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RESEARCH EXCELLENCE · POLICY IMPACT

Summer 2022 Newsletter

Vol. 43, No. 1

Fake News, Big Lies: How Did We Get Here and Where Are We Going?

IPR experts explain how both mis- and disinformation affect our lives and offer ideas for how to counter it



Newspaper headlines from 2020.

Distinguishing truth from lies can be a difficult task when every day Americans read and hear false "facts"—misinformation—and deliberately misleading information created to cause harm—disinformation.

IPR faculty experts have <u>generated</u> a noteworthy body of research across different disciplines that explores what drives people to believe in untruths—and how the U.S. may be especially susceptible to disinformation. They also examine how misinformation and disinformation have affected the media, our politics, and even our health.

Why It's Easy to Believe Misinformation and Disinformation

Although propaganda meant to persuade via argument, rumor, misunderstanding, and falsehood goes back to at least ancient Greece, today misinformation and disinformation are at the center of debate and research. Scholars have identified "information disorder syndrome," the creating or sharing of false information out of error—misinformation—or to mislead or cause harm—disinformation or mal-information. Why do people believe in misinformation and disinformation? Psychologist and IPR associate **David Rapp**, who studies how people learn through reading, finds that memory is key.

In experiments, he finds that when people read incorrect information, even about trivial subjects they already know, they often become confused and remember the inaccuracies. Subsequently, they answer questions using the incorrect statements.

"You can build memories for the things you've read that can then get resuscitated or recalled later in your decision making," he said, especially when people are not carefully considering what they read.

Repeating false information over and over again—such as that the 2020 election was fraudulent— can lead to building memories for the information. And repeated information is often easy to retrieve, which can lead to problems, Rapp explained.

"If you can easily retrieve something, you tend to think it's more true than if it's something that's hard to think of," he said.

The more familiar people are with information they remember, including lies, the more likely they are to believe it is true, communication and policy scholar and IPR (Continued on page 18)

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Honors for Research Excellence

Scholars recognized for their work addressing key policy issues

Jackson Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

IPR education and labor economist Kirabo Jackson was one of four Northwestern scholars elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, one of the nation's most prestigious scholarly bodies. He was

also named the new lead editor of the American Economic Journal: Economic Policy beginning in January 2023. Jackson, the Abraham Harris Professor of Social



Kirabo Jackson

Policy, has analyzed several important aspects of education policy, such as the importance of public school funding on student outcomes through adulthood, the effects of educational tracking on students' academic achievement, and the effects of single-sex education on students' academic performance.

Eagly Appointed to the National Academy of Sciences

IPR psychologist emerita **Alice Eagly** was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. She is among 120 new members and 30



international members recognized for distinguished and continuing achievements in original research. Eagly, the James Padilla Emerita Chair of Arts and

Alice Eagly

Sciences, has published widely on the psychology of gender and attitudes, focusing on women and leadership, attitude change and structure, and the content of stereotypes, feminism and psychology, science and advocacy, and the psychological differences between women and men.

Simon Selected to Join the National Academy of Medicine

Health disparities scholar and IPR associate Melissa Simon was one of three

Northwestern faculty members elected to the National Academy of Medicine. Her research focuses on health equity and reducing health disparities among low income,



Courtesy of Feinberg

Melissa Simon

medically underserved women across the lifespan. Simon is the George H. Gardner, MD, Professor of Clinical Gynecology and director of the Center for Health Equity Transformation.

Top Articles by IPR Faculty Investigate COVID-19 and Wealth and Longevity

Research by IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, former IPR postdoctoral fellow **Amelia Sancilio**, professor of medical social sciences and IPR associate **Brian Mustanski**, and their colleagues was among the top 100 most downloaded research papers in *Scientific Reports* in 2021. Their results show that prior exposure to COVID-19 does not guarantee a high level of antibodies. *Read more about their study on page 10.*

JAMA Health Forum selected "Association of wealth with longevity in U.S. adults at midlife," led by former IPR postdoctoral fellow **Eric Finegood**, as the 2021 article of the year. The study was co-authored with former IPR postdoctoral fellow **Alexa Freedman**, health psychologists **Edith Chen and Greg Miller**, and psychologist and IPR associate **Daniel Mroczek**. They find those with more wealth at midlife tend to live longer. *Read more about their study on page 7*.

For more faculty awards and honors, see page 18 and <u>find</u> out more.

The Science and Practice of Street Outreach in Illinois

Symposium examines lessons learned and the future of a promising violence reduction strategy



N3 Executive Director Soledad McGrath (left) moderates the final panel on the future of street outreach during N3's 2021 Symposium.

The Northwestern Neighborhood &

<u>Network Initiative</u> (N3) brought together more than 300 people in December 2021 for a daylong symposium on a central violence prevention strategy in Chicago—street outreach. N3 is housed within IPR.

"We know, without a doubt, with 100% certainty, that outreach can reach those in harm's way successfully without relying on the criminal justice system," said IPR sociologist **Andrew Papachristos**, who directs N3 with IPR research professor **Soledad McGrath**.

"There are no easy answers and no quick fixes," McGrath said. "But we see promise in the collective efforts of many [involved in street outreach]."

The symposium, "Advancing the Science and Practice of Street Outreach: Lessons Learned and the Future of Street Outreach in Illinois," brought researchers, nonprofit leaders, and street outreach professionals together to discuss emerging research on street outreach and strengthening the field. Chris Patterson, who had just been appointed assistant secretary for violence prevention at the Illinois Department of Human Services, delivered opening remarks.

Speakers underscored why street outreach is essential to reducing gun violence. Outreach workers use and strengthen relationships throughout their respective communities to connect with those at the highest risk of becoming gun violence victims, as N3 research has shown in its study of two local outreach organizations, <u>Chicago CRED</u> and <u>Communities Partnering 4 Peace (CP4P)</u>.

In addition to preventing violence, street outreach organizations provide valuable social services to communities.

"They're also anchoring institutions for neighborhood safety, wellbeing, dealing with the issues related to housing, mental health, education, and justice," Patterson said.

However, many panelists noted that street outreach workers need more professional and personal support to do this critical work.

The first panel discussed new findings on outreach workers' on-the-job challenges. The Violence Intervention Worker Study was developed with the Chicago outreach community and the University at Albany's **David Hureau**. It shows that about 77% of street outreach workers report seeing someone attacked while on the job, and 57% have seen someone shot at but not wounded (<u>read more</u>).

Cuitláhuac Heredia of New Life Centers told the panel, "You're retraumatized on a weekly basis, and it just feels like the burden can be very stressful if you don't have ways to cope, you don't have ways to vent, to speak, to build healthy relationships within your own life, how can you do that [work] on the streets?"

The next panel focused on the frontline perspectives of workers who evaluate an individual's chances of involvement in violence. Building relationships is essential for outreach workers. Having these connections helps give them a "license to operate," or LTO, in neighborhoods.

"What [LTO] means is that your credibility is good, that when you go into that community, your character speaks for itself," said **Damien Morris** of Breakthrough. "Therefore, your chances of doing the work or bringing individuals to the table is that much better."

Participants on the third panel discussed the challenges and opportunities outreach organizations face in conducting, creating, and consuming "engaged research."

Research benefits practitioners because it strengthens their work and asks critical questions, remarked **Vaughn Bryant** of Metropolitan Peace Initiatives.

To create more understanding between the different practitioner and research cultures, the University of Illinois at Chicago's Kathryn Bocanegra pointed to the need for researchers from backgrounds like hers, a practitioner who became a researcher, as well as researchers who become practitioners.

The final panel discussed outreach's future. The speakers agreed that research and more investment in the outreach workers are needed to reduce gun violence further.

In closing the event, **Rev. Ciera Bates-Chamberlain** remarked, "A healthy public safety system requires equitable policies, robust investment in communities and wraparound services, and community-center governing structures." She is executive director of Live Free Illinois.

<u>Learn</u> more about the event and see page 32.

Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology, an IPR fellow, and faculty director of the Northwestern Neighborhood and Network Initiative (N3). Soledad McGrath is an IPR research professor and N3's executive director.

Tracking Public Opinion into the Third Year of the Pandemic

IPR political scientist continues national surveys assessing Americans' attitudes



Druckman and his colleagues found that 27% of parents with 5- to 11-year-olds said their children had already received at least one dose of the vaccine in December.

Americans' attitudes about COVID-19 mandates, vaccinating their children, and boosters have dominated news headlines over the last year, and they continue to constitute essential survey questions for the <u>COVID States Project</u>.

This ongoing, national survey started in April 2020 as a way to track how Americans think about a wide variety of COVID-related topics including not only vaccines, mask wearing, and testing—but also voting, protests, and approval of elected officials.

So far, the team of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Northeastern, and Rutgers universities has generated nearly 90 reports. They reveal sometimes surprising results about Americans' opinions and behaviors culled from demographic data broken down by political party, gender, race, and income, among others.

"We started the survey because we hoped to provide information about the federalized over-time response to the pandemic," said IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, who co-leads the survey. "Our goal was to offer unique data for understanding and responding to the crisis."

In May 2021, Druckman was one of several IPR faculty who <u>received</u> funding from a \$1

million Peterson Foundation grant to continue the surveys. As the COVID-19 pandemic continues into its third year, the researchers have surveyed over 500,000 Americans as of January 2022. Reports over the last several months have strongly emphasized attitudes about vaccines and vaccine mandates, a topic which the researchers have continued to revisit.

"We have spent a considerable amount of time studying vaccine attitudes and behaviors given their importance to addressing the pandemic's spread and the sticky gaps that have been difficult to close in getting the country vaccinated," Druckman said.

The researchers have questioned parents, for example, about their feelings on vaccinating their children. A December 2021 report shows that after the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine was approved for children between the ages of 5 and 11 in November, parents **planned** to vaccinate nearly one-third of 5- to 11-yearolds. But it also reveals that parents' enthusiasm to vaccinate their children waned from earlier in the year.

Another survey also from December 2021 highlights that parents' top concerns about vaccinating their children were long-term side effects and whether the vaccine had been tested enough. Republican, Asian American, and rural parents were the ones most worried.

Other reports showcase the ways COVID-19 mandates in schools have led to confusion. Four out of five (80%) college students reported in November 2021 that they were happier if their university had mask and vaccine mandates, but only about half of them could accurately describe details of their school's COVID-19 policies.

While COVID-19 vaccines and mandates have been polarizing, other surveys tackle topics revealing different aspects among the American public. A survey taken one year after the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol showed that Americans still remained <u>divided</u> in their feelings about it and whether they believed the election results in 2020 were legitimate.

Another survey assessing attitudes about critical race theory finds that a majority of Americans, or 73%, were <u>concerned</u> with how American history is taught in public schools. It shows Americans divided by political party and race and ethnicity about whether the country's legacy of racism should be taught at all.

"When the pandemic started, many hoped that it might bring the country together, as other crises have done," Druckman said. "It obviously has not by most metrics. Yet there are areas of consensus—trust in science and medicine has remained high, for example. Overall, though, the pandemic has been defined by varying perceptions based on politics and suffering based on socioeconomic and democratic status."

These surveys provide a detailed snapshot to policymakers, journalists, and the public of how the pandemic has disrupted Americans' lives and shifted their attitudes since the start of the pandemic.

James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director and fellow.

What Happens When More Four-Year-Olds Attend Preschool?

IPR researchers examine how the expansion of universal pre-K in Chicago influences students

IPR researchers, in partnership with Chicago Public Schools, the Office of the Mayor of Chicago, and the Chicago Department of Family Support & Services, are studying how the recent expansion of universal prekindergarten (pre-K) in Chicago will impact students from lower income backgrounds.

State- and city pre-K programs that offer free access to early learning for four-year-olds are on the rise both locally and nationally.

Universal pre-K programs, however, typically have a hard time reaching children from the most economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The Chicago model addresses this by streamlining the enrollment process and offering enough publicly funded slots to serve 95% of eligible four-year-olds in the city.

Led by **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, IPR director and economist, and **Terri Sabol**, IPR developmental psychologist, the team will look at several important aspects of the program, including its impact on the wider childcare market and whether the programs can reduce educational inequities in Chicago.

"We have seen a substantial rise in interest in understanding the effects of pre-K programs on children, especially those in low-income families, and what this could mean for more robust policy interventions," Schanzenbach said. "Previous research has shown that the effects of such programs can extend beyond addressing achievement gaps to a wide variety of outcomes, including physical health and adult earnings."

In 2019, Chicago began rolling out universal prekindergarten to four-year-olds. Although many cities across the country already have universal programs, Chicago's is notable in that it includes greater partnerships with community-based organizations and technical assistance and monitoring for teachers.

Yet it also started during the COVID-19 pandemic, raising important questions on the combined effect of the rise of public preschool during a health crisis.



"The fragile childcare market was made even more unstable by the impact of COVID," said Sabol. "We're interested in understanding how rolling out free full-day school-based prekindergarten during this period affects the overall childcare landscape. It's an important model for the country as it struggles to rebound from the pandemic."

Using existing administrative and census data from about 20,000 children, the researchers will compare changes over time between communities that sent their four-year-olds to prekindergarten with those that didn't.

They will also interview community based childcare providers and school-based universal prekindergarten programs, preschool and kindergarten teachers, and parents about opportunities and challenges that arose between COVID-19 and the universal prekindergarten policy change.

Previous research co-authored by Schanzenbach, for example, suggests that universal pre-K will likely increase the number of publicly funded preschool slots for four-year-old children. But removing these children from the overall childcare market (birth through age 5) could further compound challenges in rebuilding the sector, which is struggling due to COVID-19 and increases in the minimum wage. Researchers also will examine the varying quality of prekindergarten programs and grapple with the hairy question of how to best sustain or build upon any gains made through universal pre-K.

"The challenge is that children typically enter classrooms with a range of skills, which is often tied to their early childhood experiences," Sabol said. "Teachers often responded by remediating the students who did not attend pre-K and are less effective at engaging and developing the students who were prepared with pre-K experiences."

Chicago's model is designed to serve all students in an area, which could change the classroom experiences for teachers and students going forward. But it's still not clear whether kindergarten teachers would change their practices as a result of universal pre-K.

"With its unique community-research partnership, the Chicago Universal Prekindergarten initiative has the potential to transform how we think about and implement early childhood education in Chicago and beyond," Schanzenbach said.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR director. Terri Sabol is associate professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

RESEARCH NEWS

America's Worsening 'Death Problem'

Americans now have shorter lives than Europeans, even though the Black/White gap has been cut in half, study finds

Research published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* finds that Americans, even the wealthiest, have shorter lives when compared with Europeans.

The research project, led by economists Hannes Schwandt of IPR and Princeton University's Janet Currie, <u>compares</u> mortality trends and racial gaps in life expectancy in rich and poor U.S. areas with mortality in six European countries from 1990 to 2018.

"It is astonishing how much stronger longevity gains were in European countries since 1990 and that is true even if we focus on the richest U.S. areas," Schwandt said.

In 1990, White Americans and Europeans in rich areas had similar life expectancies, although life expectancy for White Americans in poor areas was lower. However, by 2018, life expectancy of White Americans, even wealthy ones, was increasingly falling behind that of Europeans.

"America has a death problem, and it has been getting worse in recent years," Schwandt said, "but there are important



pockets of success we need to focus on to learn from these improvements."

The gap between White and Black Americans' life expectancies was seven years in 1990. By 2018, this longevity gap had narrowed to 3.6 years, and the one between Black Americans and Europeans decreased by 8.3% over the same period.

If the drops in mortality among Black Americans had continued at the rate it did from 1990 to 2012, the gap in life expectancy between Black and White Americans would have closed by 2036. But improvements in life expectancy for both groups flattened and then fell between 2015 and 2018.

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

43,970

take water insecurity survey

A study by IPR anthropologist Sera Young, research associate Hilary Bethancourt, and their colleagues shows that the 12-item Individual Water Insecurity Experience Scale (IWISE) can measure how water insecurity impacts people around the world. These results, published in BMJ Global Health, make this the first tool to permit comparisons of individuals' experiences with water access, use, and reliability across diverse climates, geographies, and cultures. The study is based on nationally representative data from 43,970 individuals from 31 low- and middleincome countries, including Brazil, China, India, and much of sub-Saharan Africa. To get these data, the researchers partnered with the UNESCO-IHP Secretariat and Gallup, which conducted the survey between September 2020 and February 2021 as part of its World Poll.

Sera Young is associate professor of anthropology and global health and an IPR fellow. Hilary Bethancourt is a research associate in anthropology and at IPR.

How Listening to Language Boosts Infant Cognition



In *Developmental Science*, IPR researchers **Sandra Waxman**, **Kali Woodruff Carr**, and their colleagues <u>share</u> novel insights into how listening to language supports early cognition.

The researchers used EEG (electroencephalography) to measure infants' neural responses as they listened to human speech and lemur calls. Human speech and calls from lemurs, who are some of humans' closest evolutionary relatives, each engage early neural components of infants' attention by the time they are 6 months old but in distinct ways. Between 4 and 6 months, infants' neural attention while listening to speech is enhanced, but their attention while listening to lemur calls is suppressed.

"This new evidence is exciting because it permits us to look 'under the hood,' to discover how the infant

brain is modulated by listening to language," Waxman explained. "Without non-invasive neural measures like EEG, we would not have been able to discover how infants so rapidly form the language-cognition link."

Kali Woodruff Carr is an IPR research specialist and postdoctoral fellow at Northwestern. Sandra Waxman holds the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology and is professor of cognitive psychology and an IPR fellow.

Greater Wealth at Midlife May Be Tied to a Longer Life

Study examines association between wealth and longevity within siblings and twin pairs



In the first wealth and longevity study to incorporate siblings and twin pair data, the researchers, led by former IPR postdoctoral fellow **Eric Finegood**, now a Michigan State University faculty member, analyzed the midlife net worth of adults (mean age 46.7 years) and their mortality rates 24 years later. They <u>discover</u> those with greater wealth at midlife tended to live longer. The study, published in *JAMA Health Forum*, was co-authored with former IPR postdoctoral fellow **Alexa Freedman** and health psychologists **Edith Chen, Greg Miller**, and **Daniel Mroczek**. The researchers used data from the Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) project, a longitudinal study on aging. Using data from 1994–96 through 2018, the researchers used survival models to analyze the association between net worth and longevity. To tease apart factors of genetics and wealth, the full sample was segmented into subsets of siblings and twins. In the full sample of 5,400 adults, a higher net worth was associated with a lower mortality risk. Within the data set of siblings and twin pairs (n=2,490), the researchers find a similar association with a

A **1,886%** increase in opioid overdose deaths in adults ages 55+ from 1999–2019

A recent study by two IPR associates, sociologist **Maryann Mason** and demographer **Lori Ann Post**, with IPR undergraduate researcher **Rebekah Soliman** <u>analyzed</u> 20 years of fatal opioid overdose data in adults 55 and older. Between 1999 and 2019, opioid-related overdose deaths increased exponentially in older adults, from 518 deaths in 1999 to 10,292 deaths in 2019—a 1,886% increase. The findings were published in *JAMA Network Open* earlier this year.

"Many of us think drug misuse is a problem of the young. However, older adults are experiencing an explosion in fatal opioid overdoses," Mason said.

The study suggested other contributing factors in the exponential increase among older adults. They could include social isolation and depression; exposure to medically prescribed opioids for chronic conditions such as arthritis and cancer, which increase with age; declining cognitive function that may wealth to live longer than the sibling or twin with less. This finding suggests the wealthlongevity connection may be causal, and it is not simply a reflection of heritable traits or early experiences that cluster in families.

The researchers considered the possibility that individuals' previous health conditions, such as heart disease or cancer, could impact their ability to accrue wealth due to activity limitations or healthcare costs. They re-analyzed the data using only individuals without cancer or heart disease. Even within this subgroup of healthy individuals, however, the within-family association between wealth and longevity remained.

"So, from a public health perspective, policies that support and protect individuals' ability to achieve financial security are needed," Miller said.

Eric Finegood is now a research assistant professor at Michigan State University. Alexa Freedman is now a research scientist at NorthShore University HealthSystem. Edith Chen is the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Professor of Psychology and an IPR fellow. Daniel Mroczek is professor of psychology and an IPR associate. Greg Miller is the Louis W. Menk Professor of Psychology and an IPR fellow.

interfere with taking opioids as prescribed. In addition, the body's ability to metabolize opioids decreases with age, meaning people are more vulnerable to overdose.

"We need to inform the services that cater to older adults, such as meal-delivery or housekeeping services, about these potential issues and how to recognize the signs of drug misuse, like confusion, falls, and asking for medication too often or off cycle," Post said.

Maryann Mason is associate professor of emergency medicine. Lori Ann Post is the Buehler Professor of Geriatric Medicine. Both are IPR associates. Rebekah Soliman was an IPR summer undergraduate research assistant.

Using School-Based Mentors to Reduce Suicide Risk Among Adolescents



Bullying is one risk factor for suicide among adolescents, but as bullying shifts to online platforms, such as texting and social media, cyberbullying is also a common risk factor for suicidality-suicidal ideation, planning, and attempts. In Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, IPR health researcher Lauren Beach, epidemiologist Gregory Phillips II, and their colleagues evaluate whether mentoring relationships mitigate a student's chances of committing suicide. The researchers used the 2017 Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) and focused on five jurisdictions that asked students if they had at least one teacher or adult in their school they could talk to about problems. Students self-reported their experience with cyberbullying and suicidal ideation, planning, and attempts in the past 12 months. Of the 25,592 students in the sample, 87% reported having an adult they could talk with, and the researchers found mentoring relationships were associated with lower chances of suicidal ideation, planning, and attempts for both females and males. Having a mentor substantially decreased the odds of attempting suicide among males who were cyberbullied. Females who have a mentor have lower chances of suicidal ideation and attempts. These results suggest schools that help their students develop informal and formal mentoring relationships may prevent suicide among students.

Lauren Beach is a research assistant professor of medical social sciences and preventive medicine. Gregory Phillips II is assistant professor of medical social sciences and preventive medicine. Both are IPR associates.

How Does School Spending Impact Student Outcomes?

In a working paper, IPR labor and education economist Kirabo Jackson and IPR graduate research assistant Claire Mackevicius conduct a meta-analysis of 31 studies to identify whether increased public K-12 school spending improves student outcomes and, if so, by how much. Jackson and Mackevicius include all credibly causal studies, or those which identify the causal impact of changes in school spending on student outcomes. They only include studies of policy changes if it is clear that policy changed school spending. The two researchers find that over 90% of the studies (28), show positive impacts of school spending on student outcomes. Across standardized outcomes, they find that when school spending increases by \$1,000 (in 2018 dollars) over four years, high school graduation increases by 1.92 percentage points and college enrollment increases by 2.65 percentage points. Additionally, Jackson and Mackevicius uncover that school spending impacts educational attainment more than test scores, suggesting that only looking at test scores understates the long-term benefits of school spending. The benefits of increased capital spending take about five to six years to materialize, and the effects are about half as large as non-capital (instructional/operational) spending. Their study shows that a policy that increases school spending by \$1,000 per student over four years improves test scores and educational attainment over 91% of the time-clear evidence that money does matter.

Do you want to learn more about school spending? <u>Visit</u> our website for more research, including an explainer video and a policy research brief.

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

The Importance of Understanding Scope in Social Science Interventions

In the last 50 years, social scientists have increasingly turned to helping solve significant social problems by interventions and policies. When evaluating a possible intervention, social scientists look at the outcomes it leads to, its costs, and its scale, or how easily and affordably it can be enlarged to include many people. IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan**, with the University of Chicago's Monica Bhatt, Jens Ludwig, and Anuj Shah, **argue** in a working paper that "scope" is another aspect of an intervention's effectiveness that is important to assess. By scope, they mean how much an intervention can change a large share of the decisions that affect a person's outcomes. A particular intervention might have a large impact on one decision an individual makes, but many decisions go into changing a given outcome. If one examined intervention shows a large effect, it might seem like an attractive policy change; however, the intervention might make little difference when considered as part of the whole range of decisions people make that produce improvements. The authors present a framework to examine policies that pays special attention to this range of decision making. **Using the framework would enable social scientists to focus more on scope and to determine whether putting together multiple small-impact policies could result in large social changes.**

Jonathan Guryan is the Lawyer Taylor Professor of Education and Social Policy and an IPR fellow.

A Family-Centered Approach to Economic Mobility

College promise scholarships for U.S. high school students are on the rise, but are they enough?



IPR researchers **Teresa Eckrich Sommer**, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, and **Lauren Tighe** are studying a promising intervention that could address the cycle of educational inequity across generations in Toledo, Ohio, where only 1 in 5 adults holds a college degree.

HOPE Toledo Promise <u>promotes</u> postsecondary success by offering high school graduates and one of their parents a fully funded college scholarship as well as supportive services for four and a half years. This family-centered program launched with the 2020 graduating class of Jesup W. Scott High School, one of the most underresourced high schools in Toledo. Initiated by the Kadens Family Foundation, HOPE Toledo Promise is the first known twogeneration <u>college promise scholarship</u> program in the United States.

"HOPE Toledo Promise builds upon our past research that investing in the education of parents and children at the same time has greater benefits than single-generation investments," Sommer said. "We believe a two-generation approach to college scholarships holds great promise."

Despite starting during the COVID-19 pandemic, both generations of students in HOPE Toledo Promise are making progress, according to a mixed-method <u>report</u> by the IPR researchers. After one year in the program, youth and their parents enrolled in and persisted at two- and four-year institutions in the Greater Toledo area. However, challenges remained, such as continued financial and food insecurities, loneliness, and limited academic preparation. Sommer, Chase-Lansdale, and Tighe also find that families attending college at the same time experience novel benefits like mutual motivation, healthy competition, and shared skill development that may lead to higher rates of college persistence and completion.

The researchers plan to conduct a rigorous outcome evaluation in the future. Building on the initial success of HOPE Toledo Promise, the original philanthropist and others have raised funds to launch Hope Chicago.

Read more.

Teresa Eckrich Sommer is an IPR research professor. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale is professor emerita of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow. Lauren Tighe is an IPR postdoctoral fellow.

Using Social Media to Influence Attitudes About the Flu Vaccine

Each year, seasonal influenza, or the flu, affects millions of Americans, and studies show racial and ethnic disparities in flu vaccination rates. In a PlosOne study, communication studies researcher and IPR associate Ellen Wartella and her colleagues investigate how social media influencers may effectively deliver health messages about flu vaccines. The researchers examined data from the Public Good Projects' digital campaign, which used 117 social media micro-influencers to increase knowledge and positive attitudes toward the flu vaccine among African Americans and Hispanic Americans living in areas with the health provider Kaiser Permanente. The microinfluencers in the campaign had between 500 and 10,000 followers who were primarily African American or Hispanic American.

From October 2018-March 2019, the microinfluencers, 77% of whom were female, created original content promoting flu vaccination that included a website link, stopflu.org. A survey was conducted before and after the campaign among those who had seen the campaign and those who had not to assess differences in flu-related attitudes. The messages reached nearly 10 million individuals and generated more than 69,000 engagements. The survey results from the campaign show respondents had more positive attitudes about flu vaccines after seeing the content when compared with those who did not. The researchers suggest that individuals will engage in a positive way with a vaccination promotion message from someone they know or follow.



The study highlights the potential of using influencers to communicate public health information to larger groups of at-risk populations, and holds important implications for future vaccine rollouts.

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

Prior Exposure to COVID-19 Does Not Guarantee a High Level of Antibodies



Among individuals with clinically confirmed cases of COVID, a study shows antibody response fell 20% two months after their second dose.

A study by IPR biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, former IPR postdoctoral fellow **Amelia Sancilio**, and professor of medical social sciences and IPR associate **Brian Mustanski** <u>reveals</u> those with clinically confirmed cases of SARS-CoV-2 the virus that causes coronavirus disease (COVID-19)—and several symptoms had a higher level of antibodies than individuals who tested positive but had mild symptoms or were asymptomatic. It was one of the top 100 most <u>downloaded</u> studies in *Scientific Reports* in 2021.

Prior research by McDade, Mustanski, and Sancilio shows most cases in the community are mild and asymptomatic, which do not generate high levels of protective immunity.

"Our study shows that prior exposure to SARS-CoV-2 does not guarantee a high level

of antibodies, nor does it guarantee a robust antibody response to the first vaccine dose," McDade said.

The study highlights why two doses of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines are more effective than one dose, even for individuals who previously had cases of the virus.

Additionally, the study examines how effectively the vaccines work on variants such as B.1.1351 (South Africa), B.1.1.7 (UK), and P.1 (Brazil). The results show that the antibody response to viral variants was significantly lower, between 67% and 92%.

"The vaccine provides good protection, but not as good protection as the original version of the virus for which the vaccine was designed," McDade said.

Thomas McDade is the Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology and an IPR fellow. Amelia Sancilio is a former IPR postdoctoral fellow. Brian Mustanski is professor of medical social sciences and psychiatry and behavioral sciences, director of the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing, and an IPR associate.

The Impact of Vicarious Racism During COVID-19 on Mental Health

During the pandemic, experiences of vicarious racism—hearing about racism directed toward one's racial group or racist acts committed against other racial group members—and vigilance about racial discrimination have been prominent. In *Public Health Reports*, IPR developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers**, in collaboration with project lead David Chae of Tulane University and their co-authors, <u>study</u> how vicarious racism and vigilance about racial discrimination are related to symptoms of depression and anxiety among Asian and Black Americans. The researchers used data from a cross-sectional study of 604 Asian American and 844 Black American adults in five cities. The data, collected in 2020 as part of Chae's Uncovering COVID-19 Experiences and Realities (UnCOVER) Study, measured the frequency with which the participants experienced vicarious racism, such as thinking about others' experience of racism, and racial discrimination-related vigilance, such as avoiding going to a place. The researchers also measured the frequency of symptoms of depression and anxiety during the pandemic. **Half of Asian American participants and more than 60% of Black participants reported their experiences of vicarious racism during the COVID-19 pandemic were "more than usual," and 40% of Asian participants and**



67% of Black participants reported they practiced some form of vigilance about once a week or more. Asian and Black Americans who reported greater vicarious racism and vigilance had more symptoms of depression and anxiety. The results indicate the experiences of vicarious racism and vigilance about racial discrimination may contribute to an increase in mental health problems among Asian and Black Americans. The researchers argue anti-racism policies should be implemented across institutional settings for better public health.

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

Why Leaders' Competence Is a Life-and-Death Matter

2020's pandemic response shows why studying leaders' abilities matters

Competent elected leaders are often successful in improving the lives of those they serve, but incompetent ones can have an outsized, and even deadly, impact on their citizens, according to IPR political scientist John Bullock.

In *The Forum*, Bullock and Jonathan Bendor of Stanford University **argue** that researchers should focus more on the competence of elected leaders instead of voter competence, or how well ordinary voters understand politics. The federal government's mismanagement of the COVID-19 pandemic under the Trump administration led the researchers to update their previous essay on the topic.

They focus on three key areas: a leader's individual characteristics, the structure of government agencies, and the federal government's personnel system. They note that governing requires "real skills," but the U.S. has no formal personnel procedures for determining the competence of presidential candidates, for example.

Bullock and Bendor note that incompetent leaders can be especially dangerous because government agencies give them power to appoint others to positions of authority who



Dr. Anthony Fauci attends a White House briefing by then-President Donald Trump in 2020.

might not be qualified. They call the way in which hierarchies can amplify poor leaders at the top the "incompetence multiplier."

The researchers outline how Trump's unqualified appointees affected the government's early pandemic response. For example, he appointed Robert Redfield, a virologist and HIV/AIDS researcher, to head the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in 2018. But Redfield had never run a government agency before, and suddenly, he was propelled into a position managing thousands of employees and a \$7 billion budget. The researchers argue that the CDC made several mistakes early on because of Redfield's lack of experience, including flawed tests and failing to coordinate with states to broaden COVID-19 testing.

The federal government's COVID-19 response highlights why Bullock and Bendor are urging scholars to shift their focus to elected leaders' abilities to govern.

John Bullock is associate professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

Parents' Education and Adolescents' Stress During COVID-19

Researchers find adolescents from lower-educated households experiencing more stress and negative moods than their peers from higher-educated households

After the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted daily life for Americans, many were concerned about how these changes would affect children. In the *Journal of Adolescent Health*, IPR graduate research assistant **Sarah Collier Villaume**, IPR developmental psychologist **Emma Adam**, and their colleagues <u>study</u> changes in adolescents' perceived stress and mood at the beginning of the pandemic. The researchers recruited 128 Midwestern high school students from an ongoing, longitudinal study. The students were enrolled at two suburban high schools—one public and one private— and over half were a racial-ethnic minority. They also ranked their parents' education level. The students completed questionnaires about their daily stress and mood before the pandemic between December 2017 and March 2020 and at the beginning of the pandemic between March and July 2020. **The researchers find that adolescents living in low- to moderately educated households reported an increase**

in family and health-related stress that was four times as high as adolescents in more highly educated households.

Adolescents in low- and moderately educated households also reported feeling more ashamed, caring, and excited than before the pandemic, with adolescents from higher education households reporting decreases in anger and excitement. The researchers propose that school-based health centers and mental health facilities can play a role in supporting students struggling emotionally during the pandemic.

Emma Adam is the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, associate vice president for research, and an IPR fellow.

What Is the Best Age to Talk with Children About Race?

IPR psychologist discusses her parent-centered approach to addressing racial bias





Sylvia Perry enjoys a moment with her son.

IPR psychologist **Sylvia Perry** studies the formation of racial attitudes and practices designed to reduce prejudice, work that is key to fostering classroom environments, and a society at-large, where everyone can achieve and thrive.

Her psychology lab has developed a learning task for White parent-child pairs that includes shared viewing of cartoon vignettes, followed by prompts that facilitate a color-conscious dialogue about race. Preliminary findings have been promising, showing a measurable decrease in implicit bias about race after the conversation.

Psychological Inquiry published the article, "Systemic Considerations in Child Development and the Pursuit of Racial Equality in the United States," in 2021. Key to this intervention is the involvement of parents in the task. Perry <u>shares</u> what inspired her to pursue this parent-centered approach, and why it matters.

What is the best age to begin conversations about race with children? And what advice do you have for parents?

If your child can have a conversation with you, they are old enough to start having conversations about race. As early as preschool, children start showing racialgroup favoritism.

Just because you haven't heard your child say anything prejudiced does not mean that those attitudes are not forming. Children are not immune to the daily signals that they are observing in the world that

"If your child can have a conversation with you, they are old enough to start having conversations about race. As early as preschool, children start showing racial-group favoritism."

—Sylvia Perry

indicate that some children are to be valued over others.

What inspired you to put parents at the center of the intervention your lab is studying?

Parents (and peers) are a major source of children's socialization processes. The signals that parents send to their children every day will help them understand what they should and should not value, who they should and should not value, and how to make sense of their social world.

If children are exposed to prejudiced information through social media, their peers, or the classroom, their parents can counter that narrative by talking to their children about the history of and existence of racism within this country, the social construction of race, and the systemic biases that contribute to racial inequality.

You've argued society benefits most when parents are the driving force in addressing racial bias. Why might White parents feel a pull to delegate this work to outside experts?

There is evidence to suggest that some White parents may feel like they are not prepared for these kinds of discussions, or that they will mess things up if they attempt to talk to their children about racial inequality.

In our own <u>research</u>, we have found White parents choose to take a passive approach to these conversations, simply waiting for their child to bring it up. Some have also expressed that they don't believe these topics are particularly relevant to their lives. Others have expressed a desire to shield their children from the realities of racism. That is, they think they are too young to learn about racism, and they worry about the stress that it might bring about.

Sylvia Perry is associate professor of psychology and an IPR fellow.

Headstrong Girls and Dependent Boys Earn Less Than Their Peers as Adults

Research suggests that children who do not fit gender stereotypes are penalized

Can your behavior as a child influence your income as an adult? New research by IPR economist **Ofer Malamud** and Robert Kaestner of the University of Chicago shows that it can.

The study, published in *ILR* Review, <u>reveals</u> that women who were characterized as headstrong and men who were considered dependent as children earned less than their peers in early adulthood. The findings suggest that children who exhibit behaviors that do not conform to gender norms and stereotypes are later penalized in the job market.

Children scored high for being dependent if they demanded a lot of attention or clung to adults, and they scored high for being headstrong if they argued too much or had a strong temper and lost it easily.

"In contrast, there were no significant or economically meaningful penalties for men who had been characterized as headstrong, or for women who had been characterized as dependent," Malamud said, referring to expected gender norms.

Malamud and Kaestner initially began this line of research because of research showing boys tend to display more behavioral problems than girls, and they wanted to investigate whether there were gender differences in earnings because of these behavior problems.

To conduct the study, the researchers used data from the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, which includes 4- to 12-year-olds' emotional and behavior problems as reported by their parents. These child behaviors are classified as being anti-social, headstrong, hyperactive, or dependent, and the dataset also indicates if children were anxious or depressed or engaging in conflict with their peers. The researchers focused on children born between 1981 and 1990, examining their adult earnings between the ages of 24 and 30.



Malamud and Kaestner find that men who were dependent as children earned \$1,632, or 6%, less per year and women who were headstrong earned \$2,092, or 10%, less per year than their peers. The differences in income could not be explained by education, marriage, depression, self-esteem, health, occupation, or adult personality traits when they controlled for them.

"While other childhood behavioral problems—anti-social behavior, anxiety/ depressed mood, hyperactive behavior, and peer conflict—were also associated with decreased earnings, their associations are not significantly different by gender," Malamud said.

He says he was surprised to see the initial results and how much the effects of headstrong and dependent behaviors on earnings differed by gender.

"It seemed to fit the perception that women are penalized for being assertive and ambitious—stereotypes that are often associated with men," Malamud said, noting that <u>public opinion surveys</u> indicate that these gender stereotypes still hold true.

Malamud and Kaestner also discover that men and women working in blue-collar jobs

with behavioral problems during childhood had a larger gap in earnings than individuals working in white-collar jobs with the same behavioral problems. Malamud says this provides more suggestive evidence that characteristics in different workplaces, including prejudice about what behaviors are normal for each gender, may play a role in the income gap.

"This is consistent with the possibility that men and women are being penalized for gender, non-conforming behavior in the workplace, although certainly not conclusive proof of this possibility," said Malamud.

The evidence suggests that employers should be mindful of their gender expectations for their employees and how those expectations could affect earnings.

"To the extent that these are due to deviations from gender norms and stereotypes, it is certainly important for employers and others to be aware of the potential for prejudice and discrimination," said Malamud.

Ofer Malamud is associate professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

The State of Bipartisanship

IPR asks political scientist Laurel Harbridge-Yong about congressional conflict around current legislation—and what it all means for the 2022 midterms and democracy



For more than a decade, Americans' approval of the way Congress handles its job has been well below 50%. Congressional sparring over previously bipartisan government activities like raising the debt ceiling seems to have exposed a new level of animosity between Republicans and Democrats. But is this actually the case—and if so, what does this heightened state of partisanship mean for Americans?

To better understand what's at stake, IPR spoke with political scientist Laurel Harbridge-Yong, an expert on partisan conflict and cooperation. The following conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

Research finds that there has been stark polarization in Congress in the last several decades. But your book *Is Bipartisanship Dead?* shows more bipartisan behavior took place in Congress between 1973 and 2004 if you look beyond voting records. Is this still true in 2021?

When we think about what's been happening in contemporary politics, I think there certainly is some decline in bipartisanship, even on these earlier stage measures, like co-sponsorship [of legislation]. In the conclusion of my book, I updated some of the analysis through the early Obama administration, and we did start to see some declines through the later Bush administration, the Obama administration, and this likely continued during the Trump era. Issues that might not have otherwise been politicized became politicized—COVID and others. We had the initial bipartisan response with the CARES Act, but now you have greater partisanship on things.

But I still would argue—and suggest that the data show—that a lot of the issues that are not these high-profile agenda items of the parties are still places where there is bipartisan agreement. The vast majority of what Congress does is not the kind of big-ticket items like the Democrats' social spending bill.

What are your predictions about congressional leaders' ability to work together a year out from the 2022 midterm elections?

In terms of the prospects for this next year ahead, I think there are two competing factors at work. On the one hand, as we approach the election season, the incentives to differentiate the two sides are going to become even more pronounced. On the other hand, though, the Democratic Party, as the current majority and in unified control of government, has greater incentives to produce a record of success. They want to act while they have the chance as the majority to put in places policies but also want to show voters that they should be rewarded with another term as the majority party.

What are some of the long-term implications of the lack of bipartisanship on U.S. democracy as a whole?

In terms of the bigger picture—the current partisan political climate where people are so focused on their own side winning and seeing the win for the other side as a disaster for the country—that it makes it very hard to work with the other side when that's the perspective. That's true both for our legislators as well as for the American public.

And I think, unfortunately, that is where politics is at right now. We see it among our elected officials, particularly around a lot of questions about election integrity, with many Republicans willing to support Trump's claims of fraud-despite widespread evidence to the contrary. Likewise, on the Democratic side, if you see the opposing party as unwilling to accept the outcomes of elections and trying to change election laws at the state level to disenfranchise people, politics becomes about a lot more than just liberal/ conservative divides on policy-and where you can find agreement and where you can't find agreement.

<u>Read</u> more about her research on partisan conflict and bipartisan cooperation.

Laurel Harbridge-Yong is associate professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

Migration and Family Planning

IPR sociologist studies how migration affects women's contraception

Can migrating to a very different society affect a woman's contraceptive use?

A new study in *Demography* by IPR sociologist **Julia Behrman** and her colleagues <u>shows</u> that it can. She and her colleagues find women from West and Central African countries who migrated to France came to use contraceptives in ways that are more similar to French women's than to their former countrywomen's.

To make comparisons, the

researchers created a novel dataset using two existing surveys conducted from 2008– 09 of women in sub-Saharan Africa and in France. The surveys asked about their contraceptive use, including long-acting, short-acting, and traditional methods.

The new dataset compares the contraceptive use of 277 migrant women from Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, the Republic of the Congo, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to that of 1,483 women in their origin countries and 1,393 native French women.

"We found that migration to France is associated with dramatic differences in women's contraceptive use," Behrman said.

They discovered migrant women had a 17 percentage point higher probability of using long-acting contraceptives, such as implants, and a 20 percentage point higher probability of using hormonal short-acting contraceptives, such as a pill, compared to women in their origin countries. Behrman suggests that these large differences may be because women who migrated to France have better access to healthcare when compared to women from their origin countries.



"Our results point to the importance of reproductive health policies that make highly effective forms of contraception widely available to migrant populations," Behrman said.

Since women who migrate might differ from those who do not, the researchers also controlled for background characteristics such as education and family size.

The researchers show that even after accounting for these differences, they were not the reason for the increase in using contraceptives.

This study is part of a larger National Science Foundation project on migration and fertility that Behrman is co-leading, and it adds to scholarship about whether and why migrants change their fertility plans. A recent <u>report</u> from the Project on <u>Collaborative Research: Migration and</u> <u>Fertility</u> that Behrman co-directs provides more detail about how relocation affects women migrants' reproductive lives.

"This is important to know because international migration involves a host of changes to women's reproductive lives, including their access to and use of contraception," Behrman said. While contraceptive use is linked to fertility, she points out that it is often absent from scholarship investigating whether migrants adapt to the fertility norms of their new home.

Behrman and her colleagues have additional research in *International Migration Review* that also examines migration and fertility using similar data and methods.

"This type of research is crucial because it is

often society's most vulnerable women who face the greatest challenges in accessing reproductive healthcare," Behrman said. "This may be particularly true of women who migrate internationally and who often lack access to healthcare, social networks, and/or financial resources that might be important for decisions about their fertility and family planning."

Julia Behrman is assistant professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

"This type of research is crucial because it is often society's most vulnerable women who face the greatest challenges in accessing reproductive healthcare."

—Julia Behrman

Increasing College Access and Success

Northwestern's president and the U.S. under secretary of education informally discuss student debt, loan forgiveness, and other topics



Professor and President Morton Schapiro and U.S. Under Secretary of Education James Kvaal discuss some of higher education's top headlines.

Financial aid and student debt, support for first-generation students, inequities in college access, measurement of returns to higher education, and research-to-practice pipelines. These were but a few of the topics covered in a wide-ranging discussion by some of the nation's top higher education researchers, leaders, and thinkers at Northwestern University on May 10.

The symposium "College Access and Success," held in the Global Hub on the Evanston campus, was organized as a tribute to Northwestern Professor and President **Morton Schapiro**, whose tenure is concluding on September 12.

As one of the nation's leading experts on the economics of higher education, Schapiro has addressed many of these issues from the field in his work on college financing and affordability and on trends in educational costs and student aid. Many of the symposium panelists also spoke to his scholarly influence on their own research and the field.

In welcoming the 125-plus attendees, Northwestern Provost **Kathleen Hagerty** mentioned how the symposium theme "so deeply speaks toward his work as a higher education leader, scholar, and professor." IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore** Schanzenbach organized the event with Hagerty and economist **David Figlio**, who recently stepped down as dean of the University's School of Education and Social Policy to become provost at the University of Rochester.

"It was a spectacular set of all-star discussions, and I couldn't think of a better way to celebrate Morty's tireless efforts as a scholar and as a university president to promote college access," Schanzenbach later said about the event.

It Starts at Northwestern

Hagerty pointed to Schapiro's work to diversify Northwestern's student body across his 13 years as president. This resulted in African American, Latinx, and Native American enrollment rising from 11% of the 2009 entering first-year class to 30% in 2022 and an increase in the number of Pell Grant eligible students from 12% to 21% during that same period.

In recognition of his accomplishments, Hagerty announced a multimillion-dollar gift from the Potocsnak family to support key programs created during Schapiro's presidency—in particular, an academy that prepares high-achieving Chicago Public Schools (CPS) students for college.

Now known as the <u>Morton Schapiro</u> <u>Northwestern Academy for Chicago Public</u> <u>Schools</u>, the academy is a free, multiyear college access and enrichment program for CPS high school students from diverse backgrounds that has served more than 500 students since it was founded in 2013. More than 90% of participating students are the first in their families to go to college.

Chicago industrialist **John Potocsnak**, who attended the symposium, said in a press release, "With this gift, my family and I intend not only to honor Morty, but also hopefully to inspire future Morty Schapiros when they realize what their contributions can achieve."

The Returns to Higher Education

Two panels on higher education research and practice set up the event's highly anticipated conclusion, a "fireside chat" between Schapiro and U.S. Under Secretary of Education James Kvaal.

Kvaal asked Schapiro to reflect on what student success is, based on his years leading the University. Schapiro noted that the economic returns to college attendance have been strong over time. College attendance, especially at a high-quality institution, significantly increases the likelihood of moving from the bottom income quintile in the U.S. to the top quintile, he explained.

"You transform your life and the life of your family," Schapiro said. "So, when people say it doesn't matter where you go to school, or even if you go to school, they should just look at the data."

Forgiving Student Debt?

Kvaal then turned to the issue of student debt: "Do you have recommendations about R.Hart



From top to bottom: IPR Director and economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Eric Bettinger (Stanford), and Susan Dynarski (Harvard) sit on the first panel and discuss the role of money in higher education. From left: Susan Dynarski holds up her copy of Keeping College Affordable by Morton Schapiro and Michael McPherson (Urban Institute) and shares how it informed her research, as fellow panelists Sarah Turner (Virginia) and Jesse Rothstein (UC-Berkeley) look on. From left: Michael McPherson, Bridget Long (Harvard), and Morton Schapiro, three higher-ed leaders, pause for a snapshot.

what we do either to retrospectively address all the \$1.6 trillion that's out there or what we need to do going forward to think about how we use loans differently?"

It is "bad economic policy to forgive debt" indiscriminately, Schapiro said. He cited how much of that debt is held by graduate students, such as those who earn an MBA and are most able to repay their loans across their careers. Nearly one-third (28%) of student loan debtors are in the top 20% of U.S. income distribution. he stated.

"Forgiving debt makes sense. But not without a means test," Schapiro said, adding, "I would forgive up to \$20,000 in student-loan debt only if it were from undergraduate degrees, and only for people with family income under \$100,000."

Kvaal pointed out that people with smaller loans-the average graduate has under \$20,000 in loans-have the most trouble repaying them. They are often people who started at community colleges but did not finish or who went to a for-profit college.

"Going to college is perhaps riskier than we would like it to be." Kyaal said. "We'd like to be able to say, if you want to move up into the middle class, you definitely should go to college. There are a lot of people who took that advice and are worse off as a result."

Kvaal said the Education Department is working on getting already available benefits, including loan discharges, to those eligible, such as students cheated by for-profit colleges, students in public service, and disabled students.

When Kvaal asked Schapiro about making college free, Schapiro pointed out that most students typically pay only around one-third of the full "sticker price" of tuition and room and board-and lowering the sticker price benefits only the richest.

Schapiro reflected on the Northwestern Academy for Chicago Public Schools, which he established in 2013 to help make the dream of college accessible to hundreds of families in underserved communities. The

purpose of the academy "is to change people's lives. And if you have an ability to do it, and you don't do it, it's a sin," he said.

Schapiro then returned to a problem from an earlier panel raised by Harvard Graduate School of Education Dean and economist **Bridget Long**—the undermatching between academically qualified students and the colleges they attend. Attendance at most selective colleges has sizable returns for Black men, then Black women, White women, and a small return for White men, he said. But underserved students may not feel confident in their ability to succeed.

"It's on us to better figure out how to create an inclusive environment," Schapiro said. "That's the next frontier."

'Transforming the World': The Institute for Policy Research

Across the discussions of policy, practice, and research, Schapiro called out the work of the Institute for Policy Research.

Describing it as one of his "safe spaces" and a place where "we all care about transforming the world," he spoke about his regular involvement as a fellow since he arrived at Northwestern 13 years ago and how it has enriched his scholarly and policy perspectives.

Schapiro argued that researchers have a duty to "repair the world" by putting great research into action by "great government servants" like Kvaal, Schapiro said, and they have a way to do it.

"That's what IPR does," he said. "It's one of the greatest things I've ever been part of in my whole life."

Read more about the event and panels.

Morton Schapiro is president of Northwestern University, professor of economics, and an Institute for Policy Research (IPR) fellow. Kathleen Hagerty is the University's provost and First Chicago Professor of Finance. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR director.

Misinformation

(Continued from cover)

associate **Erik Nisbet** adds. In his and IPR associate research professor **Olga Kamenchuk**'s research, they note people might believe misinformation or disinformation they recall even if they do not recall if the source is credible.

Moreover, people are more likely to believe the content they read or listen to that reflects the same emotions—anger, sadness, or anxiety—that they presently feel.

"Certain emotional states might make you more open to misinformation," Nisbet said.

Breeding familiarity through repetition and seeing one's emotional state mirrored in content are examples of a "mental shortcut," according to Nisbet, and together they make people more likely to accept false information as true.

How Misinformation and Disinformation Flourish in U.S. Media

Examples of media bias charts that map newspapers, cable news, and other media sources on a political spectrum are easy to find. Can understanding bias in news sources help clarify why people fall prey to misinformation and disinformation?

Stephanie Edgerly, media scholar and IPR associate, suggests that a better place to start is with people's individual biases, rather than those of news sources. In examining how people make sense of news sources, she points to the audience's understanding of whether the source was news or entertainment—its genre—and its political orientation.

But how people perceive political orientation varies widely. Some see the media world as conservative vs. liberal with no middle ground. Others position news outlets in surprising places, such as the very conservative woman Edgerly interviewed who only centered Fox News between rightand leftwing media.

"We need to be really careful about how we talk about media," Edgerly said. "This either/ or way of making sense of media is too reductive—it's simplistic." She is also concerned that accusations of biased reporting—or worse—can backfire and lead people to lose trust in all sources.

"We're in a moment where we give a lot of attention to what the negative sources, low-quality, disinformation-prone sources, are doing," Edgerly noted. "I see this as creating a narrative where people think: 'There's a lot of bad sources out there, I don't know how to find good sources, and, therefore, I'm just not going to trust any of it."

Declining Trust in News

Media, technology, and society researcher and IPR associate **Pablo Boczkowski** explains that trust in news institutions, as well as political and social institutions, is declining in the U.S. as the country becomes more fractured.

In his research, Boczkowski shows that people view news reporting today as biased and polarized, and they are especially distrustful of news circulated via social media. They are also more concerned about the effects untrustworthy sources could have on others than on themselves.

He points out that an increase in the supply of misinformation does not necessarily imply an increase in the take-up of misinformation.

"Most of the conversation—both academic and in news and policy circles—about issues of misinformation and disinformation focuses on the supply side: How much there is, and known distribution issues, how rapidly it propagates," he said. He questions the implicit assumption that if there is more misinformation and disinformation, they must have proportionally more impact on the audience.

"I know that is not necessarily the case when I look at our research outside of the United States, at least," he continued.

Misinformation, Disinformation, and Polarization

IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, who studies the origins of partisanship and the role of persuasion in politics, sees "a mutually reinforcing relationship" between disinformation and polarization. He describes those holding more polarized opinions as also being more susceptible to considering information as biased, and therefore, more susceptible to partisan bias.

"That information may reinforce their polarized tendencies," he explained.

Resisting the 'Shadow of Lies'

Perhaps the biggest question overhanging the research is, how can we combat misinformation? Druckman notes that a host of techniques have been developed, such as literacy courses.

Nisbet suggests what he calls "prebunking," an "inoculation" against misinformation ahead of its distribution. For example, news organizations could have done more to publicize prior to the 2020 election that vote tallies would change overnight as mail-in ballots were added to the totals.

Rapp encourages more "lateral reading" of different sources on the same subject a technique endorsed in many classroom settings. He also suggests that academics, doctors, and politicians quit only speaking in jargon and in a top-down way about issues if we want to bridge the partisan divides exacerbated by misinformation and disinformation.

For Boczkowski, trust in institutions, including the media, is the fundamental issue. To restore trust, he says we must improve our institutions to work fairly for all groups.

"Instead of spending so much time on [disinformation], we should spend all the energy we spend on that looking at what can we do to make our society more equitable, more just, more inclusive, to emphasize those that have been disenfranchised," he said.

Read the story <u>here</u>.

Pablo Boczkowski is Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor in Communication Studies. James Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director. Stephanie Edgerly is associate professor and director of research in the Medill School. Olga Kamenchuk is an associate research professor. Erik Nisbet is the Owen L. Coon Endowed Professor of Policy Analysis & Communication. David Rapp is professor of psychology and of learning sciences. All are IPR faculty.

IPR Sociologist Named Harry Frank Guggenheim Distinguished Scholar

Andrew Papachristos will explore how powerful politicians and warring street gangs shaped Chicago's concentrated violence



IPR sociologist Andrew Papachristos shares remarks during a December 2021 symposium.

The Harry Frank Guggenheim (HFG) Foundation named IPR sociologist Andrew Papachristos a 2022 HFG Distinguished Scholar on February 2. He is one of 12 internationally known scholars to receive the award this year.

A highly respected researcher who uses network science to examine gun violence, police misconduct, street gangs, and urban neighborhoods in American cities, Papachristos will use the one-year grant to work on his book manuscript, "Murder by Structure: How Street Gangs Built the Great American City."

"Andy's pathbreaking work using network science to improve neighborhoods has both pushed back the frontiers of knowledge in sociology and addressed core problems facing Chicago," said IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**. "He is highly deserving of this prestigious award."

The HFG Foundation seeks to examine "enduring and urgent problems of violence, such as war, crime, and human aggression," through basic and applied research. It selects its distinguished scholars annually based on a competitive peer-review process.

"As always in our deliberations, the research projects funded in this round of our Distinguished Scholars competition were chosen for their exceptional potential to shed light on situations of serious violence," said Joel Wallman, the HFG Foundation's director of research.

The book manuscript, which is currently under contract with Oxford University Press, will examine how structures of power—over a century in the making—have shaped the concentration of violence in some of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. Papachristos will trace how this enduring violence resulted from powerful city politicians' policies and planning on one hand—and on the other, White, Black, and Latino street gangs and their ensuing turf wars as well as clashes with police.

"I'm deeply honored for this fellowship and the space it will afford me to complete this project," Papachristos said. "Many of the themes in this book—much of the violence "Andy's pathbreaking work using network science to improve neighborhoods has both pushed back the frontiers of knowledge in sociology and addressed core problems facing Chicago."

> —Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach

that built our cities—are as relevant today as they were 100 years ago."

Papachristos, who came to Northwestern and IPR from Yale University in 2018, grew_ up in Chicago's Rogers Park neighborhood, the son of Greek immigrants. From the vantage point of his parents' neighborhood diner, he witnessed gang violence, crime, and policing first-hand at the height of the city's homicide epidemic in the 1990s.

A first-generation college student, he received his BS in criminology from Loyola University Chicago and PhD in sociology from the University of Chicago. He is the author or co-author of more than 50 peerreviewed journal articles and founding faculty director of the Northwestern Neighborhood & Network Initiative, or N3.

To find out more, please <u>read</u> the HFG press release and a 2021 <u>conversation</u> with Papachristos on gun violence.

Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR director. IPR anthropologist

Norman Kretchmer

Memorial Award in

Development from

Sera Young

received the

Nutrition and

the American

Society for

Nutrition.

Recent Recognition for IPR Faculty



Sera Young

Mechanical engineer and IPR associate Elizabeth Gerber earned the 2022 Association for Computing Machinery Special Interest Group on Computer-Human Interaction (SIGCHI) Social Impact Award.

IPR economist Charles F. Manski and his co-author, Francesca Molinari, received the 2022 Willard G. Manning Memorial Award for the Best Research in Health Econometrics for their paper, "Estimating the COVID-19 infection rate: Anatomy of an inference problem."

IPR psychologist Sylvia Perry was selected as a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University for 2022-23.

Kellogg social psychologist and IPR associate Ivuoma Ngozi Onyeador was awarded the SAGE Early Career Trajectory Award by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology.

IPR graduate

Sheridan Fuller

received two

competitive

awards for his

research, one

of which was the

2021 Presidential

research

assistant

Psychiatrist and behavioral scientist and IPR associate Crystal Clark was inducted into the Alpha Omega Alpha medical honor society.

IPR education researcher and statistician Larry V. Hedges, IPR economist Kirabo Jackson, IPR Director and economist Diane Schanzenbach, and IPR education professor and associate James Spillane were named to Education Week's annual list of 200 influential academics in education policy.

IPR sociologist Beth **Redbird** was presented with a Best Paper Award from the Association for Computing Machinery Special Interest Group on Knowledge



Beth Redbird

Discovery and Data Mining as a co-author of "Supporting COVID-19 policy response with large-scale mobility-based modeling."

IPR social policy expert Sally Nuamah earned the 2021 Best Paper Award in Intersectionality from the American Political Science Association's Women, Gender, and Politics Research Section and its Race. Ethnicity, and Politics Section for "Public perceptions of Black women and girls and their punitive consequences." This paper

Legal Scholar Wins 2022 Guggenheim



IPR associate Kimberly Yuracko is a nationally recognized expert in anti-discrimination law. focusing on what nondiscrimi-

Kimberly Yuracko

nation requires with respect to people and groups that are different in relevant ways. Her award-winning book, Gender Nonconformity and the Law (Yale University Press, 2016), explores courts' expanding protection for gender nonconformists and limitations of the current approach. Her work on Title IX traces how athletic opportunities should be allocated across sex-segregated sports teams. The Guggenheim Fellowship will support her study of athletic opportunities for transgender girls.

"I hope this project addressing transgender girls' participation in girls' sports will help shift discussion on this important issue from partisan politics to more fundamental questions of fairness, equality, and human dignity," she said.

Kimberly Yuracko is the Judd and Mary Morris Leighton Professor of Law and professor of political science (by courtesy) in Weinberg.

(Continued on page 21)

A Shift from Policy Administration to Policy Insights



Sheridan Fuller

Fellowship, Northwestern's highest honor for its graduate students.

Only 12% of Northwestern applicants receive this competitive fellowship, and Fuller plans

to use the funding to collect and access new data for his dissertation on how social safety net programs form, who benefits from them, and their long-term effects.

Fuller has also received a one-year dissertation fellowship from the Washington Center for Equitable Growth. It is awarded to two pre-doctoral students for innovative research on inequality and growth and provides professional support.

Both fellowships are ultimately getting Fuller closer to the impact he wants to make in policymaking, as well as an affirmation

to continue improving social safety net programs.

"It's tough to find your research agenda." he said. "To have that external validation that says your work is important, it's policy relevant, and we think it's rigorous is rewarding. It provides momentum to move forward."

Read more about Sheridan and his research.

Sheridan Fuller is an IPR graduate research assistant and PhD student in human development and social policy.

In Memoriam: Professor Ned Smith

Professor of management and organizations and IPR associate **Ned Smith <u>passed</u>** away on September 25, 2021, after a battle with glioblastoma, a rare form of brain cancer.

He joined the Kellogg School of Management in 2013 and served as an associate professor of sociology (by courtesy) in Weinberg College.

As a researcher, Smith deeply cared about how social networks form and the impact that biases have on individuals and society. His pioneering work showed that social networks, once thought to be based solely in social interactions, can have influential cognitive and psychological determinants. His insights inspired new research in a growing, cross-disciplinary area.

"He was a truth teller. Somebody who would look you in the eye and tell you when you

Recognition

(Continued from p. 20)

also received the Rodney Higgins Best Faculty Paper Award from the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma** Adam <u>serves</u> as associate vice president for research in the Northwestern Office for Research.

IPR anthropologist Christopher Kuzawa was named the John D. McArthur Professor of Anthropology. Computer scientist and IPR associate Jessica Hullman became the first



Christopher Kuzawa

Ginni Rometty Professor of Computer Science.

IPR social policy professor and IPR associate **Cynthia Coburn** was <u>honored</u> with a 2021 Charles Deering McCormick Professor of Teaching Excellence by Northwestern.

<u>Read</u> more about faculty awards and honors on our website.



were wrong—but you never felt bad because it came from a good place," said professor of management and organizations and IPR associate **Brayden King**.

As a teacher, he brought a spirit of innovation. Even after his 2018 diagnosis, he crafted an online program, Strategic Change Management, that became one of Kellogg's most popular executive education courses.

Smith emphasized the importance of empathy both inside and outside the classroom, saying in a LinkedIn post that "I do believe that our greatest gift is our ability to derive reason and make meaning from our experiences. I believe that empathic human interaction is the basis of most things that are good and sustainable."

"As often as I can," he wrote, "I remind my children to look for people to thank when things go well for them, and to think about how they could have helped when things go poorly for others."

Ned Smith is survived by his wife, Erin, and their four children, Finn, Beckett, Eliza, and Cecily.

David Figlio Named Provost at Rochester

IPR education economist **David Figlio** <u>became</u> provost of the University of Rochester on July 1. He was dean of the School of Education and Social Policy (SESP), and had been an IPR fellow since 2008, also having served as IPR's director from 2012–17.

Figlio is an internationally recognized economic and education researcher. His research focuses on many education and health policy issues, including school accountability, school choice, the interrelationship between health and education, how parents confer advantage and disadvantage to their children, and student learning outcomes in higher education.

"Northwestern profoundly shaped and influenced my research and academic identity," Figlio said. "It's the place where I began working on new problems, using new methods and theoretical frames, and working with colleagues from a variety of fields. It is where I truly embraced being an interdisciplinary scholar."

"We are sad to see David go as he has been an important force in shaping IPR and SESP,"



David Figlio was IPR's sixth director.

said IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**. "But we wish him well in his new position and look forward to ongoing collaborations around social policy research and outreach."

As provost, Figlio will become the University of Rochester's chief academic officer, administering the College of Arts, Sciences & Engineering; Eastman School of Music; Simon Business School; and Warner School of Education. He will manage several universitywide operations, including graduate education and postdoctoral affairs, the library system, and information technology.

David Figlio was the Orrington Lunt Professor, dean of the University's School of Education and Social Policy, and an IPR fellow until May 15.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHTS

Sally Nuamah

IPR social policy expert advocates for feminist schools and studies school closures

"My mother, like most of our parents, really emphasized the power and the value of education as a mechanism for trying to improve our life chances," said IPR social policy expert Sally Nuamah.

Nuamah, whose parents immigrated to the United States from Ghana in the 1980s, would go on to take her mother's advice and use education as an avenue for changing her life's trajectory. She went from growing up in a low-income Chicago neighborhood to earning a PhD from Northwestern University, landing on Forbes' "30 under 30" in education, and becoming an advocate for girls' education.

"What I didn't realize until I got into high school and then returning to the homeland of my parents was that education is a really important mechanism for young Black girls who are from poor backgrounds all over the world," Nuamah said.

Given the schoolhouse's profound impact on her own life, she became interested in studying education and the way it intersects with gender, race, and politics.

How Girls Achieve

In her award-winning book *How Girls* Achieve (2019, Harvard University Press) Nuamah lays out a blueprint for "feminist" schools as safe spaces that model gender equity and teach girls to achieve. She examines schools in three countries and highlights how each one represents a part of the ideal feminist school—creating a safe environment in South Africa, promoting confidence in the United States, and becoming achievement oriented in Ghana. But she urges schools to focus on more than just academic achievement.

She first traveled to Ghana in 2009, which led her to film a documentary "HerStory"



and start a foundation, TWII, to help low-income Ghanaian girls attend college. So far, 31 have graduated with the organization's support.

While some question whether a researcher can also be an advocate, Nuamah argues many scholars of color go into research to study and improve the lives of people in communities they grew up in.

"I don't think we really often have the privilege to just do research for research's sake," she said. "Fortunately, I have found communities that reward and appreciate that approach."

The Punishment of Black Girls and Women

In a working paper, Nuamah finds that in the U.S., Black girls are viewed as being older, more dangerous, more knowledgeable about sex, and deserving of punishment compared to their White peers.

This study is part of a larger line of research in which Nuamah hopes to understand how Black girls' early experiences with punishment shape their views of themselves and the government.

"There's nothing that Black girls are doing differently that's causing them to have these experiences with punishment at the hands of institutions that are meant to keep them safe," Nuamah explained.

Black women represent one of the most active voter groups of any demographic, she notes. But without any resulting changes, they might not continue to engage politically.

Closed for Democracy

In a forthcoming book, Nuamah is looking at the 2013 school closings in Chicago and Philadelphia, which have some of the highest rates in the nation. Between 85% and 90% of the closings occurred in Black and Brown neighborhoods.

Nuamah explains that because schools are such essential institutions in minority neighborhoods, community members became more politically engaged after learning their schools would close. They ran for the school board, attended community meetings, and voted politicians out of office. Despite these efforts, however, their schools were still shut down. She calls this experience of engaging and becoming disillusioned by the democratic process "collective participatory debt." And if education is the most probable mechanism to improve one's life, Nuamah questions what that means for these students.

"What does it mean when those schools are closed, especially when they're public institutions?" Nuamah asked. "And what does that mean for [students'] ability to achieve all of what democracy promises?"

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

Craig Garfield



How did an English major working on a dairy farm end up as a pediatrician? IPR associate **Craig Garfield <u>began</u>** by deciding that he would prefer to help people rather than cows.

Going from English major to physician is unusual, "but a lot of what we do in medicine is hear people's stories and listen to their stories and figure out from their stories what the problem is," Garfield said. "It's an honor to actually hear the stories of patients and families and give testament to them."

He concluded that if he wanted to prevent illness and other bad outcomes, he needed to concentrate on children's care.

After deferring a program at the University of Chicago for a year after residency to be a stay-at-home father, he was the lone father in an Evanston mom-tot program. He realized that he, his fellow pediatricians, and the medical establishment largely ignored the role of fathers in their children's lives and the impact of children on fathers' lives. This realization set his primary research interests on studying fatherhood.

"I thought about this life course transition into being a parent as a lever for change," he said, "that you could really be using for the betterment of men's health."

Craig Garfield is professor of pediatrics and of medical social sciences and an IPR associate.

Stephanie Edgerly



As a child, media scholar and IPR associate **Stephanie Edgerly <u>remembers</u>** observing her mom engage in politics and current events through media outlets like the "Today" show, "The View," and the National Enquirer. Edgerly said while these outlets are considered "soft" news sources, they allowed her mom to have political discussions that might have only been accessible to traditional newspaper readers.

"This really influenced the range of media that I consider when I ask questions about how people understand current events," Edgerly explained. "For me, that question has never been tied to only newspapers or network nightly news."

In college, an ongoing conversation with her friends about whether the host of "The Daily Show," Jon Stewart, was a journalist or not kept her thinking about how people consume media. The differences in her friends' opinions brought up more questions for Edgerly about what types of media are labeled news.

"What I think makes the field of media really interesting is that everybody has personal experience with media," Edgerly said.

Stephanie Edgerly is an associate professor of journalism and an IPR associate.

Héctor Carrillo



Sociologist and IPR associate **Héctor Carrillo**'s newest project was inspired by a question younger relatives ask their elders every day, "What do you know about our family?" Not everyone's older relative, however, happens to be an award-winning sociologist.

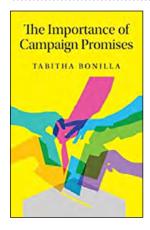
The question <u>set</u> him down a path to examine through a sociological lens how people conduct amateur genealogy. He became interested in the documents and records that make archival genealogical work possible and the relationships amateur genealogists establish with them as they reconstruct their family histories.

"As I started doing my own work as an amateur genealogist, I began to realize how interesting it was, this process of people wanting to find out where they came from," Carrillo said.

And the research community, so far, has agreed. For his efforts, Carrillo was named one of 2020's Guggenheim Fellows. His research focuses on how individual actions and identities interact with society, as part of his work on projects such as the Sexualities Project at Northwestern (SPAN).

Héctor Carrillo is professor of sociology and gender & sexuality studies, co-director of the Sexualities Project at Northwestern (SPAN), and an IPR associate.

FACULTY BOOKS



The Importance of Campaign Promises

by Tabitha Bonilla, Cambridge University Press, 2022

In her new book, IPR social policy expert **Tabitha Bonilla** <u>explores</u> what campaign promises signal and how voters use promises to evaluate candidates. She finds that voters notice how committed candidates are to policy issues based on their language and hold candidates accountable for promises. Her book draws on historical presidential debates and a series of experimental surveys about gun control to assess voters' reactions to campaign promises. She details that not only do voters understand the difference between a general policy stance and a specific promise to take action, but also that voters judge candidates more harshly if they do not follow through on their promises.

Looking at presidential debates from 1960–2012, Bonilla shows that candidates' promises increased in 1992 and continued to rise over the next two decades. She speculates that candidates made more promises because cable

news networks began airing debates to larger audiences and presidential candidates, such as Bill Clinton, turned to a more performative style of campaigning.

An analysis of the 2016 debates between then-presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton reveals that candidates make strategic choices about when to use promises, signaling which issues matter to them. Trump's promise to "build a wall" indicated a strong stance on immigration, while Clinton's promise to defend Roe v. Wade showed her commitment to women's reproductive health.

Bonilla says one of the book's major contributions is the use of experimental surveys about how voters respond to promises after they know whether they have been broken or kept. One interesting survey finding revealed that respondents still object to breaking a promise, even when it meant elected officials did something voters preferred. This strong reaction is one drawback of the rise of campaign promises, Bonilla points out. If we think about democracy as a system that allows us to compromise, candidates' promises, which end up polarizing voters, could make it harder to reach a middle ground on issues. Bonilla says her book emphasizes why scholars need to revisit our understanding of campaign promises and what we know about voters' attitudes toward them.



Networks for Social Impact

by Michelle Shumate and Katherine R. Cooper, Oxford University Press, 2022

Communication studies scholar and IPR associate **Michelle Shumate** and Katherine R. Cooper take a systems approach to explain how and when networks make a social impact. In their book, they argue that network

design and management is not a one-size-fits-all formula. Instead, they show that the type of social issue, the mechanism for social impact, environment, and resources available each determine appropriate choices. Drawing on research from public administration, psychology, business, network science, social work, and communication, this book synthesizes what we know about how to best design and manage networks. It includes illustrations from thirty original case studies which describe groups of organizations addressing issues such as gender-based violence, educational outcomes, senior care, veterans' services, mental health and wellness, and climate change.



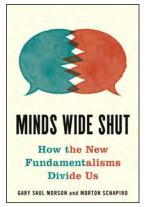
Abundance

On the Experience of Living in a World of Information Plenty

by Pablo Boczkowski, Oxford University Press, 2021

Media scholar and IPR associate **Pablo Boczkowski** <u>examines</u> the experience of living in a society that has more information publicly available than ever before. It focuses on the interpretations,

emotions, and practices of dealing with this abundance in everyday life. Drawing upon extensive fieldwork and survey research conducted in Argentina, the book inquires into the role of cultural and structural factors that mediate between the availability of information and the actual consequences for individuals, media, politics, and society. Providing the first book-length account of the topic in the Global South, it concludes that the experience of information abundance is tied to an overall unsettling of society, a reconstitution of how we understand and perform our relationships with others, and a twin depreciation of facts and appreciation of fictions.



Minds Wide Shut

How the New Fundamentalisms Divide Us

by Gary Saul Morson and Morton Schapiro, Princeton University Press, 2021

Polarization may be pushing democracy to the breaking point. But few have explored the larger, interconnected forces that have set the stage for this crisis: namely, a rise in styles of thought, across a range of fields, that Northwestern literary scholar Gary Saul Morson and Northwestern University President and IPR economist **Morton Schapiro** call "fundamentalist."

In *Minds Wide Shut*, Morson and Schapiro <u>examine</u> how rigid adherence to ideological thinking has altered politics, economics, religion, and literature in ways that are mutually reinforcing and antithetical to the open-mindedness and readiness to compromise that animate democracy. In response, they propose alternatives that would again make serious dialogue possible. Drawing on thinkers and writers from across the humanities and social sciences,

Morson and Schapiro show how we might begin to return to meaningful dialogue through case-based reasoning, objective analyses, lessons drawn from literature, and more.

Fundamentalist thinking, Morson and Schapiro argue, is not limited to any one camp. It flourishes across the political spectrum, giving rise to dueling monologues of shouting and abuse between those who are certain that they can't be wrong, that truth and justice are all on their side, and that there is nothing to learn from their opponents, who must be evil or deluded. But things don't have to be this way. Drawing on thinkers and writers from across the humanities and social sciences, Morson and Schapiro show how we might begin to return to meaningful dialogue through casebased reasoning, objective analyses, lessons drawn from literature, and more.

The result is a powerful invitation to leave behind simplification, rigidity, and extremism—and to move toward a future of greater open-mindedness, moderation, and, perhaps, even wisdom.



Curating Culture

How Twentieth-Century Magazines Influenced America

edited by Sharon Bloyd-Peshkin and Charles Whitaker, Rowman & Littlefield, 2021

With missions to serve specific readers and editors who were champions of their interests, even the most practical

magazines were cultural influences well beyond their pages. This book, edited by Medill dean and IPR associate **Charles Whitaker** and Sharon Bloyd-Peshkin, is a curated collection of case studies that collectively <u>shed</u> light on the cultural niches that American consumer magazines of the 20th century covered and created. The chapters examine how cultural niches were cultivated, how they changed over time, and how they influenced broader cultural conversations. This sweeping view of 20th-century American magazines illuminates how this particular media form created, cultivated, and served specific communities, laying the groundwork for contemporary media forms to continue that role today.



Protestors and Their Targets

edited by James Jasper and Brayden King, Temple University Press, 2020

The editors and contributors to Protestors and Their Targets—all leading scholars in the study of social movements—look at movements and why their interactions with other societal actors turn out as they do.

These scholars, including professor of management and organizations and IPR associate **Brayden King**, recognize that targets are not stationary but react to the movement and require the movement to react back. This edited collection <u>analyzes</u> how social movements select their targets, movement-target interactions, and the outcomes of those interactions. Case studies examine school closures in Sweden, the U.S. labor movement, Bolivian water and Mexican corn, and other global issues to show the strategic thinking, shifting objectives, and various degrees of success in the actions and nature of these protest movements.

Browse more books by IPR faculty.

IPR WORKING PAPERS

Studying Science Inequities: How to Use Surveys to Study Diverse Populations (WP-21-39)

by James Druckman, Robin Bayes, and Alauna Safarpour *This working paper has been published in* The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Inequality in Mortality Between Black and White Americans by Age, Place, and Cause, and in Comparison to Europe, 1990–2018 (WP-21-38)

by **Hannes Schwandt**, Janet Currie, Marlies Bär, James Banks, Paola Bertoli, Aline Bütikofer, Sarah Cattan, et al. *This working paper has been published in the* Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America.

How Economic Development Influences the Environment (WP-21-37) by Seema Jayachandran

Does Money Still Matter? Attainment and Earnings Effects of Post-1990 School Finance Reforms (WP-21-36)

by Jesse Rothstein and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** This working paper is published in the Journal of Labor Economics.

Network Effectiveness in Context (WP-21-35)

by **Michelle Shumate**, Shaun Dougherty, Joshua-Paul Miles, Anne-Marie Boyer, Rong Wang, Zachary Gibson, and Katherine Cooper

Bias in Higher Education Disability Accommodation Services (WP-21-34)

by **James Druckman**, **Jeremy Levy**, and Natalie Sands *This working paper is published in the* Economics of Education Review.

Heterogeneity in the Impact of Privatizing Social Health Insurance: Evidence from California's Medicaid Program (WP-21-33)

by Mark Duggan, Craig Garthwaite, and Adelina Yanyue Wang

When Do Refugees Return Home? Evidence from Syrian Displacement in Mashreq (WP-21-32)

by **Lori Beaman**, Harun Onder, and Stefanie Onder *This working paper has been published in the* Journal of Development Economics.

Regulatory Approval and Expanded Market Size (WP-21-31) by Benjamin Berger, Amitabh Chandra, and **Craig Garthwaite**

Private and Social Returns to R&D: Drug Development and Demographics (WP-21-30) by Efraim Benmelech, **Janice Eberly**, Joshua Krieger, and Dimitris Papanikolaou *This working paper has been published in* AEA Papers and Proceedings.

The Dynamics and Spillovers of Management Interventions: Evidence from the Training Within Industry Program (WP-21-29)

by **Nicola Bianchi** and Michela Giorcelli *This working paper has been published in the* Journal of Political Economy.

A Framework for the Study of Persuasion (WP-21-28)

by **James Druckman** *This working paper has been published in the* Annual Review of Political Science.

Affective Polarization in the American Public (WP-21-27) by James Druckman and Jeremy Levy

Which Markets (Don't) Drive Pharmaceutical Innovation? Evidence From U.S. Medicaid Expansions (WP-21-26)

by Craig Garthwaite, Rebecca Sachs, and Ariel Dora Stern

Science as a Public Good: Public Use and Funding of Science (WP-21-25)

by Yian Yin, Yuxiao Dong, Kuansan Wang, Dashun Wang, and **Benjamin Jones** *This working paper has been published in* Nature Human Behaviour.

Career Spillovers in Internal Labor Markets (WP-21-24)

by **Nicola Bianchi**, Giulia Bovini, Jin Li, Matteo Paradisi, and Michael Powell

This working paper is forthcoming in The Review of Economic Studies.

Using Machine Learning and Qualitative Interviews to Design a Five-Question Women's Agency Index (WP-21-23) by Seema Jayachandran, Monica Biradavolu, and Jan Cooper

From Mancession to Shecession: Women's Employment in Regular and Pandemic Recessions (WP-21-22) by Titan Alon, Sena Coskun, Matthias Doepke, David Koll, and Michèle Tertilt

Low Levels of Protective Humoral Immunity Following Mild or Asymptomatic Infection with SARS-CoV-2 in a

Community-Based Serological Study (WP-21-21)

by **Thomas McDade**, **Amelia Sancilio**, Richard D'Aquila, **Brian Mustanski**, Lauren Vaught, Nina Reiser, Matthew Velez, Ryan Hsieh, Daniel Ryan, Rana Saber, Elizabeth McNally, and Alexis Demonbreun *This working paper has been published in* Open Forum

Infectious Diseases.

Exposure to SARS-CoV-2 Within the Household Is Associated with Greater Symptom Severity and Stronger Antibody Responses in a Community-Based Sample of Seropositive Adults (WP-21-20)

by Joshua Schrock, Daniel Ryan, Rana Saber, Nanette Benbow, Lauren Vaught, Nina Reiser, Matthew Velez, Ryan Hsieh, Michael Newcomb, Alexis Demonbreun, **Brian Mustanski**, Elizabeth McNally, Richard D'Aquila, and **Thomas McDade** *This working paper has been published in* Open Forum Infectious Diseases.

Diversity in Schools: Immigrants and the Educational Performance of U.S. Born Students (WP-21-19)

by **David Figlio**, Paola Giuliano, *Riccardo Marchingiglio*, Umut Özek, and **Paola Sapienza**

Geographic Disparities in COVID-19 Case Rates Are Not Reflected in Seropositivity Rates Using a Neighborhood Survey in Chicago (WP-21-18)

by **Brian Mustanski**, Rana Saber, Daniel Ryan, Nanette Benbow, Krystal Madkins, Christina Hayford, Michael Newcomb, Joshua Schrock, Lauren Vaught, Nina Reiser, Matthew Velez, Ryan Hsieh, Alexis Demonbreun, Richard D'Aquila, Elizabeth McNally, and **Thomas McDade**

This working paper has been published in Annals of Epidemiology.

Developmental Plasticity, Epigenetics, and Race: Historical Lessons and Contemporary Considerations (WP-21-17)

by Maurizio Meloni, Tessa Moll, and Christopher Kuzawa

How Intergroup Contact Can Change Policy Views (WP-21-16) by James Druckman and Elizabeth Sharrow

The Distribution of School Spending Impacts (WP-21-15) by Kirabo Jackson and Claire Mackevicius

A Soul's View of the Optimal Population Problem (WP-21-14) by David de la Croix and Matthias Doepke

This working paper has been published in Mathematical Social Sciences.

Comparison of IgG and Neutralizing Antibody Responses After One or Two Doses of COVID-19 mRNA Vaccine in Previously Infected and Uninfected Persons (WP-21-13)

by Alexis Demonbreun, **Amelia Sancilio**, Matthew Velez, Daniel Ryan, Rana Saber, Lauren Vaught, Nina Reiser, Ryan Hsieh, Richard D'Aquila, **Brian Mustanski**, Elizabeth McNally, and **Thomas McDade**

This working paper has been published in EClinicalMedicine.

Not Too Late: Improving Academic Outcomes Among Adolescents (WP-21-12)

by **Jonathan Guryan**, Jens Ludwig, Monica Bhatt, Philip Cook, Jonathan Davis, Kenneth Dodge, George Farkas, Roland Fryer Jr., Susan Mayer, Harold Pollack, and Laurence Steinberg

A Surrogate Virus Neutralization Test to Quantify Antibody-Mediated Inhibition of SARS-CoV-2 in Finger Stick Dried Blood Spot Samples (WP-21-11)

by **Amelia Sancilio**, Richard D'Aquila, Elizabeth McNally, Matthew Velez, Michael Ison, Alexis Demonbreun, and

Thomas McDade

This working paper has been published in Scientific Reports.

Symptoms of COVID-19 Infection and Magnitude of Antibody Response in a Large Community-Based Study (WP-21-10)

by **Thomas McDade**, Joshua Schrock, Richard D'Aquila, **Brian Mustanski**, Nanette Benbow, Lauren Vaught, Nina Reiser, Matthew Velez, Ryan Hsieh, Daniel Ryan, Rana Saber, Elizabeth McNally, and Alexis Demonbreun

Wage Theft in a Recession: Unemployment, Labor Violations, and Enforcement Strategies for Difficult Times (WP-21-09)

by Janice Fine, **Daniel Galvin**, Jenn Round, and Hana Shepherd *This working paper has been published in the* International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations.

Are Bipartisan Lawmakers More Effective? (WP-21-08) by Laurel Harbridge-Yong, Craig Volden, and Alan Wiseman

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Northwestern POLICY RESEARCH

Political Mobilization Around Chicago School Closings

OVERVIEW

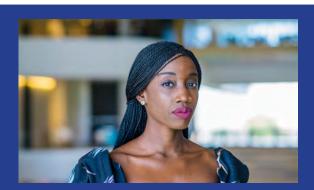
In 2012, the Chicago Public Schools board initiated the largest wave of school closures in U.S. history, shutting down 49 out of nearly 500 public schools. These schools were in predominately Black neighborhoods on the city's South and West sides. In the American Political Science Review, IPR political scientist and social policy expert Sally Nuamah and political scientist Thomas Ogorzalek document how the closures changed the political behavior of Black Chicagoans who lived in communities targeted for a school closure. Despite relatively low participation rates in the democratic process before the closures, these citizens-who are from some of the city's poorest neighborhoods-increased their political engagement. Their research supports a model of place-based mobilization, or the process of citizens responding to policy change concentrated in their local community. As many schools around the country were temporarily closed during the COVID-19 pandemic, with permanent closures likely to follow, the researchers show that community is an important site of political action for marginalized groups around issues that matter to them.

FINDINGS

Black citizens who lived in communities targeted for a school closure became more likely to attend community meetings. Before the closures in 2010,

POLICY TAKEAWAYS

- Local issues can motivate low-income and Black citizens to higher levels of political engagement and action.
- School closures, in particular, can increase political resistance in these communities.
- These newly active communities turn out to vote and hold political leaders responsible for their actions.



IPR social policy expert **Sally Nuamah** studies how school closings shape the way communities participate in democracy.

Black Chicagoans in ZIP codes with a closed school were the least likely to have recently attended a political meeting. But after the closures in 2014, they were the most likely demographic to go to a political meeting.

They also mobilized to add a measure for an elected school board to the 2015 ballot, similar to a referendum added in 2012. For the question to be included, community members in the precinct needed to gather a certain number of signatures. In 90% of precincts near a closed school, community members gathered enough signatures to add the measure to the ballot, while only 57% of precincts farthest away from a closed school did. Illinois Gov. J. B. Pritzker eventually signed a bill in July 2021 giving Chicago a 21-person school board that will phase in elections for the roles, beginning in 2024.

Additionally, Black Chicagoans near a closed school voted in larger numbers in the 2015 election and decreased their support for thenmayor Rahm Emanuel, who had control over the school closures and was running for a second term. In the 2015 election, turnout for the election declined by 2% each mile from a school closure. Support for Emanuel also fell in the closest areas. Each mile away from a school closure, voters were more supportive of Emanuel by about 5%.

Location of School Closures in Chicago Neighborhoods

Black residents made up 48% of the public school population in Chicago, but 88% of those affected by a school closure in 2012–13. Location of Closed School

Chicago's Black Population 2010 U.S. Census

0-12,000 12,000-24,000 24,000-36,000 36,000-48,000 48,000-60,000 60,000-72,000 72,000-84,000

METHODOLOGY

The researchers used responses to the Cooperative Congressional Election Study to analyze changes in the waves before and after the biggest school closures in 2010 and 2014. They also looked at a dataset based on precinct-level results from the Chicago Board of Elections and census data connecting demography to electoral outcomes, which allowed them to compare changes in behavior from the local elections before and after the closures. To examine voters' and respondents' proximity to a community affected by school closures, they developed an original dataset of schools closed in 2012–13 to construct two measures of communitybased experiences with public school closures.

REFERENCES

Nuamah, S., and T. Ogorzalek. 2021. <u>Close to home:</u> <u>Place-based mobilization in racialized contexts.</u> *American Political Science Review* 115(3): 757–74.

Infographic created in Datawrapper using 2010 U.S. Census data from Chicago's Community Areas and the author's school closure list from 2012–13.

FACTS AND FIGURES

- In the year after the school closings, affected Black residents were more likely to attend community meetings than any other racial group—increasing attendance by 17%.
- In 90% of precincts nearest a closed school, community members mobilized to put a measure for an elected school board on the 2015 ballot, compared to only 57% of precincts farthest from a closure—a 33 percentage-point difference.
- In the 2015 mayoral election, turnout for the election decreased by 2% for every mile voters lived from a closed school. Those living in areas near a closed school were more mobilized to vote and less supportive of Emanuel compared to the 2011 election.

IPR RAPID RESEARCH REPORTS

IPR's Rapid Research Report series serves to quickly disseminate preliminary research findings and analyses by its faculty. Some of the latest titles are below.

GUN VIOLENCE & STREET OUTREACH

Communities Partnering 4 Peace (CP4P) Preliminary Individual Results (September 2021)

N3 and IPR Researchers, Northwestern University

This report by the Northwestern Neighborhood & Network Initiative (N3) looks at the impact of Communities Partnering 4 Peace (CP4P), a Chicago collaboration of outreach and victim services organizations. N3 concludes, preliminarily, that CP4P successfully locates those people at highest risk of being victims of gun violence, potentially increases positive outcomes such as more education and employment, and potentially reduces the risk of involvement in gun violence.

Reaching and Connecting: Preliminary Results from Chicago CRED's Impact on Gun Violence Involvement (August 2021)

N3 and IPR Researchers, Northwestern University

The current study by N3 examines 234 men who entered the CRED program in 2019 from Roseland and West Pullman. Early results suggest that CRED (a) successfully locates high-risk populations, (b) successfully connects participants to intensive programming, and (c) potentially reduces the risk of involvement of gun violence of its participants in the short term.

CHILDCARE

Childcare in the Time of COVID: How Illinois Resourced Programs to Support (Re)opening (September 2021)

Terri Sabol (IPR/Human Development and Social Policy), **Tímea Virágh, Olivia Healy, and Anika Nerella,** Northwestern University

This report examines the distribution of three key resources in Illinois meant to support continued childcare program operation during the COVID-19 pandemic: (1) Emergency Daycare Licenses, (2) Federal Paycheck Protection Program, and (3) Illinois Childcare Restoration Grants. The researchers find resources were accessed equitably among neighborhoods across the state.

PUBLIC OPINION

The <u>COVID States Project</u> is a consortium of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Rutgers, and Northeastern universities. They have conducted nearly 90 public opinion surveys since July 2020. **James Druckman** (IPR/Political Science) is one of the survey's co-leaders.

January 6th Capitol Insurrection

Storming of the Capitol, One Year Later (#76)

Vaccines, Masks, and COVID Tests

American Mask Use and CDC Guidance (#78)

Attitudes Toward COVID-19 Boosters Before and After Omicron (#75)

Parental Concerns Over COVID-19 Vaccines for Kids (#74)

Childhood COVID-19 Vaccine Uptake and Intentions (#71)

Student Attitudes About University COVID-19 Policies (#69)

Who Are the Masked Unvaccinated and the Unmasked Vaccinated? (#67)

The Decision to Not Get Vaccinated, From the Perspective of the Unvaccinated (#63)

Education

American Attitudes Toward Critical Race Theory (#73) School Board Elections (#72)

Government

Americans' Views on Violence Against the Government (#80)

Misinformation

Healthcare Workers' Perception of COVID-19 Misinformation (#77)

COVID-19 Vaccine Misinformation: From Uncertainty to Resistance (#60)

Social Media News Consumption and COVID-19 Vaccination Rates (#57)

<u>View</u> the complete list of IPR Rapid Research Reports.

FACULTY SOUNDBITES

66 This is a prime example of the ways in which tribal sovereignty is weaponized. Sovereignty is a double-edged sword. It can help make our lives better, but when we get it people are afraid of sovereign Indians."

- Beth Redbird

"Local Tribe Members React to Supreme Court Decision That Strikes at the Issue of Tribal Sovereignty," Chicago Tribune, June 30, 2022

44 Low-income workers, workers with low levels of education, Black and brown workers are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get them back."

- Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach

"This Is Going to Hurt," The New York Times, June 17, 2022

44 As the U.S. reels from another school shooting, much of the public discussion has centered on the lives lost. But this death toll captures only a part of the immense cost of gun violence in American schools. Our research shows that despite often escaping without physical harm, the hundreds of thousands of children and educators who



survive these tragedies carry scars that affect their lives for many years to come." – Molly

Schnell,

Hannes Schwandt, and their colleagues "Opinion: The Lasting Consequences of School Shootings on the Students Who Survive Them," The Conversation, May 31, 2022

44 It is really critical to have abortion as part of safe, comprehensive, high-quality maternity care. It's part of the whole continuum of maternity care."

– Melissa Simon

"Many States' Abortion Bans Have Life-Saving 'Exceptions.' Experts Doubt They Will Work as Intended," Salon, May 12, 2022 **44** Virtual teamwork can't replace face-toface teamwork. Idea selection proficiency is only valuable if you have strong options to select from, and face-to-face teams are the best means to generate winning options."

– Brian Uzzi

"Brainstorming on Zoom Hampers Creativity," Scientific American, April 27, 2022

46 By courageously resisting the forces of violence and tyranny, Ukrainians are bolstering the security of Europe and North America and inspiring the West to rediscover



the importance of its founding principles." – Jordan Gans-Morse "Opinion: Ukraine is on the Front Line of

Defending Western Democracy," Chicago Tribune, March 30, 2022

44 It's not hard to take a privileged kid and produce a privileged adult. Much harder is becoming the kind of place that serves as a launching pad for students without the advantages. In America, that should be the definition of an 'elite' university and that should be what puts a college at the top of the 'best' college rankings."

- Monica Prasad and Jeffrey Winters "Opinion: Elite Universities Can Create Better

Pathways for Two-Year College Transfers," The Hill, February 10, 2022

44 Expulsion is not great for children. It sets them up to feel disconnected from school, for thinking that they don't belong. And it can have long term effects on their development and their connection to school."

– Terri Sabol

"This Chicago Charter Expelled More Students Than Any Other School. Can That Change?," Chalkbeat Chicago, February 9, 2022 **46** [1]t's not a story of something radically new there, it's a story of continuing economic uncertainty. It's been like that for a while now."

– Christine Percheski

"Why Young Adults Are Delaying Parenthood," The Wall Street Journal, January 7, 2022

⁶⁶ If you have a house that was built before 1950, there's a pretty good chance that there's a restrictive covenant in the deed, particularly if that was a neighborhood that was historically predominantly white."

- Chloe Thurston

"New Illinois Law Allows Homeowners to Remove Racist Language from Home Deeds," ABC7 Chicago, January 7, 2022

44 People consistently showed this tendency to perceive Black people as more risk-taking and more reckless. ... We were surprised about how large the effects were."

– Sylvia Perry

"Research Reveals Racial Bias in Perceptions of Risk-Takers," Diverse: Issues in Higher Education, December 6, 2021

Sow is the time to invest in promising neighborhood-based violence prevention programs. While they are in no way the



cure for all of the gun violence, efforts like street outreach are an essential part of the solution that reaches and connects people to lifesaving resources."

- Andrew Papachristos

"What We Know (and Don't Know) About Street Outreach, Gun Violence Prevention," Chicago Tribune, October 25, 2021

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Advancing the Science and Practice of Street Outreach: Lessons Learned and the Future of Street Outreach in Illinois



Views from Advancing the Science and Practice of Street Outreach: Lessons Learned and the Future of Street Outreach in Illinois, clockwise from top left: Chris Patterson, assistant secretary for violence prevention at the Illinois Department of Human Services, delivers opening remarks. N3's Angelica D'Souza (far left); Damien Morris, senior director of violence prevention at Breakthrough; and Demetrius Bunch, CP4P lead coach supervisor at Claretian Associates, talk about the dynamics of gun violence risk. IPR research professor and N3 executive director Soledad McGrath (far left) interviews Teny Gross, executive director of the Institute for Nonviolence Chicago; Eddie Bocanegra, senior director of READI Chicago at Heartland Alliance; and Vanessa Perry DeReef, director of training at the Metropolitan Peace Academy about the future of street outreach. From left: N3's Dallas Wright; Vaughn Bryant, executive director of Metropolitan Peace Initiatives; and Kathryn Bocanegra, assistant professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, discuss the challenges and opportunities that researchers and practitioners face in conducting and consuming "engaged research."