when later presented with supportive statements and evidence on its benefits. Politicization rendered even reference to accepted scientific evidence moot, Druckman said.

Druckman believes this effect would hold true for other emerging technologies. For example, rather than just telling respondents politicization exists, a study could present two contrasting arguments to see if they had the same effect.

Speculating that increased polarization in Congress and among elites might be behind this politicization, Druckman also points out that it would help to start studying the history of politicization of science. In cases where there is real scientific consensus, he hopes that the research will uncover ways to break through the politicization.

“A lot of scientists, and particularly those who invent these great technologies, they don’t realize they have to be accepted by the public,” Druckman said. “A critical next step involves seeking ways to overcome politicization’s apparent ‘status-quo bias’ when a socially beneficial technology emerges.”

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Emma Adam, Stress and Health in the Real World

At last count, **Emma Adam**, an IPR developmental psychologist, estimates that she and her research team have collected more than 100,000 vials of spit from more than 20,000 parents and children across the nation. Adam is a leader in the collection and use of saliva as a reliable and noninvasive way to measure the real-life effects of everyday events and emotions on human health and development.

Her research shows how dealing with seemingly mundane social events—for example, feeling rejected by your peers or having an argument with your spouse or parent—lead to changes in biology that increase vulnerability to outcomes, such as depression and cardiovascular disease.

“In my work, biology is not an inborn determinant of behavior but a reflection of our history of social and other experiences,” Adam said.

Sleep and the HPA Axis

Adam sees two major physiological pathways through which the social world can embed itself in a person’s biology—via the process of sleep and via one of the body’s major biological stress systems, the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis. She measures sleep objectively with a small wristwatch-like device called an actigraph, and she monitors the HPA axis through measures of salivary cortisol, a hormone that follows a strong daily rhythm and is released in response to stress.

To effectively capture the effects of everyday stressors, Adam has taken her work out of the laboratory, where most previous research on the topic occurred. She has pioneered studying how these processes unfold in real time in real-world settings, such as in school, at home, and at work. In addition to measuring sleep and stress hormone levels, Adam collects repeated diary reports of everyday experiences, has participants carry iPods that can help test cognitive functioning, and also takes more traditional health measures such as blood pressure and heart rate readings, measures of inflammation, and clinical psychiatric interviews, to name a few.

While obtaining her PhD in child psychology from the University of Minnesota, Adam realized that the psychobiological processes she studied were deeply affected by the broader social contexts of her participants’ lives. For a deeper understanding of socioeconomic factors and policy to complement her training in social development and psychobiology, she pursued a master’s degree in public policy and a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Chicago, where she received training in sociology, economics, and political science.

“My research brings together the perspectives of developmental psychology, developmental psychobiology, and child and family policy,” Adam said. “Through combining these disciplines, I gain a better understanding of the processes by which

our social environments ‘get under the skin’ to affect short- and long-term physical health and mental well-being.”

Measuring Daily Cortisol, Finding Disparities

To fully investigate causal relationships between social experience, cortisol, and health, however, better data were needed. Adam, together with her colleagues, spent a significant portion of her early career building new longitudinal data sets,

such as the Youth Emotion Project, and helping to add new data collection modules to existing ones, such as the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health.

Her contributions thus far to the field of psychoneuroendocrinology, or the study of hormones and human behavior, won her the 2013 Curt Richter Award from the International Society of Psychoneuroendocrinology this August at its annual meeting, where she presented her award paper on the role of cortisol in anxiety disorders. In the award paper, Adam and her colleagues measured multiple indicators of HPA axis functioning in adolescents, and followed them for six years, interviewing them yearly to identify new onsets of mood and anxiety disorders.

Adam found that the cortisol awakening response (CAR), or the increase in cortisol levels within the first 30 minutes after waking, strongly predicted first onsets of anxiety disorders—and social anxiety disorder in particular—over the next six years. Adam’s earlier work showed similar results between CAR and the onset of major depressive disorder. Adam has also found adolescents who sleep fewer hours can predict subsequent onsets of major depressive disorder.

Some of her other key research contributions include pioneering multilevel growth curve modeling in the field, pairing participants’ diary entries and cortisol samples to show that negative feelings, such as sadness, anger, and loneliness, lead to acute and chronic changes in stress hormones, and being the first to reveal ethnic and socioeconomic disparities in cortisol rhythms in adolescents.

Adam’s latest research turns attention to the implications of stress, cortisol, and sleep for cognitive and academic functioning in children and adolescents. She is studying more than 300 Chicago public school students to determine how stress, cortisol, and sleep interact to predict impairments in cognition, classroom performance and academic attainment.

“Stress and sleep are not equally distributed in society, and have important implications for daily functioning,” Adam said. “High stress and lack of sleep are important and understudied contributors to understanding academic achievement gaps.”



Emma Adam

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

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Kirabo Jackson, Modeling Social Forces

On the surface, IPR labor economist **Kirabo Jackson's** research on taxi drivers and moral hazard, pay-for-performance programs in high schools, and why teachers decide to become teachers represent quite different contexts. Yet in examining the underlying questions behind his studies, they all flow from a central source of inspiration.

"In general, I try to understand how social forces and social interactions affect individuals," Jackson explained, noting the particularly strong connections to relationships and individual decision making in the field of education.

As an undergraduate at Yale University, Jackson studied ethics, politics, and economics, but it was the rigor and "formalism" of economics that he found most intriguing, and he thus went on to obtain a PhD in economics from Harvard University. As a postdoctoral fellow and assistant professor at Cornell University, Jackson added more tools to his academic kit—public finance, econometrics, and statistics—providing him with a rigorous methodological base for identifying causal mechanisms and relationships.

Combining these quantitative tools and the use of natural experiments to obtain "clean, empirical results," he drills down into the complex interactions between school children, parents, workers, and policymakers, to examine how certain policies affect their actions, interactions, and eventually individual education and employment outcomes.

Social Networks and Decision Making

In a 2011 *American Economic Journal (AEJ): Applied Economics* publication on New York City cab drivers, Jackson and Henry Schneider of Cornell looked at why cab drivers who lease cabs have more accidents than drivers who own their cabs. They find that New York cabbies who lease cabs from owners who share the same country of origin have lower accident rates than those who lease from people of different origins.

"We are looking at the effects of your relationship with someone with whom you have a personal stake, with someone in your community—essentially how you behave with them," Jackson said. "Are you more likely to behave in ways that are good for the group and less in your self-interest, or in ways that might be more personally beneficial but detrimental to the group?"

In terms of education policy, this means considering how one thinks about teacher and student performance, teacher pay, and social networks, among other topics. Jackson seeks to dissect how the structure of a nation's education system affects an individual's decisions about how to acquire human capital, or the skills and knowledge needed to make a living. To this end, he has studied such topics as whether single-sex education or attending a better school can improve student

outcomes and how school competition through charter schools, for example, might affect teacher labor markets.

In research with Elias Bruegmann of The Greatest Good published in a 2009 issue of *AEJ: Applied Economics*, Jackson used longitudinal data from North Carolina to show that teachers just starting in their careers perform better as teachers later on when they are surrounded by more experienced teachers at this early point in their careers. The two researchers calculated that the spillover effects of such collaborative learning can account for about 20 percent of the new teachers' effectiveness in raising test scores.

Again, this research underscores his point about how teachers interact within a social structure where they can learn from one another. By recognizing that impact, Jackson said, it demonstrates how important it can be in thinking about how to improve schools. He gives the example of performance-based pay, explaining that if teachers are collaborating, it might be more effective to pay the teaching corps of an entire grade to encourage them to work together, rather than paying individual teachers for the outcomes of students in their class.



Kirabo Jackson

Assessing Teacher Quality Beyond Test Scores

Particularly interested in the current push for "value-added" education, which uses test scores to measure learning and educational progress and is encapsulated in legislation like the No Child Left Behind Act, Jackson has also studied measures of teacher quality using test scores.

While Jackson acknowledges the value of having such hard, quantifiable measures, he also wonders whether such measures are actually measuring the right things.

This is why Jackson has a line of research, currently available as the IPR working paper "Non-Cognitive Ability, Test Scores, and Teacher Quality: Evidence from 9th Grade Teachers in North Carolina," examining if teachers could affect children's development in ways not necessarily picked up by test scores.

"When we are educating a child, we are not looking only at how well he or she can add and subtract," Jackson said. "If we take a holistic view, we might want to care about teacher effects not only on tests but also on students' well-being, socioemotional health, and 'soft' skills like academic engagement and love of learning." These are factors he points to as possibly being just as important, if not more important, for their future development and how they fare as adults.

"These are the kind of policy questions that a lot of my research speaks to," Jackson said, "and I would like for policymakers to be thinking much more deeply about."

Kirabo Jackson is associate professor of education and social policy and an IPR fellow.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHT: Daniel Galvin, Of Presidents and Parties

When are U.S. presidents most partisan? Are they more concerned with advancing policies or building their parties? Why are some political parties better at adapting to change than others? These are just a few of the questions that IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** contemplates in examining how the presidency and parties have changed over time and what this means for the American political process.

In August, the American Political Science Association's section on political organizations and parties presented Galvin with its Emerging Scholars Award, given to a scholar whose "career to date demonstrates unusual promise."

Galvin's academic career got off to a fast start with the publication of his first book, *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush* (Princeton University Press, 2010), soon after receiving his PhD from Yale University.

Perhaps one of the reasons why Galvin has found such success in his scholarship is that he seeks to answer questions that either no one has thought to ask—or that no one has been able to answer.



Daniel Galvin

Modern President-Party Relationships

In his book, which one reviewer called "the finest empirical study yet of presidential-party relations in the latter half of the 20th century," Galvin challenges the conventional view of the relationship between presidents and their parties.

Scholars and pundits long took it for granted that presidents would not build their parties. As primarily self-interested actors, presidents were presumed to see their parties as either a distraction, an obstacle, or a resource to exploit.

Skeptical, Galvin turned to the archives to test if this was true. He unearthed a wide variety of sources, including personal notes, internal White House memos, letters, strategy papers, Oval Office tape recordings, and party documents.

He found that while all modern presidents used their parties instrumentally, Republican presidents since Eisenhower did so much more. They worked assiduously to build the GOP, expand its reach, and enhance its electoral competitiveness.

Meanwhile, Democratic presidents since Kennedy—and "apparently including Obama as well," Galvin said—refused to invest in their party. Democrats used their party to promote the White House's policy aims, but did little to leave behind a more robust, durable party organization. As this partisan pattern repeated itself over the decades, the two parties traveled down different trajectories.

"The Democrats simply fell behind the Republicans, organizationally, especially in the 1980s and 1990s," Galvin said. "Remarkably, the pattern has continued: After his re-election in 2012, Obama decided to fold his impressive campaign organization into Organizing for Action, a 501(c)(3) that siphons resources away from the party proper."

Party Adaptation in the Post-Industrial Era

Galvin's broader interest in how parties change is evident in his latest book project, "Rust Belt Democrats: Party Legacies and Adaptive Capacities in Post-Industrial America." In it, Galvin examines the factors that have facilitated or frustrated party adaptation in the Midwest, which was the region hardest hit by globalization and deindustrialization.

Since the early 1980s, Republicans have been on the rise in Rust Belt states, Galvin said. This has given Democrats a strong incentive to adapt—to rethink their traditional policy agendas, reassess their organizational alliances, and target new constituencies.

But how have Rust Belt Democrats tried to navigate this period of economic and political upheaval? Despite the pivotal role of this region in national politics and its unique ability to shed light on scholarly theories of party adaptation, we simply do not know, Galvin said.

"As recent events have shown, when Republicans win majority control of state governments, many of the Democrats' most cherished social and economic

programs are jeopardized, and their most important allies—labor unions—are attacked at their foundations," Galvin said. "Without a clearer picture of how Rust Belt Democrats coped with these pressures in the past, there is precious little we can say about events unfolding before us—or about their ability to remain competitive in the future."

Through scores of primary interviews, detailed archival research, and a range of other data, Galvin's research has already turned up some fascinating findings.

"Some of the most prominent theoretical expectations regarding the dynamics of party change do not hold in this setting," Galvin continued.

The initial research for the book was presented at an IPR colloquium, where Galvin looked specifically at the relationship between the Michigan Democratic Party (MDP) and the United Auto Workers (UAW) union. Existing research on the subject suggests that strong ties between political parties and industrial labor unions lead to the party's electoral decline by inhibiting adaptation.

Yet Galvin found that the strong ties between the UAW and MDP did not have this effect. Deep party-union integration might have actually encouraged union officials to internalize the party's strategic considerations and support adaptation.

Not content with only scholarship, Galvin is also a dedicated teacher, having been recognized with several teaching awards for his undergraduate classes on the presidency and American government.

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

A CAREER-Enhancing Award for IPR Economist *(Continued from page 1)*

program as a Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health and Society Scholar at the University of California, Berkeley. She is using the five-year award to investigate how social networks affect economic behavior in developing countries in two key areas—labor markets and agricultural technology adoption.

In examining the links between labor markets and social networks, Beaman is building upon her previous research to examine how social network referrals might affect hiring decisions.

Social Network Job Referrals

Previous research has shown that up to 50 percent of U.S. jobs are obtained through informal channels, including employee referrals. Beaman has shown that social networks are similarly important in developing countries, in particular among a sample of poor men in Kolkata, India.

In a field experiment looking at gender differences in job referrals in Malawi, Beaman and her colleagues evaluated a nongovernmental organization's recruitment drive to add 200 positions, for which they were particularly interested in hiring women. Two rounds of interviews were held. In the first, 826 candidates were given mock interviews to assess their skills and abilities. At the end of their interviews, candidates were told they could receive a fee for referring someone else.

Then candidates were randomly assigned conditions for the referral's gender and a finder's fee: They could refer anyone, only refer a woman, or only refer a man, in addition to receiving either a fixed finder's fee or a performance-based fee, contingent on the referral qualifying for the position. In the second round, the referrals were evaluated in the same way as the initial candidates.

A key consideration moving forward is whether referrals reinforce inequalities in labor market outcomes by further isolating those with smaller, poorer quality social networks. Through two experiments in Malawi, she seeks to specifically examine how women, who earn less than men in countries all over the world, could be disadvantaged by job hiring through social networks, in addition to the underlying mechanisms.

Preliminary findings reveal that among applicants who were allowed to refer anyone, only 30 percent of referrals were women—10 percent fewer than the percentage of women who applied through traditional recruitment channels. This was overwhelmingly driven by the fact that men tended to refer other men. However, women systematically referred less-qualified candidates.

"They also highlight how some of the easiest policy responses to the gender gap in wages—improving women's skills and knowledge, for example—will not be enough to

eliminate the gap," Beaman said.

These findings provide early evidence that such informal hiring processes do, in fact, lead to distinct job market disadvantages for women.

Beaman will use the CAREER Award to further analyze how men and women screen each other in the experiment.

She will also conduct a follow-up experiment to understand additional underlying mechanisms, such as testing the observation that women might be referring less-qualified women to avoid competitive environments.

Technology Adoption

As part of the educational outreach for her project, Beaman is developing and running a training program in rigorous evaluation and applied econometrics for scholars and program evaluators in Mali.

For the second part of her project, she is focusing on a major puzzle in development economics: Why do small-scale farmers not adopt simple, profit-enhancing technologies? She is particularly interested in how social networks can be harnessed to spread information

about agricultural technologies and in how they can encourage the adoption of more efficient ones in developing areas.

In three projects taking place in either Mali or Malawi, she and her colleagues will examine a few aspects of how farmers learn from one another and how information diffuses through social networks. The agricultural technologies range from input-intensive irrigated rice agriculture to conservation agriculture techniques, such as crop residue management.

"Policymakers can rarely alter people's social networks," Beaman said. "But my research on agricultural technology adoption is to find ways in which policymakers can use the deep social networks that exist in developing country contexts to improve the effectiveness of policy—in particular to increase the adoption of simple agricultural technologies that can raise incomes and reduce poverty."

"I am committed to building the capacity of local researchers and evaluators in Africa, where many positions often go to international candidates," Beaman continued.

Beaman is a junior fellow in the Bureau for Research in Economic Analysis and Development (BREAD), an affiliate of MIT's Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, and associate editor at the *Journal of Development Economics*. She joins the ranks of three other IPR fellows who have won CAREER Awards—in 2009, sociologists **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** and **Monica Prasad**, and in 2002, biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade**.

Lori Beaman is assistant professor of economics and an IPR fellow. She is currently on leave at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.



Lori Beaman

P. Reese

Don't Call Retreat in the War on Hunger

Researchers ask public to recall what food stamps really address



Diane Schanzenbach

The real crisis is hunger, not government spending.

The House voted [217-210 on September 19] to cut \$39 billion over 10 years on the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program, also called both SNAP and "Food Stamps." [...] It has become a controversial funding issue.

Despite the fact that the program lifts 2.1 million children out of poverty annually, and has been shown to be an effective counter-cyclical stabi-

lizer, some are calling for major changes to the program in the name of curbing government spending. [...]

In the midst of the political wrangling over financing programs, it seems worth stepping back to think about the problem that the SNAP program is meant to help address: food insecurity.

Food insecurity is a measure, related to but separate from hunger, meant to capture whether or not households have consistent access to nutritious foods. It is measured by a battery of questions ranging from whether household members were worried about running out of money for food to how often the adults or children in the family go hungry or go without eating. Depending on the number of affirmative responses, a household is categorized as being food secure, food insecure, or having "very low food security."

Through a grant sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation, we have been studying food insecurity over the course of the Great Recession. In the four years preceding the Great Recession, about 11.3 percent of U.S. households were classified as food insecure. But from 2008–12, this rate remained above 14.5 percent, more than a 30 percent rise in the level of food insecurity. For households with children under 18, close to 21 percent are now classified as food insecure. The fraction of families that report that adults or children in their households have skipped meals or gone for a day without eating has increased sharply.

One's reaction to statistics might be that it is not surprising that during this deep recession, food insecurity went up in conjunction with the increase in the poverty rate. But increases in poverty do not appear to tell the whole story.

It is true that more people had lower incomes in the Great Recession, putting them at greater risk of food insecurity, but even holding constant a family's income-to-poverty ratio we have found stark increases in food insecurity rates. One way to think about this is that food insecurity rates are revealing something about the deep hardship of this time period that are not reflected in measured income-to-poverty ratios.

Why have food insecurity rates been so high since the Great Recession, even after controlling for income-to-poverty

rates? Research is still inconclusive, but the list of potential culprits is taking focus: unemployment duration has been aberrantly high during this recession. Perversely, high unemployment may undermine the ability of the Earned Income Tax Credit to function in its safety net role because if there are no earnings, the tax credit provides no subsidy. The dual loss of income from a job and the subsidy from the tax credit has hit single-mother families, which are at high risk of food insecurity, particularly hard. The Great Recession saw a collapse of access to credit, including home equity, which individuals might have used to buffer their food consumption against bouts of unemployment.

In what may be seen as an accumulation of insults, prices of food and energy have been relatively high (even though overall inflation has been low) and these necessities take up a larger share of the budgets of low-income individuals. This list adds up to a situation where resources that would "normally" be used to weather a bad economic patch are being depleted, and we are seeing worse food security outcomes among low-income households.

It is important to keep in mind that the country witnessed these increases in food insecurity despite the temporary increase in Food Stamp payments enacted in 2009. Research suggests food insecurity would have been even higher had government action not purposely expanded the SNAP program in an effort to combat the effects of the worst recession since the 1930s.

It is also important to keep in mind what food insecurity means to the family that encounters it. It means children will miss meals, perhaps several in a row. It means parents will not eat in order to feed their children. It means there are Americans going hungry.

Research from various fields combines to paint a bleak picture of the long-run effects of inadequate access to food. Work on child development indicates that adequate nutrition plays an important role in brain development and thus long-run outcomes as adults. A new study authored by two of us has shown that the introduction of food stamps 50 years ago not only improved the health of children who received the benefits in the short run, but also permanently improved their health and educational outcomes as measured in adulthood.

Looking beyond the dreadful unemployment rate outcomes of the Great Recession paints an even bleaker picture of this period in U.S. history. The Great Recession increased food insecurity, which we know can have long-range impacts for health and economic well-being. The very good news is that we already have a program that has been shown to work at combating food insecurity and the consequences of inadequate nutrition. These facts are worth contemplating as Congress resumes the fight about whether and how to fund it.

This September 26 U.S. News & World Report piece was written by Dartmouth's Patricia Anderson, Wellesley's Kristin Butcher, Berkeley's Hilary Hoynes, and IPR's Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach.

Unearthing the Foundations of Health

Center studies links between social contexts and health

Compared with their peers, individuals with low socioeconomic status (SES) are two times more likely to be hospitalized and have 50 percent higher death rates. Though research has established a connection between low SES and higher risk for disease and mortality, little is understood about the underlying biological mechanisms. The recently launched Foundations of Health Research Center, led by IPR clinical psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller**, seeks to expand knowledge in this area.

As members of IPR's Cells to Society (C2S):The Center on Social Disparities and Health, Chen and Miller are an integral part of an innovative effort by IPR faculty to understand how social, economic, and cultural contexts affect physical and mental health, especially among lower-SES groups. Specifically, Chen and Miller look at the chronic stressors related to SES and the influence they have on the endocrine, immune, and metabolic systems over time.

"We named our center Foundations of Health because that's the essence of what we are trying to understand—how social environments get under the skin, and how they do so differentially across groups in our society," Chen explained.

The effort has ramped up quickly since new office and lab space opened in fall 2013. The space was designed to be family friendly so that parents and children would feel at ease during confidential in-office interviews and health screenings. There is also a state-of-the-art lab where biological samples and data can be processed. In addition to research, the health center also offers critical teaching and learning opportunities, with more than 15 faculty, staff, and graduate and undergraduate students currently involved.

"Foundations of Health represents a tremendous addition to the research infrastructure at Northwestern," said IPR anthropologist and C2S Director **Thomas McDade**. "It has the capability to implement cutting-edge laboratory methods that reveal the molecular pathways through which social environments shape health over the lifecourse, and it presents a warm and welcoming presence to community members who make this research possible."

Chen and Miller are also examining the social and psychological protective factors that help some low-

SES individuals maintain good physical health despite the adversity they face. For example, children exposed to social and economic adversity early in life often show increased susceptibility to the chronic diseases of aging as adults. But their research has shown that some children develop a buffer against these outcomes by using "shift-and-persist" strategies, which enable individuals to "shift" by finding ways to adapt to stressful situations and "persist" by finding the optimism to hold on to long-term goals.

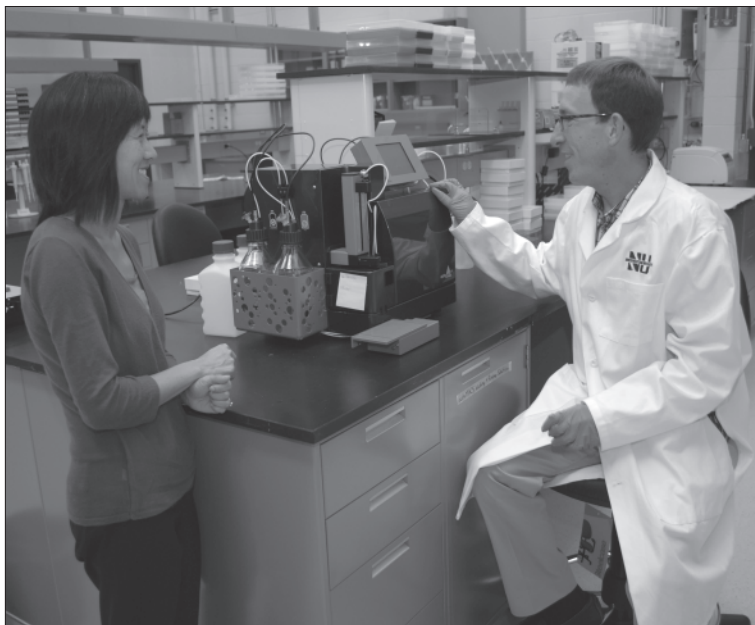
"We're a bit different from most labs in that we do the biology part, but we also really try to do the psychology part—we use more traditional social science and psychological strategies," Miller said.

Currently, most of the center's research is related to the Family Asthma Study, which seeks to explain why low-SES children experience worse asthma outcomes than others. With funding from the National Institutes of Health, the study examines social factors and the physical environment, both of which could be contributing to these disparities. It also looks at how different types of communities and families can affect children's asthma.

In addition to their asthma study, Chen and Miller have started two new studies that will look at how stress, social relationships, and SES affect in utero development. One will examine how maternal SES and the factors related to it affect babies' development during the later months of pregnancy, as well as at birth. The other looks at how maternal lifestyle and social conditions affect development in the earlier months of pregnancy.

"Using methods from molecular biology, we can profile different genes that are turned on and off in the placenta to find out if women who differ in SES and levels of stress have different patterns of gene expression and activity," Miller explained.

Miller hopes that this will provide them with an idea of what babies are being exposed to in utero and shed further light on how poverty undermines health.

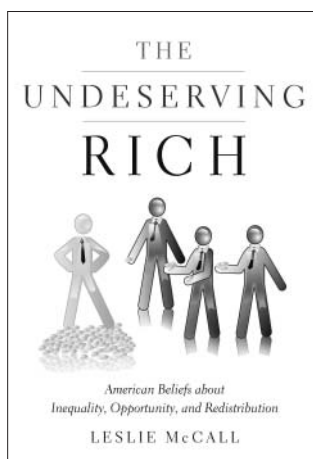


Edith Chen and Greg Miller explain how to analyze a blood sample using a cell sorter, which can isolate specific types of cells, in their new research lab.

P. Reese

For more information about the Foundations of Health Research Center, go to www.foundationsofhealth.org.

Recent Faculty Books



The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution

By Leslie McCall, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 312 pp.

Recently released data shows that the income gap in the United States grew to its widest point ever, with the richest 1 percent showing the biggest income gains since 1928. Most research asserts that Americans generally care little about, or even ignore, such income inequality. But in

or find it unacceptable in other ways. While the public does not generally lump the rich into either one deserving or undeserving group, the view that they were undeserving peaked during post-recession periods when people did not see the trickle-down effects of economic recovery.

“Americans favor economic growth as part of the solution, but they also want to see that growth being shared and redistributed to the population at large rather than concentrated only in the upper classes,” McCall said.

As political leaders propose policies to help the middle and lower classes in this slow recovery, McCall’s work also offers insight into how the public views potential solutions.

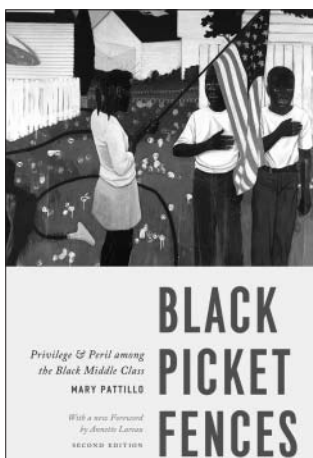
“On the one hand, Republicans argue for greater growth, acknowledging Americans’ desire for the same. But the public also wants to see such growth benefitting Americans on the middle and lower rungs of the income ladder,” McCall said. “On the other hand, liberal solutions typically propose to fix inequality by raising marginal tax rates on wealthier households, but largely ignore efforts to reform the distribution of earnings and wages. As a result, my findings suggest Americans don’t immediately connect their concerns about inequality to a desire for increased taxes on the rich.”

(Continued on page 15)

her latest book, *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution*, IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** is upending conventional wisdom on the topic.

Using public opinion data from the General Social Survey (GSS) and others, McCall has undertaken one of the most comprehensive examinations of actual public perceptions of inequality over the past 25 years. She uses the data to debunk several ideas, including the widespread one that Americans do not care about income inequality as long as they feel they are getting a fair shot at getting ahead through hard work, or what she calls “the American dream ideology.”

Her research shows that at any given point between one-half and two-thirds of Americans either want less inequality



Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class (Revised 2nd Edition)

By Mary Pattillo, University of Chicago Press, 2013, 352 pp.

While the Great Recession has taken its toll on everyone, it has hit middle-class blacks hardest, with the unemployment rate for blacks hitting 16 percent as compared with just 8 percent for whites, a gap that has remained steady for decades.

The result of Pattillo living for three years in “Groveland,” a pseudonymous black middle-class neighborhood on Chicago’s South Side, the first edition explored both the advantages enjoyed by black middle-class families, as well as the challenges they still faced. She updated the second edition with new interview data, offering descriptive demographics to re-examine the trajectories of Groveland’s residents and the neighborhood as a whole.

As Pattillo points out, African Americans are more likely to hold public-sector jobs and use public-sector services. Thus, public-sector cuts during economic downturns are more debilitating to black communities. Plus, black homeowners bore the brunt of the subprime mortgage bubble and foreclosure crisis.

But when Pattillo interviewed residents about the foreclosure crisis, they did not share stories of friends or family members who had lost their homes. Instead, they spoke about the aftermath—of all of the boarded-up, vacant houses that now line the streets. Many Groveland residents worried that the foreclosed houses would eventually be bought by investors who would turn them into rental properties, mainly

(Continued on page 15)

African American studies researcher and sociologist **Mary Pattillo**, an IPR associate, recently completed the second edition of her ground-breaking book *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class*—one of only a few ethnographic studies of a black middle-class neighborhood. In the 2013 edition, she revisited the same topics discussed in the 1999 original—namely the economy, crime, and housing—and put them in context with the economic downturn and the foreclosure crisis.

“*Black Picket Fences* was published in the last century,” Pattillo explained at a May 6 IPR colloquium. “That might sound overly dramatic, but considering the changes that have taken place since 1999, it’s not totally hyperbole.”

Recent IPR Working Papers

SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH (C2S)

Long-Term Effects of Birth Weight and Breast-Feeding Duration on Inflammation in Early Adulthood (WP-13-13)

by *Thomas McDade (IPR/Anthropology), Northwestern University; Molly Metzger, Washington University in St. Louis; Laura Chyu, Northwestern University; Greg Duncan, University of California, Irvine; and Craig Garfield (IPR/Feinberg) and Emma Adam (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University*

A team of IPR Cells to Society researchers examines whether measures of C-reactive protein (CRP)—a biomarker of inflammation across the lifecourse—might predict risk for certain adult diseases. They postulate that birth weight and breast-feeding duration are possible determinants of adult chronic inflammation. Using data on 10,500 young adults, they find infants with lower birth weights show higher CRP concentrations as adults. For those breast-fed, their CRP concentrations were 20 to 30 percent lower as adults, compared with those who were not. The research indicates that efforts to promote breast-feeding and improve birth outcomes might have clinically relevant effects to reduce chronic inflammation and lower risk for cardiovascular and metabolic diseases in adulthood (see p. 5).

EDUCATION POLICY

The Impact of Chicago's Small High School Initiative (WP-13-20)

by *Lisa Barrow, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; Amy Claessens, University of Chicago; and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University*

Is the small schools education reform movement working? A new analysis of Chicago Public Schools' small high school initiative adds evidence to the growing consensus that small schools improve academic achievement but do not raise standardized test scores, and that educational interventions aimed at older students are more effective at improving their noncognitive than their cognitive skills. In this working paper, Schanzenbach and her co-authors share findings from the first research using a quasi-experimental design to evaluate the performance of small schools in Chicago. Using data from the Consortium on Chicago School Research, Schanzenbach and her colleagues analyzed student enrollment patterns and test scores for students entering high school at one of 22 new small schools, comparing them with their eighth-grade classmates who did not attend small schools.

Are Tenure-Track Professors Better Teachers? (WP-13-18)

by *David Figlio (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy) and Morton Schapiro (IPR/Kellogg/SESP/WCAS), Northwestern University; and Kevin Soter (WCAS '12), The Greatest Good*

As the higher education landscape changes and colleges and universities rely increasingly on a combination of nontenure- and tenure-track faculty, Figlio, Schapiro, and Soter analyze data from Northwestern freshmen to compare the impact of tenure-track versus nontenure-track faculty on student learning outcomes. They find that students were relatively more likely to take a second course—and to earn a higher grade in that subsequent course—when the introductory course had been taught by a nontenure-track instructor. Their findings held consistently across subjects, and the benefits of taking introductory courses with nontenure-track faculty were strongest for the incoming freshmen with lower academic indicators (see p. 4).

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY

Pathologies of Studying Public Opinion, Political Communication, and Democratic Responsiveness (WP-13-21)

by *James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University*

The research literature on democratic representation and on public opinion formation have largely ignored one another. Once one considers the reality of the political communication environment, a fundamental tension between these two literatures emerges. In this essay, Druckman reviews work on each, highlighting problems with both how “quality opinion” is often defined and how representation is typically studied, and then offers a way forward.

(Continued on page 14)

Recent IPR Working Papers *(Continued from page 13)*

Randomizing Regulatory Approval for Diversification and Deterrence (WP-13-19)

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

When a pharmaceutical company asks the Food and Drug Administration to approve a drug, the agency fulfills one of its assigned societal functions—regulatory approval of private activities. Yet how should society evaluate such processes? In this working paper, Manski proposes a broader evaluative process than current reliance on the narrow scope of judicial review. He argues for allowing agencies, which often face uncertainty, to use diversification and deterrence to randomize regulatory approval. Randomization from diversification would serve to limit potential errors, much in the same way an investor diversifies a financial portfolio, and to improve an agency's decision-making processes over time. In terms of deterrence, randomization would allow an agency to choose an approval rate that could encourage more socially beneficial, or discourage harmful, applications for regulatory approval.

Do Lottery Payments Induce Savings Behavior? Evidence from the Lab (WP-13-17)

by *Emil Filiz-Ozbay, University of Maryland; Jonathan Guryan (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University; Kyle Hyndman, Maastricht University; and Melissa Kearney and Erkut Ozbay, University of Maryland*

Would people save more for retirement if offered a lottery-like savings program that provides cash or in-kind prizes to participants? Guryan and his colleagues conducted an experiment with 96 participants. They used different scenarios to determine whether participants were more willing to take a deferred payment when that payment was a guaranteed amount versus a payment of the same expected value—but with some chance of a lower payment and some chance of a higher payment. Their results are the first to indicate that individuals would save at a higher rate if offered a prize-linked lottery savings plan as compared with a standard interest-bearing account with the same expected return.

Using Elicited Choice Probabilities in Hypothetical Elections to Study Decisions to Vote

(WP-13-16) by *Adeline Delavande, University of Essex; and Charles F. Manski (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University*

How can researchers effectively study voting decisions given the lack of a unifying theory and the limitations of current large-scale surveys and real-time data? Manski and Delavande continue to study whether “probabilistic” polling could improve research on voting decisions. In this study, they describe several hypothetical presidential election scenarios to a sample of more than 4,000 participants, asking them to use percentages when responding about their likelihood to vote and for whom they would vote. The two researchers validate the results with voter behavior data from the 2012 election.

The Scope of the Partisan “Perceptual Screen” (WP-13-15)

by *Georgia Kernell (IPR/Political Science) and Kevin Mullinix, Northwestern University*

This working paper explores the effects of partisanship on voters' attitudes toward election miscounting. Using a nationally representative sample, the authors find that partisan winners are more likely to think votes are accurately counted than partisan losers. But when told that a nonpartisan body finds no evidence of miscounting, both winners and losers amend their beliefs about electoral fairness in a similar fashion. The researchers find no evidence of an “anti-party” bias among Independent voters, but they do find that nonpartisans tend to exhibit “anti-system” attitudes—that is, they are skeptical of election counting regardless of the outcome.

How Party Experience and Consistency Shape Partisanship and Vote Choice (WP-13-14)

by *Georgia Kernell (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University*

Examining the organization and record of political parties, Kernell proposes that political parties' electoral consistency and longevity could be critical factors that shape the ways in which citizens form party identification and make voting decisions. Drawing on a model of partisan updating that incorporates these two features, she tests her hypotheses with survey data for 66 political parties in 20 parliamentary democracies. The results suggest that a voter's response to party longevity depends on how closely the party's electoral consistency matches the voter's political views. Kernell also considers the findings' implications for party strategy.

Mobilizing Group Membership: The Impact of Personalization and Social Pressure E-mails

(WP-13-12) by *James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; and Donald Green, Columbia University*

The researchers used a randomized experiment to assess the effectiveness of three forms of e-mail appeals to prospective members of a newly formed professional group. The three appeals consisted of either an impersonal appeal (a mass e-mail that served as the baseline), a personal appeal (including a personal note from the group's president), or a social pressure appeal (personal note recalling that they had signed a petition and then asking them to make good on their earlier pledge). Druckman and Green find personalization generates strong and statistically significant treatment effects, with social pressure effects found to be even stronger.

The Politicization of Science and Support for Scientific Innovations (WP-13-11)

by *Toby Bolsen, Georgia State University; and James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) and Fay Lomax Cook (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University*

Does the politicization of science influence support for scientific innovations? In such a climate, does scientific evidence matter? The authors use an experiment to focus on how exposure to information and politicization of science affect support for nuclear power. They find that politicizing science invalidates arguments about nuclear energy's environmental benefits, with or without a reference to a consensus of scientific evidence, and, in fact, reduces support for using it. The findings have implications for scientific innovations in today's politicized scientific climate (see p. 5).

Communication and Collective Actions: Motivating Energy Conservation in the U.S.

(WP-13-10) by *Toby Bolsen, Georgia State University; and James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) and Fay Lomax Cook (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), Northwestern University*

To examine when and why citizens engage in collective actions of their own volition, the researchers present a novel framework and test predictions with a survey experiment on energy conservation. Unlike past work, the study does not explore selective incentives or social pressure, but shows that communications drive behavior, adding substantially to what is known about collective action. The study results have implications for energy sustainability.

Recent Faculty Books *(Continued from page 12)*

The Undeserving Rich, cont.

McCall points out that there are situations in which many Americans do favor raising taxes on the wealthy, but she believes Americans would like to see a different kind of "redistribution" via long-term policy solutions that focus on expanded opportunity and equity in the workplace.

In fact, McCall found that the highest level of concern about income inequality coincided with a media focus on executive pay. Since the GSS began asking questions about income inequality in 1987, the highest rates of concern were recorded in the mid-1990s—as the economy was recovering from the recession of the early '90s but employment had not yet rebounded. When McCall analyzed news coverage during this time, she found a great deal of coverage of inequality—specifically on executive pay and other kinds of pay disparities.

"Americans see opportunity as more than just a result of individual effort—they do believe that unfair social advantages and unfair pay can and do diminish labor market opportunities," she said.

Ultimately, McCall hopes the book will "shift the question from whether Americans care about inequality to when and why they do." Her nuanced framework shows that concerns and beliefs about income inequality are not contradictory, but rather inextricably linked to notions of equal opportunity.

Black Picket Fences, cont.

targeted to families using housing vouchers. Some long-term residents felt that increasing the numbers of low-income families moving in would destabilize their neighborhood.

Though crime rates have remained fairly steady, the number of foreclosures and the subsequent increase in renters without longstanding ties to the neighborhood caused uneasiness among many of those Pattillo interviewed. The uneasiness extended even to those who had grown up in the neighborhood and had long lived near areas with criminal and gang-related activities. But now that they are parents, Pattillo discovered, they hesitate to take their own children to the same parks where they had played, preferring safer suburban parks.

"What is happening in Groveland," Pattillo said, "is that the complex story about federal and local housing policies and widespread racial discrimination in the mortgage market is reduced to a simpler and more visible target—former public housing families and low-income voucher holders."

With this second edition, Pattillo furthers her informative work on the black middle class. It continues to be relevant, she points out, as middle-class blacks still live in neighborhoods that are much more disadvantaged than their white counterparts, even as they move to the suburbs in larger numbers.

Matching Administrative Data to Inform Policy *(Continued from page 1)*

The Network

Academics are finding that such sets are invaluable for conducting first-order empirical research to develop and evaluate education policies and practices. Such data sets are also critical for evaluating short- and long-term outcomes, especially when the data are linked across different areas such as health, education, and labor force participation.

In the wake of high-stakes testing and value-added initiatives, states have become interested in collecting such longitudinal, interwoven data to better evaluate programs and policies. To date, partnerships between these two groups are rare—though successful ones have been built in states such as Florida, North Carolina, and Texas. Of these, the workshop co-host universities of Northwestern and Duke were key in building those in Florida and North Carolina, respectively.

Several administrators involved in state-level data collection efforts were also on hand to share views on data collection and on potential partnerships. They were Massachusetts' **Carrie Conaway**, Arkansas' **Neal Gibson**, and Michigan's **Joseph Martineau**.

The network will also benefit from an advisory board that includes several former state governors, including **Bob Wise** of West Virginia and **Bev Purdue** of North Carolina, state education superintendents, like **Christopher Koch** of Illinois, and former policymakers and practitioners, such as Brookings Institution fellow **Grover Whitehurst**, who was founding director of the Institute of Education Sciences, and **Patricia Levesque**, who directs two education foundations and was Jeb Bush's deputy chief of staff when he was governor of Florida.

"There is no national database. States are figuring out how to build longitudinal data systems and providing actionable information to policymakers, parents, and teachers, and they are learning from one another," said advisory board member **Aimee Guidera**, founder and executive director of Data Quality Campaign. "This is why this effort—to better connect research to today's critical questions of policy and practice—is so important."

Said education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**, "The network's main aim is to develop an infrastructure that will help to further research that responds to states' needs. By building bridges between state-level policymakers with data sets and scholars, we hope to create a two-way flow that will eventually benefit education policy and scholarship in the United States and the world." He was a workshop co-leader and organizer of the two-day event.

To demonstrate how such data can be used and what they can reveal, presentations of policy-relevant research were made by some of the nation's leading experts with experience in harnessing big data sets.

"The presentations offered examples of how groups of researchers and groups of state-level people have successfully collaborated," said Duke's **Kenneth Dodge**, who co-led the workshop with Figlio.

Early Childhood Policies

Helen Ladd of Duke University presented results from two early childhood initiatives in North Carolina on third-grade outcomes. Ladd and colleagues matched birth records to third-grade test scores over time and looked at how the receipt of state funds at the county level translated into community-wide outcomes. The results revealed moderately large positive effects of the programs on third-grade test scores, with larger effects for children whose mothers have low levels of education.

Next, **Figlio** shared results of a study looking at early childhood intervention for children with autism. Using matched birth and school records from Florida for more than 8,000 autistic students, he and his collaborators found that early intervention had a substantial positive effect on behavioral and cognitive outcomes for autistic students. Figlio said the

results suggested significant new policies, such as standardizing and implementing a screening for autism during children's visits to the doctor before age 2.

Sandra Black of the University of Texas at Austin shared research looking at the effects of childcare subsidies on student performance in Norway. Using Norway's detailed population data, along with

municipality-level childcare subsidy data, Black and her colleagues compared families right above and below the income cut-off for the lowest subsidy, showing it had a significant, positive effect on tenth-graders' achievement. They also found that the benefit acted like an income transfer, increasing the wealth of the families receiving the highest subsidy by up to 10 percent.

Policies Involving Teachers and School Leaders

Harvard University's **Raj Chetty** investigated whether evaluating teachers on the basis of their test score "value-added" estimates could help improve students' earnings, college attendance rates, and other markers of success. Using data on 1 million children in a large urban school district, Chetty and his colleagues found that value-added esti-



Members of the advisory board (from left) Christopher Koch, Aimee Guidera, Patricia Levesque, and Grover Whitehurst meet before the first workshop session.

mates based on test scores provide “good forecasts of teacher quality.” Their research also underscored a much broader implication: Improving teacher quality is likely to have large returns, no matter the metric used.

While researchers often focus on differences in schools, Stanford University’s **Eric Hanushek** is concerned about how a school’s quality might change over short periods of time. Analysis consistently shows large differences among teachers, with 15 to 20 percent of teachers leaving their school each year. Similarly, recent analysis of Texas schools shows large differences of value-added by principals, adding two to seven months of learning in a year, along with high teacher and principal turnover rates. Thus, examining school quality over time requires consideration of these high turnover rates that, in turn, can directly affect student learning and growth.

His Stanford colleague **Susanna Loeb** spoke about her research tracking how and what principals do on a daily basis and the effect of their actions on teacher quality and ultimately student learning. She and her team have partnered with several urban school districts, combining student, staff, course, and school-level data with surveys, observations, and interviews. After five years of data collection and analysis, they have determined that primary data is most useful when combined with administrative data. The two latter presentations hold important implications for measuring principals’ effectiveness and by extension teacher/school quality and student outcomes.

Policies Regarding Risky Behaviors

Jens Ludwig of the University of Chicago described a violence prevention program that teaches high-risk youth to “stop, look, and listen” to overcome automatic—and potentially violent—responses in high-stakes situations. Using two randomized experiments, his team was able to assess the program’s effectiveness in two different settings in Cook County—in part due to the cost effectiveness of combining administrative data sets for 2,700 youth in one and benefiting from a low-cost natural experiment for the other. The evaluations revealed potential returns of between \$2 and \$30 in societal benefits for each \$1 spent.

His colleague **Elaine Allensworth** of the Consortium on Chicago School Research then dove into an ongoing study of school discipline policies, instruction, and student achievement. The researchers tied Chicago Public School (CPS) administrative data to survey, census, juvenile justice, police, and child and family services’ data to study changes in CPS’ recent moves towards less punitive disciplinary actions.



Some of the network members take a break from the National Science Foundation-funded workshop on using matched administrative data sets to conduct policy-relevant research.

The study is in progress, and they are examining effects for 150,000 students each year over six years.

Duke’s **Elizabeth Ananat** recounted a project that set out to determine if teen fertility rates were affected by job losses in the same way as those of adult women. She and her team combined North Carolina labor data with birth records and found that job losses decreased fertility rates for black teens but not for whites. In addition, in the face of job losses, black teen girls were more likely to use contraception and had lower fertility rates if they were on track in school or more financially advantaged.

“I’ve been in this game for a while, and I was really impressed by what I saw over the past two days,” said **Tim Sass** of Georgia State University, speaking about the various presentations of studies using large, matched administrative data sets at the workshop. “I know a condensed version of this would be very useful to others to show that this is what you can do with these new data sets that are coming online.”

Newsletter Staff

Editor: Patricia Reese
 Asst. Editors: Audrey McLain, Amy Weiss
 Layouts: Audrey McLain
 Copyediting assistance: Nicholas McQuinn,
 Katie Scovic, and Sarah Watson

Institute for Policy Research

Director: David Figlio
 Associate Director: James Druckman
 Executive Committee: Anthony Chen, Edith Chen,
 Jonathan Guryan, Thomas McDade, Jennifer Richeson,
 Bruce Spencer, and Celeste Watkins-Hayes

2040 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208-4100
www.ipr.northwestern.edu
ipr@northwestern.edu

Hometown Solutions for National Issues *(Continued from page 1)*

“In many ways, Evanston is an ideal research site for IPR researchers,” said education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**, in talking about the Institute’s commitment to its hometown. “It is a diverse community that shares many of the problems of larger cities, including its next-door neighbor Chicago, in addition to the concerns of suburban agglomerations.”

One Initiative to Help Two Generations

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, an IPR developmental psychologist, recently partnered with the Evanston Community Foundation (ECF) to jump-start an innovative two-generation education initiative for low-income parents and their young children, supported by the Aspen Institute.

Designed to help members of low-income Evanston families further their education and careers, the pilot program provides early childhood education, as well as education, training, and job opportunities for parents. It draws upon research from Chase-Lansdale and her team and from ECF’s ongoing kindergarten-to-workforce readiness initiative.

“We are seeking to develop a pilot program in Evanston because of its engaged community and its socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic diversity,” Chase-Lansdale said. “ECF is an ideal partner because of its history of drawing upon Evanston’s multitude of voices to develop a vision of social justice.”

The foundation, led by president and CEO **Sara Schastok**, will provide leadership and program implementation support for the Evanston pilot project, and Northwestern will direct an accompanying research study, led by Chase-Lansdale and **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, an IPR senior research scientist.

“This partnership is a win-win for Northwestern and for Evanston,” said **Eugene S. Sunshine**, senior vice president for business and finance at Northwestern. “We are always pleased when our exceptional teaching and research resources align with community needs, and we are especially honored to partner with an Evanston organization that has been making a difference in the community for many years.”

Expanding Opportunities for Low-Income Youth

In another project, IPR faculty are collaborating with K–12 and university administrators from around the nation on issues related to encouraging more disadvantaged and low-income youth to enroll in selective colleges and helping them to succeed once they attend. The project got its start with a workshop at Northwestern last year, convened by Northwestern President **Morton Schapiro**, a professor and IPR higher education economist, and **Eric Witherspoon**, Evanston Township High School (ETHS) Superintendent.

Organized by IPR, the two-day workshop emphasized how research is key to informing and evaluating efforts to prepare minority and low-income students for selective colleges. Several IPR faculty presented their related research on affirmative action and pay-for-performance programs, student interracial relations, teacher quality, and high-school-to-college transitions.

Figlio, who moderated the workshop, also discussed an ongoing, real-time evaluation of an instructional revision at ETHS that he is conducting with IPR researchers **Thomas D. Cook**, a social psychologist, and **Charles Whitaker** in journalism, in addition to colleagues from the American

Institutes for Research and Harvard University. The high school, which has a very ethnically and socially diverse student body, revamped its freshman honors course in the humanities in 2011 and in biology in 2012. Previously, honors classes were composed of mostly affluent, white students.

To expand honors course offerings, and eventually Advanced Placement courses, to a more economically and

racially diverse mix of students, district administrators, based on Figlio’s advice, overhauled the two core classes to allow for three levels of students. The top 5 percent, as measured by reading test scores, were placed in an honors-only class; those who scored the lowest were placed in classes where they received additional instruction.

The majority of students who fell between the two were enrolled in “mixed” classes, where they could either earn honors credit or regular credit in the class. Since the new model takes account of the quality of student work in the classes, students have to pass benchmark assessments each semester. The curriculum was also aligned to the guidelines of AP, ACT, and Common Core State Standards.

The researchers will look at a wide variety of short- and long-term outcomes, including student and parent satisfaction, student effort and performance, and college attendance and completion, in addition to racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic data. They are examining five cohorts of students, three from before the 2011 revised course structure and two from after. Funding comes from the U.S. Department of Education and the Spencer Foundation.

“This mixed-class model has not been tried anywhere before,” said Figlio, who has a daughter who currently attends ETHS and is part of the study. “It provides ETHS with a way to break out of a more rigid course system and open opportunities to more students. The preliminary data show open promise, and if the long-term results—which include college graduation and completion rates—pan out as well, we think it is a model that could serve schools across the nation.”



David Futransky of ETHS asks attendees to think about ways to encourage disadvantaged students to enroll in selective colleges.

The State of Healthcare *(Continued from page 1)*

after hearing about the state's Medicaid lottery on the news. The state used this lottery to select low-income, uninsured adults from a Medicaid waiting list in 2008.

The researchers published findings in 2011 and 2013, yet no matter how carefully they spoke to the press about them, the media coverage was “easily pushed to being all black or all white,” Baicker said. “I read a lot of headlines about the same paper that sounded as though they were discussing two completely different sets of results.”

The consequences of expanding Medicaid—or any other health insurance program—she pointed out, are likely “neither all good, nor all bad.”

The Oregon study revealed that participants used more healthcare, including hospitals, doctors, and prescriptions. Enrollees were better off financially: They were 25 percent less likely to have an unpaid medical bill sent to a collection agency than the control group, and the likelihood of having catastrophic out-of-pocket medical costs “virtually disappeared.” Health outcomes were mixed. Baicker pointed to enrollees’ “dramatically” better mental health outcomes, a “major, underappreciated” health burden for this low-income population, with Medicaid reducing observed depression rates by 30 percent. But their physical health outcomes, such as the prevalence of diabetes and high blood pressure, did not measurably improve.

Many people focus exclusively on “physical health outcomes,” Baicker said. Since the program did not “cure diabetes” or result in other detectable physical health improvements after two years—though long-term effects could be different—some might ask, “Why shouldn’t we take the thousands and thousands of dollars spent on Medicaid and spend them on some other program?”

“The bottom line is that Medicaid is a program with real costs ... and major benefits,” Baicker said, urging policymakers to use the evidence and weigh both.

Effects of the Affordable Care Act

Baicker then discussed what she sees as the ACA's two major goals: covering the uninsured and controlling spending growth. The first is much easier to accomplish because we already know what to do, she said.

“If you spend enough money, you can cover most of the uninsured,” Baicker said, pointing to good data about what different policies would do. “The second goal of getting spending under control is the much thornier one, in part because we don’t know the right policy on that front.”

Many studies have shown that both patients and providers are price sensitive, Baicker said. Changing incentives for patients is an important part of the solution, but it alone is not enough to eliminate low-value care because patients are human beings making tough decisions with limited information.

Incentives for providers must also be improved. “It is clear that the payment system on the provider side has driven a lot of inefficient spending,” Baicker said. Evidence on how to improve provider payments is limited though, partly because it is harder to design studies around system-level reforms. In this



Katherine Baicker explains how the consequences of expanding health insurance are likely “neither all good, nor all bad.”

respect, she sees a lot of “throwing darts” in the ACA with the hope that something will stick and work. Baicker also spoke about the effort and rewards inherent in working with states to evaluate large-scale reforms—and the likelihood of missed evaluation opportunities as the ACA rolls out.

She and her colleagues continue to examine the Oregon data and are now investigating emergency department use. In detailing some of their methodological challenges, Baicker thanked IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, who directs IPR's Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, for his help in teaching them how to use dried blood spots. McDade helped to pioneer this method that allows researchers to test for a wide range of health indicators using blood from finger pricks.

Research and Policymaking

In 2005, Baicker took a two-year leave to serve as one of three Senate-confirmed economists on the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) under President George W. Bush. At the CEA, she worked on the microeconomics portfolio and wound up spending half of her time on healthcare issues.

“The CEA was like a small think tank within the Executive Office of the President, intended to bridge academic research and policy,” she said. She also noted that the CEA was “nimble” than many other agencies or departments. Since the economists were only there for two years, they were much less wedded to the “established ways of doing things.”

She said her training as an economist taught her how to quickly dissect and analyze a wide range of issues. In terms of actual decision making, she learned how to give the best advice she could and then stand back and accept the decision taken.

“I’m very excited about moving some very influential person’s opinion by an inch versus moving people that I talk to all the time by a foot,” Baicker said.

Katherine Baicker is professor of health economics in Harvard University’s School of Public Health and co-principal investigator of the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment.

A Successful Summer

IPR's undergraduate research program builds lasting collaborations

This summer 34 Northwestern undergraduate students eschewed more traditional summer jobs of lifeguarding or waiting tables in favor of developing surveys and running regressions. As participants in IPR's Summer Undergraduate Research Assistant (RA) Program, they worked on social science research projects under the mentorship of one of 23 IPR faculty members.

Katherine Scovic, who is a junior majoring in political science, worked with IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** this summer on projects examining the topics of polarization and bipartisanship in Congress after taking a class with her.

"It was a great experience because Professor Harbridge had mentioned her research in our class, and over the summer I was able to see how that research was conducted," Scovic said. Over the summer, she coded news articles, conducted a literature review, and gathered information on congressional candidates.

A recent IPR internal survey found that faculty also appreciate participating in the program, now in its 16th year. As one of the University's longest-running undergraduate research opportunities, it has also led to a number of undergraduate scholarly contributions: More than 60 percent of faculty said the project their undergraduate RA worked on was published or submitted for publication, with 12 percent of RAs listed as a co-author on the paper. The faculty-student collaborations also resulted in senior thesis topics for nearly 20 percent of the RAs.

These collaborations often continue beyond the summer. Sixty percent of IPR faculty said they continued working with their research assistant after the program ended, and nearly 90 percent gave their research assistant career advice.

Lauren Linzmeier Russell (WCAS '12) worked in summer 2011 with education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**. As an economics, math, and social science methods major, she examined the effects of school accountability on public-private school choice and residential location, which helped prepare her for a career in research.

"The most valuable aspect of the program was being mentored closely by one of the top researchers in my field of interest," said Russell, now in her second year at MIT as a doctoral student in economics.

"I spent most of my time performing the empirical analysis for the project. This involved cleaning data, coding up regressions, and interpreting our results," Russell said. "I had never undertaken any extensive empirical analysis before, so I spent

a lot of time learning how to code and implement the differences-in-differences methodology."

Russell believes the research experience she gained through IPR is a "key reason" she received a graduate fellowship from the National Science Foundation in 2012.

IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** currently

directs the program. He points out that not all of the research assistants will become researchers, but even those who go on to other professions, like law or medicine, praise the program for helping them to "understand research in a way they didn't before."

Over the summer of 2011, senior **Bennett Silbert**, who is majoring in economics and math, worked with political scientist and IPR

Associate Director **James Druckman** examining news coverage of political campaigns.

"I gained a greater appreciation for the time and dedication it takes to produce a piece of scholarly research, as well as some practical knowledge of some ways to conduct research in a rigorous way," Silbert said.

During his project, he coded newspaper articles from every state that mentioned that particular state's congressional candidates, looking for positive and negative mentions, determining the type of news article, and mining for a number of other characteristics to understand how the media talked about the candidates. He is using some of his newly acquired research skills for his honors thesis.

Ultimately, Silbert was most grateful for the opportunity to work closely and build a relationship with a faculty member and hone his research skills—even though he plans to work in consulting after graduation.

"I consider myself lucky to have been able to learn from Professor Druckman and better understand the work he does," Silbert said.

Scovic, an IPR work-study student during the academic year, echoed this appreciation for the complexities of research.

"The most interesting part was learning how much goes into answering a research question," Scovic said. "There's no one-size-fits-all method or approach. I was surprised at the variety of things that I worked on; it was more than I expected going into the program."



Several 2013 IPR summer undergraduate research assistants take a break from their research projects to have lunch with IPR faculty and staff.

A. McClain

For more about IPR's Summer Undergraduate RA Program, see www.ipr.northwestern.edu/about/student-research/surap/index.html.

A “Know” Vote: What Voters Know and Believe

Experts tackle assumptions underlying voter knowledge and beliefs

Each May, IPR associate director and political scientist **James Druckman** brings together social scientists and graduate students to discuss topics related to social and political behavior at the Chicago Area Behavior Workshop. The seventh annual workshop took place on May 10 with five leading scholars presenting their latest research to more than 110 faculty and students. IPR and the Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences sponsored the workshop.

Increasing Civic Competence

Surveys abound that purport to describe what voters know—and should know—about politics and civic life, with most showing that a majority of Americans lack requisite “political knowledge.” Yet University of Michigan political scientist **Arthur Lupia** pointed out that such survey questions led a generation of scholars to draw erroneous conclusions about public competence. The questions, he showed, are based on a mistaken and outmoded understanding of the interplay between information, choice, and outcomes in political contexts. This lack of understanding causes surveys to produce misleading indicators of how well citizens can accomplish key civic tasks, such as voting or serving on a jury. He showed that there is a fundamental disconnect between the questions that surveys ask and the things that people need to know to make competent choices. As part of his new book manuscript on theories and practices of civic education, Lupia turned to the “science of knowledge” to outline his “logic of competence.” This logic shows how different kinds of information relate to desirable types of knowledge and competence. When surveys align their questions with this logic, Lupia argued, they can provide scholars and the public with more accurate assessments of citizen competence. Since these assessments can increase the effectiveness and efficiency of civic education, he demonstrated the public value of this type of research.

Detangling Gender Stereotypes and Politics

How might gender stereotypes influence voting behavior in elections with women candidates? Using survey data from more than 3,100 adults before and after the 2010 elections, **Kathleen Dolan** of the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee first examined respondents’ gender stereotypes by asking them if they believed men or women who run for political office to be more likely to display specific traits or be more competent to handle certain policies. In the second round, the respondents were asked to answer similar questions about specific candidates for whom they



Kathleen Dolan

could vote. She found that gender stereotypes do not appear to significantly influence vote choice. In cases where they do, it is almost always because of political party stereotypes. Dolan identified shared party identification with a candidate, not being of the same sex, as the main determinant of vote choice—for both men and women.

Examining American Beliefs About Inequality

It is widely assumed that Americans care little about income inequality and dislike redistributive policies. Presenting material from her 2013 book, *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs*



Leslie McCall

About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution (Cambridge University Press), IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** argued the opposite, explaining that such assumptions are based on incomplete survey data and prior economic conditions. In reviewing current and past public opinion data, she found that Americans’ concerns about income inequality have increased, in particular during difficult economic times where the rich are perceived as prospering while the rest of America sees itself falling behind with poor jobs, low pay, and restricted educational opportunities. Americans tend to favor policies, such as minimum wage laws, as a way to expand opportunity and equality in the workplace rather than tax-and-spend policies to redistribute income. McCall concluded by discussing research in progress with IPR psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** that frames these changing views about inequality in an “opportunity model” that incorporates Americans’ worries about the erosion of opportunity and attributes some of the blame for this erosion to rising economic inequality (see p. 12).

Mobilizing Voters in the 21st Century

Can volunteers effectively persuade people to vote for a candidate? If so, are some people more responsive to this kind of outreach than others? Research by University of Notre Dame political scientist **David Nickerson** aimed to answer these questions, which can have strong implications for campaign strategies when funds and manpower are limited. Nickerson and his team conducted a volunteer call experiment in 19 different states early in 2012 before the presidential election. They found that while respondents rarely changed their mind about their chosen candidate if they were already decided, those on the fence were slightly persuadable, with the biggest effect among 18- to 35-year-olds. The smallest change was seen in the middle-aged group. Those who were persuaded

(Continued on page 22)

A “Know” Vote: What Voters Know and Believe *(Continued from page 21)*

also changed as the election came closer. As people made up their minds, they became less persuadable, and other voters who were not persuadable in January or May became more persuadable by September.

Academia and Policymaking

The workshop concluded with a roundtable discussion by Lupia, Nickerson, and Kellogg management and strategy professor **Daniel Diermeier**, an IPR associate. They discussed transitioning from academia to the world of policymaking. Lupia noted many of the reasons that social science research is vital to policymaking and the implications of recent cuts in research funding. Diermeier and Nickerson both suggested ways to translate academic findings into information that policymakers find compelling and easy to digest.



Panelists (from left) David Nickerson, Daniel Diermeier, and Arthur Lupia discuss bridging the gap between academia and policy consulting.

The next CAB workshop will be May 9, 2014.
For more information, visit <http://bit.ly/cab2014>.

Recent Media Coverage *(Continued from page 3)*

research-focused, tenure-track faculty and primarily teaching-focused faculty on student learning outcomes (see p. 4).

IPR developmental psychologist **Emma Adam** discussed her collaboration with the athletic department and others to evaluate the sleep of Northwestern football players in *The New York Times* sports section. “What they’re doing is taking existing sleep research and translating it into a program designed for their athletes that they hope will improve not only athletic performance, but also a whole bunch of other things,” Adam told the paper.

In a *New York Times* “Room for Debate” piece, **Celeste Watkins-Hayes**, an IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher, called on the government to take small steps to improve borrowing opportunities for minority and underserved communities who have typically been subject to a “two-tier credit market” that offers them fewer and riskier options.

IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall**’s research on perceptions of economic inequality was mentioned in a *Los Angeles Times* feature on how Americans identify their own level of prosperity. She was also cited in a *New York Times* column about what the government can do about inequality.

Psychologist **Sandra Waxman**, IPR’s newest fellow (see p. 3), co-authored two recent studies that were met with widespread attention. The first, a study on how very young infants categorized lemur calls the same way they would human speech, was picked up by NPR, NBC News, *Popular Science*, and *The Economist*. The second study shared the results of an experiment on how infants acquire new words in English, Korean, and Mandarin and was featured in *Time*.

In September, **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, an IPR economist, received prominent media coverage for three different research studies. In the span of a week, her work

on the costs and benefits of expanding access to preschool education was featured at length in *The Wall Street Journal*, her study showing evidence of the long-term benefits of food stamps was cited by *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman, and her study revealing potential disadvantages for students who are “redshirted,” or held back for a year before enrolling in kindergarten, was discussed in *The New Yorker*. In September, she had an opinion piece published in *U.S. News & World Report* (see p. 10) on the dangers of cutting food-stamp funding, as well as one in *Crain’s Chicago Business* on why conservative economic icon Milton Friedman would have supported food stamps.

Healthcare economist and IPR associate **David Dranove** wrote opinion pieces regarding aspects of the Affordable Care Act that were published in *Crain’s* and *Business Insider*.

The Atlantic and *The Huffington Post* wrote feature-length stories on the different perceptions of black girls versus black boys in predominantly white, suburban schools, citing research by social policy researcher **Simone Ispa-Landa**, an IPR associate.

Research by IPR labor economist **Kirabo Jackson** on the impact of teachers on students’ test scores and noncognitive skills was featured in a *Washington Post* story on relative standards for student success.

Pablo Boczkowski, a media, technology, and society researcher and IPR associate, penned an opinion piece for *U.S. News & World Report* about the disconnect between the public affairs stories that editors are featuring prominently and stories on other topics, which receive the most reader attention. He wrote another commentary for *The Huffington Post* that discussed the perils of only consuming political news around election time.

Courtesy of C. Watkins-Hayes



Celeste
Watkins-Hayes

Courtesy of S. Ispa-Landa



Simone
Ispa-Landa

The Enduring Neighborhood Effect *(Continued from page 24)*

12,000 interviews from pregnancy to young adulthood—to examine the children’s changing life circumstances, and an intensive study of each neighborhood’s social, economic, organizational, political, and cultural structures.

In addition to combing through census statistics, crime records, and housing data, the researchers conducted numerous community surveys and systematic social observations, analyzed each neighborhood’s organizational networks, and compiled an archive of collective action events, such as rallies and marches.

The study, which at its peak employed more than 150 people, eventually chronicled the expectations of more than 10,000 Chicagoans for their neighborhoods. It also deployed several novel elements to examine neighborhood contexts. For example, Sampson and his colleagues studied return rates for fully addressed and stamped letters dropped on the ground in randomly assigned neighborhoods. They also outfitted SUVs with cameras, videotaping neighborhoods for real-time scientific observations.

Their observations and data allowed them to document not just higher-order structural changes and community-level processes but also drill down into individual actions, suggesting that place still very much matters in shaping a person’s outcomes.

Sampson described how the social personality or character of a particular neighborhood could be revealed through such seemingly unrelated statistics as homicide and incarceration rates, low-birth weights, and even technology use—how these and others are part of the “same story.”

“When you start adding all of these things up, you get to the notion of an enduring neighborhood phenomenon,” Sampson said.

The overarching theme that emerged was “persistence despite change.” Sampson and his team found that the ranking of neighborhoods by their poverty rates remained surprisingly persistent for the past 40 years despite significant cultural, racial, and demographic changes across the city. Such change, he underscored, reproduces a certain kind of inequality stemming from a city’s social order. While it is easy to assume that things like homicide rates and child health are tied to poverty concentration, Sampson reported that income levels do not always explain their presence in a neighborhood.

The research also suggested that several important urban policy theories need rethinking, given the profound reshaping of the urban “ecology.” To illustrate, Sampson pointed to the “powerful” cues of disorder, referring to the famous “broken windows” theory of crime. Put forth by criminologists James Q. Wilson and George Kelling, it postulates that acting to prevent and fix low-level vandalism like graffiti will discourage greater acts of crime and violence in a neighborhood.

Yet Sampson argues that perceptions of crime and disorder are much more nuanced than that. He points to how people in the same neighborhood have radically different perceptions



In a panel discussion after the lecture with Robert Sampson, IPR economist Jonathan Guryan (left) and sociologist Mary Pattillo, an IPR associate, consider the effects of the Great Recession on neighborhood inequality.

of disorder when you ask, for instance, for their thoughts on graffiti: One person’s work of “art” is another’s act of “vandalism.”

All in all, their data show the great amount of variability across neighborhoods. By isolating the character of the city’s social structure and focusing on social processes and mechanisms, Sampson said his hope is to bring “it all together” to construct a more complete theory of neighborhood effects.

“Individual-level ties do have associations that go beyond the usual suspects of socioeconomic status and race with regard to community outcomes,” Sampson said.

He ended by pointing to the Great Recession, the historic drop in crime rates, declines in teen pregnancies and arrests, increasing life expectancies, and changes in housing policy as emerging social phenomena set to transform cities yet again and warranting further study by social scientists.

Sampson touched on many of these themes in a panel discussion following the lecture with several IPR faculty. IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** pointed to the need to tailor poverty-reduction policies to individuals as well as communities. IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** considered the “great mystery” of why crime is still dropping despite factors that would seemingly push it up. Sociologist and African American studies researcher **Mary Pattillo**, an IPR associate, discussed the importance of examining the effects of specific policies, such as school closings and urban renewal. Social policy professor **Dan Lewis**, also an IPR associate, organized the panel and served as moderator.

“Rob Sampson is a leading voice in many conversations across the social sciences, including sociology, demography, public health, and criminology,” noted IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen**, who organized Sampson’s lecture, which IPR co-sponsored with the Department of Sociology. “But his voice has been especially strong and clear in making the case that neighborhoods matter in myriad ways for myriad outcomes that both social scientists and policymakers care deeply about.”

P. Reese

Institute for Policy Research

Northwestern University
2040 Sheridan Road
Evanston, IL 60208-4100

Phone: 847-491-3395

Fax: 847-491-9916

Web: www.ipr.northwestern.edu

E-mail: ipr@northwestern.edu



NORTHWESTERN
UNIVERSITY

Non-Profit
Organization
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 205
Evanston, IL 60201

The Enduring Neighborhood Effect

Why inequality persists despite significant urban change

A quick walking tour from Chicago's wealthy Magnificent Mile to the "infamous" Cabrini-Green, a demolished public housing site, provides a powerful snapshot of urban and demographic shifts that have occurred over decades in the city, Harvard sociologist **Robert Sampson** told an audience of over 80 faculty, students, and community members. The tour passes through "world-class" neighborhoods, eventually arriving at a mixed-income housing development erected on the site of the now-leveled Cabrini-Green projects.

As the 2013 Social Inequality and Difference Lecturer on May 17, Sampson used the tour to trace the city's transition over four decades, one of "contrast, diversity, and change." He unpacked 10 years of wide-ranging, in-depth research on nearly 350 poor, middle-class, and wealthy neighborhoods throughout the city from his 2012 book *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect* (University of Chicago Press).

"The motivation for the book is this idea of spatial inequality—and this is not something that just goes on in Chicago," Sampson said, explaining that these kinds of patterns can be traced back to ancient cities. The book attempts to study all types of neighborhoods and their differences. It includes a diverse sample of black and white, working-class and wealthy, and poor and middle-class ones. "It's not just studying the ghetto," Sampson said at the lecture co-sponsored by IPR.

The project's massive and sophisticated data collection consisted of two key parts: a longitudinal birth cohort study of 6,200 children—including

(Continued on page 23)

Noted Experts to Speak on Higher Education, Politics, and Patents

IPR is pleased to announce three upcoming research lectures at Northwestern in early 2014.



R. Arum



N. McCarty



F. Scott Morton

Richard Arum of New York University is an expert on education, formal organizations, and self-employment. He will discuss follow-up research from his acclaimed 2011 book *Academically Adrift: Limited Learning on College Campuses* (University of Chicago Press) on January 29.

Nolan McCarty is a noted expert on U.S. politics, democratic institutions, and political game theory. He is Susan Dod Brown Professor of Politics and Public Affairs at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He will speak on March 3.

Fiona Scott Morton is a professor of economics at Yale University's School of Management. She served as the deputy assistant attorney general for economic analysis at the antitrust division of the U.S. Department of Justice in 2011–12. She will discuss patent acquisitions on March 10.

Lecture details will be available at www.ipr.northwestern.edu.