

The Past and Future of Affirmative Action in College Admissions

IPR talks with sociologist Anthony Chen about the Supreme Court and race-conscious admissions

Whoisjohngat



Opponents of affirmative action argue that it discriminates against Asian Americans.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in late June that Harvard University and the University of North Carolina violated the Constitution’s guarantee of equal protection by using race as a factor in college admission.

Some colleges and universities use race as a factor in admissions, along with many other factors like athletics and activities, to create a diverse student body. Now, they must find other ways to ensure diversity in new classes. The Students for Fair Admissions (SFFA), which brought the cases, argues that Harvard’s practice violates Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by discriminating against Asian American applicants, and claims that UNC violates the 14th Amendment’s equal protection clause.

IPR **spoke** to sociologist **Anthony Chen**, an expert on affirmative action in higher education, before and after the court’s decision about its history, the ongoing opposition to its use, and how universities might move forward.

Chen is currently finishing his book with New York University’s Lisa Stulberg that traces the history of affirmative action in college admissions.

These interviews have been edited for length.

IPR: You and your co-author, Lisa Stulberg, have done extensive research into the origins of affirmative action, and you find the beginnings of it in the early 1960s. What did you learn?

Chen: What we learned is that it wasn’t a creature of the 1970s, as many people have thought or assumed. It was a creature of the 1960s. And it was, in a way, a product of the Civil Rights Movement. It arose because deans, provosts, and presidents at certain selective institutions of higher education believed two things. Number one, they believed that diversity was an important factor in the quality of education that they provided to their students. They wanted to try to create a diverse student body for their students—and racial diversity was a special form of diversity that they wanted to provide. Second, they believed that it was incumbent on institutions of higher education to engage with a changing society by preparing the way for the world that would come after segregation. They wanted to make sure that educational opportunity was provided to minority applicants, and especially African American applicants, who could use a higher education to become fully integrated into American society.

IPR: Your research shows that there was a concern about, or belief in, diversity as an educational value. Do the arguments made in *SFAA v. Harvard* (and *SFAA v. UNC*) to the Supreme Court affirm, contradict, or ignore the evidence you have uncovered about the origins of affirmative action?

Chen: There’s a difference of opinion among the justices, not surprisingly, about what diversity is, and whether it’s valuable and

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IPR Director Steps Down



Economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** stepped down as director of Northwestern University’s Institute for Policy Research (IPR) on July 31. Schanzenbach, who is a national expert on education, anti-poverty programs, and food insecurity, has directed IPR since September 2017. She is starting a new post at the University of Florida, but will remain an IPR and Northwestern faculty member.

Learn more about Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, IPR’s seventh director, on page 36.

Who We Are

Northwestern University’s Institute for Policy Research (IPR) is one of the country’s oldest and most prominent interdisciplinary social science research institutes. The Institute’s more than 160 award-winning faculty are among the top experts in their fields. Using rigorous methods, they conduct innovative, policy-relevant research, tackling some of the nation’s most pressing social issues—from education and inequality to social safety nets and gun violence. IPR faculty experts train policy-minded scholars and doers, and they share their research widely with policymakers, foundations, nonprofits, and the media to support sound policy decisions.

This newsletter provides an overview of our faculty’s research and activities over the past year. It serves as an example of how IPR empowers, connects, and promotes our faculty and their research to transform public discourse and positively change communities.

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IPR Experts Turn Research Excellence into Policy Impact

Studies cited in president's report and elsewhere signal depth and rigor of IPR research

Each year, the White House Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) releases the “Economic Report of the President” to Congress. Chock full of data and recommendations, it details the president’s priorities and the nation’s progress on key economic and social goals. The 2023 report **cited** research by seven IPR faculty in economics, finance, psychology, and strategy 14 times across the 507-page report.

“It’s a clear signal of the overall quality, range, and rigor of our faculty’s research that seven of our faculty were cited in it,” said IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, who had seven studies cited in the March report. “It testifies to how policymakers—and not just the academy—value IPR’s unique research brand of interdisciplinarity, rigor, and attention to policy questions that matter.”

Schanzenbach, who stepped down as IPR director in July (see p. 36), says that raising IPR’s profile in policy circles represents one of the highlights of her six years as director.

“IPR is a pioneer in its drive to transmit faculty research to policymakers in ways they can understand and use,” she said.

While a CEA report is likely one of the highest-profile research-driven reports in U.S. policymaking, IPR studies also frequently find their way into school districts and state legislatures, national agencies and international NGOs. IPR faculty have also been sworn into government posts, led branches of federal agencies, and testified before Congress.

CEA Report Cites Seven IPR Experts

The IPR researchers’ studies cited in the 2023 CEA Report cover the impact of early childhood education, food insecurity, school funding, employment, returns to college-going, economic growth, and climate change.

In outlining the “substantial benefits” of early childhood investments, the report cites



IPR faculty research finds its way into policymaking and legislation. Clockwise, from left: Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Mesmin Destin, Christopher Kuzawa, Soledad McGrath, Jonathan Guryan, Terri Sabol, Kirabo Jackson, Andrew Papachristos, Sera Young, and Dan Galvin

three IPR researchers. The report points to evidence from IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** (see p. 4) showing how Head Start led to higher earnings and reduced poverty and incarceration for participating children. It cites studies by Schanzenbach and her colleagues on how free preschool programs increased enrollment and test scores and how high-quality kindergartens improve the children’s adult outcomes. Another, co-authored by IPR psychologist **Terri Sabol**, outlines the benefits of stable relationships between children and caregivers as foundational to the youngsters’ healthy development.

Beyond early childhood education, the report also references a study Schanzenbach co-authored on the sizable benefits of increasing low-income families’ access to food stamps, including improving children’s health as adults and increasing their mothers’ economic independence. It pulls from Jackson’s ongoing work to illustrate how increasing K-12 school finances improves students’ later economic and social outcomes. And it points to work from IPR economist **Ofer Malamud** showing that while four-year colleges have clear benefits, they might not be best for everyone.

The CEA report also relies on evidence from faculty to better understand economic growth and the impact of climate change. A study by finance professor and IPR associate **Paola Sapienza** reveals how factoring for a person’s distinct cultural background can help better account for real-world economic growth. Studies by economists **Jonathan Guryan** and **Benjamin Jones** and their fellow researchers outline the effects of climate change and rising temperatures: Guryan’s shows they will increase infant mortality and worsen infants’ health—and Jones’ illustrates how they can slow down global economic growth, especially in countries in poorer and hotter regions.

Impact Seen on Laws, Identity Messages, U.N. Indicators, Gun Violence, Reparations

IPR political scientist **Dan Galvin** has been examining the issue of wage theft, or when employers pay employees less than the minimum wage, for nearly a decade. He has been working with several state departments of labor and city labor standards enforcement agencies to study minimum wage violations in Chicago and the states of Oregon, Texas, and Washington. A 2021 report that he wrote for the state of New Jersey served as a guidepost as that state overhauled its enforcement of workers’ earnings and benefits.

(Continued on page 4)

In September 2022, IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** took to the TEDxChicago stage to share his personal experiences in education and how they went on to shape his research as an academic.

To date, the video has been viewed more than 1.6 million times. In it, Destin details what his research shows about how identity-building messages at key moments can have powerful, even life-changing, effects on adolescents.

IPR anthropologist **Sera Young** and a group of 40 scholars and practitioners launched the first scale to improve measurement and understanding of how individuals experience water insecurity in their daily lives in 2019. The United Nations made the Water Insecurity Experiences (WISE) scales an official indicator of progress on its Sustainable Development Goal for clean water and sanitation.

The Center for Neighborhood Engaged Research and Science, or CORNERS, housed within IPR, seeks to examine and address gun violence by working with partners to collect and analyze data on networks. Its co-directors **Andrew Papachristos** and **Soledad Adrianzén McGrath** serve as advisers on policing and public safety in Chicago, Evanston, and the nation. McGrath recently worked on Brandon Johnson's Mayoral Transition Subcommittee for Public Safety.

IPR biological anthropologist **Christopher Kuzawa** testified before California's Task Force on Reparations last year. Citing major disparities in life expectancy between Black and White Americans, he pointed to research that shows how life experiences from in utero and infancy can influence a person's health and life chances as an adult. He suggested that improved economic, housing, or educational opportunities for Black Americans can help narrow the racial gap in adult health.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor. Kirabo Jackson is the Abraham Harris Professor of Education and Social Policy and professor of economics. Terri Sabol is associate professor of human development and social policy. Ofer Malamud is professor of human development and social policy. Paola Sapienza is the Donald C. Clark/HSBC Chair in Consumer Finance Professor. Jonathan Guryan is the Lawyer Taylor Professor. Benjamin Jones is the Gordon and Llura Gund Family Professor. Dan Galvin is associate professor of political science. Mesmin Destin is associate professor of psychology. Sera Young is associate professor of anthropology and global health. Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and faculty director of CORNERS. Soledad Adrianzén McGrath is an IPR research professor and executive director of CORNERS. Christopher Kuzawa is the John D. MacArthur Professor. All are IPR faculty members.

IPR Economist Joins White House

Kirabo Jackson to serve on Council of Economic Advisers



Kirabo Jackson has published groundbreaking research on school spending, test scores and education achievement, and teacher effectiveness.

On August 11, President Joe Biden announced his intention to **appoint** IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** as a senior member of his Council of Economic Advisers (CEA). The CEA sits within the Executive Office and delivers research-driven recommendations on matters of national and international economic policy to the president. He will start at the end of August.

"As a scholar conducting policy-facing research, my goal has always been to influence policy. Therefore, being granted the privilege to serve as an advisor to President Biden is both an incredible honor and a great opportunity," Jackson said. He is the Abraham Harris Professor of Education and Social Policy and professor of economics at Northwestern University.

Jackson's pathbreaking work in the economics of education has been published in the field's top journals. Some of his most-cited work involves **examination** of the impact of public school funding, in which he and colleagues devised innovative methods to measure how increasing K-12 school finances improves students' economic and social outcomes as adults. He also has **investigated** students' socioemotional skills and the **effectiveness** of K-12 teachers in improving student outcomes, among other topics.

"President Biden has selected one of the country's finest scholars on education funding and policy for this role," Northwestern President **Michael Schill** said. "Kirabo Jackson is a brilliant example of the positive impact and influence Northwestern's faculty have on the world around us. We congratulate him on this appointment and thank him for his service to our nation."

Jackson, 43, is one of the youngest members to have been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Education. In 2020, he received the David N. Kershaw Award from the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, recognizing his contributions to the field of public policy analysis and management. He is also a faculty research fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Currently, he serves as the editor-in-chief of the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*. He was previously co-editor for the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* and the *Journal of Human Resources*.

Kirabo Jackson is the Abraham Harris Professor of Education and Social Policy, professor of economics, and an IPR fellow.

The Fight Against Inflation

In an IPR lecture, Raphael Bostic describes challenges in battling inflation

Screenshot of lecture



Raphael Bostic discussed inflation, the legacy of racism in the economy, and more.

At an October 5 IPR Distinguished Lecture, **Raphael Bostic**, president and chief executive officer of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, **outlined** the reasons behind the nation's surging inflation, what research and history show about combating it, and the Federal Reserve's efforts to build an economy that works for everyone.

*IPR Distinguished
Public Policy Lectures
are given by
prominent individuals
who straddle
the worlds
of policymaking
and academia and
can speak to the use
of research
in policymaking
and other issues.*

"In these circumstances, monetary policy assumes enormous importance because it is our bulwark against inflation," he told 130-plus attending the virtual lecture.

Bostic is one of 12 regional Federal Reserve Bank presidents and the first African American appointed to lead a Federal Reserve bank. He is responsible for all of the Atlanta Fed's activities, including monetary policy, bank supervision and regulation, and payment services. Additionally, he serves on the Federal Reserve's chief monetary policy body, the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC).

In welcoming him, IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** noted his work published in leading economic, public policy, and planning journals, and said, "He's also one of the nation's leading thinkers on the economic impact of racism in the United States."

For the last seven months, the FOMC has been raising the federal funds rate to curb inflation. But what's behind rising inflation? It comes down to two main drivers of inflation, according to Bostic.

First, he explained that people's demand for items like furniture and electronics surged during the COVID-19 pandemic as more people stayed home, and thanks to improved

savings due to lower spending and the federal response, Americans had more money in their accounts. However, with factory closures and sick workers, there was also a labor shortage and delays in production. As a result, the U.S. economy experienced a sharp drop in production—the largest since World War II.

"That imbalance in the labor market mirrors an imbalance between aggregate demand and supply for goods and services throughout the economy," he said. "Our persistently elevated rate of inflation is a direct result of that imbalance."

The second driver involved challenges abroad that have been impeding progress. Bostic pointed to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which led to a rise in gas prices, and a severe drought in China interrupted supply chains and had an impact on its exports.

Improving the supply chain, therefore, could help reduce inflation, Bostic said, but the CFO Survey shows supply chains still face challenges getting materials.

By raising interest rates, Bostic pointed to how the Fed is seeking to balance economic activity and reach its long-term goal of low and stable inflation—or 2% annually as measured by its preferred indicator, the Personal Consumption Expenditures (PCE) price index. As it takes hold, the central bank expects consumer demand to fall.

Bostic sees signs that the Fed's policies might be working. He described reports that low-and-moderate-income consumers have begun purchasing cheaper goods, which gives the supply chain time to recover from an increase in demand.

"The strength of labor markets will wane, and economic activity will weaken, which is fundamentally necessary to reduce inflation," he said.

Raphael Bostic is president and chief executive officer of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Diane Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor and an IPR fellow; she directed IPR until July 2023.

Restoring the American Dream

Influential economist describes novel work tracking economic mobility and policies to boost it



Harvard economist Raj Chetty (right) takes questions from the audience about big data and upward mobility with IPR's Diane Schanzenbach, who moderated the discussion.

In his IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on February 20, Harvard economist **Raj Chetty discussed** his research to systematically trace “the dramatic fading of the American Dream” by pairing big data with innovative models and methodology.

Chetty, the William A. Ackman Professor of Public Economics at Harvard University and director of Opportunity Insights, began with a dramatic contrast of the upward mobility of children born in 1940 to those born in the 1980s in the U.S.

“For kids born in the middle of the last century, it was a virtual guarantee that you were going to achieve the American dream of moving up,” he said, with 92% of children going on to earn more than their parents. Yet four decades later, that figure dropped to just 50%.

This reflects a “fundamental change” in the U.S. economy, he continued, with critical implications for U.S. society, politics, and elections.

Illustrating his talk with a series of maps, Chetty showed how anonymized tax data allowed his lab to trace the geography of upward mobility within the United States.

He pointed to the enormous variation in children’s chances of rising up out of poverty across the map, highlighting areas of high upward mobility indicated in blue and green—in the center of the country and the coasts—with red and orange signaling lower

upward mobility, like in the Southeast U.S. and the urban Midwest, including Chicago and Cleveland.

As an example, he pointed to blue-green Dubuque, Iowa, where children who grew up in families making \$27,000 a year on average—which is the average household income of low-income children by age 30—are now making between \$45,000 and \$50,000.

“That’s a tremendous amount of upward mobility in a single generation,” he said.

Comparing a place of higher upward mobility like Dubuque to one of lower mobility like Atlanta also permits the researchers to examine what happens when people move from one to the other.

“We can start to unpack what the drivers are of these differences in economic opportunity, with an eye towards potentially making changes going forward, that might give children better chances of rising up,” Chetty said.

Chetty then dove into possible explanations for the wide differences in upward mobility around the nation.

Viewing the map through a demographic lens, Chetty highlighted how places with larger African American populations, like in the Southeast and Midwest Rust Belt cities, show up in red and orange on the map. To parse this possible connection, Chetty and his fellow researchers paired the tax data

with census records, which contain race and ethnicity information. The resulting map for Black and White men exposes the stark gap between the two.

“We’re finding that if you take a Black boy and a White boy, who grew up in families at the exact same levels of income, same resources,” he continued, “they have dramatically different prospects of rising up.”

“So, race seems to matter. But there continues to be an important role for place,” he said

Creating Evidence-Based Policies to Support the American Dream

Chetty said his research indicates viable policy solutions to promote the American Dream of upward mobility by reducing segregation, investing in places, and recognizing the role that universities and colleges can play.

For policy ideas to address segregation, Chetty discussed results of a randomized control trial (RCT) of a low-cost program of coordinated support called Creating Moves to Opportunity (CMTO) in Seattle. It revealed that for those in the experimental group of 500 Housing Voucher Choice recipients, 53% of them moved to neighborhoods with higher mobility versus just 15% for the 500 in the control group. That meant kids in the experiment group could wind up earning about \$200,000 on average more over their lifetimes, Chetty said.

More customization of such low-cost social support—such as housing navigation services with information about local schools and financial assistance—could further promote social mobility as well. These approaches are now being tested in HUD’s Community Choice Demonstration that launched interventions similar to CMTO in eight U.S. cities, as well as finding their ways into congressional bills to expand housing voucher programs and corresponding mobility services.

“It’s just an illustration of how I think academic research, even in this polarized climate, can have a really direct impact on policy and, ultimately, on people’s lives,” Chetty said.

Raj Chetty is the William A. Ackman Professor of Public Economics at Harvard University and the Director of Opportunity Insights.

‘Puncturing’ the Narrative of Racial Progress

Distinguished social psychologist reveals how Americans overestimate advances in racial equality

The abolition of slavery, repeal of Jim Crow laws, and election of the first Black president bolster a narrative of progress toward racial equality that Americans want to believe in.

Yet in her IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on May 9, Yale social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** discussed her research **examining** how this myth of linear, natural, automatic racial progress over time in the United States distorts our perceptions and influences our expectations.

Richeson, who serves on President Joe Biden’s President’s Council of Advisors on Science and Technology, has received many accolades for her groundbreaking research investigating the psychological phenomena of cultural diversity, including a prestigious MacArthur “Genius” Fellowship that she received when she was a faculty member at Northwestern and IPR.

In pursuing her discussion of the “mythology,” Richeson points to Americans’ belief that as a country, racial equality is automatically getting better in a largely linear fashion over time. While American society acknowledges the periods of history that blemish that timeline, such as slavery and Jim Crow laws, it also continues to embrace a belief that, with a few corrective measures, the country gets back on track and racial progress begins to unfold naturally yet again.

“This mythology, we argue, is not only operating, but it has some important implications including how and to what degree we perceive racial equality or inequality,” she said. If racial inequality is not perceived accurately, she continues, then it cannot be adequately rectified.

The Misplaced Optimism over Progress

Richeson uses lab experiments, surveys, and other tools to understand the psychological and cognitive processes underlying Americans’ misbeliefs and misplaced optimism regarding racial progress.

In a 2019 **study**, she finds that Americans, especially wealthy Whites, vastly overestimate progress towards racial economic equality. Richeson shows that, overwhelmingly, Americans falsely believe we have achieved considerable racial wealth equality: Participants thought that Black families in 1963 had just less than half of the wealth of White families, but that Black wealth had climbed all the way up to 90% of that of Whites by 2016.



Yale social psychologist Jennifer Richeson examines the myth of racial progress.

These estimates are “wildly inaccurate,” Richeson says, and feed into the myth that the passage of time equals progress. According to federal data, a Black family had little more than \$5 for every \$100 of wealth accumulated by a White family in 1963, and that had only nudged up to \$10 for every \$100 by 2016, or just 10% of Whites’ family wealth.

To better understand the psychological underpinnings of the racial progress narrative, Richeson suggests that in encountering such questions, people tend to think about some of the nation’s most successful Black Americans—think, the Obamas, LeBron James, or Oprah Winfrey—people who are hardly representative of ordinary Black people.

She and her colleagues conducted a study where they examined exactly that, finding that when presented with images of the top five Black American billionaires participants overestimate racial wealth equality more than when they are presented with images of America’s top five billionaires overall (all White men). Richeson argues that these results suggest that the latter images undermine participants’ tendency to think high wealth Black Americans just before they make their estimates of racial wealth equality.

Shaping Expectations for the Future

Americans still live in “incredibly segregated spaces,” Richeson explains, which contributes to a simple lack of information about people outside of your community.

Richeson also points to possible psychological explanations—a steadfast belief in a “just world” and faith in the “American dream”—which perpetuate the idea that anyone can achieve success just by working hard and dismiss the existence of systemic barriers facing minorities.

Richeson adds that it is not that the belief in the possibility of progress is bad, but it is “when we blind ourselves to reality in favor of mythology.”

The focus on the policy wins of the past that have led to increased racial equality can shield us from perceiving major current inequities, like the drastic inequality in school funding between Black and White areas.

The United States has made progress towards equality, Richeson acknowledges, but it still has a long way to go. Disrupting the narrative is not enough, she says, because of the strong determination of the American people to believe their country is progressing towards equality.

The country needs a dose of reality, plus possibility, to make true progress, Richeson explains, quoting former President Obama: “The arc of the moral universe may bend toward justice, but it doesn’t bend on its own.”

Jennifer Richeson is the Philip R. Allen Professor of Psychology at Yale University, and director of its Social Perception & Communication Lab. She is an IPR faculty adjunct.

Manifesting, Measuring, and Mitigating Climate Change

IPR researchers focus on climate change's human costs and climate justice



IPR researchers **approach** climate change from a social science perspective, with questions that tackle deep-seated social and political issues.

Climate Change Affects People's Lives

IPR anthropologist **Sera Young**'s research focuses on how people deal with water insecurity, and she explains that climate change may lead to too much water, too little water, or water of unacceptable quality.

Young and her colleagues assessed individuals' experiences of water insecurity by surveying over 45,500 adults in 31 low- and middle-income countries. They find that roughly 14%—about 436 million of the 3 billion adults represented by the survey sample—experienced water insecurity.

Young and her collaborators' development of the Individual Water Insecurity Experiences (IWISE) and Household Water Insecurity Experiences (HWISE) scales bring a badly needed "human voice" to the water sector.

"We are making problems with water visible by counting experiences," Young said.

Just as Young's research shines a light on the impacts of climate change on ordinary people's lives, IPR sociologist **Julia Behrman** shows how climate change may profoundly affect important life decisions.

She and her co-author demonstrate that adolescent girls who experienced droughts during the growing season in Malawi married or began living with a partner

earlier and also began having children earlier. The finding implies that financial necessity pushed families to marry off their women at very young ages to have fewer people to feed or for the exchange of goods marriage brings. This finding exemplifies how the world's poorest are more vulnerable to the weather extremes that climate change brings.

"I see climate change as inextricably linked to inequality," Behrman said.

Addressing Climate Change

To reduce greenhouse gas emissions and reduce global warming, governments levy the carbon tax on those who create emissions; businesses and consumers may minimize their tax by switching fuels or using new technologies.

IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** studies this tax and the little-known but similar "public benefit funds." Her research shows that the benefits of carbon taxes in the U.S. are underestimated.

Public benefit funds, currently in place in 22 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, are assessed when electricity is consumed by adding a charge to electricity bills. Carbon taxes are applied to emissions. The funds, Prasad points out, give consumers an incentive to reduce their use of electricity—unlike a carbon tax.

Prasad calculates public benefit funds have reduced carbon emissions and are politically

viable in even quite conservative states. Unlike carbon taxes, which produce less revenue over time as emissions are reduced, public benefit funds might even increase revenue as alternative fuel sources produced fewer emissions. Both are valuable tools for policymakers, she says, noting carbon taxes work best when taxed businesses have alternative fuel sources to shift to.

Tackling Climate Justice

Shifting and widening our perspective on climate change is a better way to address it, write IPR's **Kimberly Marion Suiseeya**, a political scientist, and **Beth Redbird**, a Native American scholar and sociologist.

"Traditional knowledge draws on generations of ongoing, empirical observations of the complex interdependencies of our world, revealing insights into how climate change impacts not only parts of the system, but the system as a whole—phenomena that the scientific method rarely, if ever, captures," Suiseeya said.

For example, if the Ojibwe people's staple *manoomin*—or wild rice—were to disappear due to habitat loss and degraded water quality, the researchers write, it would "precipitate the displacement and ultimate decline of Ojibwe identities, lifeways, ways of being, and ways of knowing, the very existence and practices that are spiritually rooted in manoomin." Such a catastrophe exemplifies climate injustice, the disproportionate suffering of climate change.

Suiseeya and her colleagues have taken an important step towards enacting their goal of bringing together scientific and traditional knowledge with a new five-year program supported by the National Science Foundation, "Strengthening Resilience of Manoomin, the Sentinel Species of the Great Lakes, with Data-Science-Supported, Seventh Generation Stewardship."

Julia Behrman is assistant professor of sociology. Monica Prasad is professor of sociology. Kimberly Marion Suiseeya is assistant professor of political science and of environmental policy and culture. Sera Young is associate professor of anthropology and global health. All are IPR faculty.

The History of Abortion Politics

IPR talks with IPR political scientist Chloe Thurston about politicians' changing views on abortion

Even before the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*, abortion remained one of the most polarizing issues among Democrats and Republicans, making it easy to predict politicians' beliefs about abortion based on their political party. But that wasn't always true.

A recent study by IPR political scientist **Chloe Thurston** and David Karol of the University of Maryland **examines** voting records of California state legislators from the 1960s–1990s to understand the growing ties between the Republican Party and the Christian Right and the Democratic Party and feminist organizations. The researchers show how legislators in California, one of the first states to pass legislation dealing with abortion, shifted from voting on abortion issues based on their religious beliefs to aligning with the emerging views of their political parties.

The following conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

IPR: What did you find when you looked at voting records of California's elected officials on abortion between 1967 and 1996?

Thurston: We looked at voting in the California State Assembly before and after *Roe v. Wade* [in 1973]. In 1967, California became one of the first states to liberalize its abortion law with the passage of the Therapeutic Abortion Act. Before that, abortion was governed by the 1872 criminal code, which outlawed it except in order to save the life of the mother [about 30 other states had similar laws on the books by the 1960s]. The Therapeutic Abortion Act extended abortion access to cases where it would protect the physical and mental health of the mother, as well as in cases of rape and incest. Somewhat notably, it was signed into law by then-Governor Ronald Reagan, who would later change his position on abortion.

We examined voting patterns in the State Assembly, which is the lower house of the legislature. At the time that the bill was voted on, the partisanship of the individual legislators was not very predictive of their vote for or against legalization. The issue had not yet polarized along partisan lines. Instead, religious affiliation [namely, whether a legislator identified as Catholic



L. Shault

or not] was more predictive. If you think about abortion politics now, if you know that someone in Congress or in a state legislature is a Democrat or Republican, you can predict pretty closely their position on the issue.

We found that over time the effect of religion waned as partisan affiliation came to supplant the role of religion in predicting abortion support. Some of this was due to incumbent politicians shifting their voting behavior, while retirement and replacement of older legislators with those who were more in-tune with their party's position also played a role.

IPR: Can you talk about how interest groups played a role in shifting legislators' views on abortion from aligning with their religious beliefs to those of their political party?

Thurston: When we were trying to understand how to characterize that shift, we examined multiple different possibilities. We ultimately emphasize this as a shift from

legislators relying on personal background characteristics to decide how to vote, towards relying on the cues sent to them by groups that began aligning with each of the political parties over this time.

As interest groups with intense policy preferences on abortion aligned with political parties—feminist groups with the Democratic Party and evangelical religious groups aligning with the Republican Party—those groups helped to pull each party to a more cohesive and consistent pattern of voting.

Our theory is that [the interest groups] sent new cues to legislators about how they should be voting on that issue, where those cues were absent previously. At the time, of these first votes [in the legislature] prior to *Roe v. Wade*, abortion was a relatively new issue for voters and legislators, which may have given the latter some leeway in deciding how to vote. But as the issue develops over time, groups and parties may begin to send clearer signals about their policy positions.

IPR: One of the takeaways from your study is that the importance of personal background on a legislator's vote can vary over time as the state of politics change. How do you see Ronald Reagan's and Donald Trump's shifts on abortion fitting into that idea?

Thurston: It is common for politicians to change their positions on issues. In addition to President Reagan's reversal on abortion [he later said he made a mistake in signing the 1967 Act as governor], Trump also shifted from pro-choice to pro-life. Biden's views and positions have also shifted on this issue, from supporting a pro-life constitutional amendment in the 1980s, to pro-choice views in recent decades. Abortion is not special in this regard. Many politicians that previously opposed same-sex marriage now support it.

This points in some sense to the way that politicians are strategic actors, motivated by winning elections and willing to change their positions in pursuit of this goal. But people also just update their views over time, including by learning and experience. If their views are more in line with their constituents', that may be seen as a positive from the standpoint of representative democracy.

Chloe Thurston is associate professor of political science and an IPR fellow.

“As interest groups with intense policy preferences on abortion aligned with political parties, those groups helped to pull each party to a more cohesive and consistent pattern of voting.”

—Chloe Thurston

RESEARCH NEWS

Does Education Protect Against Job Loss During an Economic Downturn?

Research suggests workers with more education suffer fewer job losses during economic downturns. In an IPR working paper, IPR labor and education economist **Kirabo Jackson** and his colleagues **investigate** whether more education had a causal effect of protecting against unemployment during the COVID-19 pandemic recession in Barbados. They linked educational records from 1987 to 2002 to nationally representative surveys of employment status conducted before, during, and after the recession. The educational records showed the students' scores, which are taken after primary school and determine which secondary school students attend, and their preferred secondary school. The researchers find that when the economy was strong in 2016 and early 2020, men and women who attended their preferred school were more likely to be employed than their peers. When the economy took a hit in May 2020, women who scored just above the cutoff for their preferred school were 66 percentage points more likely to be employed than women who scored below it. Men who scored above the cutoff for their preferred school were somewhat less likely to be employed. Women who attended their preferred school attained more education and were less likely to lose their job during the recession. The results indicate that education plays a causal role in keeping workers employed during a poor economy because it enhances their skills.

Kirabo Jackson is the Abraham Harris Professor of Education and Social Policy, professor of economics, and an IPR fellow.

Child Development Through Neighborhood Resources and Preschool Classroom Quality

The neighborhood a child grows up in has an impact on their development. In the *American Journal of Community Psychology*, IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol** and her co-authors **explore** how neighborhood socioeconomic status (SES) and resources—such as libraries or doctors' offices—are related to young children's gains in language and literacy and executive function skills and the extent to which children's classroom experiences help to explain that relationship. They analyzed data from two professional development programs for preschools, using information on 955 students across nine cities in the United States. They find that neighborhood SES and resources were individually associated with benefits to children's development based on the classroom quality experiences, and these associations were magnified in communities that were particularly high in both SES and resources. Overall, the researchers conclude that both neighborhood SES and resources may individually promote child development through levels of classroom process quality, and these associations are enhanced in communities high in both SES and resources.

Terri Sabol is associate professor of human development and social policy.



The Impact of SNAP Emergency Allotments



Starting in April 2020, states could award Emergency Allotment, or EA, payments to Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program recipients to supplement the formula-based SNAP benefits that they otherwise would have received. Take, for example, families with two members in 2020, prior to COVID-19. Maximum monthly SNAP benefits for such a family were \$355, and average benefits were \$229. EA payments increased these benefits by an average of \$126 during phase 1 of the policy and by \$166 during phase 2. Increases for individual households over the formula-based benefit amount ranged from a low of \$95 to a high of over \$340. Nationwide, EA payments were eliminated after the February 2023 payment, and SNAP benefits reverted for each family to the value that the SNAP benefit formula allocates.

IPR economist **Diane Schanzenbach** **estimates** the amount and impact of EA benefits. As described in more detail in the report, some states opted to terminate EA payments while they were still allowable. This variation provided an opportunity to estimate the impact of EA payments on the share of households reporting that they sometimes or often did not have enough to eat over the previous week. On average, EA payments reduced the likelihood that a household experienced food insufficiency by about 9%, with larger impacts for households with children with a Black or Hispanic respondent.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor and an IPR fellow.

Study Reveals First Snapshot of Global Experiences with Water Insecurity

IPR scholar deploys a more holistic measure that reveals the impact on millions of individuals

Countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa have experienced severe droughts and unprecedented floods in the last year. How are individuals in these and other regions faring in terms of their ability to reliably access and use water for basic needs?

In a study published in *The Lancet Planetary Health*, IPR anthropologist **Sera Young**, assistant research professor of anthropology **Hilary Bethancourt**, and their colleagues show where water insecurity is experienced most severely based on nationally representative samples of nearly half the world’s population. They are also able to pinpoint which sociodemographic groups experience the highest rates of water insecurity. The researchers estimate that 436 million adults of the 3 billion adults represented by the survey sample were water insecure in 2021.

“These data bring a human face to the water sector, thereby revealing life-altering problems with water that have long gone hidden,” Young said.

In 2021, the Gallup World Poll administered the Individual Water Insecurity Experiences (IWISE) Scale, a 12-question survey asking about experiences with water, to 45,555 adults in 31 low- and middle- income

countries. The IWISE Scale asked questions such as how often participants worried about not having enough water, how often they were unable to wash their hands, or how often they changed what they ate because of problems with water. The countries were located across four regions: sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The study reveals that 14.2% of those surveyed were water insecure. Countries in sub-Saharan Africa, such as Cameroon (63.9%) and Ethiopia (45%), experienced the highest rates of water insecurity, while countries in Asia like China (3.9%) and Bangladesh (9.4%) were the least likely to experience it.

Young and a group of scholars created the IWISE scale to measure water insecurity at the individual level to provide researchers with holistic and precise data about water availability and access. The scale provides a fuller understanding of individuals’ experiences because it examines how water affects cooking, bathing, and emotional wellbeing, instead of only focusing on drinking water.

Young urges scholars and policymakers to look beyond water availability and



infrastructure when examining water insecurity to capture the scope of the global water crisis.

“Experiential measures of other key resources, like food, are now standard practice; food insecurity experiences are tracked as part of the U.N.’s Sustainable Development Goals,” she said. “This study demonstrates that this can be done for water insecurity too.”

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

Trends in Hiring Discrimination in Six Western Countries



While Western countries have established a legal framework and are publicly against discrimination, fair and equal treatment—regardless of race or ethnicity—has not been achieved in the workplace. In the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** and his co-author, **John Lee** (PhD 2022),

investigate trends in racial and ethnic discrimination in hiring in six European and North American countries: Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. The researchers analyze 90 field experimental studies of hiring discrimination against African/Black, Asian, Latin American/Hispanic, and Middle Eastern or North African groups, which include more than 170,000 applications for jobs. Great Britain has the longest history of field experiments, with studies from 1969–2017. Germany has the shortest, with studies ranging from 1994–2017. The researchers find that racial and ethnic discrimination in hiring has not declined significantly in the last 20–40 years in Canada, Germany,

Great Britain, and the U.S., but remained stable. Three exceptions to this were that hiring discrimination against ethnic groups with origins in the Middle East and North African increased after 2000, discrimination in France declined but from an unusually high starting point, and discrimination in the Netherlands increased over time. The results suggest that hiring discrimination in these countries stems from enduring stereotypes, prejudices, and racist ideology, despite hiring practices that aim to increase diversity. The researchers argue for more research into how to reduce persistent racial and ethnic biases in Western labor markets.

Lincoln Quillian is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

Exploring Black Girl Space



The development of Black girls and Black girl space, or a space designed for Black girls, have been understudied in academic research. In the *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, IPR developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers** and her co-author **examine** the meaning and potential of spaces that intentionally serve Black girls in an effort to counter the racist and sexist cultural norms that threaten Black girls' identities and sense of wellbeing.

The researchers used data from a larger longitudinal study of Black girls attending a predominantly Black all-girls school, a Black girl space, that offers workshops and mentorships from Black women and programming directed toward the Black girls. They analyzed open-ended interviews conducted in 2018 with 17 Black high school girls to understand how they made sense of their school. The researchers asked the girls whether they liked school, the relationship between students and teachers, and the importance of having a school like theirs

exist. In the interviews, the girls discussed relational challenges they experienced at school but also how they felt known in their school by being surrounded by so many other Black girls and women. They also talked about their frustration with a school policy banning cell phones when their school's technology didn't always work and problems with the structure of the school and general lack of funding.

The findings show how Black girls were able to see the school as a place of resistance to tell counternarratives about being a Black girl, but they also recognized how the physical space posed barriers and reinforced inequalities, such as few extracurriculars and academic resources. The researchers argue that when cultivating Black girl space, experiencing connection with other Black girls matters, but so does the physical space, policies, and funding structures that regulate it.

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

17 million Americans bought one or more guns in 2020

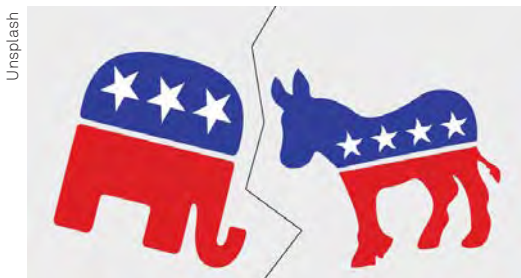
A record-breaking 17 million Americans bought one or more guns in 2020, and the gun-buying spike continued into 2021. This new wave of gun owners is more likely to distrust government, **believe** in conspiracies, and support political violence, a national survey shows. The research establishes, for the first time, a connection between gun buying during the COVID-19 pandemic and political attitudes and behaviors that challenge the state. Compared to other Americans, new gun owners exhibit strong conspiracy and anti-government beliefs, the research uncovers.

"The gun-owner population seems to have a fair amount of power in shaping policy, and you're getting a population that is moving in a more extreme direction," said IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, who co-authored the working paper. Between September 2020 and June 2021, Druckman and his colleagues from Columbia University, Northeastern University, and the University of Pennsylvania, surveyed more than 51,000 individuals in four waves.

The researchers find those who purchased guns during the pandemic were more likely to hold conspiracy beliefs, such as misinformation surrounding the COVID-19 vaccine.

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

Interventions to Reduce Partisan Animosity



Partisan animosity is rising in the United States, which may reduce support for democracy, strain social connections, and undermine policymaking. In *Nature Human Behavior*, social psychologist and IPR associate **Eli Finkel** and his colleagues **review** interventions to reduce partisan animosity, using the TRI framework, a term they coin to capture three levels of interventions: thoughts, relationships, and institutions. They examine interventions in thoughts (correcting misperceptions and highlighting commonalities), relationships (building dialogue skills and fostering positive contact), and institutions (changing public discourse and transforming political structures), highlighting real interventions conducted by nonprofits. For example, they point to Public Agenda's "Hidden Common Ground" initiative, a large-scale effort that seeks to help Americans recognize

commonalities they share through research, journalism, and public engagement. To foster positive contact between partisans, the organization Braver Angels hosts discussions between people of different political backgrounds, focusing on policy issues they have in common. To make real change on a large scale, the researchers argue that practitioners must motivate people to form relationships with those from the other party and mobilize Americans to push for institutional change, such as changing the public discourse. The researchers suggest that to create more effective interventions to reduce partisan animosity, future research consider four issues: variation, replicability, scope, and interdisciplinarity.

Eli Finkel is professor of psychology and management and organizations and an IPR associate.

IPR Psychologist Collaborates on an Interdisciplinary Model to Address Mental Health Around the World

Approximately one billion people, or one in seven, around the globe suffer from a mental health condition, according to the World Health Organization. Despite billions of dollars being spent on research over the past 40 years, little progress has been made in developing effective treatments for these debilitating conditions.

To address these growing mental health issues, IPR psychologist **Robin Nusslock** and his colleagues, including lead author Michelle Craske of UCLA, wrote a perspective in the inaugural issue of *Nature Mental Health* laying out a model for **addressing** mental health on a global scale that is targeted, personalized, and scalable.

“It seemed like it was the appropriate time to really address mental health,” Nusslock said about the journal’s launch. “If you look at the epidemiological data, it’s really shocking how much mental health problems and depression skyrocketed [in young adults].”

To add interdisciplinary research on mental health conditions to public discourse and reinforce connections in the mental health community, a group of scholars created *Nature Mental Health*, an online peer-

reviewed journal focusing on research about mental health and mental health disorders.

Nusslock and his co-authors developed an approach they call the “circuits-to-communities model,” which aligns six disciplines to create targeted and personalized mental health interventions.

The researchers propose that bridging knowledge in three key areas—brain systems and cognitive functions, environmental and sociocultural influences, and mental health interventions and their implementation—is crucial to create more personalized treatments. This framework considers neurocognitive circuits and functions and the way social and environmental stressors affect emotions for a more holistic approach to mental health problems.

Another goal of the model is to develop a personalized treatment for each individual, rather than a one-size-fits-all treatment.

This model can be delivered to individuals in scalable ways through community health workers or digital platforms. In real-world use, this might look like an individual suffering from depression or anxiety

reporting their symptoms in an app that would also include information about their life stage, any early adversity, and ongoing stressors. A mental health professional could then use the information to administer a targeted mental health treatment for that individual.

He says that the model is beneficial because it recognizes the important impact that stress and societal inequities have on mental health.

“If you’re really going to address mental health problems in society, you’ve got to address the structural and social stressors that a person exists within,” Nusslock said.

The paper reflects a shift in Nusslock’s research—from only examining brain systems affected by emotions to looking at how the study of the brain can intersect with other disciplines such as public health and economics to address problems in society.

He explained, “Instead of just helping people become resilient to life stressors, can we, as a society, change structural factors that cause people to have to be resilient?”

Robin Nusslock is associate professor of psychology and an IPR fellow.

As Social Lives Resume, a Mental Health Crisis Continues

A recent survey **confirms** the pandemic’s lingering impact on mental health for all Americans, but in particular for young adults: While 18- to 24-year-olds say they are going out more, their overall levels of depression have not fallen as much as one would have expected with the lifting of pandemic restrictions. And in a troubling discovery, just over one-third of them (34%) report thinking recently they would be better off dead or harming themselves.

Between December 2022 and January 2023, a team of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Rutgers, and Northeastern universities surveyed nearly 25,000 American adults on their mental health during the pandemic. Overall, Americans are still feeling depressed, with 24% of them experiencing a depression concerning

enough that it would typically trigger a referral for evaluation and treatment. This national rate is three times greater than the 8% seen before the pandemic, as measured by the CDC. For young adults, however, that figure jumps to 44%.

“This is really concerning. During the pandemic, many hoped that these numbers, among young people in particular, would decline but we are seeing no change,” said IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, who co-authored the report along with PhD student Jonathan Schulman.

Over one-third of young adults report thinking recently they would be better off dead or harming themselves.

The researchers analyzed data since May 2020 for more than 400,000 respondents across 19 surveys, including over 50,000 responses from 18- to 24-year-olds. Younger respondents identifying as gay, lesbian, or bisexual reveal the highest levels of depression and stress of all age groups and substantially more than those identifying as heterosexual. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of these 18- to 24-year-olds meet the criteria for at least moderate depression, while 56% report symptoms of generalized anxiety. In comparison, only 36% of heterosexual 18- to 24-year-olds say they are depressed, and 32% say they are anxious.

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

Universal Pre-K Expansion in Chicago Led to More Full-Time Enrollment

Over the 2018–19 school year, Chicago began expanding free, full-day prekindergarten (pre-K) for 3- and 4-year-olds through Chicago Public Schools (CPS). IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol** and IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** recently released an IPR rapid research report, “The Chicago Universal Pre-K Study: The Impact of Chicago’s Universal Prekindergarten Expansion on Access to School-Based Pre-K,” examining it. The report details the impact of CPS’ universal prekindergarten (UPK) expansion in its schools on capacity, enrollment, and programming.

The citywide expansion was designed to start in schools in the most economically disadvantaged communities, with the goal of providing universal prekindergarten by 2023. The Office of the Mayor led the UPK initiative in partnership with the City of Chicago Department of Family Support Services (DFSS) and CPS.

To achieve universal access, Chicago’s UPK model uses a mixed-delivery system: It includes school-based pre-K programs for all 4-year-olds in public elementary schools combined with Illinois Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF), and Head Start programs that serve eligible low-income children in community-based organizations.



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“We were delighted to work with our partners in the city on building a high-quality evidence base that allows for better informed decision making about the program,” Sabol said.

The report findings demonstrate the impact of UPK expansion on capacity, enrollment, and full-day versus half-day programming in CPS schools. In terms of capacity, the expansion substantially increased the number of available, free, full-day seats in CPS for 3- and 4-year-olds. It also led to increased enrollment of 3- and 4-year-olds in free, full-day pre-K programs in CPS.

Most of the full-day expansion was offset by declines in half-day seats. Importantly, the researchers still see capacity to serve additional children throughout the city based on availability of seats, especially in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods. In sum, UPK has increased both capacity and enrollment in free full-day seats in CPS schools for 3- and 4-year-olds.

Terri Sabol is associate professor of human development and social policy. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor. Both are IPR fellows.

Women’s Accounts of Navigating the Risk of Party Rape



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The risk of being sexually assaulted is a pervasive problem for women in historically White Greek life, yet research before 2010 shows women rarely held institutions responsible for these incidents and instead engaged in victim-blaming. In *Sociology of Education*, IPR sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** and research associate **Sara Thomas**, who was an IPR postdoctoral fellow at the time, investigate how women at an elite college think about sexual assault at fraternity parties and solutions to sexual violence. Between 2017 and 2019, the researchers conducted 121 interviews with 68 college-aged women in historically White sororities. The interviews revealed that these women were highly invested in maintaining the historically White Greek party scene. Unlike women from past studies, they did not blame women who were assaulted; instead, they blamed institutions for failing to keep them safe from sexual assault and creating reporting mechanisms that retraumatized survivors. The women also talked about trying to protect themselves and other women at parties by designating someone as a “sober sister” to monitor behavior or share the names of men who had or might perpetrate sexual assault. Future research on women’s responses to sexual assault in Greek life could look at less selective institutions, include observations of women’s behavior at parties, and look at non-cisgender perspectives on prevention strategies.

Simone Ispa-Landa is associate professor of sociology and human development and social policy and an IPR fellow.

Is the CDC Missing the Mark on Vaccination Rates?

Researchers show many more are unvaccinated than what CDC data suggest

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) have reported rising COVID-19 vaccination rates since the start of the pandemic, but these data might give an overly optimistic view of how many Americans are actually vaccinated, according to a recent national [survey](#).

The CDC estimates that over two years after the initial rollout of the first COVID-19 vaccine, 79% of the population has been vaccinated with two shots of Pfizer or Moderna or one shot of Johnson & Johnson. But according to the COVID States Project survey, conducted between December 2022 and January 2023, the figure is 73%, or 6 percentage points lower.

Many refer to and use CDC data, considering it accurate and reliable. Mainstream media outlets, such as the New York Times and National Public Radio, report the data, and public health experts and policymakers use the data to inform their decision making and guide public health. But how accurate are these assessments if the actual data are skewed?

“If the inaccurate estimates are presumed to be valid, that can have substantial implications for vaccination campaigns, the allocation of resources, and ultimately public health,” said IPR political scientist [James Druckman](#), who co-authored the report with PhD student Jonathan Schulman and others.

Druckman is one of the researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Rutgers, and Northeastern universities who surveyed nearly 25,000 Americans about their vaccination status. The survey is the 100th report from the COVID States Project, a collaboration launched in March 2020 to help practitioners and governments make informed decisions and allocate resources more effectively.

The vaccination data the researchers collected align closely with estimates from the Kaiser Family Foundation, also collected through surveys. The CDC data start to

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overshoot the COVID States and Kaiser data for “at least one shot” beginning in July 2021 when the first boosters were approved. It is a gap that continues to increase with each new booster round. The current gap between the CDC and COVID States estimates is a full 17 percentage points—92% for the CDC versus 75% for COVID States, and this has critical policy implications.

“It means efforts to encourage vaccination and make vaccination accessible to hard-to-reach populations could prematurely come to an end,” Druckman said.

The CDC overestimates are starker when looking at state data: Take the example of Massachusetts, which the CDC reports as having one of the nation’s highest vaccination rates. It finds that nearly

6.5 million adults have received at least one shot of the vaccine; however, the state has only 5.6 million adults in all. If calculating percentages, that means 115% of Massachusetts adults have received at least one shot of the vaccine, but the CDC caps its reporting at 95%. The COVID States researchers, on the other hand, find only 89% in Massachusetts have received one shot.

For Illinois, the researchers estimate that 75% of adults have received at least one shot of the vaccine, while the CDC estimates it to be 88%.

The researchers offer that errors in the underlying official records the CDC uses are driven by states not being able to link records of multiple shots to an individual, especially if that person forgets to bring their vaccination card to a subsequent appointment.

They also show wide differences in reports of those getting a bivalent booster, with the CDC reporting that only 19% have, while COVID States report nearly a third have (29%).

The CDC data suggest 13% of the population has received a single shot of the vaccine, while the researchers find only 2% has received one shot. They point to other data distortions driven by factors like men being less likely to know where their first-dose vaccination card is than women, or 8% v. 5% respectively.

The researchers highlight that there are three times as many people who are completely unvaccinated than what the CDC suggests, giving fellow Americans a possibly false sense of how many of their peers are vaccinated.

“If those who are immunocompromised rely on the CDC estimates, it could provide them with a false sense of security,” Druckman said.

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

“If the inaccurate estimates are presumed to be valid, that can have substantial implications for vaccination campaigns, the allocation of resources, and ultimately public health.”

—James Druckman

Closed for School, Closed for Democracy

A new book examines links between school closings and democratic disillusionment in Black and Brown communities



S. Drey

In IPR social policy expert **Sally Nuamah's** award-winning book *Closed for Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), she **investigates** mass school closings in Chicago and Philadelphia in 2013 and how Black citizens who were affected by these closings mobilized politically to keep their schools open. She shows that ultimately the lack of response to their needs—either through closing schools or lack of investment in their schools—led to disillusionment with the government.

IPR spoke to Nuamah about her book (see p. 26) and the implications of her findings. This interview has been edited for length.

IPR: You coined the term collective participatory debt to describe the feeling of fatigue that citizens experience when they repeatedly engage in politics but they don't get the response that they want. How does this concept fit into your book?

Nuamah: One thing that political scientists talk about is how the social contract is such that people vote and/or organize people at polls, for example, and that their participation translates to some kind of responsiveness from a local or national political leader in the form of policy change. That's typically how the democratic social contract should work.

What I find in *Closed for Democracy* is that you have a group of people who engaged in

what would be model citizenship—they do everything that a democracy would demand of a group that wants to secure change. But they don't experience democratic responsiveness. And this contributes to their fatigue and disillusionment with the political system.

In particular, I find that not only do affected groups protest these school actions by organizing on the ground, [but] they also attend the community meetings that are required by the school district to make their concerns known. Then they go a step further after these community meetings to try to work for an elected school board by creating petitions.

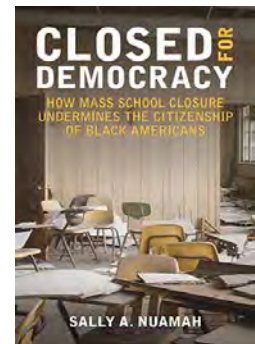
Collective participatory debt is asking what do they get for becoming these model citizens: Do they actually experience the responsiveness that's commensurate with their participation? It's basically finding that they don't.

People find that, even if they are able to save a school or two, that they don't actually get the structural changes that they're hoping for, which is no school being closed or more funding for their schools. People express fatigue and disappointment and disillusionment with American democracy because they do everything democracy asks of them, but they find democracy is still closed to them.

IPR: Why do mass school closings undermine democracy for Black Americans?

Nuamah: For most Americans, because public schools are provided at no cost, they become the mechanism for taking kids born at a disadvantage and facilitating their political and social mobility.

When a school closes, this raises important questions about how we can ensure that disadvantaged young people who most benefit from public schools can still experience positive life chances. We also know from political science that most Americans learn about democracy through the institutions they interact with the most. For many people that is schools. When you are a 6-year-old Black child and you learn that your school is being closed because it's "a bad school," you're getting one of your earliest lessons about democracy.



From that experience you're learning about the ways that political leaders value people who look like you and your positionality in American democracy as a citizen.

This also has important implications for your desire to participate in politics in the future. In particular, those I study become less interested in participating in politics. But when you're already from a disadvantaged background, your participation in democracy is the only way historically that you have received any kind of political or social change.

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

Are Voters Biased Against Women Candidates?

IPR researchers find evidence that gender biases among primary voters contribute to the gender gap in office



In the 2020 election, a record number of Republican women won congressional elections around the country. Yet Republican women still represented a small minority of GOP politicians in the 117th Congress, holding less than 15% of their party's seats, while women held 38% of the Democratic party's seats. And those numbers hardly budged during the 2022 midterm elections—more than 70% of the women elected to the 118th Congress are Democrats.

These numbers reflect a growing trend. Since the 1990s, the partisan gender gap between female elected officials has increased as more Democratic women win seats in state legislatures and Congress, while the number of Republican women elected to office has remained flat.

In a study published in *Political Behavior*, IPR political scientist **Mary McGrath** and **Sara Saltzer** (BA 2019), now a survey researcher at Morning Consult, **explore** why this partisan difference exists and what role voter bias may play in the gender gap. In addition to the fact that fewer Republican women run for elected office, they show the gap is due in part to partisan voters' choices at the primary election stage. Registered partisans reproduce this gender-preference gap in experimental surveys, with Democrats showing a greater preference for female candidates than Republicans.

"We wanted to see what might be behind this gender-preference gap," McGrath said. "Does it look more like prejudices unrelated to political reasoning—like a belief that women don't belong in office? Or do we see evidence that voters are using candidate gender to try to make inferences about where the candidate stands politically, which one would more closely reflect your own views?"

Voters in both parties typically assume that female candidates are more liberal than male candidates. These inferences may cause Republican voters to assume that female Republican candidates will be less likely to align with their policy beliefs than male Republican candidates. Democrats, on the other hand, are more likely to show a pro-woman bias, favoring female over male candidates.

McGrath and Saltzer conducted two survey experiments in 2019, asking nearly 2,500 registered voters from both political parties to choose between a male and female candidate running in a primary election for a U.S. House seat or a governorship. Both candidates were categorized as being moderate members of their party.

The researchers randomized respondents into three conditions. In one condition, candidates were indistinguishable except for their gender. In the other two conditions,

participants either saw a pair of candidates whose policy stances reinforced gender-based stereotypes about candidates' political beliefs, or a pair of candidates whose policy stances reversed those gender-based stereotypes.

The researchers also reinforced stereotypical character traits of women and men for some candidates and reversed them for others—with traits like "tough" and "ambitious" considered to be stereotypically male, and traits like "warm" and "trustworthy" as stereotypically female.

"We looked at character traits that have been considered stereotypically gender-linked in the literature," McGrath explained.

The two researchers saw a reduction in bias when voters were presented with a candidate with counter-stereotypical policy stances.

"The extent to which that bias is reduced suggests that voters are using candidate gender to make inferences about politically relevant factors, like which candidate holds views closer to your own" McGrath said.

While registered Republicans and Democrats both showed some degree of gender bias, overall, the Republican respondents appeared closer to gender-neutral—with some indication that their gender preference was based more in stereotypically male character traits.

"These findings are preliminary, but they would suggest two things" McGrath said. "One, that the barriers for female candidates within the Republican party are hindering these relatively gender-neutral voters from arriving at greater gender-balance within their party. And two, that Republican women running for office may be better off emphasizing character traits that Republican voters care about, rather than feeling compelled toward ideological extremity in their policy positions."

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

Affirmative Action

(Continued from cover)

whether race can be legally and constitutionally considered to achieve it. I think that justices in the conservative majority are skeptical of all these things, and maybe the most skeptical of all the justices in the conservative majority is Clarence Thomas. Repeatedly, he has wondered out loud, “What is diversity?”

On the other hand, justices in the liberal minority don’t really have a problem understanding what diversity is. They understand it, I think, in the way a lot of Americans understand it, which is diversity is just shorthand for Americans of different social backgrounds, and race is part of that and so are national origin, class, gender, and other factors.

Part of what’s getting decided in this case is whose ideas about diversity are going to prevail. Justices in the conservative majority seem to think that diversity is a fig leaf or some kind of invention that was concocted ex post facto in the legal process to rationalize policies that were originally implemented for other reasons. Our research suggests that the diversity rationale originated with affirmative action from the start. Diversity was on the minds of the men who started affirmative action programs in 1963 and 1964. It wasn’t something that their attorneys came up with in the ’70s when they got scared that they might get sued.

Our research is not going to change anybody’s mind about affirmative action necessarily, but it does, in our view, provide some important context for understanding where all this talk about diversity came from.

IPR: Why do you think the long-time opponents of affirmative action brought these cases using Asian Americans?

Chen: Starting in the 1990s, conservative legal organizations decided that they were tired of just writing amicus briefs in cases they cared about, and they wanted to do something like what they thought was being done by the NAACP in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. They wanted to do their part to initiate and shepherd original litigation through the courts. And so that’s what they started to do [in *Hopwood v. Texas*, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, and *Gratz v. Bollinger*]. Then the ball was handed off to Ed Blum, who is a conservative legal activist, and he was a

major force behind the *Fisher v. University of Texas* cases that came before the Supreme Court in the 2010s.

In all those cases, affirmative action was preserved, but its scope was limited: Schools were permitted to do less and less over time. A certain kind of program that operated in the 1990s, in which schools could take a giant stack of applications and mark them using a point system where race counted for a certain number of points, stopped being permissible with the Michigan cases, and the *Fisher* cases further clarified what was permissible and imposed even tighter bounds around schools. But affirmative action was still being permitted, under a system of holistic individualized review. This is what’s on the table now in the Harvard and UNC cases.

Now all of the cases through *Fisher* involved a litigant who was White and, in some cases, White and Jewish. But the legal activists that were helping these plaintiffs bring their cases before the courts weren’t quite getting the legal result they wanted. So I think that the strategic minds in the conservative movement felt like they needed to do something else. They noticed, I think, in both Clarence Thomas’ and Sam Alito’s concurrences and dissents in the *Fisher* cases, that at least two of the justices on the conservative side were extremely vexed about Asian Americans. As a result, I think it became clear to them that Asian Americans were, in a way, the next frontier in litigation, that they would make ideal litigants.

Another reason why is how Asian Americans fit into American political culture ideologically. Even though there’s been a wave of anti-Asian hate in the last five or six years as a result of the COVID crisis, Asian Americans are also stereotyped as a model minority. And if you look at their average outcomes—education, employment, or income—they do come out extremely well compared to other racial minorities. As a result, they’re often seen in America’s racial landscape as deserving minorities who work hard and play by the rules. They are the “good minorities” and thus ideologically appealing for critics of affirmative action: Because if the admissions process isn’t treating them right, then it’s a hop, skip, and a jump to the idea that there must be something wrong with the admissions process. For that reason, I think it was inevitable that Asian Americans would

eventually be brought into the picture, and that’s exactly what happened.

It is worth highlighting that the plaintiff in this case is not actually a person. In all the other cases, there were actual live human beings with real grievances. But that’s not the case with the two cases in front of the Supreme Court. Now the plaintiff is Students for Fair Admissions, a membership organization with Asian Americans members. But the plaintiff is not an Asian American individual, and I think that’s quite informative and telling. I conclude, first, that they couldn’t find anyone because it really would have looked better if they had. The second conclusion I draw is that the litigation that we see now in front of the court is not the kind of bottom-up litigation that we saw in the ’70s. It’s really the culmination of a top-down process driven by legal activists.

“We’ll get a clear answer in the next few years about what, if any, substitutes there are for race, and how good those substitutes are for different kinds of schools.”

—Anthony Chen

IPR: What are the best- and worst-case scenarios for college admissions?

Chen: There’s a range of possible outcomes. The most obvious outcome is that the court takes affirmative action off the books altogether, meaning that schools can no longer look at race in order to obtain some kind of educational value from diversity. If the court does that, then schools are going to have to turn to what are known in the field as race-neutral options, and there is a lot of argument about how well those can serve as an adequate substitute, and which particular type of policy is the best substitute. Can you use wealth or a lack of wealth as a proxy? Can you use income? Can you use the racial makeup of an applicant’s ZIP code as a substitute? Can you use the racial makeup of the applicant’s high school as a substitute? These are all possible ways to compensate for

losing the ability to take race into account. In the litigation itself, the plaintiffs argue that there are some pretty good substitutes for the use of race, whereas the defendants say that there is no good substitute for race.

What we'll see if the court takes affirmative action off the table altogether is which of the two sides is right. We'll get a clear answer in the next few years about what, if any, substitutes there are for race, and how good those substitutes are for different kinds of schools.

The following interview was conducted after the court's decision.

IPR: What, if anything, in the decisions surprised you?

Chen: I will admit to feeling a little twinge of surprise. Like almost everyone else, I thought it unlikely that SCOTUS would “save” affirmative action. But then I learned why SCOTUS had declined to gut Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act in *Allen v. Milligan*, which it decided a couple of weeks before SFFA. Chief Justice Roberts' majority opinion clearly said he wasn't a fan of the way that Section 2 handled the issue of race, but he also said that a “faithful application of our precedents and a fair reading of the record” did not support the effort to “remake our jurisprudence anew.”

This suggested to me that Ed Blum, SFFA and their allies maybe did not have what they needed to get the big result they wanted, given what the lower courts had found and how consistently they had interpreted precedent.

But the high court chose a much less restrained path. The majority opinion scarcely touched on the findings and conclusions of the lower courts before invalidating pretty much all existing affirmative action programs in higher education—programs in which race had been considered flexibly as one of many factors in a system of holistic, individualized review.

IPR: Has the Supreme Court left any possibility of using race as a factor in college admissions?

Chen: It has left open the possibility, yes. The majority opinion says quite explicitly that “nothing in this opinion should be construed as prohibiting universities from considering an applicant's discussion of how race affected his or her life, be it through



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discrimination, inspiration, or otherwise.”

At the same time, universities are warned not to simply recreate the admission system that the high court is taking pains to invalidate. If applicants wish to discuss their race in their application essays, universities may consider such information only insofar as it is thought to shed light on personal qualities of the individual applicant that give them the “unique ability to contribute to the university.”

This does not exactly clarify what specific practices are valid versus invalid. If admissions officers begin to rate application essays on the extent to which they speak to the individual applicant's “unique ability to contribute to the university,” and it later comes out that Black applicants happen to get rated consistently higher on average than Asian American applicants, would such a system be regarded as unconstitutional? If admissions officers credit the application essay of a particular Latinx applicant because it reveals her grit in overcoming racial discrimination, and then the applicant is admitted, would such a practice really survive strict scrutiny as the majority now formulates it? After all, SFFA says plainly that “college admissions are zero sum.” The admission of one applicant necessarily entails the rejection of another. In this scenario, race would be getting used “as a negative.” Should it therefore fail strict scrutiny by the majority's own standard?

IPR: What do you expect institutions of higher education to do going forward?

Chen: My sense is that many schools will turn to “race-neutral” alternatives to racial consideration; for instance, using income, wealth, or the racial composition of the applicant's high school as a proxy for race.

Many schools will probably redouble their recruitment efforts.

But whether these steps will lead to similar levels of diversity as before is questionable. This was a topic that was exhaustively and expertly analyzed at trial, and both trial courts concluded that there were no “workable” race-neutral alternatives—meaning that there were no alternatives that would deliver the same level of racial diversity.

How different schools fare under the new regime will probably depend on a lot of different variables. Will applicants change their application-sending behavior to various schools, and how? For instance, will even more Asian American applicants start applying to schools like Harvard, and will this change the test score and grade distribution of Asian American applicants there? Will fewer Black and Latinx applicants apply to schools like Harvard, changing their test score and grade distributions there? Are the best “race-neutral” alternatives also the costliest alternatives to implement, limiting the number of schools that can successfully use them? If there is a redistribution of Black and Latinx applicants away from more prestigious institutions and toward less prestigious institutions, how far down in the prestige hierarchy will one have to look to see similar levels of racial diversity as today?

There is also a very real possibility that SFFA could have a chilling effect not just on admissions but scholarship and recruitment programs as well.

Anthony Chen is associate professor of sociology and of political science (by courtesy) and an IPR fellow.

The Ramifications of Ending Race-Conscious Admissions

Lauren Rivera shares her take on the ruling and its impact in elite spaces

On June 29, 2023, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that colleges and universities can no longer consider race in student admissions. The decision by the court's 6-3 conservative majority upends longstanding precedent and could drastically impact higher education.

Lauren Rivera is an IPR sociologist and professor of management and organizations at Kellogg. Kellogg Insight **reached** out to Rivera for her take on the ruling, its impact, and what she hopes to see elite intuitions do in response.

Kellogg editor's note: This interview has been edited. Rivera's views are her own.

Rivera: Today is a deeply sad moment, both for the state of diversity in the United States, as well as for me personally.

It's predictable in some respects, given the popular discourse around these two cases and given the immense DEI [diversity, equity, and inclusion] backlash we've seen in the past several years. But it's still deeply disheartening. This is not just an intellectual thing for me: I have benefited from these policies in my life. Being able to go to Yale was a huge source of upward mobility for me that opened doors and opportunities that are typically closed to people from my ethnic and class backgrounds.

I also think that the decision represents a fundamental misunderstanding or misrecognition of what we know from science about how discrimination works.

Insight: So let's talk about that. If you look at Pew polling, for instance, there is a lot of ambivalence about affirmative action among Americans, including some Americans of color. As a scientist, what do you see as the fundamental misunderstanding about discrimination?

Rivera: Polling gets at people's perceptions of fairness, which are based on their own worldview and their own homogeneous social networks. I'm reminded of a study that finds that people drastically misperceive racial progress in this country. In addition, we know from research that we define fairness in a way that is self-serving: what we consider fair is often what we feel would benefit us or our children. Second, affirmative action isn't only about race. Affirmative action is also about gender! If we took away



Y. Nayberg

gender-balancing in college admissions, the composition of elite college classes would likely be between 60 and 80 percent women. Affirmative action on behalf of men is the reason why we have 50-50 gender splits in incoming classes at Ivy League schools. It's very clear to me that the exclusive focus on race-based affirmative action in these legal challenges and rulings means that this is not actually about ideas of fairness. This is about racial stereotypes and perceived racial threat in the United States.

Insight: The ruling will affect a relatively small number of very elite institutions, which educate a relatively small number of students. Why is it important for us, as a society or as a business community, to care what happens to the admissions processes at a small number of schools?

Rivera: It matters for two reasons. One is that these institutions carry huge weight in terms of access to power in our society, producing a disproportionate percentage of leaders in every sector: leaders in higher ed, finance, medicine, government (including Supreme Court justices!), you name it. Long term, it will decrease the representativeness of those in power unless we adopt other measures to ensure diversity.

In the United States, we have a highly stratified system of higher education. People assume that the prestige of the college or graduate school you attend is a direct reflection of your underlying merit and your capability as a potential worker. I see this in my research so clearly: When I was interviewing people who do

hiring for investment banks, management consultancies, and law firms, they would say things like, "The prestige of the university you go to is a direct reflection of your intellectual horsepower." In fact, some industries restrict recruitment to people who graduate from elite universities. Admissions committees at elite graduate and professional schools likewise take the prestige of a candidate's undergrad degree as a signal of merit and use it as a basis of inclusion or exclusion.

I hope that in response, employers will expand and look beyond the most elite colleges and universities to find talent. I also hope that elite colleges will consider expanding opportunities. The number of spots in these schools has remained pretty stagnant over time. Why have colleges not expanded enrollment given the increased demand and the amazing level of resources that they have?

Insight: You mentioned that the admissions ruling matters for two reasons. What's the second?

Rivera: Let me preface this by saying I'm a sociologist, not a lawyer. The ruling does not directly affect companies today, but there will likely be legal challenges to specific types of DEI employment practices on the horizon. Immediately, though, I do think that this ruling will create confusion and fear—among employers and workers—about what is and is not legal when it comes to various DEI initiatives. And fear itself is very powerful.

Lauren Rivera is professor of management and organizations and an IPR associate.

In Memoriam: Rebecca Blank, 1955–2023

Esteemed economist, presidential adviser, and university leader was an IPR fellow for 10 years

Rebecca M. Blank, who was **poised** to become Northwestern's 17th president in 2022, died on February 17 near Madison, Wisconsin. She was 67.

Blank had stepped down in July 2022 as the University's president-elect and professor of economics due to an aggressive cancer diagnosis to focus on her health and her family.

She served in many roles across her exemplary career—as an esteemed labor economist, a distinguished university leader, and a determined policymaker. While at Northwestern from 1989 to 1999, she was a tenured professor and an IPR fellow.

"Becky's passing is a terrible loss for all of us at Northwestern and for the wider research and policymaking communities," said IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, who directed IPR until July. "We will celebrate her legacy by continuing to build on her important work on poverty, to which she made key contributions while at IPR."

Blank came to Northwestern in 1989 from Princeton University as an associate professor of economics and of education and social policy and would later become a full professor. She was also appointed as a faculty fellow at IPR, then known the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research (CUAPR).

She spent her first year at Northwestern on leave as a staff economist in the White House Council of Economic Advisers (CEA). Upon returning to CUAPR in 1990, she became a key figure in its research and training programs centered around poverty and the social safety net.

She co-chaired the Institute's research program on Poverty, Race, and Inequality with sociologist Christopher Jencks, now professor emeritus at Harvard University. The two researchers led an interdisciplinary training program in poverty research for graduate students and postdoctoral fellows jointly between Northwestern and the University of Chicago that began in 1990.

In 1996, a five-year, \$7.5 million grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services enabled the training program to become the Northwestern/University of Chicago Joint Center for Poverty Research. The center studied the causes of U.S. poverty



Rebecca Blank, shown here in her IPR office, was an economist, university leader, and policymaker.

and the effectiveness of policies to reduce it. Blank was appointed its first director.

However, in 1997 she was called back to Washington, D.C., to become one of the three members of President Bill Clinton's Council of Economic Advisors, chaired by Janet Yellen, who is now Secretary of the Treasury.

Blank's research while at IPR in the 1990s focused on safety net programs, poverty, and moving nonworking households into the ranks of the working poor. Her 1997 book, *It Takes a Nation: A New Agenda for Fighting Poverty* (Princeton University Press), contended that persistent poverty in the U.S. was misunderstood as the behavior of the poor was overemphasized and the more important factors of economic and demographic changes were underestimated. Across her career, she authored or co-edited close to a dozen books on poverty, inequality, and other topics, and nearly 100 journal articles and book chapters.

While at IPR, she also examined women's issues, including women in the labor force and whether part-time work might move women receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to full-time, self-sufficient jobs. Additionally, Blank studied state-specific information about

abortion from its legalization in 1973 through 1990, modeling how laws and variables such as income, population, race, and urbanization determined states' abortion rates.

After she left Northwestern, Blank returned to IPR several times across the years, in particular as its 2009 Distinguished Lecturer to help mark IPR's 40th Anniversary. Her lecture, "Why Does Inequality Matter, and What Should We Do About It?," discussed the effects of income inequality in the U.S. over the previous 50 years.

She received many accolades across her career, including being named as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2005 and receiving the 1993 David N. Kershaw Award from the Association of Public Policy and Management (APPAM), recognizing scholars under 40 whose work has had the most significant impact on public policy.

In 1999, when her term on President Clinton's CEA ended, Blank became the Joan and Sanford Weill Dean of Public Policy at the University of Michigan's Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, where she was dean until 2007. She then moved to the Brookings Institution as a fellow in economic studies, where she spent two years. From 2009–13, Blank served in the U.S. Department of Commerce as an Under Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Acting Secretary of Commerce for President Barack Obama.

After leaving the Obama administration, she served as chancellor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison from 2013 until May 2022, when she was appointed as Northwestern's president-elect.

IPR Director Emerita **Fay Lomax Cook**, who led IPR from 1996 to 2012, praised Blank for "her brilliance, tireless energy, and leadership skills."

"Through her research and her leadership, she brought both creativity and pragmatism to interdisciplinary research to understand the causes and consequences of poverty and how public policy can make a difference," Cook said.

Blank is survived by her husband, Hanns Kuttner, and their daughter, Emily, who graduated from Northwestern.

How Has COVID-19 Affected Children and Adolescents?

IPR experts discuss how the pandemic altered childcare, schooling, and mental health

Since the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a worldwide pandemic in 2020, the world's youth have experienced lockdowns and upheavals in their school, work, and social activities. IPR experts **discussed** what research indicates about the effects of COVID-era events and policies on February 6, tracing how U.S. youth have fared and what we might expect in the long term.

5-Year-Olds and Under: Responsive Policy Kept Childcare Open

IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol** noted that the federal government's policies around childcare were "actually pretty good" as the CARES Act, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, and the American Rescue Plan pumped funds into childcare programs.

Sabol's research with several Northwestern students shows that in Illinois, these funds were equally distributed across neighborhoods, for the most part. She said that recent spending bills have allocated little toward childcare policies.

There are still major challenges in the early childhood system, Sabol said, pointing to 19 billion hours in missed learning opportunities and childcare workers' persistently low pay of around \$12 per hour on average, and many childcare workers leaving the field.

Along with these challenges, enrollment in early childhood education and in public kindergarten programs has declined nationally. Chicago Public Schools (CPS) lost more than 2,700 kindergartners from 2019 to 2022.

While preschool enrollment did drop during the pandemic, it is beginning to rebound. The jump provides an opportunity to examine if universal pre-K—which CPS rolled out in 2019 before the pandemic hit—brings kids back to early childhood education programs. To find out, she and IPR economist **Diane Schanzenbach** are collaborating to analyze enrollment data from Chicago's free, full-day, universal pre-K program.

6- to 18-Year-Olds: Lopsided Learning Losses

IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** cited research by Stanford's Sean Reardon and Harvard's Thomas Kane calculating that



From left: IPR education experts Emma Adam, Terri Sabol, and Jonathan Guryan spoke on a panel about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on children and adolescents moderated by Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach.

based on test scores, students in third through eighth grades lost the equivalent of half a year of learning in math and a quarter of a year of learning in reading.

"Those lost-learning opportunities were not evenly distributed," Guryan said. "School districts with more Black and Hispanic kids had larger losses, and districts with higher poverty rates also had larger losses."

He highlighted another pandemic pattern: Higher rates of remote instruction were linked to larger learning losses, and this was especially true of higher poverty schools, where students spent more time learning remotely.

"We saw this not just around the country, but at home here in Chicago," Guryan explained, pointing to dramatic declines in students' National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test scores from 2019 to 2022.

In May 2020 when CPS was in remote learning, roughly 80–85% of fifth-to-twelfth-grade CPS students logged in to Google Meet or Google Classroom, the tools CPS used for online learning. And 25–30% did not connect at all—and the percentage was even lower for the very youngest students: Only about a third of kindergartners and about half of first and second graders logged in.

12- to 29-Year-Olds: Increased Depression and Anxiety

IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** emphasized that "adolescents were not doing well before the pandemic," starting

in 2012 when rates of depression among 12- to 17-year-olds began to increase.

Multiple studies comparing levels of depression before and during the pandemic show a slight increase in already high depression rates, but not dramatic ones. For anxiety, however, results are mixed.

"Especially during the early pandemic, there was some relief of social anxiety among students when they didn't have to go to school, and they were under lockdown," Adam said. "The change in condition might [have been] bad for learning, but perhaps not as adverse for emotional outcomes."

For young adults, however, the data paint a different picture: 33% of those between 18 and 29 years old reported clinically significant levels of depression, and 40% reported clinically significant levels of anxiety according to large-scale data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau between April 2020 and August 2022.

Adam called the levels for young adults "concerningly high," saying they can be partially explained by the economic conditions of younger adults.

Emma Adam is the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Human Development and Social Policy. Jonathan Guryan is the Lawyer Taylor Professor of Education and Social Policy. Terri Sabol is associate professor of human development and social policy. Diane Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Professor. All are IPR fellows.

Exploring How Legislators Navigate the ‘Primary Premium’

Prioritizing primary voters over general election voters may pay off, but can increase polarization



The 2024 primary election cycle will kick off in less than a year, determining which candidates will end up on ballots in the November general election. But appealing to primary voters and their policy preferences could alienate voters in the general election when the two conflict. So what should legislators do when their primary electorate disagrees with the general electorate?

New **research** shows that legislators’ have incentives to align with primary voters. These incentives, a product of the American two-stage election process, can shape which constituents’ policy preferences are represented in Congress—and may also contribute to polarization.

“There are going to be instances where the primary and the general electorate want different things, and we were trying to think through, ‘What are legislators’ incentives in those cases?’” explained IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge-Yong**, who co-authored the study with Sarah Anderson of the University of California Santa Barbara and Daniel Butler of Washington University in St. Louis.

She says primary voters—a legislator’s base—and general election voters made up of a broader constituency may have different policy preferences. Harbridge-Yong and her co-authors argue that there are two reasons that legislators might find it electorally useful to align with the primary electorate. First, primary voters are often more unified in their beliefs, so legislators will benefit more from siding with them over the general

electorate. Second, primary voters are more likely to care about whether their representative votes in alignment with their own policy preferences, a concept the researchers call the ‘primary premium.’

While this may explain why legislators see an advantage in responding to the desires of primary voters over general election voters, Harbridge-Yong says this behavior can be problematic.

“If legislators have incentives to be more responsive to the primary electorate than the general electorate, it means that they’re being responsive to the preferences of the few at the expense of the many,” Harbridge-Yong said.

To understand legislators’ incentives to respond to different voters, she and her colleagues analyzed public opinion data from the 2016 Cooperative Election Study looking at the policy positions of over 64,000 Americans who voted in either the primary or general election. They discover that when the primary and general electorates were on opposite sides of an issue, the primary electorate was more unified in 73% of the cases.

In the survey experiment looking at how 13,000 respondents evaluated hypothetical incumbents and their challengers, they find that when incumbents aligned with voters on three policy issues, the incumbent’s vote share increased. However, this effect was substantially larger in the context of a primary election than a general election.

“People voting in the context of a primary are significantly more responsive to issue alignment than people participating in general elections, and it makes sense because party is not on the ballot,” Harbridge-Yong said. “But in a primary election, where it’s a competition between people in the same party, issue positions are going to matter more.”

She explains that we can see this play out now in recent fights around the debt ceiling or other issues that have broad public support. In these situations, some legislators seem more worried about what their base thinks versus the general electorate.

“To the extent that primary voters, who are the stronger partisans and more committed ideologues, hold more extreme positions, they may pull legislators away from being able to take moderate positions or compromising positions, and they will instead fight to the bitter end and stick with what the primary electorate wants them to do,” she said. “And that can increase both polarization as well as gridlock.”

How can we reform the election process to address the primary premium? Encouraging more people to vote in primary elections could help change the composition of voters, bringing in more moderates and making primary elections look more like general elections.

Harbridge-Yong also says shifting primary elections to non-partisan elections might help increase participation of moderate voters. In these primary elections, voters could vote across party lines on the ballot, potentially picking more moderate candidates from both political parties. Her recent research looking at the new top-four primary in Alaska suggests that this type of election could increase moderate candidates’ chances of winning.

“There’s some logic to suggest that there are more opportunities for moderates to feel like they have the kind of choices that match what they want to express in those types of primary elections,” she said.

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

Of Boys and Men

Boys and men are struggling, but helping them can also help women and gender inequality

Men are falling behind women in school, in the workplace, and in other key measures of life outcomes, which has substantial implications for women's outcomes, too, according to Brookings' scholar and journalist [Richard Reeves](#).

On November 3, 2022 at Northwestern, Reeves took part in a wide-ranging [conversation](#) about the evidence in his latest book, *Of Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male Is Struggling, Why It Matters, and What to Do About It* (2022, Brookings Institution Press,) with then IPR Director and economist [Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach](#). He also outlined policy proposals for countering the decline, including a controversial one to redshirt, or hold back all boys one year in school.

Diving into the Education Data

Schanzenbach then asked him to dive into some of the data behind his findings.

Reeves pointed to evidence showing that high school GPA was a great predictor of outcomes overall, and when he examined findings from various studies, they showed that "girls were basically ahead in pretty much everything."

These data led him to a conclusion that many might find "shocking." "I think we have learned that the education system has been structured to favor girls rather than boys," he said.

Reeves described a 10 percentage-point drop in college enrollment out of high school and the 10 percentage-point gap for men's on-time college graduation. He noted how this has changed since Title IX, the law that mandates equal treatment in institutions of higher education receiving federal funds. Prior to 1972 when it passed, men were 13 percentage points more likely to go to college. Since then, it has swung 15 percentage points in the other direction to women being more likely to attend.

This figure signals a massive change, Reeves said, "We have wider gender inequality today in U.S. higher education than we did when Title IX was passed. It's just in the reverse direction."

Which Boys Are Most Affected?

"You're particularly concerned about Black boys and lower-income boys,"



Brookings scholar and journalist Richard Reeves (left) speaks with IPR's Diane Schanzenbach about his policy proposals to address the decline in men's achievement and life outcomes.

Schanzenbach asked. "What unique challenges do they face? Should we think about them being more challenged?"

Studies of implicit bias, criminal sentencing, and even cultural issues around toxic masculinity show how much Black men are uniquely stigmatized, Reeves said. He referred to data showing a wider gender gap between Black boys and girls than White ones.

In addition to race, class and family economics also contribute. He discussed how the gap between girls and boys widens the further down the socioeconomic ladder one goes, and how every measure of disadvantage shows boys doing worse—except for those in the middle or upper classes. Middle- and upper-class parents, he surmised, have the resources and the knowledge to help their boys overcome their disadvantages.

"Poverty really does amplify the agenda," he said.

New Career Paths and Redshirting

In terms of policy solutions, Reeves discussed two specific proposals. First, he offered that men should be encouraged to go into fields like healthcare and teaching currently dominated by women workers. To this end, he suggested promoting boys-only scholarships—much like what is currently done to encourage girls to go into STEM fields—would be another important step forward. To those who find such a proposal discriminatory, he said it is "perfectly

justified on some of the same grounds that we've had similar policies the other way around."

Second is redshirting all boys in K-12 schools. Reeves said he developed it because research has shown girls' prefrontal cortexes develop earlier than those of boys. This means they develop impulse control earlier, which in turn helps them to do better in school. So holding boys back one year would allow them to be the developmental equals of girls in their classes.

Schanzenbach, who has studied redshirting, said she and Reeves "have agreed to disagree" on this proposal. She asked him if its costs might outweigh the benefits. Implementing it, she continued, would mean boys would lose a year in the labor market, which could wind up costing them far more in terms of lifetime earnings.

Reeves agreed that more work is needed to fully understand it, but the status quo of doing nothing is also problematic.

"[T]hese problems won't go away on their own. They're going to fester if we don't address them," he said.

Richard Reeves is the John C. and Nancy D. Whitehead Chair, Senior Fellow in Economic Studies, and Director of the Future of the Middle-Class Initiative at the Brookings Institution. Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor. She was IPR director until July 31.

Faculty Spotlight: Elisa Jácome

IPR economist studies public policy issues centered on immigration, crime, and mental health

As an Ecuadorian American, IPR economist **Elisa Jácome** was **interested** in understanding poverty and inequality in Latin American countries from a young age—especially how policy could make a difference in the lives of low-income communities. But it wasn't until she took a class about public finance as an undergraduate at Georgetown University that she recognized how economics shaped poverty and inequality in the U.S., too.

“Once I realized that a lot of what I was very interested in the Latin American or developing country context was also very pervasive and important in the U.S., I never looked back,” she said.

As she began to learn about poverty and inequality in the U.S., she developed interests in the criminal justice system and immigration since policies in these spheres disproportionately impact individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

“I became very interested in both the lives of immigrant communities in the U.S. and immigrant assimilation, but also the intersection of the immigrant experience and the far-reaching contact of the criminal justice system,” Jácome said.

Studying Immigration and Crime

A common concern among conservatives is that allowing more immigrants into the U.S. will increase crime.

“If you look at Gallup surveys from recent years, Americans expressed that they're more concerned about immigrants' adverse effect on crime than they are about immigrants' adverse effects on the economy or jobs,” she explained, saying this motivated her and her colleagues to study immigration and crime.

Jácome's new working paper with Boustan, Ran Abramitzky and Juan David Torres of Stanford University, and Santiago Perez of University of California, Davis compares the incarceration rates of immigrants to those of the U.S.-born starting in 1850 through today.

They show that before 1960, immigrants' incarceration rates were nearly identical to White U.S.-born men, but since 1960, immigrants as a group are less likely to be incarcerated.



Today, immigrants are 30% less likely to be imprisoned.

Despite immigrants' relatively lower incarceration rates, concerns over public safety led to federal immigration enforcement policies aimed at reducing crime, like the 2008 Secure Communities program. Through a data-sharing program, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency were able to track down and deport non-citizens who came into the custody of state and local law enforcement agencies. But a few years into the program, some worried that it might actually deteriorate public safety by fueling mistrust between the police and immigrant communities who feared being deported, making them less likely to report crime.

To learn what happens to crime reporting when immigration enforcement policies change, Jácome examined the number of violent and property crimes reported to the Dallas Police Department after the 2015 Priority Enforcement Program (PEP) refocused ICE's efforts on immigrants who posed a serious threat to public safety. She finds that after this new program was implemented, crime reported to the police by Hispanics in Dallas increased by 4%,

or 1,200 more serious incidents were reported in a year and a half than would have been otherwise.

She said her study suggests “that these kinds of policies can alter trust between police and Hispanic communities or immigrant communities more broadly.”

Jácome is currently working on research to quantify the effect of the original Secure Communities Program on public safety and community trust across the U.S.

Mental Health Services to Deter Crime

When studying crime, economists have analyzed how income and education impact incarceration rates, but they have spent less time studying the way health shapes criminal activity—particularly mental health.

“We're often talking about what policies could be helpful in reducing the wide reach of incarceration in the U.S.,” Jácome said. “I wanted to think about the role of health services, in particular mental health services.”

Her research shows that when a group of low-income men in South Carolina lost access to Medicaid after turning 19, they were more likely to be incarcerated compared to peers who did not. Because the differences were driven by those with mental health issues, Jácome says access to mental health resources could be one way to move the needle on incarceration rates.

“It seems to be the case that there are populations, especially among adolescents, who are really benefiting from having access to these services through the Medicaid program, and when you take those services away, it's costly,” she said.

Jácome says this study also points to the importance of targeting policy toward demographic groups most at risk for criminal activity—particularly younger men.

“I think this research speaks to this moment in time in late adolescence and the transition to adulthood [and] how policies that affect this age group could potentially keep individuals from first coming into contact with the justice system,” Jácome said.

Elisa Jácome is an assistant professor of economics and an IPR fellow.

Recent Recognition for IPR Faculty

S. Schumacher



IPR statistician **Elizabeth Tipton** became chair-elect of the Social Statistics Section of the American Statistical Association in August.

Elizabeth Tipton

This summer, IPR social policy expert **Sally Nuamah**'s latest book, *Closed for Democracy: How Mass School Closure Undermines the Citizenship of Black Americans* (Cambridge University Press, 2022) received three awards from the American Political Science Association: the Ralph J. Bunche Award, Dennis Judd Award, and Best Book Award from the Race, Ethnicity & Politics section (see p. 16).

IPR social psychologist **Sylvia Perry** and Yale psychologist and faculty adjunct **Jennifer Richeson** were two of the three co-directors for the new Institute on Diversity at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences this summer. Perry was also the 2022–23 SAGE Sara Miller McCune Fellow.

IPR economist **Ofer Malamud** won the School of Education and Social Policy's Outstanding Faculty Member Award in June.

Soledad McGrath, executive director of CORNERS and IPR research professor, served on Chicago Mayor Brandon Johnson's Public Safety Transition Subcommittee (see p. 4) in May.

IPR education sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** was elected as chair of the American Sociological Association's Education division in May.

Media scholar and IPR associate **Pablo Boczkowski**'s *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers* (MIT Press, 2004), received the 2023 Fellows Book Award from the International Communication Association (ICA) in May. The book also

received the ICA's Best Book Award in 2005, making it the first in ICA's history to obtain its two major book awards.

Social networking expert and IPR associate **Noshir Contractor** convened the 2023 annual conference of the International Communication Association as its president in Toronto in May.

Political scientist and IPR associate **Ana Arjona** became a co-editor of *Perspectives on Politics* in May.

The Journal of the American Medical Association, or JAMA, appointed health disparities scholar and IPR associate **Melissa Simon** as associate editor in April.

IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge-Yong** was selected as the 2023 Manatt Fellow of the Electoral Integrity Project in March.

Learning sciences scholar and IPR associate **Nichole Pinkard** was elected as a fellow of the American Educational Research Association in March. She was also named the Alice Hamilton Professor of Education and Social Policy in October.

IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** became editor-in-chief of the *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* in January.

Four IPR faculty experts—statistician **Larry Hedges**, economists **Kirabo Jackson** and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, and education professor and IPR associate **James Spillane**—were included in the 2023 RHSU Edu-Scholar Public Influence Rankings in January.

David Cella and **Brian Mustanski**, medical social sciences professors and IPR associates, were named to the "Highly Cited Researchers" list in December; their research is in the top 1% most cited in their field and year of publication in the Web of Science.

Economist and IPR associate **Dean Karlan** was appointed chief economist for the U.S.

Agency for International Development (USAID) in November.

Sociologist and African American studies researcher and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo** was awarded the Commitment to Justice Award in October by the Collaboration for Justice of Chicago Appleseed Center for Fair Courts and the Chicago Council of Lawyers.



Mary Pattillo

J. Jones

Geophysicist and IPR associate **Seth Stein** received the American Geophysical Union's Walter Bucher medal for lifetime achievement in October.

Ten IPR Faculty Receive Promotions

Since last September, 10 IPR faculty experts have received tenure-track promotions.

Promoted to Full Professor

- Economist **Ofer Malamud**
- Media scholar and IPR associate **Stephanie Edgerly**
- Statistician **Elizabeth Tipton**

Promoted to Associate Professor

- Social policy experts **Tabitha Bonilla** and **Sally Nuamah**
- Developmental psychologists **Onnie Rogers** and **Terri Sabol**
- Economist **Hannes Schwandt**
- Political scientist **Chloe Thurston**
- Media scholar and IPR associate **Jolie Matthews**

IPR Faculty Recognized for Teaching and Impact on Northwestern Students

Seven scholars were honored for their commitment to the classroom



Katherine Amato, Matthew Easterday, Steven Epstein, Eli Finkel (clockwise from top left), Diane Schanzenbach, Onnie Rogers, Vijay Mittal

Each fall, Northwestern’s Associated Student Government announces their awards for its Faculty and Administrator Honor Roll, recognizing faculty for their commitment to enhancing their students’ experiences at Northwestern. Seven IPR scholars were selected for the 2021–22 awards. They are:

Katherine Amato, anthropologist and IPR associate, was honored for her work in her class, the Human Microbiome and Health.

Matthew Easterday, learning scientist and IPR associate, received the award for his course, Community Engagement, which introduces students to off-campus community engagement, learning, and active citizenship in a democracy.

Steven Epstein, sociologist and IPR associate, the John C. Shaffer Professor in the Humanities and professor of sociology, was nominated by students in his Health, Biomedicine, Culture, and Society class.

Eli Finkel, social psychologist and IPR associate, is professor of psychology and management and organizations, and he has received numerous awards for this award for his outstanding instruction in the course, Relationship Science.

Vijay Mittal, psychologist and IPR associate, professor of psychology, was nominated by students for his teaching in Psychopathology. A student emphasized how his “messages [in class] meant so much to the betterment of our society in terms of how we view and treat mental health.”

Onnie Rogers, IPR developmental psychologist, and associate professor of psychology and of education and social policy (by courtesy), was recognized for her exceptional research mentorship. A student wrote that she is a “wonderful research and leader” who encourages undergraduates to give feedback and “be more critical in their research.”

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, IPR economist and the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, received an award for her course Economics of Social Policy, which helps students learn how to analyze the effects of social policies.

Hedges to Receive International Education Award in Helsinki

The World Cultural Council (WCC) announced on June 15 that esteemed IPR statistician and methodology researcher **Larry Hedges** will receive the José Vasconcelos World Award of Education on November 3 at the University of Helsinki.

The WCC, an international nonprofit founded in Mexico, confers these awards “on eminent pioneers honoring their tireless efforts and the inspiration they bring as role models.”

The prize acknowledges Hedges’ “groundbreaking and systematic application of research and his development of methods for meta-analysis over the past four decades, which have contributed to more accurate assessment of evidence across disciplines,” according to the WCC press release. Hedges is the Board of Trustees Professor and an IPR fellow.



Larry Hedges

Courtesy of L. Hedges

Linda Teplin Elected AAAS Fellow

Behavioral scientist and IPR associate **Linda Teplin** was elected a 2022 fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in recognition of her “distinguished contributions to public health policy, particularly landmark longitudinal studies that guide the redress of racial and ethnic disparities in incarceration and its consequences for mental and physical health.”



Linda Teplin

Courtesy of L. Teplin

Teplin, the Owen L. Coon Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, is a long-time IPR associate. Her research over four decades has centered on the health of incarcerated populations, which she began in her first research study at Northwestern’s medical school. She studied how police managed in their new role as “street corner psychiatrists,” which was forced upon them by deinstitutionalization.

‘We Are Saving Lives’

CORNERS previews promising evidence that community violence intervention and citywide partnerships can help prevent shootings

L. McDermott



Illinois State Senator Cristina Pacione-Zayas spoke about how crucial it is for participants to come together to stop gun violence at CORNERS' symposium in December 2022.

When three deadly mass shootings take place just days apart in California, or a six-year-old shoots his teacher, or 40 are shot in Chicago over one January weekend, it often feels like addressing the plague of gun violence is a hopeless effort.

Yet an approach centered on community violence intervention, or CVI, where trained interventionists reach out directly to connect with those most at risk of experiencing gun violence, points to a path forward.

At a December 15, 2022 event **discussing** CVI research and practices, IPR sociologist **Andrew Papachristos** pointed to citywide, neighborhood-level collaboration as **preventing** at least 383 homicides and shootings between 2014 and 2021.

“That’s 383 families that were spared the trauma and pain associated with homicides, and that is a big deal,” Papachristos told the 300 symposium attendees, many of whom are involved in CVI efforts in Chicago. “You should be proud of that number.”

Those efforts to curb gun violence are occurring across the city at the neighborhood level through a variety of community and civic partnerships such

as **Communities Partnering 4 Peace** (CP4P) and **Chicago CRED**. **CORNERS**, the Center for Neighborhood Engaged Research & Science, of which Papachristos is the founder and faculty director, serves as the research partner for many of these efforts, and it organized the symposium.

CORNERS’ engaged research process—through which the team works closely with community and civic partners to collect and analyze a wide range of data on the complex networks of residents, institutions, and organizations—offers unique insights into the impact of these growing CVI efforts.

“We see renewed energy in terms of the partnerships and collaboratives developed over the last several years, so that many are starting to show real impact and promise,” Papachristos said following the event.

He encouraged those who only pay attention to the chilling counts of homicide victims to look beyond them to see the massive strides in building a “violence prevention infrastructure” with real potential.

“Many of these partnerships across the city are helping make Chicago safer,” he continued. “We are saving lives.”

In addition to Corners’ researchers at Northwestern and their colleagues, the symposium brought together interventionists, community leaders, and others involved in efforts to curb gun violence, as well as keynote speaker **Arne Duncan**, managing partner of the Emerson Collective and former U.S. Secretary of Education under President Barack Obama.

In his keynote, Duncan spoke about how the vast majority of violence in Chicago is not random.

“There is a story, multiple stories, behind almost every shooting,” Duncan said. “You just have to know the community to understand what’s happening, to try and track that and stop the next one.”

To that end, Duncan praised the “vitaly important work” of street outreach workers and the “extraordinary” partnership with CORNERS, which he says is bringing a new precision through their social network analysis of violence to work that is “life and death.” And such life-and-death work cannot advance without committed community engagement.

Illinois Democratic State Senator **Cristina Pacione-Zayas**, District 20, spoke about how crucial it is for the symposium participants to come together as a community of practice to better understand and treat the root causes of the violence. And she underscored her commitment—and that of her colleagues in the Latino Caucus—to continuing the fight against gun violence in Chicago’s underserved and under-resourced communities.

“We will continue to bring our lived experiences because we come from the community, we come from social movements, we have been beneficiaries of these programs,” she said.

The unique approach of engaged research on gun violence and other social issues in tandem with invested community partners is what led CORNERS to change its name from N3: The Northwestern Neighborhood and Network Initiative in October.

“It better reflected our approach to research, and our values as a center and as a team,” CORNERS Executive Director **Soledad Adrianzén McGrath** explained.

“To us, CORNERS is more than an acronym,” McGrath continued. “They are meeting places, places of opportunity, and openings where one can look for ways to solve social problems from different perspectives.”

More Interest in Violence Intervention, But a Traumatized Workforce

One of the key components to running an effective community violence intervention rests on the shoulders of its civilian workers, who are typically recruited from the neighborhoods they serve. Duncan praised them for their courage and skill, calling them the “tip of the spear” to stem gun violence in Chicago.

“That work is vitally important. No one works harder or no one has a bigger heart, but our goal is never to be busy—our goal is to be effective,” Duncan said, “and so we are targeting the men and women most at risk of shooting and being shot.”

These CVI workers are typically the first on the scene to respond to a shooting or other incident of gun violence, and Corners researchers were part of a team that recently documented how this responsiveness and proximity to violence exacts a grueling toll.

A recent landmark survey of the CVI workforce in Chicago reveals that 59%

“To us, CORNERS is more than an acronym. They are meeting places, places of opportunity, and openings where one can look for ways to solve social problems from different perspectives.”

—Soledad McGrath



Andrew Papachristos shared remarks during the opening of CORNERS' December 2022 symposium.

of CVI workers witnessed someone being shot at, and 32% witnessed a victim struck by gunfire. During work hours, 20% were shot at, and 2% were shot and wounded.

“The findings of these studies suggest that investment in community violence intervention should prioritize improving worker safety and reducing violent exposure while developing support for vulnerable frontline practitioners,” Papachristos said.

Published in *Science Advances*, the **study** provides a comprehensive look of at these “first responders” who play a pivotal role in violence prevention. Papachristos co-leads the Violence Intervention Workers Study (VIEWS). He wrote the article with lead author David Hureau of the University at Albany, SUNY, and others including leaders from Chicago CRED and the Office of Firearm Violence Prevention in the Illinois Department of Human Services.

In a separate **study** published in *Preventive Medicine*, lead author David Hureau and the VIEWS research team used the study data to examine this indirect exposure to violence. They find Chicago CVI workers experienced symptoms of secondary traumatic stress—the stress stemming from working with traumatized populations—that was exacerbated by their exposure to

violence in the workplace that is common in the profession.

In the second study, the authors show that nearly all interventionists reported at least one secondary traumatic stress indicator within seven days of taking the survey. They also reveal that workers who experienced the death of a client, witnessed a shooting, or were shot at themselves were more likely to be affected by secondary traumatic stress.

For Papachristos, the data and invigorating energy around CVI efforts and the unprecedented collaboration between researchers and community partners point to a tangible way to help resolve the issues around gun violence that plague not just Chicago, but other cities as well.

“I want to quote my favorite historian, Shermann ‘Dilla’ Thomas,” Papachristos said at the symposium referring to violence prevention efforts: “Everything dope comes from Chicago.”

Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and faculty director, and Soledad Adrianzén McGrath is executive director and research professor for CORNERS, the Center for Neighborhood Engaged Research & Science, housed within IPR.

IPR WORKING PAPERS

Beyond Network Effectiveness: The Case for Network Efficiency and Accuracy (WP-22-17)

Zachary Gibson, Mariana Escallon-Barrios, Joshua-Paul Miles, Catherine Annis, Julia Carboni, Karen Smilowitz, Gilly Cantor, Nicholas Armstrong, and **Michelle Shumate**

Dads and Daughters: Disentangling Altruism and Investment Motives for Spending on Children (WP-22-16)

by Rebecca Dizon-Ross and **Seema Jayachandran**

Does Entry Remedy Collusion? Evidence from the Generic Prescription Drug Cartel (WP-22-15)

by **Amanda Starc** and Thomas Wollmann

Reinsuring the Insurers of Last Resort (WP-22-14)

by David Dranove, **Craig Garthwaite**, and Christopher Ody

Social Disruption, Gun Buying, and Anti-System Beliefs (WP-22-13)

by Matthew Lacombe, Matthew Simonson, Jon Green, and **James Druckman**

This paper is published in Perspectives on Politics.

Exposure to Gun Violence Among the Population of Chicago Community Violence Interventionists (WP-22-12)

by David Hureau, Theodore Wilson, Hilary Jackl, Jalon Arthur, Christopher Patterson, and **Andrew Papachristos**

This paper is published in Science Advances.

Improving Willingness-to-Pay Elicitation by Including a Benchmark Good (WP-22-11)

by Rebecca Dizon-Ross and **Seema Jayachandran**

This paper is published in AEA Papers and Proceedings.

The Effect of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Elderly: Population Fatality Rates, COVID Mortality Percentage, and Life Expectancy Loss (WP-22-10)

by Paula Natalia Barreto Parra, Vladimir Atanasov, Jeffrey Whittle, John Meurer, Qian (Eric) Luo, Ruohao Zhang, and **Bernard Black**

This paper is published in the Elder Law Journal.

Minimax-Regret Climate Policy With Deep Uncertainty in Climate Modeling and Intergenerational Discounting (WP-22-09)

by Stephen DeCanio, **Charles Manski**, and Alan Sanstad

This paper is published in Ecological Economics.

The Impact of Jury Instructions on Heat of Passion Manslaughter Determinations (WP-22-08)

by **Beth Redbird**

Myths of Censorship: The Realities and Misperceptions of “Cancel Culture” (WP-22-07)

by Nicholas Dias, **James Druckman**, and Matthew Levendusky

Gendered Impacts of COVID-19 in Developing Countries (WP-22-06)

by Titan Alon, **Matthias Doepke**, Kristina Manysheva, and Michèle Tertilt

This paper is published in AEA Papers and Proceedings.

Clubs and Networks in Economics Reviewing (WP-22-05)

by Scott Carrell, **David Figlio**, and Lester Lusher

Limited Supply and Lagging Enrollment: Production Technologies and Enrollment Changes at Community Colleges During the Pandemic (WP-22-04)

by **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and Sarah Turner

This paper is published in the Journal of Public Economics.

The COVID-19 Pandemic, Years of Life Lost, and Life Expectancy: Decomposition Using Individual-Level Mortality Data (WP-22-03)

by Paula Natalia Barreto Parra, Vladimir Atanasov, Jeffrey Whittle, John Meurer, Qian (Eric) Luo, Ruohao Zhang, and **Bernard Black**

Effects of Short-Term Air Pollution Exposure on U.S. COVID-19 Mortality (WP-22-02)

by Ruohao Zhang, Jeffrey Whittle, Vladimir Atanasov, John Meurer, Paula Natalia Barreto Parra, and **Bernard Black**

The Political Consequences of Depression: How Conspiracy Beliefs, Self-Efficacy, and Depression Affect Support for Political Violence (WP-22-01)

by Matthew Baum, **James Druckman**, Matthew Simonson, **Jennifer Lin**, and Roy Perlis

COVID-19 Vaccine Efficacy and the Evidence on Boosters (WP-21-57)

by **Bernard Black** and David Thaw

Randomization for Causality, Ethnography for Mechanisms: Illiquid Savings for Liquor in an Autarkic Society

(WP-21-56)

by Ricardo Godoy, **Dean Karlan**, and Jonathan Zinman

The Effects of Fiscal Decentralization on Publicly Provided Services and Labor Markets

(WP-21-55)

by **Nicola Bianchi**, Michela Giorcelli, and Enrica Maria Martino

Reconstruction Aid, Public Infrastructure, and Economic Development: The Case of the Marshall Plan in Italy

(WP-21-54)

by Michela Giorcelli and **Nicola Bianchi**

Germes in the Family: The Long-Term Consequences of Intra-Household Endemic Respiratory Disease Spread

(WP-21-53)

by N. Meltem Daysal, Hui Ding, Maya Rossin-Slater, and **Hannes Schwandt**

Threats to Science: Politicization, Misinformation, and Inequalities

(WP-21-52)

by **James Druckman**

This paper is published in The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Studying Science Inequities: How to Use Surveys to Study Diverse Populations

(WP-21-51)

by Robin Bayes, **James Druckman**, and Alauna Safarpour

This paper is published in The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Headstrong Girls and Dependent Boys: Gender Differences in the Labor Market Returns to Child Behavior

(WP-21-50)

by Robert Kaestner and **Ofer Malamud**

This paper is published in ILR Review.

The Economics of Medical Procedure Innovation

(WP-21-49)

by David Dranove, **Craig Garthwaite**, Christopher Heard, and Bingxiao Wu

This paper is published in the Journal of Health Economics.

“Potential Capital,” Working from Home and Economic Resilience

(WP-21-48)

by **Janice Eberly**, Jonathan Haskel, and Paul Mizen

Mental Health Therapy as a Core Strategy for Increasing Human Capital: Evidence from Ghana

(WP-21-47)

by Nathan Baker, Gharad Bryan, **Dean Karlan**, Angela Ofori-Atta, and **Christopher Udry**

Probabilistic Prediction for Binary Treatment Choice: With Focus on Personalized Medicine

(WP-21-46)

by **Charles Manski**

This paper is published in Journal of Econometrics.

Using General Messages to Persuade on a Politicized Scientific Issue

(WP-21-45)

by Jon Green, **James Druckman**, Matthew Baum, David Lazer, Katherine Ognyanova, Matthew Simonson, **Jennifer Lin**, Mauricio Santillana, and Roy Perlis

This paper is published in the British Journal of Political Science.

Big Loans to Small Businesses: Predicting Winners and Losers in an Entrepreneurial Lending Experiment

(WP-21-44)

by Gharad Bryan, **Dean Karlan**, and Adam Osman

Life Course Effects of the Lanham Preschools: What the First Government Preschool Effort Can Tell Us About Universal Early Care and Education Today

(WP-21-43)

by Taletha Derrington, Alison Huang, and **Joseph Ferrie**

Islands of Labor: Reservation Labor Markets and American Indian Wellbeing

(WP-21-42)

by **Beth Redbird**

Energy and Environmental Markets, Industrial Organization, and Regulation

(WP-21-41)

by Ryan Kellogg and **Mar Reguant**

Does Education Prevent Job Loss During Downturns? Evidence from Exogenous School Assignments and COVID-19 in Barbados

(WP-21-40)

by Diether Beuermann, Nicolas Botton, Bridget Hoffmann, **Kirabo Jackson**, and Diego Vera-Cossio

You can always read IPR working papers on our website, and now you can get the latest updates in your inbox. Sign up for our IPR Working Paper Series, and we'll send an email once a month with new research by IPR faculty.

The Human Voice of Global Water Insecurity

OVERVIEW

We are living through a **global water crisis**, and a first step to address this crisis is to understand the extent of the problem. To do this, IPR anthropologist **Sera Young** and her colleagues created the **Individual Water Insecurity Experiences (IWISE) Scale**, a 12-question survey to measure global experiences of water access and use around the world. This innovative scale adds important information to current global water indicators, which measure water availability and infrastructure, in two ways. First, it is more holistic—it goes beyond drinking water access to consider how water use shapes cooking, bathing, and psychological wellbeing. Second, it is more precise: It tells us about individual experiences with water, revealing diverse experiences obscured in regional or country level measures.

In *The Lancet Planetary Health*, Young and her colleagues examine the scope of water insecurity among adults representing half of the world's population in 31 low- and middle-income countries, providing the first glimpse of the sociodemographic characteristics of the water insecure. The researchers estimate that 436 million adults of the 3 billion represented by



IPR anthropologist Sera Young investigates where water insecurity exists around the globe and how it impacts health and wellbeing.

the sample, experienced insecurity in 2021. These findings give a human voice to water insecurity, and can help guide interventions to serve those most vulnerable.

FINDINGS

Rates of water insecurity varied by country and region. Across the 31 countries surveyed, water insecurity ranged from a high of 63.9% in Cameroon to a low of 3.9% in China. Sub-Saharan Africa had the highest water insecurity of any region and Asia had the lowest.

No single characteristic was always predictive of water insecurity. Individuals who earned a lower income, lived in city outskirts, and those most affected by COVID-19 were more likely to be water insecure, but there were many exceptions to these three characteristics.

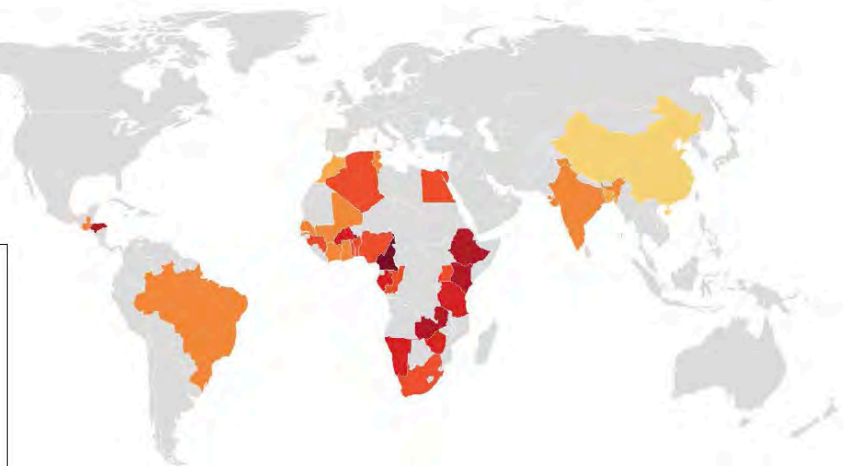
Surprisingly, men and women experienced similar rates of water insecurity in all but six of the 31 countries surveyed. Past research has shown that women are often disproportionately burdened by acquiring water and responsible for more water-intensive chores, so some might expect them to be more water insecure. But this study reveals that it is not possible to assume which groups will experience the most water insecurity.

POLICY TAKEAWAYS

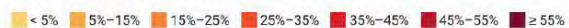
- Water insecurity can be invisible if only water availability and infrastructure are measured.
- Experiences should be measured alongside standard physical water indicators in surveys, programs, and research studies.
- The IWISE Scale is useful for assessing the prevalence of water insecurity, identifying inequities, and directing resources to achieve a more water-secure world.

Where Are Experiences of Water Insecurity the Most Severe?

The Gallup World Poll asked 45,555 adults in 31 low- and middle-income countries about their individual experiences with water using the **IWISE Scale**, a 12-question survey that asked about the following activities:



Prevalence of water insecurity in 31 countries



METHODOLOGY

From September 2020 to February 2021, the Gallup World Poll administered the **IWISE Scale**, which asked how frequently individuals had 12 experiences with water in the prior year, to nationally representative samples in 31 low- and middle-income countries. The 45,555 adults surveyed lived in countries in four regions: sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Because of COVID-19 related precautions, surveys were conducted by telephone in all countries except for Mali, Senegal, and two out of three survey waves in India, where face-to-face surveys occurred. Respondents were randomly selected using stratified sampling procedures; probability sampling weights were adjusted for non-response and helped ensure estimates were representative of each country, including urban and rural areas.

REFERENCES

Young, S., H. Bethancourt, Z. Ritter, and E. Frongillo. 2022. **Estimating national, demographic, and socioeconomic disparities in water insecurity in low- and middle-income countries in 2020–2021: A cross-sectional, observational study, using nationally representative surveys.** *The Lancet Planetary Health* 6: e880–91.

FACTS AND FIGURES

- Roughly 14.2%, or approximately 436 million of the 3 billion adults represented by the survey sample, experienced water insecurity.
- Rates of water insecurity in the 31 countries surveyed ranged from 63.9% in Cameroon to 3.9% in China.
- Across the regions surveyed, water insecurity was highest in sub-Saharan Africa (36.1%) and lowest in Asia (9.1%).
- Women represented approximately half (51.7%) of those who experienced water insecurity. In most countries, men and women experienced water insecurity at similar levels.

Learn more about the **IWISE Scale**:
www.wisescales.org



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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.

FOOD INSECURITY

[The Impact of SNAP Emergency Allotments on SNAP Benefits and Food Insufficiency \(January 2023\)](#)

Diane Schanzenbach (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University

This report estimates the amount and impact of Emergency Allotment benefits. Some states opted to terminate EA payments while they were still allowable. This variation provides an opportunity to estimate the impact of EA payments on the share of households reporting that they sometimes or often did not have enough to eat over the previous week (see p. 10).

MIGRATION & FERTILITY

[Migration from Africa to France: New Findings on Fertility Change \(February 2022\)](#)

The Project on Collaborative Research: Migration and Fertility, Northwestern University and the Population Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin

This report shows that African women who migrate to France have more children than French-born women—but not as many as women in their home countries. The migrant women's use of contraception also comes to resemble that of French women more than the practices of women in the countries they left.

EDUCATION

[The Impact of Chicago's Universal Prekindergarten Expansion on Access to School-Based Pre-K \(May 2023\)](#)

Terri Sabol (IPR/SESP) and Diane Schanzenbach (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University

Over the 2018–19 school year, Chicago began expanding free, full-day prekindergarten (pre-K) for 4-year-olds through Chicago Public Schools (CPS). This report examines the impact of CPS' universal prekindergarten (UPK) expansion, detailing its effects on capacity, enrollment, and programming in CPS schools.

PUBLIC OPINION

The COVID States Project is a consortium of researchers from Northwestern, Harvard, Rutgers, and Northeastern universities. They have conducted more than 100 public opinion surveys since July 2020. James Druckman (IPR/Political Science) is one of the survey's co-leaders.

Vaccines, Masks, and COVID Tests

[Survey: Is the CDC Missing the Mark on Vaccination Rates? \(#100\)](#)

[National Survey Investigates How Antivirals Are Used to Treat COVID-19 \(#90\)](#)

[Parents Cite News and Government as Top Sources for Child Vaccine Info \(#87\)](#)

[Beliefs in COVID-19 Vaccine Misinformation Are Declining, But 16% of Americans Still Hold Vaccine Misperceptions \(#82\)](#)

Mental Health

[As Social Lives Resume, a Mental Health Crisis Continues \(#98\)](#)

Government

[Survey: Half of Americans Uncertain About Ability to Identify False Political Claims \(#99\)](#)

[Twitter Use Dips After Elon Musk's Takeover, Largely Driven by Democrats' Departure \(#97\)](#)

[Survey Looks at the State of the COVID-19 Pandemic at the End of 2022 \(#96\)](#)

[Nearly 8 in 10 Americans Still Concerned About Russia's Invasion of Ukraine \(#94\)](#)

[A Slight Majority of Americans Approve of the FBI's Search of Mar-a-Lago \(#92\)](#)

[Governors' Approval Ratings Hold Steady Before November Elections \(#91\)](#)

[After Supreme Court Ruling Overturned Roe v. Wade, Support for Abortion Increased \(#89\)](#)

[National Survey Examines Whether State Abortion Policies Represent Citizen Views \(#88\)](#)

[Update on Executive Approval of Management of Pandemic \(#83\)](#)

[View the complete list of IPR Rapid Research Reports.](#)

FACULTY SOUNDBITES

“For much of the country’s history, Americans have pressed their governments for relief from debts—and often, legislators granted it.”



V. Pickering

– Chloe Thurston

“History Says Student Loan Debt Relief Isn’t Un-American,” *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2023

“If there’s less diversity in my classroom as a result of this ruling then I think that my students’ experiences in the classroom will be poorer. I think that a nontrivial number of students are going to feel like the court has kind of turned its back on diversity.”

– Anthony Chen

“Race-Neutral Alternatives to Affirmative Action are Likely Coming to Selective Colleges, a Northwestern Professor Says,” *WBEZ*, June 29, 2023

“For too long, haphazard and insufficient funding of such programs—alongside difficult working conditions—has sent a message that these overwhelmingly Black and brown workers are disposable.”

– Andrew Papachristos, David Hureau, and Jalon Arthur

“Community Violence Outreach Workers Are More Likely to Experience Gun Violence Than Police Are,” *Scientific American*, June 9, 2023

“Rival companies smell blood in the water. They’re going to be pushing hard to try to gain success while Twitter’s been weakened.”

– Brian Uzzi

“The 7 Biggest Challenges Twitter’s New CEO Faces,” *Time*, June 7, 2023

“Democrats are also resistant to compromising, both because they don’t want to gut programs that they put in place and also because they don’t want to make this look like a win for Republicans, who were able to play chicken and get what they wanted.”

– Laurel Harbridge-Yong

“Debt Ceiling Negotiators Reach a Deal: 5 Essential Reads About the Tentative Accord, Brinkmanship and the Danger of Default,” *The Conversation*, May 28, 2023

“I think that so much of the dress codes, formal and informal dress codes, that are part of sorority recruitment have to do with a desire to maintain the group’s appeal to those high status men—fraternity men.”



Henderson State University

– Simone Ispa-Landa

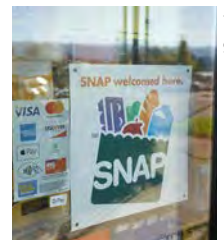
“‘Bama Rush’ Takes Us into the World of Southern Sorority Fashion and Hierarchies,” *CNN*, May 23, 2023

“While stereotypes and stigma surrounding disability undoubtedly play a role in the continuing marginalization of disabled children and their families, perceived resource constraints are also at the heart of disability discrimination in U.S. schools.”

– Lauren Rivera

“Lauren Rivera: Are Principals Steering Disabled Children Away from Their Schools?” *Chicago Tribune*, May 9, 2023

“But the SNAP program is really well-designed. It’s effective and efficient, and it does a tremendous amount of good. Generally, proposals to change it usually are going to make it worse.”



istock

– Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach

“Iowa to Spend Millions Kicking Families Off Food Stamps. More States May Follow,” *The Washington Post*, April 16, 2023

“We’re invested in a belief that the world is just, that society is operating as it should, that all of our successes are due to our hard work. And so, the idea that that is not the case for certain groups of people is very threatening to the very idea of what America is supposed to be, what it means to be American.”

– Ivuoma Onyeador

“Consequences of Underestimating the Racial Wealth Gap,” *Marketplace*, March 2, 2023

Read more clips from IPR experts.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach Steps Down as IPR Director



R. Hart

Diane Schanzenbach introduces Harvard economist Raj Chetty in February 2023. Under her leadership, IPR became a nexus for policy discussion and debate.

Economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** **stepped down** as director of Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research (IPR) on July 31. On August 8, she became Senior Advisor to the President for Academic Excellence and Associate Provost at the University of Florida, reporting to its recently appointed President Ben Sasse.

Schanzenbach, who is a national expert on education, anti-poverty programs, and food insecurity, directed IPR from September 2017 to this July. She is currently the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy. She is taking a leave of absence to serve in her new role in Florida and will remain an IPR fellow and Northwestern faculty member.

In addition to being a "superb scholar," Northwestern's Vice President for Research **Milan Mrksich** shared in an email to the IPR community that she has been "an extremely effective 'ambassador' who has frequently shared her expertise with the media and with government officials."

She recently created IPR's newest research initiative, the Early Childhood Research Alliance of Chicago, or EC-REACH, with IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol** and will continue to help lead it and its research.

Schanzenbach is IPR's seventh director. She joined Northwestern in 2010 and served as director of the Beltway-based Hamilton Project from 2015–17. She deployed her unique policy research background, which includes testifying before both the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate, to propel IPR and its faculty towards more engagement and outreach with policymakers at all levels of government (see pp. 3–4). She also regularly speaks with journalists about her research and policy issues and is one of IPR's and the University's top-cited faculty members in the press.

"Diane's directorship has been transformative for me personally—and for this University as a whole, both for its institutes and its scholars and staff," said IPR anthropologist **Sera Young**, who serves on IPR's Executive Committee. "She has inspired me to think more broadly about the value of the work we do and to take our findings the extra mile by translating them for policymakers and the private sector."

Schanzenbach is an elected member of the National Academy of Education and the National Academy of Social Insurance and sits on the boards of several organizations such as the Greater Chicago Food Depository and the Hamilton Project's Advisory Council.

IPR Associate Director **James Druckman**, a political scientist, praised Schanzenbach for continuing her own highly influential research as director that came to shape policy decisions—as well as helping IPR and the University navigate the social, economic, and political challenges of the COVID era that overlapped with much of her tenure.

"Diane leaves an everlasting legacy at IPR," Druckman said. "Under her leadership, IPR affiliates produced more policy-relevant research than ever before, and she institutionalized practices that will ensure the Institute's continued impact."

Mrksich is working with Northwestern Provost Kathleen Hagerty and IPR faculty to identify the next IPR director, together with any interim leadership decisions.

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and an IPR fellow. Milan Mrksich is the Henry Wade Rogers Professor of Biomedical Engineering, professor of chemistry and cell and developmental biology, and vice president for research. James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director and fellow. Sera Young is associate professor of anthropology and global health and an IPR fellow. Kathleen Hagerty holds the First Chicago Professorship in Finance and is Northwestern's Provost.