Is America heading out of a pandemic lockdown into a housing lockout?

On one side of the fence, millions of Americans face uncertainty and risk being thrown out of their homes as the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention’s eviction and federal foreclosure ban expired on July 31 while affordable housing inequities continue to grow. On the other, plans to break new ground on the issue have emerged: Nationally, President Biden has made affordable housing a key part of his infrastructure plan, and states and cities have initiated others, like the city of Evanston’s (Ill.) housing-centered reparations program.

From IPR’s start, its faculty have conducted seminal research on housing issues. They have investigated the long-term outcomes of public housing residents, lack of affordable housing, and effects of mobility programs, as well as persistent structural inequities like redlining, segregation, and discrimination—all exacerbated by the pandemic.

Conduct Regular Audits and Enforce Rules to Achieve Fairer Housing

IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian, who studies discrimination and segregation in housing, views ongoing discrimination in the housing market and its effects on housing prices as contributing to neighborhood segregation and as obstacles to homeownership.

As he demonstrates in his research that examined 35 studies undertaken from 1976–2016, the most overt forms of discrimination against Black and Latino house-seekers have subsided, but more subtle forms of unequal treatment have persisted over the last 40 years. Housing audits—tests of how potential renters or buyers are treated—reveal that Black and Latino auditors are treated quite differently from White ones.

“People aren’t aware of most of the unequal treatment,” Quillian said. “There’s no way they can know without the comparison.”

Although people who believe they have been discriminated against can file complaints, little affordable legal help is available, he notes. He would like to see the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) conduct regular audits in housing markets and use them more often to enforce housing law. Regular audits and enforcement could help deter discrimination, he says.

“If it was something they did in an ongoing way, it would be more of an enforcement activity,” Quillian said.

Change Local Zoning Policies to Create More Affordable Homes

While blatant housing discrimination is less likely today, the pandemic has highlighted issues with affordability, including increasing rates of evictions and the way crowded housing situations helped spread COVID-19, said IPR political scientist Chloe Thurston.

(Continued on page 18)
**Honors for Research Excellence**

Scholars recognized for work to address key policy issues

**McDade Tapped for Two National Academies**

In April, IPR biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade** was elected to the National Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, two of the nation’s most prestigious scholarly bodies. McDade, the Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology, studies how social, economic, and ecological contexts shape human biology and health over the life course. His research focuses on the long-term effects of early environments and integrates biological measures into population-based research.

**Destin Becomes a Guggenheim Fellow**

IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** was one of four Northwestern scholars recently named by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation as one of its 2021 fellows. With a focus on how socioeconomic resources influence life trajectories, he studies how environments shape people’s identities and the impact of these dynamic identities on school experiences and wellbeing. Destin is associate professor of psychology and human development and social policy.

**Jackson Receives Kershaw Award for Policy Researchers Under 40**

IPR education and labor economist **Kirabo Jackson** has been honored with the 2020 David N. Kershaw Award by the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management. It recognizes those who, before the age of 40, have made distinguished research contributions to the field of public policy. It is one of the largest and most prestigious awards to recognize contributions in policy analysis and management. Jackson, the Abraham Harris Professor of Social Policy, was nominated for his path-breaking work that encompasses school finance reform and teacher effectiveness, both of which have changed fundamental thinking on these two topics.

**Guryan Elected to the National Academy of Education**

IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** was elected to the National Academy of Education in March. His scholarship has helped document inequality and disparities that can be attributed to discrimination, prejudice, sexism, and policy choices — such as the way public schools are financed. As co-founder and co-director of the Urban Education Lab at the University of Chicago, he has also studied whether an in-school, high-dosage math tutoring program and mentoring for elementary and middle school students can increase school attendance. Guryan is the Lawyer Taylor Professor of Education and Social Policy.

For more faculty awards and honors, see page 15 and find out more.
Peterson Foundation Grant Fuels COVID-19 Research
$1 million research fund seeks to inform and improve pandemic relief and recovery policies

The Peter G. Peterson Foundation Pandemic Response Policy Research Fund at Northwestern University is funding eight projects to inform and advance future pandemic policy responses, three of which are IPR-led.

The fund, first announced in April with a $1 million grant from the Peterson Foundation, selected eight proposals for funding in May. The nonpartisan foundation promotes fiscal and economic sustainability and increases public awareness of key fiscal challenges.

“This innovative research project will help illuminate critical areas for improvement and preparedness as we emerge from the pandemic,” said Michael A. Peterson, the foundation’s CEO. He added that the projects would “help save lives and improve our response to future crises.”

In the first round of funding, the review committee chose 18- to 24-month research projects to develop insights around the pandemic’s societal impact and solutions applicable to future crises.

Finance professor and IPR associate Janice Eberly, who sits on the eight-person review committee, stressed the importance of elevating timely and policy-relevant research.

“The projects bring our best thinking and analytics to bear on the pandemic’s incredible challenges for healthcare, economics, and the social safety net—and suggest how policy can make a difference in responding to future crises,” she said.

The IPR-led projects will examine institutional trust and public opinion in Black and Latinx communities, track responses to COVID-19, and explore how the pandemic affected early childcare and education in Chicago.

IPR social policy expert Tabitha Bonilla is working on a research project with IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge-Yong and IPR sociologist Beth Redbird to examine the pandemic’s disproportionate effects on Black and Latinx communities. They are also assessing levels of trust in the government among Black and Latinx communities to determine if a connection exists between the pandemic, institutional action, and public trust.

IPR development psychologist Terri Sabol and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, IPR director and economist, are investigating how the pandemic affected center-based childcare, as well as how the market for early care is changing as Chicago and other cities expand publicly provided prekindergarten. The research has important implications for parents’ employment, especially a mother’s, as having childcare plays a prominent role in supporting their ability to work.

IPR political scientist James Druckman’s project extends his ongoing research with the COVID States Project, a consortium of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Northeastern, and Rutgers that conducts large-scale national surveys of American public opinion on various topics.

Druckman will collect post-pandemic data to continue tracking trust in institutions, information and misperceptions, and economic and health inequalities. He seeks to examine the pandemic’s consequences on democracy and society.

Public health scholar Ronald Ackermann, sociologist Andrew Papachristos, and strategy professor Amanda Starc also sit on the Peterson Fund’s review committee with Eberly and Schanzenbach, who recused herself from consideration of her proposal. A second round of projects receiving funding will be announced October.

“We are very excited about the potential for those selected to help us understand the ongoing effects of COVID-19 and to design policy solutions,” Schanzenbach said.

Learn more about fund and the projects.
Did more Democrats or Republicans support the fifth coronavirus relief package? How did the pandemic impact gun sales? Do Americans support vote by mail?

These are just a few questions that a team of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Northeastern, and Rutgers universities is asking the American public as part of an ongoing, national survey about the pandemic. Since April 2020, they have been exploring Americans’ opinions, attitudes, and behaviors toward different topics to capture their policy preferences.

The reports uncover a variety of policy-related findings, such as a spike in gun sales during the pandemic, widespread support for vote-by-mail, and parents’ vaccine hesitancy.

“The goal of the consortium has been to provide timely and unique state level data to understand how society has reacted and provide insight to improve response,” said IPR political scientist James Druckman, who co-leads the COVID States Project.

During this historic moment, the researchers believe it was critical to collect data and develop a database about different topics related to policy. So far, Druckman and his colleagues have surveyed roughly 300,000 people and released 56 reports as of July 2021. Their results feature detailed breakdowns of data across political affiliations, race and ethnicity, ages, education levels, earnings, and gender, among others.

For instance, one survey on the most important problems facing the country showed clear partisan and racial differences. Democrats included racism, climate change, and healthcare in their most frequently mentioned problems. Republicans cited healthcare in their top five, in addition to crime and violence, abortion, and the economy. Black Americans were more likely than other racial or ethnic groups to name racism and police brutality as the top problem for the country, while White respondents were most likely to name the economy or healthcare as their No. 2 problem after the pandemic.

Additionally, with this project, the researchers quickly adjusted questions following events or breaking news, such as George Floyd’s murder. Soon after that, Druckman and his colleagues began investigating what Americans thought about the protests that followed.

In other surveys, Druckman and his colleagues underscore the growing hardships and gaps among Americans in their work. In December 2020, nearly 20% of Americans said they were confronting a severe economic hardship, especially those with children, Hispanics, and people who contracted the virus.

Another report from November 2020 reveals increased levels of depression among young adults between 18 and 24 years old.

However, the results also demonstrate unexpected similarities among Americans during this challenging time.

When governors enforced strict lockdown measures at the beginning of the pandemic, the media coverage appeared to show a sharp divide among Americans. Instead, the researchers point to how most were supportive of strict lockdown measures. Nearly 90% of those surveyed supported measures that asked people to stay home, 88% supported closing schools, and 87% supported limiting restaurants to takeout.

While some reports dive into just one topic, the researchers also revisit topics and track changes in opinion over time. These include the job performance of governors and the president, COVID-19 test turnaround times, health-related behaviors, and holiday gatherings. The researchers have revisited executive approval the most, finding that Americans’ approval of how most of their governors are handling the pandemic has declined overall.

As the pandemic continues to impact daily life, these data provide researchers, policymakers, and journalists with a valuable understanding of Americans’ opinions, attitudes, and behaviors.

“Our goal is to continue with the project post-pandemic as there are many open questions about how Americans will adapt as they return to pre-pandemic activities,” Druckman said.

James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director.
**Food Insecurity Amid the Pandemic**

IPR Director Diane Schanzenbach has studied the impact of hunger since March 2020

IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** continues to study the impact of food insecurity on Americans during the pandemic and beyond. One of the nation’s foremost experts on the food safety net, she has analyzed data from the COVID Impact Survey and the Census Bureau’s Household Pulse Survey (CHHPS) in *six IPR rapid research reports* since spring 2020 (see p. 26).

### Estimating Food Insecurity

In a June 2020 report, Schanzenbach and then-research assistant **Abigail Pitts** estimated that food insecurity had doubled and tripled in households with children from April 23–May 19, 2020. They found that 23% of households overall experienced food insecurity.

The researchers attributed approximately half of the increase in food insecurity among families with children to the increase in the unemployment rate during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic. Low-income families were hit particularly hard during the first months of the pandemic. The loss of subsidized school meals due to school closures, elevated unemployment rates among women, delays in some relief payments—such as the slow rollout of the Pandemic Electronic Benefit Transfer (P-EBT) program that provides resources to replace missed school meals—and delayed unemployment insurance payments in many states all had an impact.

Schanzenbach and Pitts also found that racial and ethnic disparities in food insecurity were pronounced: Black and Hispanic households had higher rates than Whites, at 36% and 32% respectively, versus 18% for Whites. Among those with children, 30% overall were food insecure; 41% of households with a Black respondent and 36% of those with a Hispanic respondent were food insecure.

### An Ongoing Crisis

Schanzenbach and Pitts’ subsequent reports revealed ongoing and elevated rates of food insecurity. They also uncovered that Black and Hispanic households with children remained much more likely to experience food hardships than were White households with children. Important disparities across racial and ethnic groups also included current employment status as well as people’s expectations about future income losses and the ability to afford necessities.

The researchers also calculated the number of households who obtained free food from a food pantry, school program, or friends. In the U.S. as a whole, 7.3% of households reported receiving free food during the previous week, with rates varying by state. In Louisiana, for example, 9.3% of households obtained free food, while only 5% did in Virginia.

Schanzenbach underscores how the findings indicate the need for continued relief payments until the economy fully rebounds, such as increased payments from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP, and Unemployment Insurance. She also sees President Biden’s expansion of the federal child tax credit as a means to halve child poverty, thereby reducing hunger.

### Spreading the Word

During the COVID-19 crisis, rates of food insecurity, job losses, and missing mortgage or rent payments have been high. People reported difficulty paying for their usual household expenses, and their feelings of anxiety and worry increased.

Schanzenbach worked to convey the severity of the ongoing crisis and has also testified about it recently before the House Rules Committee (see the back cover for more).

She and former undergraduate researcher **Natalie Tomeh** (B.A. 2021) created an app that allows users to easily access food insecurity rates and other information for each U.S. state. The app creates visualizations for seven key indicators:

- food insecurity,
- employment,
- housing,
- expectations about the future,
- mental health,
- finances, and
- children’s education.

Using data from CHHPS, the app also can sort by household types, such as those with or without children, as well as racial and ethnic groups (see p. 16).

**Diane Schanzenbach** is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor and IPR director. **Abigail Pitts** was a research analyst. **Natalie Tomeh** (B.A. 2021) was an undergraduate research assistant.
Addressing Gun Violence During a Pandemic

Northwestern Neighborhood & Network Initiative studies Chicago's spike in gun violence

As the COVID-19 pandemic grew in 2020, so did gun violence around the U.S., with nearly a 25% jump from 2019. Since March 2020, The Northwestern Neighborhood & Network Initiative (N3) has issued nine rapid research reports that provide important insights about the spike in gun violence in Chicago and efforts to reduce it during the pandemic.

Under the leadership of IPR sociologist Andrew Papachristos and executive director Soledad McGrath, N3 uses network thinking to address challenges in Chicago and surrounding communities. N3’s investigations include a promising community policing program, street outreach, Evanston’s police department, and the average age of a homicide victim in Chicago. Below are summaries of three recent reports.

Network Analysis of Shootings

In Chicago, homicides and gun shootings decreased from 2017–19, but in 2020, the city saw one of the deadliest years in the past two decades. Three weekends between June 18–July 5, 2020 were the most violent in Chicago, with about 416 fatal and non-fatal shootings.

Given that prior research suggests that the victims—and possibly the perpetrators—of gun violence cluster in small identifiable social networks, the N3 team conducted a network analysis of those weekends.

One key finding shows 51%, or 214, of the shooting victims during this period occurred within 108 small social networks. Additionally, most victims had elevated levels of exposure to prior shootings and victimization and were connected to other shooting victims.

The results also uncover that street outreach had a notable presence in some of the networks, but a considerable number of victims lost connection to outreach workers and other services. During the pandemic the level of outreach in the networks is an important factor because it may help guide outreach efforts in the city.

Street Outreach and Gun Violence

N3 has partnered with Communities Partnering 4 Peace (CP4P) to evaluate the impact of street outreach workers. Since the pandemic, N3 expanded its research to investigate how COVID-19 impacted gun violence and street outreach efforts.

CP4P organizations also grew their social media strategies to address and diffuse conflicts online.

Fourth, amid low morale, outreach workers rallied around each other and created a sense of group solidarity as they navigated new challenges. Fifth, the organizations increased communication to stakeholders to highlight how they addressed the increase in violence.

What Motivates Participants to Stay in Chicago CRED?

Chicago CRED seeks to reduce gun violence by inviting young men to join a program with dedicated life coaching, trauma counseling, education, and biweekly cash stipends.

As CRED’s research partner, N3 conducted field observations and interviewed participants about the program and detailed narratives about their lives and neighborhoods to understand why participants enroll.

Participants cited CRED’s recruitment efforts and credibility as reasons they joined and remained in the program. Staff members were seen as credible because of their history with street activity, and their success served as evidence of the program’s effectiveness.

“I think some of these people here probably care about you more than your own family, man. They make you feel like you somethin’. It gives you motivation to push,” said one CRED participant.

Participants said they enjoyed the welcoming environment, experienced fulfilling relationships, and saw CRED as a way to self-improvement. The findings offer a baseline understanding of how participants navigate the program and their social networks.

Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow. Soledad McGrath is an IPR research professor. They direct the Northwestern Neighborhood & Network (N3) Initiative, housed within IPR.

ipr.northwestern.edu
Community-Based Research Shows More People Exposed to COVID-19 Virus Than Previously Known

Study reveals need for two doses of mRNA vaccines for mild and asymptomatic cases

An assay plate contains mailed-in samples of reconstituted blood.

As the U.S. continues to vaccinate Americans to prevent a wider outbreak of COVID-19, the Food and Drug Administration has currently authorized three vaccines for emergency use, two of which use a two-dose regime. Northwestern University researchers are conducting an ongoing community-based study that shows that mild or asymptomatic infections—which comprise the vast majority of infections in the general population—do not generate high levels of protective immunity.

The study also shows that a single dose of current two-dose mRNA vaccines does not provide adequate protection for most people with mild or asymptomatic COVID-19.

The interdisciplinary team of Northwestern scientists, who include IPR biological anthropologist Thomas McDade, and medical social sciences professor and IPR associate Brian Mustanski, launched a large community-based study called SCAN: Screening for Coronavirus Antibodies in Neighborhoods in June 2020. SCAN aims to track the spread of SARS-CoV-2, the virus that causes COVID-19, and to identify the circumstances and behaviors associated with exposure and severity of infection. Nearly 10,000 people across the Chicagoland area are enrolled in the study.

“SCAN integrates survey and laboratory methods into a novel no-contact research platform,” McDade said. “This allows us to reach a large and diverse group of participants to generate important insights into the causes and consequences of COVID-19 infection in the community.”

SCAN is a serological study, meaning that it measures antibodies against SARS-CoV-2 in blood samples to determine whether someone was previously exposed to the virus, even if the person never showed any symptoms of infection or received a clinical diagnosis of disease. Blood samples are self-collected at home with a simple finger stick.

Importantly, SCAN applies two different kinds of antibody tests. The first test provides a very accurate measure of prior exposure to the virus. The second test measures the level of protective immunity against infection.

SCAN’s findings, which are detailed in five preprints and a published article, include:

• The majority of SARS-CoV-2 infections in the community are mild and asymptomatic, and they generate lower levels of protective immunity than has been reported in clinical studies which focus on more severe cases of COVID-19.

• Rates of infection were seven times higher in Chicago—as indicated by a positive antibody test—than detected by viral testing for acute infection.

• Chicagoans in more disadvantaged neighborhoods had more severe COVID-19 cases compared to adjoining neighborhoods, but antibody testing revealed no significant differences in the likelihood of exposure to the virus between the areas.

• Those exposed to COVID-19 in the home scored 2.5 times higher on a measure of symptom severity. They also had higher levels of antibodies than individuals who picked up the virus outside of the home.

Thomas McDade is Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology, director of IPR’s Cells to Society: The Center on Social Disparities and Health, and an IPR fellow.

Two Doses of an mRNA Vaccine Are Better Than One for Those Without Confirmed Cases of COVID-19

![Two Doses of Vaccine Are Better Than One for Those Without Confirmed Cases of COVID-19](chart.png)
Public Perceptions of Black Girls and the Punitive Consequences

Black women and girls are punished—through suspension, arrests, and incarceration—at alarmingly high rates in the United States.

In an IPR working paper, social policy expert Sally Nuamah investigates the public perceptions shaping the punitive experiences of Black women and girls. In a survey experiment of 1,466 adults, she presented participants with a scenario in which a student violated the school’s dress code policy by wearing shorts. They were then randomly presented with one of four names common among particular racial and gender groups—Keisha (a Black girl), Emily (a White girl), Jamal (a Black boy), and Jake (a White boy)—as the violator of the dress code. The participants were then asked questions about their perception of the student.

The findings show participants perceived Emily and Keisha as older than the male students, but Keisha was viewed as significantly more dangerous, experienced with sex, and appropriately punished for violating the dress code by being suspended. The results reveal that Black girls suffer from more severe forms of punishment because of their gender and race. This work has serious implications for research related to the impacts of Black women and girls’ punishment for democracy at large.

Sally Nuamah is assistant professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

A Limit on the Range of Vocalizations That Support Infant Cognition

A study published in PLOS One finds that although human and non-human primate vocalizations facilitate core cognitive processes in very young human infants, birdsong does not. The researchers, including IPR research specialist Kali Woodruff Carr and IPR psychologist Sandra Waxman, have new evidence documenting that not all naturally produced vocalizations support cognition in infants. Ample evidence documents that infants as young as 3 and 4 months old have begun to link the language they hear to the objects that surround them. Listening to their native language boosts their success in forming categories of objects, for instance, dog. Object categorization, the ability to identify commonalities among objects—for example, Fido or Spot—is a fundamental building block of cognition. “This new evidence brings us closer to identifying which vocalizations initially support infant cognition,” Waxman said.

Sandra Waxman is the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology, professor of cognitive psychology, and an IPR fellow. Kali Woodruff Carr is a PhD candidate in communication sciences and disorders.

45–50 Minutes of High-Dosage Tutoring to Double Math Learning

IPR economist Jonathan Guryan released a study with the University of Chicago Education Lab that demonstrates individualized, intensive—or “high-dosage”—tutoring can double or triple the amount of math high school students learn each year, increase student grades, and reduce the number of failed classes in math and other courses. The study evaluated the impact of an intervention that provided Chicago Public Schools students with daily 45–50 minute, two-on-one math instruction in ninth and tenth grades. The intervention, which cost $3,500 to $4,300 per pupil per year, was developed by the Saga Education, a nonprofit organization.

Jonathan Guryan is the Lawyer Taylor Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR fellow.
The Power of Balanced Messaging to Support Marginalized Students

A study finds that messages about the positive power of a student’s background can support the achievement and wellbeing of marginalized high school or college students. The finding by IPR social psychologist Mesmin Destin holds important implications for educational policies and practices. Students who are Black, Latinx, or from lower socioeconomic (SES) or other marginalized backgrounds constantly hear negative messages about their problems and challenges. Such messages can lead them to believe that their backgrounds are only barriers and never strengths. One significant influence on students is their instructors. Students systematically pick up messages from faculty, intentional or not, that “aren’t necessarily conveying a belief that their group that is seen as marginalized in society actually is a source of some unique strengths,” Destin said. Other work in Destin’s lab demonstrates that high school and college students can get “big messages” from society and the political world that affect students’ sense of belonging in their academic communities.

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

The History of Diversity as an Education Value

In November 2020, an appellate court agreed with the lower court that Harvard University’s effort to diversify its student body did not involve intentional discrimination against Asian American applicants. This summer the Supreme Court has requested the views of Biden’s Department of Justice on the case. In the meantime, new research reveals that a belief in the educational value of diversity was a critical part of the original motivation behind affirmative action.

This idea that diversity is educationally valuable—or the “diversity rationale”—is often seen as coming out of the seminal 1978 Regents of California v. Bakke Supreme Court case. But IPR sociologist Anthony S. Chen and co-author Lisa Stulberg of New York University find that it started much earlier.

In Bakke, the court struck down racial quotas in the admissions process, but held that race could still be used to foster racial diversity.

“The diversity rationale is not really a creature of the ‘70s,” Chen explained. Examining historical records dating back to the 1960s, he and Stulberg discover something else: “It’s actually a creature of the early 1960s, which is a very different moment in American political life.”

The two researchers focus on little known but critically important conversations in the early 1960s, when admissions officers and administrators at top universities saw that American society was changing. They decided that their institutions should take the lead in enrolling students who differed from the White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants who had long made up their student bodies.

Those like Wilbur Bender, Harvard’s dean of admissions during the Eisenhower era, believed that classes of diverse students improved education. He set out to disseminate his ideas in 1961, just after the country had elected its first Roman Catholic president—John F. Kennedy.

Chen and Stulberg’s findings challenge the idea that the diversity rationale was hurriedly concocted in the 1970s to justify racial preferences that could not otherwise survive legal and constitutional scrutiny. They call into question the intense skepticism that is often brought to bear on the underlying motives of schools that wish to compose a diverse class for its educational value.

Anthony Chen is associate professor of sociology and political science (by courtesy) and an IPR fellow.
Research by IPR education sociologist Simone Ispa-Landa with graduate research assistant Mariana Oliver sheds light on an apparent conflict between women’s ideals of feminist empowerment and taking part in Greek life. The study, published in Gender & Society, explores how women perceive, explain, and reconcile the costs and benefits associated with historically White college sororities and a social hierarchy predominately controlled by men.

A centuries-old institution, the historically White Greek system is a pillar of social and extracurricular life on many campuses, with robust enrollments by middle- and upper-middle-class White students. But even before the Abolish Greek Life Movement, women held serious doubts about whether Greek life was sustainable, given its clash with their goals and values.

In a series of 117 interviews with 53 sorority women conducted over the course of three years, study participants consistently talked about three recurrent issues. The women complained about a social status system that rewards women for beauty, wealth, and fashion over anything else. They expressed outrage about a rush process that excludes and marginalizes women of color and women from lower-income backgrounds. And they criticized Greek party culture for allowing a male-controlled social environment, as fraternities tended to host parties and fraternity members determined the lighting, music, and alcohol.

“This new study shows that the problems in Greek life are even greater than previously thought,” Ispa-Landa said. “Women saw sororities as putting the brakes on efforts to find an equal footing with men.”

Simone Ispa-Landa is associate professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow. Mariana Oliver is a PhD student in sociology and a law student at Northwestern.

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Gauging the Impact of Social-Emotional Development

Certain characteristics and skills help young people do well in life, research shows, such as being hardworking, understanding, and flexible. High schools encourage these mindsets, habits, and competencies as social-emotional development, but can its impact be measured?

In a study that appeared in Education Next, IPR education and labor economist Kirabo Jackson, IPR graduate research assistant Sebastián Kiguel, and their colleagues create value-added measures of social-emotional development similar to value-added test score measures to gauge the impact on short- and long-term student outcomes.

They examine surveys of social-emotional development given to Chicago Public School students in combination with administrative and test-score data for 55,500 students in ninth grade between 2011 and 2017. Outcomes they consider include absences, disciplinary infractions and school-connected arrests, course credits, and freshman grades, as well as graduating from high school and enrolling in college in the longer term.

The researchers show that schools better at developing students’ social-emotional learning tend to do so in one of two ways: They either promote social wellbeing, which improves student attendance and behavior, or boost work habits, which increases academic performance. They find that school improvement of students’ social-emotional growth has a larger effect on students’ outcomes than schools raising students’ test scores. The authors offer that the next step is to understand which school practices are working and which policies are needed to implement them widely.

Kirabo Jackson is the Abraham Harris Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR fellow. Sebastián Kiguel is a PhD student in human development and social policy and an IPR graduate research assistant.

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140 Studies
30 Countries
25 Years
No Change in Hiring Discrimination

IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian and Arnfinn Midtbøen of the University of Oslo examine over 140 field experimental studies of discrimination in the hiring of various racial and ethnic groups across 30 countries. They find that White ethnic groups experience hiring discrimination but much less than non-White ethnoracial groups. Discrimination in hiring against racial and ethnic minorities is a worldwide phenomenon. While larger employers and public-sector employers tend to have lower rates of discrimination, rates of discrimination in the United States and the United Kingdom have not changed over the last 25 years.

Lincoln Quillian is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.
‘Incarceration Should Be the Last Resort’ for Youth with Mental Health Struggles

Youth arrested as juveniles with psychiatric disorders that remain untreated struggle with mental health, getting an education, stable relationships, employment, and housing well beyond adolescence reports a Northwestern Medicine study.

Research shows nearly two-thirds of males and more than one-third of females with one or more existing psychiatric disorders when they entered detention, still had a disorder 15 years later.

The findings are significant because mental health struggles add to the existing racial, ethnic and economic disparities as well as academic challenges from missed school. This makes it harder for them to attain a successful transition to adulthood.

“Kids get into trouble during adolescence. Those from wealthier families also use drugs and get into fights. But these situations are most often handled informally by the school and parent, and don’t culminate in arrest and detention,” said psychologist and IPR associate Linda Teplin, the study’s lead author.

“These are not necessarily bad kids, but they have many strikes against them,” Teplin continued. “Physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect are common. These experiences can precipitate depression. Incarceration should be the last resort.”

“The Cost of School Shootings

More than 240,000 U.S. students have experienced gun violence at school since the 1999 Columbine shooting, according to a Washington Post analysis. In a working paper, IPR economists Molly Schnell and Hannes Schwandt, along with their colleagues, examine the cost of school shootings to the surviving students. Beyond the terrible loss of life—with 147 students, educators, and others killed since 1999—the study is among the first to quantify the long-term impacts of school shootings on the numerous students who survived them. It finds that students do not just “bounce back” from shootings, and they are affected across the board—no matter their race, gender, or socioeconomic status.

The researchers used a unique Texas dataset that linked administrative data from primary schools, high schools, universities, and the labor market. They compared each of 33 K-12 public schools in Texas that experienced a school shooting between 1995 and 2016 to similar Texas schools that did not.

In the short-term, the researchers find students who experience a school shooting, when compared to their peers who do not, are more likely to miss school, be chronically absent, and repeat a grade two years after the event. Longer term, these students are less likely to graduate high school as well as attend and graduate from college. Between the ages of 24 and 26, they were also less likely to be employed and earned less than others their age. The researchers calculated that this could amount to an estimated $115,500 per student in lost wages over the course of their lives.

Molly Schnell is an assistant professor of economics and Hannes Schwandt is an assistant professor of human development and social policy. Both are IPR fellows.

Dangers of Collecting Drinking Water

An international study is one of the first to reveal how those who set out to collect drinking water in low- and middle-income countries can face serious injury. Co-authors IPR anthropologist Sera Young and Northwestern postdoctoral fellow Vidya Venkataramanan report in BMJ Global Health that these injuries more frequently impact women and compound the issue of water insecurity. Such dangers include falls, traffic accidents, animal attacks, and fights, which can result in broken bones, spinal injuries, lacerations, and other physical injuries.

“When it comes to water, the bulk of our attention goes to what is in it,” Young said. “It’s easy to forget that for the millions of people who don’t have the luxury of clean drinking water at their home, they can face many dangers before the water even touches their lips.”

Sera Young is associate professor of anthropology and an IPR fellow. Vidya Venkataramanan is a postdoctoral fellow in anthropology and in the Center for Water Research.

Linda Teplin is the Owen L. Coon Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences and an IPR associate.
The Kids Are Not Alright
Growing mental health issues threaten teenagers and young adults

With vaccination rates increasing and states reopening, many in the U.S. are hopeful that the pandemic is finally nearing its end. Despite the optimism around the pandemic’s progress, a national survey run by researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Northeastern, and Rutgers universities finds that depression and other mental health issues have not improved since the winter.

The survey of over 21,000 individuals between April 1 and May 3, 2021, reveals that young adults between the ages of 18 and 24 have been hit particularly hard, with 42% showing signs of at least moderate depression.

“This is sobering news and likely reflects that young people are already dealing with much uncertainty at that stage of life; the pandemic thrown in exacerbates that,” said IPR political scientist James Druckman, who co-authored the report.

A national survey conducted earlier in the pandemic by the American Psychological Association (APA) reveals stress from COVID-19—along with stress related to healthcare, the economy, racism, and the presidential election—is seriously threatening the mental health of our country, particularly our youngest generation.

“Loneliness and uncertainty about the future are major stressors for adolescents and young adults who are striving to find their places in the world, both socially, and in terms of education and work,” said IPR developmental psychobiologist Emma Adam, who led the study design and data collection on teenagers for the report.

The potential long-term consequences of the persistent stress and trauma created by the pandemic are particularly serious for our country’s youngest individuals, known as Generation Z. The 2020 APA survey shows that teens (ages 13–17) and young adults (ages 18–23) are facing unprecedented uncertainty, experiencing elevated stress, and already reporting symptoms of depression.

Emma Adam is the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Human Development and Social Policy. James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director. Both are IPR fellows.

Policy and Science During the Pandemic

In Science, strategy professor and IPR associate Benjamin Jones and his colleagues examine the coevolution of policy and science during the pandemic. Using a dataset of 37,735 policy documents published by government agencies and think tanks from 114 countries and 55 intergovernmental organizations between January 2 and May 26, 2020, the researchers matched each document to scientific references in a second dataset of academic publications and citations.

They find in the early stages of the pandemic, 90% of the policy documents were focused on medical and public health, but beginning in March 2020, there was more focus on issues around the economy and society. The researchers also show studies referenced in policy documents had on average 40 times more citations in other scientific studies than those not referenced, indicating that policymakers used the research that scientists themselves consider especially impactful. The researchers find that many policy documents created to combat COVID-19 used recent and peer-reviewed scientific studies, despite the rapidly evolving nature of the pandemic.

Benjamin Jones is the Gordon and Llura Gund Family Professor of Entrepreneurship, a professor of strategy, and an IPR associate.
The Widening Gender Pay Gap
Study calculates women's wages might not recover before 2040

When the coronavirus shut down the economy, U.S. working women were hit with what has been called the “shecession”: They lost jobs in greater numbers than in previous downturns, and working mothers saw their childcare responsibilities increase when schools closed.

Economist and IPR associate Matthias Doepke and his co-authors show this combination of women's job losses, mostly in the service sector, and juggling work with extra childcare has caused many of them to leave the workforce. It also differs from prior recessions where job losses hit men harder.

“The primary reason for the rise in the wage gap is that losing employment during a recession has been shown to have a large and persistent negative effect on future earnings,” Doepke said. “It takes time to find a new job, and more often than not the new job will have lower earnings, less employment security, and lesser career prospects.”

As the decline in women's employment was much larger than men's, he says it will depress women's earnings and widen the wage gap by up to 5%. And he calculates that gap may not return to pre-pandemic levels for nearly 20 years. This differs from a normal recession when the gender gap slightly decreases.

Doepke also points to long-term economic consequences. When their husband or partner lost a job in other recessions, women typically held on to theirs, absorbing some of the economic shock. Without this buffer many families have been forced to reduce spending.

“A policy that would have prioritized opening schools safely, rather than, say, opening bars and indoor dining while infection rates were still high, would have much reduced families' childcare needs and allowed many parents, particularly mothers, to resume employment,” Doepke said.

Matthias Doepke is the HSBC Research Professor in Economics and an IPR associate.

Opioid Deaths Spiked During the First Chicago Lockdown
Average number of opioid overdose deaths increased more than 25%, from 35 to 44 per week

The number of fatal opioid overdoses in Cook County spiked during Illinois' first 11-week COVID-19 stay-at-home order in spring 2020, according to a JAMA Insights article by IPR associates and Feinberg researchers Maryann Mason and Joe Feinglass.

The researchers, who included Ponni Arunkumar of the Cook County Medical Examiners' office, analyzed data from the office on overdoses before, during, and after the stay-at-home order that lasted from March 21 to May 30, 2020. They tallied the number of deaths between January 5, 2018 and December 23, 2020, showing 4,283 opioid overdose fatalities in Cook County.

Opioid overdose deaths following the stay-at-home period remain elevated above pre-2020 levels, the study reports. Additionally, it finds:

- In the 15 weeks leading up to the stay-at-home period (beginning in late 2019), the average number of weekly fatal opioid overdoses increased from 23 to 35.1.

- During the 11-week stay-at-home period, the average number of weekly overdose deaths increased 25.6%, from 35.1 to 44.1.

- In the 29 weeks after the stay-at-home order lifted, average weekly deaths sharply declined. But they began to rise at the end of the period to 32.7 deaths per week.

Maryann Mason is associate professor of emergency medicine. Joe Feinglass is research professor of general internal medicine and geriatrics. Both are IPR associates.
Partisans Despise the Other Party More Than They Love Theirs
Supporters of political parties now operate like warring sects

Political polarization between U.S. parties has only escalated since Newt Gingrich’s partisan attacks against President Bill Clinton in the 1990s. But for the first time, contempt for the other political party is greater than affection for own’s own, according to a new study published in the journal Science by social psychologist and IPR associate Eli Finkel, IPR political scientists James Druckman and Mary McGrath, and others.

The authors coin the term “political sectarianism” to describe the bitter partisanship. Like religious sectarianism, the political version is marked by powerful emotions about sin, public shaming, and those who abandon or renounce the political faith.

“The current state of political sectarianism produces prejudice, discrimination, and cognitive distortion, undermining the ability of government to serve its core functions of representing the people and solving the nation’s problems,” Finkel said.

Using nationally representative survey data since the 1970s, the interdisciplinary researchers measured the difference over time between Americans’ affection for adherents of their own party and dislike of the supporters of the other. Although affection remains steady for one’s own, loathing for the other now exceeds it.

“Things have gotten much more severe in the past decade, and there is no sign we’ve hit bottom,” Druckman said. “Partisans perceive even greater differences, believing, for example, that the other party is ideologically extreme, engaged, and hostile.”

They pinpoint “othering” the opposing party, aversion to the other party, and moralization—or attaching immorality to the other party—as the key elements of political sectarianism.

Eli Finkel is a professor of social psychology and management and organizations and IPR associate. James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director and fellow. Mary McGrath is an assistant professor political science and an IPR fellow.

Model Uses Cell Phone Data to Predict COVID-19’s Spread
Study identifies ‘super-spreader’ sites, shows how to protect those most at risk

Using anonymous cell phone data to map the hourly movements of 98 million people, a team of Stanford and Northwestern researchers created a computer model that accurately predicted the spread of COVID-19 in 10 of the largest U.S. cities in spring 2020.

Perhaps just as importantly, their model also shows that mobility policy has a critical role to play in reducing disparities in coronavirus infections and death rates.

“We show that mobility policy—which policymakers fully control—likely has large effects in generating disparities,” said IPR sociologist Beth Redbird, a co-author of the study published in Nature.

The model appears to confirm that most COVID-19 transmissions occur at “super-spreader” sites, such as restaurants and fitness centers, where people remain in close quarters for extended periods.

“Things have gotten much more severe in the past decade, and there is no sign we’ve hit bottom,” Druckman said. “Partisans perceive even greater differences, believing, for example, that the other party is ideologically extreme, engaged, and hostile.”

They pinpoint “othering” the opposing party, aversion to the other party, and moralization—or attaching immorality to the other party—as the key elements of political sectarianism.

Eli Finkel is a professor of social psychology and management and organizations and IPR associate. James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director and fellow. Mary McGrath is an assistant professor political science and an IPR fellow.

Beth Redbird is assistant professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

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Recent Faculty Recognition

IPR political scientist James Druckman and IPR faculty emeritus Benjamin Page were listed in the top 100 Most-Cited Scholars in PS: Political Science and Politics from the American Political Science Association (APSA). IPR faculty emeritus Wesley Skogan was named in the top 25 Most-Cited, Still-Active Emeritus Scholars.

IPR political scientist Chloe Thurston won the J. David Greenstone Book Award for best book from the APSA's Politics and History section for At the Boundaries of Homeownership: Credit, Discrimination, and the American State (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

IPR political scientist Daniel Galvin received the Mary Parker Follett Prize for best article for “From Labor Law to Employment Law: The Changing Politics of Workers’ Rights” from the APSA’s Politics and History section.

IPR statistician Elizabeth Tipton was named the Campbell Collaboration’s 2020 Frederick Mosteller Laureate for “an important contribution to the theory, method, or practice of systematic reviewing.” She is co-director of the STEPP Center.

Larry Hedges, IPR education researcher and statistician and co-director of the STEPP Center, and Sylvia Perry, IPR associate and psychologist, were elected fellows of the Association for Psychological Science.

IPR political scientist Sally Nuamah’s book How Girls Achieve (Harvard University Press, 2019) was awarded the Critics’ Choice Book Award by the American Educational Studies Association and also the Jackie Kirk Award from the Comparative and International Education Society. The Urban Affairs Association named her its 2021 Marilyn J. Gittell Activist Scholar.

Sociologist and African American studies researcher and IPR associate Mary Pattillo was elected as the 2021 James S. Coleman Fellow by the American Academy of Political and Social Science. She was also recognized by the American Planning Association’s Planning Magazine as one of “11 Black urbanists every planner should know.”

IPR psychologist Sandra Waxman received the Provost Award for Exemplary Faculty Service, which recognizes faculty members who engage with, build, and support the Northwestern community.

IPR associate and media scholar Stephanie Edgerly was presented with Northwestern’s annual Walder Award for her research on how new media alter the way audiences consume news and affect political engagement.

Northwestern awarded education sociologist and IPR associate Cynthia Coburn its Ver Steeg Fellowship for major research contributions. She was also honored with a 2021 University Teaching Award for excellence in undergraduate education.

IPR economist Hannes Schwandt was named to its “40 under 40” in the Society and Science category by Germany’s Capital magazine.

Noshir Contractor received the Fellows Book Award from the International Communication Association for his seminal book Theories of Communication Networks (Oxford University Press, 2003), co-authored with Peter Monge.

Read more about faculty awards and honors.

IPR Faculty Rank Globally Among the 2% of Most-Cited Researchers

More than 30 IPR faculty have been recognized as being among the top 2% most cited academics in their respective fields, according to a database published in PLOS Biology by Stanford University researchers.

The effort seeks to standardize various academic citation rankings. It ranks scientists on the impact of their research publications over their careers and for a particular year.

IPR Top-Cited Faculty by Subfield

From the Science-Wide Author Databases of Standardized Citation Indicators, Version 2

Emma Adam, Psychiatry
Bernard Black, Economics
David Cella, Oncology and Carcinogenesis
Edith Chen, Public Health
Cynthia Coburn, Education
Noshir Contractor, AI and Image Processing
Thomas D. Cook, Social Sciences Methods
James Druckman, Political Science and Public Administration
Alice Eagly, Social Psychology
Joe Feinglass, General and Internal Medicine
David Figlio, Economics
Eli Finkel, Social Psychology
Larry V. Hedges, Education
Dean Karlan, Economics
Brayden King, Business and Management
Kristen Knutson, Neurology & Neurosurgery
Christopher Kuzawa, Evolutionary Biology
Charles F. Manski, Economics
Thomas McDade, Evolutionary Biology
Greg Miller, Psychiatry
Daniel Mustanski, Social Psychology
Brian O’Keefe, Communication and Media Studies
Benjamin Page, Political Science and Public Administration
Lincoln Quillian, Sociology
James Rosenbaum, Education
Paola Sapienza, Economics
Wesley Skogan, Criminology
James Spillane, Education
Seth Stein, Geochemistry and Geophysics
Jennifer Tackett, Clinical Psychology
Linda Teplin, Psychiatry
Christopher Udry, Economics
Brian Uzzi, Sociology
Sandra Waxman, Experimental Psychology

Read more about the faculty and rankings.
New Apps Help Visualize Research Data

IPR faculty have created tools to help visualize their data, including an app highlighting seven key economic indicators across the nation, a map showing racial disparities in police arrests county by county, and an app allowing users to compare different vaccination rates based on rates for vaccine effectiveness, affected populations, and health risks.

Seven Key Economic Indicators

IPR economist Diane Schanzenbach and Natalie Tomeh (B.A., 2021) have created a tool for visualizing economic indicators across the nation, which can provide a state-by-state snapshot of how Americans are faring in a COVID-19 economy. Users can find data from the U.S. Census Bureau’s Household Pulse Survey on weekly rates of unemployment, children’s schooling, housing, finances, mental health, and food insecurity for American households. The data can also be sorted by race and ethnicity and by families with children and those without.

Racial Disparities in Police Arrests Map

With their police bias map, IPR sociologist Beth Redbird and graduate research assistant Kat Albrecht show county by county the extent to which Black Americans are arrested at a higher rate than White Americans—a trend that has only accelerated in recent decades. They also include data on the arrests of Asian Americans and American Indians, the latter of whom saw an increase in disparity that matches that among Blacks. The tool draws from a recent working paper in which Redbird analyzed data from more than 13,000 law enforcement agencies nationwide. She and Albrecht discovered that even while crime rates fell in recent decades, the racial disparity in arrest rates nearly doubled.

App Allows Users to Explore the Societal Costs of Deploying Vaccines

Using vaccines to stop the spread of infectious diseases is a key tool of public health policy. When deploying them, policymakers and public health experts seek to assess the societal costs of illness and vaccination. But faced with many uncertainties in forming a vaccination policy, how can experts best determine what those might be? An app, based on a model developed in a recent IPR working paper by IPR economist Charles F. Manski, provides policymakers and health experts with the computational algorithms to perform their own studies. Users can compare different vaccination rates based on rates for vaccine effectiveness, affected populations, and health risks. The app was developed with Valentyn Litvin, a Northwestern PhD student in economics.
Two-Minute Videos Showcase IPR Policy Research

This year IPR and Northwestern released five short videos showcasing IPR fellows and some of their policy-relevant research. In the videos, faculty highlight key research findings and policy recommendations in a visually compelling format.

How Does School Spending Impact Students?

For decades, research on increased school spending found that it did not impact test scores, but IPR economist Kirabo Jackson’s video shows there are benefits, especially for students from low-income backgrounds. By looking at the long-term outcomes, his research reveals low-income students earn more in wages by as much as 13 percentage points, and they are 6 percentage points less likely to live in poverty as adults.

Are Government Housing Programs Fair?

After World War II, millions of Americans purchased homes for the first time thanks to the standardization of 30-year mortgages in the New Deal, but IPR political scientist Chloe Thurston traces how many women and racial and religious minorities were excluded due to discriminatory government policies. Her research uncovers how citizen advocacy groups helped fight discriminatory housing practices and became crucial links between the public and government housing agencies.

Can Breastfeeding Help Prevent Disease in Adulthood?

Some adults have higher levels of chronic inflammation, which is linked to diseases like diabetes, heart disease, and cancer. IPR biological anthropologist Thomas McDade’s research looks at the connection between breastfeeding in infancy and lower levels of chronic inflammation later in life. He finds that breastfeeding babies for at least 3 months leads to better health in adulthood.

Can Overcoming Adversity Actually Harm Your Health?

IPR health psychologists Edith Chen and Greg Miller examine how disadvantaged students of color who go to college end up with worse health—including higher levels of obesity, blood pressure, blood sugar, and stress hormones—than those who do not go to college. To prevent chronic health problems, they recommend schools that serve low-income students invest in health education and screenings to promote better health.

Watch the videos.
Thurston has written *At the Boundaries of Homeownership* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), which shows how Black Americans and women were systematically denied homeownership and how groups like the NAACP and NOW mobilized to end discriminatory practices.

She points to Los Angeles as one city that has struggled to control the virus because of overcrowding.

“One of the reasons that their cases went so high, so quickly was the affordability crisis in the region,” Thurston said. “Many families were living in more crowded settings and in work situations where they couldn’t really protect themselves from COVID-19.”

She said President Biden’s proposal to tie federal funding to cities who ease restrictions on zoning is an intriguing policy that could help increase affordable housing and address historic exclusions.

“Local zoning policies and ordinances are one of the contributors to the lack of affordable housing in many communities,” Thurston said. They limit multifamily housing units, making these communities unaffordable.

**Address Disinvestments and Improve the Current Housing Stock**

Sociologist and African American studies researcher and IPR associate Mary Pattillo sees some promising initiatives in President Biden’s proposal, including rehabilitating homes and addressing public housing capital needs, but she also sees other critical areas.

“We often talk about new affordable housing construction, which is important, but just attending to the housing that exists and not letting it fall into disrepair is an important part of this plan,” she said.

Pattillo, who has written about the role of housing policy in her groundbreaking study of Black middle-class neighborhoods in *Black Picket Fences* (University of Chicago Press, 1999) and investigated public housing and gentrification in Chicago, would like to see policies that address disinvestments in historically neglected neighborhoods, such as those in largely Black neighborhoods.

“Racial residential segregation concentrates poverty in majority Black neighborhoods, and that concentration of poverty leads to fewer investments, less political clout, greater investment needs in public institutions, and so on,” she said.

Investing in Black neighborhoods is also important for improving homeownership for Black people, Pattillo says. She points out that the racial gap between White and Black people is wider than it was in the 1960s.

“The home value gap means that homeownership for Black folks is not the lucrative wealth-building exercise that it is for White people,” she said.

**Design Mobility Programs for Pathways to Homeownership**

Part of President Biden’s plan calls for building and rehabilitating more than 500,000 homes for low- and middle-income people in underserved communities and “creating a pathway for more families to buy a home and start building wealth.” IPR education researcher James Rosenbaum suggests mobility programs as one approach that may help advance housing initiatives, especially if it includes effective housing counselors to guide housing choices.

Rosenbaum’s research on the Gautreaux Program, which examines the outcomes of a mobility program that moved mostly single mothers and their children from high-poverty neighborhoods to affluent suburbs, shows that the Housing Choice Voucher Program can increase racial and economic integration.

The results also suggest that the move led to children enrolling in much better schools and stronger education outcomes.

Rosenbaum underscores the role that effective housing counselors had in the program’s success and the location of their new homes. With the help of housing counselors, most families in the Gautreaux program moved over 10 miles, to areas with good schools and far from the influences of housing projects.

In contrast, his research on the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, which also used housing vouchers, found mixed results. Weak counseling led to shorter moves (less than 10 miles), and children were still interacting with their friends from housing projects, he says.

**Enable Moves to Better Neighborhoods to Improve Health**

IPR anthropologist Thomas McDade offers that policymakers should pay critical attention to the composition of neighborhoods where poor families move if they want to help improve their long-term prospects.

McDade was part of a research team that studied more than 4,600 disadvantaged families in five U.S. cities who enrolled in MTO between 1995 and 1998. Two-thirds of the families were Black, one-third Latino. They made less than $12,750 per year on average, with 75% on welfare.

Published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, their findings show improved health outcomes for families who, through MTO, moved to less distressed and impoverished neighborhoods. Other study co-authors included IPR psychobiologist Emma Adam, economist and IPR associate Greg Duncan, and University of Chicago economist Jens Ludwig.

One of the advantages of following MTO families was that HUD designed the program as a randomized mobility experiment, the gold-standard equivalent of a clinical trial in medicine, allowing an apples-to-apples comparison of participating families.

Families were randomly assigned to either a control group that did not move, or to one of two voucher groups that required moves to lower poverty neighborhoods. One voucher required a move to a neighborhood with a poverty rate of less than 10%. In all, 47% of those offered a low-poverty voucher and 63% of those offered a traditional voucher relocated through MTO.

*Read the entire story on IPR’s website.*
In Memoriam: Margo Gordon, IPR’s Third Director

Former IPR faculty fellow and director Margaret (Margo) T. Gordon, 81, died on April 1, 2021 in Seattle.

A groundbreaking scholar and accomplished administrator, Gordon became IPR’s third director in September 1980, when it was known as the Center for Urban Affairs, and served for eight years. She left Northwestern in 1988 to become dean of the University of Washington’s Graduate School of Public Affairs, as it was then known.

“Margo Gordon was a truly charismatic leader who had an extraordinary way about her that made each of us feel special and part of the really wonderful community of scholars that she created,” IPR fellow and director emerita Fay Lomax Cook recalled.

Shortly after Gordon took the reins at the Center, it became the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research to reflect a larger research agenda beyond urban studies. (The Center became the Institute for Policy Research in 1996.)

During her tenure as director, Gordon oversaw the transition to research projects with real-world policy applications, including the Reactions to Crime studies and the Residential Mobility projects, which studied the impact of the landmark Chicago public housing discrimination case, Hills v. Gautreaux, decided by the Supreme Court in 1976.

“Margo helped build some of the major themes and programs at the Center that are a part of IPR today,” Cook said. “She forwarded understanding of the importance of agenda setting—how policy agendas get set through the varying influences of public opinion, the mass media, ideology, interests, values, and information from research.”

In her own pioneering research, Gordon focused on women’s attitudes toward rape and their adaptive behaviors. She published The Female Fear: The Social Cost of Rape, co-authored with research associate Stephanie Riger, in 1989.

Born in Dixon, Illinois, Gordon began her long association with Northwestern by attending the Medill Cherubs summer program as a high school student. After graduating from Aurora High School, she received a scholarship to attend the university, earning undergraduate and master’s degrees from Medill and then a PhD in sociology.

Between her various degrees, she spent three years in Nsukka, Nigeria, with her first husband, Halfdan Johnson. While there, Gordon helped students at the University of Nigeria start a student-run newspaper, the Nsukka Record, the first of its kind, which is still published today as The Record. She also lived for a year in Aarhus, Denmark, and worked as a reporter and editor for Tennessee’s Chattanooga Times and Florida’s St. Petersburg Times before returning to Evanston to complete her PhD at Northwestern.

In one of her classes, she met sociologist Andrew (Andy) Gordon, a founding faculty member of IPR. They married soon after and both went on to spend nearly 20 years as professors at Northwestern.

In 1988, the Gordons were recruited to the University of Washington, where Margo became dean of the Graduate School of Public Affairs (now known as the Evans School of Public Policy & Governance). She directed it until 1998 when she stepped down to continue teaching and conducting research until her retirement in 2004.

“Margo will be remembered for bringing out the best in people and figuring out how to support them as a friend, professor, university administrator, dean or family member,” Andy Gordon wrote. “Margo really did have a twinkle in her eye and an enthusiasm that was infectious, especially in response to others’ joys and successes. She left no doubt with her friends and family how much she cared about them and was always her authentic caring self.”

In addition to her husband, Andy, she is survived by her children Sarah (Scott) and Seth (Bootsy), brother Joe (Barbara), grandchildren Carenna and Drake, and many wonderful friends and family members. Her family says they are grateful that they were able to be with her in her final days despite COVID-19.
FACULTY SPOTLIGHTS

Tabitha Bonilla

Studying public opinion and the everyday consumption of politics

As a first-generation college student, IPR social policy expert Tabitha Bonilla thought she wanted to pursue medical research. But she found plating bacteria in the biology lab boring.

Instead, she was captivated by researching political decision-making for a political science elective. Her interest in politics eventually led Bonilla to a double major in biology and political science and a shift in career trajectory.

She discovered her research focus—public opinion and how communication influences voters and policies—in graduate school at Stanford University. Bonilla said her interest in public opinion comes from her desire to figure out how the “everyday consumption of politics matters.”

Reframing Human Trafficking

Some of Bonilla’s recent research has focused on public opinion around human trafficking. Bonilla and her colleague Cecilia Hyunjung Mo of the University of California, Berkeley revealed that most people in the U.S. think of sex trafficking of foreign women when they consider human trafficking.

Instead, human trafficking is a domestic issue that also involves the exploitation of workers in non-sex industries. Bonilla explained the best human trafficking data suggest that other industries such as farming, hotels, domestic work, or childcare have higher rates of human trafficking.

“It’s really good that we address sex trafficking,” she said. “The concern is that if we’re only looking at sex trafficking then there’s this whole other class of people who have endured something truly horrible who aren’t getting services and protections that they need.”

She suggested that one way to combat this problem is to enact labor laws to protect the most vulnerable, such as immigrants or people living in poverty. The media can also play a role in changing the way the public understands human trafficking.

Bridging the Divide

Another of Bonilla’s studies explores the connection between immigration and human trafficking. While immigration is a highly partisan issue, human trafficking is more bipartisan, and she found that “bridging” the two issues is key to positively shifting attitudes on immigration.

Bonilla surveyed both Democrats and Republicans on the topic, asking questions that framed human trafficking as an issue linked to immigration. At the end of the survey, the questions relayed that tighter national borders can increase human trafficking as asylum seekers come to rely on smugglers to enter another country. When the researchers explained this connection, Republicans were more open to less restrictive immigration policies.

When Political Candidates Make Campaign Promises

Bonilla’s forthcoming book, The Importance of Campaign Promises, examines how voters react to promises. It will be released this fall.

Voters recognize the difference between levels of commitment that different policy statements convey. Bonilla’s research shows that specific policy promises make voters think a candidate will work on that issue if elected.

She also finds that the more voters understand how committed a candidate is to a particular issue, the more polarized their reaction to that candidate is, either in support or opposition.

“We keep talking about polarization in our environment,” Bonilla said. “Here’s something to pay attention to—voters are noticing the strength of a candidate’s speech, and it’s mattering in the way that they evaluate the candidates.”

Amidst the polarization, some might question whether current events influence what Bonilla researches. Bonilla said she’s not swayed by the constantly changing news cycle when deciding on a research project, but her background does enable her to look at the news in a different light.

“1 key into things that might fall under other people’s radars,” Bonilla said, noting that she tends to focus less on the positions of politicians, but more on their process of talking about policies and how they are trying to communicate with their constituents. “I tune into things differently.”

Tabitha Bonilla is assistant professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.
In August 2020, cultural anthropologist and research associate professor Francesca Gaiba joined IPR as its first senior director of operations and outreach.

“...I’m excited to join IPR and to play a role in supporting faculty and their research on important topics, like poverty, violence, or race,” Gaiba said.

Born in Italy, she fell in love with research as an undergraduate at the University of Bologna and then at the University of California, Berkeley, and earned a PhD in anthropology from Syracuse University.

She specialized in queer studies and came to Chicago to pursue her field work, where she took an administrative job at the University of Illinois at Chicago before being recruited as the first associate director of Northwestern’s Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing in 2015.

Francesca also earned a certificate in professional baking and pastry at Kendall College and is the co-founder of an advocacy organization in Chicago to fight for equal restroom access for transgender and gender nonconforming individuals.

Francesca Gaiba is IPR research associate professor and senior director of operations and outreach.

Growing up in Germany, IPR economist Hannes Schwandt became curious about what underlies happiness even as he was intrigued by the study of economics.

“I think jobs are often a means to an end, and the end is more health and family formation, those things that really matter for people,” he said.

Schwandt examines the impact that big external events or trends, such as recessions, pollution, violence, and illness, have on people’s lives.

Schwandt’s research has shown that the Great Recession of 2008–09 increased childlessness among women and that the “unlucky” cohorts who came of age amid recessions suffered lower earnings and net worth, and had worse health and family issues. He found that the additional pollution from the “clean diesel” cars that cheated on emissions tests is linked to lower birth weights and an increase in acute asthma.

He has recently started to examine the spread of common infectious diseases and its impact on peoples’ lives, which he hopes may help us prepare for future pandemics.

Hannes Schwandt is assistant professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

A descendent of several generations of teachers, education sociologist and IPR associate Cynthia Coburn has always been a strong supporter of urban public schools.

She studies policy implementation in schools and the relationship between research and policy. In May 2020, she received one of the highest honors in the field of education—election to the National Academy of Education.

“Many people who study education policy, and policy more broadly, they don’t do it just because the ideas are interesting,” Coburn said. “They do it because they want to make a difference. And in order for our work to make a difference, we need to understand the pathways by which research makes it into policy.”

An essential piece of understanding how research makes its way into the classroom is exploring the sometimes difficult relationship between researchers and educators, one area of Coburn’s research. She also studies implementation of reading and math policy.

Cynthia Coburn is professor of human development and social policy and of learning sciences and an IPR associate.

Read full versions of these and other faculty spotlights on IPR’s website.

ipr.northwestern.edu
Bipartisanship and Public Opinion

OVERVIEW
The U.S. is facing historic levels of party polarization, along with some of the lowest approval ratings for Congress in decades. Yet existing research overlooks how the public responds to legislative gridlock—one of the most discussed consequences of partisan conflict. IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge-Yong fills in the gap with recent research. She and D.J. Flynn of the IE School of Global and Public Affairs and a former IPR graduate research assistant find that while Americans generally prefer Congress to compromise instead of miring itself in gridlock, their commitment to avoiding gridlock hinges on the issue and which party is seen as winning.

FINDINGS
Citizens approve of how Congress is handling policymaking when partisan conflict produces a win for their own party. This holds true for both consensus issues—where the parties disagree over the means but agree on the end goals—and more controversial issues. On the consensus issue of energy policy and the more controversial issue of gun ownership, partisans were most approving, on average, of how Congress handled the issue when their party won in the negotiation.

Citizens, however, disapprove when partisan conflict prevents Congress from acting on an important national issue. Compared with a win by the opposing party, approval of how Congress is handling energy policy drops by 15 percentage points following gridlock. Both strong and weak partisans—whether Democrats or Republicans—preferred Congress take action. For gun ownership, survey respondents again disliked legislative inaction versus compromise or their own party winning, though they did not show a preference for legislative action by the opposing party over gridlock.

Approval on specific issues affects citizens’ overall confidence in Congress, but gridlock decreases their appraisal of it. This suggests gridlock can reduce citizens’ confidence in Congress, even without considering how Congress addresses a certain policy.

POLICY TAKEAWAYS
• Partisan behavior in Congress reduces public confidence in the legislative branch.
• Those with strong ties to a political party are more likely to approve of legislators’ partisan behavior than citizens with weaker ties.
• Citizens generally prefer compromise to gridlock. On issues where the parties agree on the end goals, citizens prefer a win for opposing party over gridlock.

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Compromise vs. Gridlock: Citizen Approval of How Congress Handles Policymaking

In two surveys, one focused on an energy policy and another focused on gun ownership laws, respondents preferred either a win by their own party or compromise over gridlock.

METHODOLOGY
Harbridge-Yong and Flynn conducted two survey experiments, each with almost 700 respondents, on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk. One survey examined public opinion on Congress’ response to energy policy, based on several conditions, including compromise, a win by the respondent’s own party, a win by the opposing party, or gridlock. They repeated this in the second survey, focusing instead on the more controversial issue of gun ownership. Robustness checks, which show that the effects are similar across demographic groups, indicate that the findings are likely to generalize beyond the sample population.

FACTS AND FIGURES
- Citizens were more positive about how Congress handled issues when learning that, despite party differences, the negotiation led to a compromise than when learning that partisan conflict resulted in gridlock.
- On energy policy (a consensus issue), respondents’ approval increased by 10 percentage points when they read that partisan conflict resulted in a victory for their own party relative to a compromise.
- On consensus issues, partisans view Congress 15 percentage points more favorably when a debate results in a win for the other party than when the debate ends in gridlock.

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Benjamin Jones (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University, and Lawrence Summers, Harvard University

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Larry Hedges (IPR/Statistics), and Elizabeth Tipton (IPR/Statistics), Northwestern University

Comparative Perspectives on Racial Discrimination in Hiring: The Rise of Field Experiments (WP-20-46)
Lincoln Quillian (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University, and Arnfinn Midtbøen, University of Oslo

Immigration and Entrepreneurship in the United States (WP-20-45)
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Birth and Short Breastfeeding (WP-20-41)
Thomas McDade (IPR/Anthropology), and Stephanie Koning (IPR), Northwestern University

The Effect of Mentoring on School Attendance and Academic Outcomes: A Randomized Evaluation of the Check & Connect Program (WP-20-40)
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The Role of Race, Religion, and Partisanship in Misinformation About COVID-19 (WP-20-38)
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The Opioid Epidemic Was Not Caused by Economic Distress But by Factors That Could Be More Rapidly Addressed (WP-20-36)
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Read more IPR working papers.
IPR launched a series of Rapid Research Reports during the COVID-19 pandemic to quickly disseminate preliminary research findings and analyses by its faculty. Some of the latest titles are below.

**GUN VIOLENCE & POLICING**

The Chicago Neighborhood Policing Initiative: Interim Findings and Recommendations (May 2021)

Why Individuals at the Highest Risk of Gun Violence Choose Chicago

CRED: Key Findings from Baseline Interviews Highlight Promising Efforts by the Street Outreach Program (January 2021)

A Network Analysis of Three Weekends of Shootings in Chicago, June 18–July 5 (January 2021)

Review of the Evanston Police Department’s Use of Force Policy (September 2020)

Communities Partnering for Peace (CP4P) Street Outreach: The Moments That Matter (August 2020)

**COVID-19**

Community-Based Research Shows More People Exposed to COVID-19 Virus Than Previously Known (April 2021)

**FOOD INSECURITY**

App Explores Seven Key Economic Topics (December 2020)

Visualizing Food Insecurity (July 2020)

**NONPROFITS**

Which Networks Are Most Effective at Improving Student Achievement? (April 2021)

**PUBLIC OPINION**

The COVID States Project is a consortium of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Rutgers and Northeastern universities. They have conducted more than 55 public opinion surveys since July 2020. James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) is one of the survey’s co-leaders.

Mental Health

Vaccines

Vaccinating America’s Youth (#49)

Assessing the Impact of the Pause in Johnson & Johnson Vaccine Use on COVID-19 Vaccination Intent (#48)

Update on COVID-19 Vaccine Attitudes among Healthcare Workers (#47)

Vaccine Hesitancy and Resistance Among Parents (#45)

Approval of President and Governors

Executive Approval Update (#46)

Education

Public Perceptions of Education During the COVID-19 Pandemic (#38)

Guns

Gun Purchases During the COVID-19 Pandemic (#37)

Economy

Economic Hardships Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic (#30)

View the complete list of IPR rapid research reports.
**FACULTY SOUNDBITES**

“Times of big social disruption call into question things we thought were normal and standard. If our institutions fail us here, in what ways are they failing elsewhere? And whom are they failing the most?”

— Beth Redbird

“How the Pandemic Defeated America,” The Atlantic, August 1, 2020

“Eventually the Republican Party is going to have to adapt to demographic change. The question is what happens in the meantime.”

— Daniel Galvin

“Win or Lose, Trump Is Stamping His Imprint on GOP Over Reagan’s.” Bloomberg, August 25, 2020

“The very unromantic part of fertility is that it’s really largely driven by economics. For women who face recessions in their early 20s, we see persistent effects that mostly grow over time. With millennials, this pandemic is definitely not good news.”

— Hannes Schwandt

“Pandemic Making Millennials Even Less Interested in Having Children,” Newsweek, September 28, 2020

“Taking an anti-racist stance requires some sort of sacrifice. I think that’s really the part of racial equity that our country is still getting used to on the ground.”

— Onnie Rogers

“School District’s Anti-Racism Plan for In-Person Learning Sparks Debate,” Fox 4 Now, October 29, 2020

“Black women aren’t just voting to save the party for the party’s sake. They actually don’t have a lot of other choices. We are in a two-party system and we have a Republican Party that, for example, will put the Voting Rights Act on the table. And we know that Black women, unlike white women, weren’t able to vote until the Voting Rights Act was passed.”

— Jonathan Guryan

“As Chicago Mulls Learning Recovery Plan, Study Offers New Clues,” Chalkbeat, March 1, 2021

“One of the things that’s really set apart the COVID time period is how many people who are reporting, in the last week we just have not had enough to eat. Those rates have been running, over the course of the pandemic, an average of 11% in Illinois, and about 15% in Illinois for families with kids.”

— Diane Schanzenbach

“Once Their Kids Get Hungry, They Call for Help: The Pandemic’s Toll on Families,” WBEZ, March 30, 2021

“This pandemic is widening economic inequalities within millennials, with some millennials relatively unscathed economically and others just completely financially devastated by unemployment losses, increased childcare costs, lost economic opportunities, and lingering health problems that they or family members are going to experience.”

— Christine Percheski


“If we’re right that one of the key reasons why high-dosage tutoring is effective is its ability to personalize instruction, then that has become only more crucial, given the disruptions that kids have experienced because of the pandemic, and how those disruptions have not been borne equally by all kids.”

— Seema Jayachandran


“Public health experts have warned that terrible suffering is likely over the next few months. Rewarding college students for safe behavior is one way to reduce the suffering until the pandemic is over.”

— Sally Nuamah

“Thanking Black Women for Being the ‘Backbone’ of American Democracy Isn’t Enough. There Must Be Policies Created with Us in Mind,” The Root, November 12, 2020

“Black women aren’t just voting to save the party for the party’s sake. They actually don’t have a lot of other choices. We are in a two-party system and we have a Republican Party that, for example, will put the Voting Rights Act on the table. And we know that Black women, unlike white women, weren’t able to vote until the Voting Rights Act was passed.”

— Charles Whitaker

“Mayor Lori Lightfoot Chooses Only Reporters of Color for Interviews Ahead of Two-Year Anniversary, Sparking Debate of Media Diversity and Access,” The Chicago Tribune, May 19, 2021

“If the mayor (Lightfoot) really wants to affect access, she can make sure that many of those smaller outlets that are owned and operated by publishers and publishing houses of color have equal access to her.”

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[Medical journals] have a huge responsibility, because of the power they wield with respect to influencing science.”

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Read more clips from IPR experts.
“During COVID, hunger has swelled,” IPR Director Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach told the members of the U.S. Representatives House Rules Committee on April 28 during a virtual three-hour hearing on “Ending Hunger in America.”

Schanzenbach, an economist and one of the nation’s leading scholars on food insecurity and the social safety net, detailed the staggering rise of hunger during the COVID crisis with 36 million Americans, or 11% of the nation’s the population, reporting not having enough to eat between March and August 2020. She concluded with a bipartisan call to end hunger for all Americans.

In discussing why he organized the hearing, Rules Committee Chair Rep. Jim McGovern, D-Mass., spoke of the “all-hands-on-deck moment” to build a roadmap to end hunger in America by 2030. “We have everything we need to eradicate hunger in the United States,” he said.

“It is a hell of a lot cheaper to solve this crisis than it is to let someone go hungry, get sick, and end up in a hospital needing additional care,” McGovern continued. “For too long, we have lacked only one thing: the political will.”

McGovern hopes to encourage the White House to organize a national conference that would build on the work of the 1969 conference under the Nixon administration, but also address its oversights to tackle the issue “broadly” and “holistically.”

In her closing remarks, Schanzenbach called on Americans to tackle hunger as a bipartisan issue.

“Ending hunger is something that we as Americans can do, and it absolutely should be a bipartisan effort,” she said.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR director.