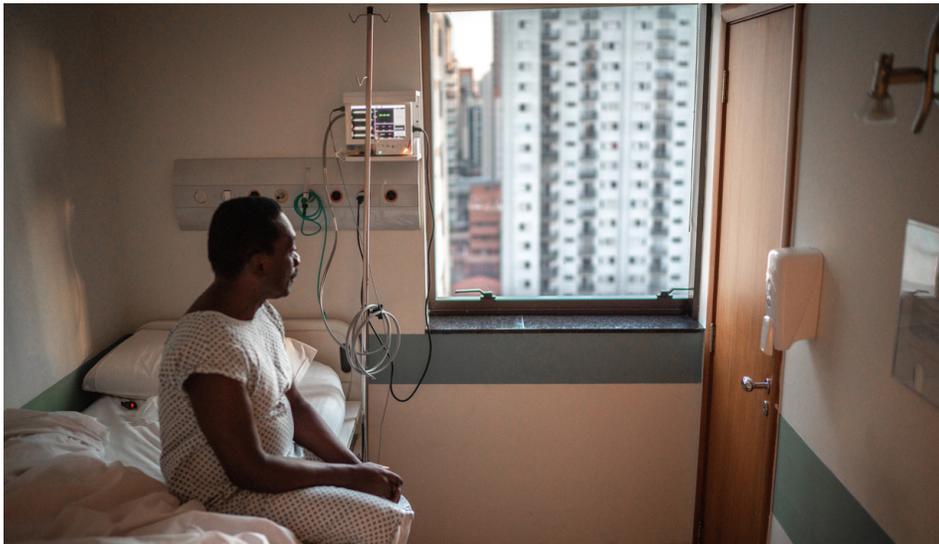


COVID-19 Magnifies Race and Health Disparities

IPR research unmasking disparities and offers ideas to address them

iStock



Only 30% of Chicago's residents are African American, yet as of late July they comprised 43% of those who have died from COVID-19, according to Chicago's Department of Public Health. Both African American and Latinx residents are also getting sick from COVID-19 at higher rates than White residents.

Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot addressed the city's alarming racial disparities in COVID-19 at an April press conference, saying "This is a call-to-action moment for all of us. When we talk about equity and inclusion, they're not just nice notions—they are an imperative that we must embrace as a city."

For many studying health and social disparities, including IPR researchers, the call is already being heeded.

"We are seeing dramatic inequities in the risk of infection, and the risk of death, across the U.S. and especially in Chicago," said IPR biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, who directs IPR's Cells to Society (**C2S**): The Center on Social Disparities and Health. "There is an urgent need for community-based research on the origins of these inequities to inform policies that can effectively mitigate future outbreaks."

Two national surveys also underscore the magnitude of the issue: Coronadata U.S., led by IPR sociologist **Beth Redbird**, reveals that African American and Asian American families have been hit particularly hard, with nearly 1 in 10 having a family member with COVID-19. IPR political scientist **James Druckman** is part of a

50-State COVID-19 Survey showing that African American, Asian American, and Hispanic respondents' worries about getting the virus were at least 12 points higher (>70%) than for White respondents (58%). (See pp. 7 and 24.)

A Pioneering Approach to Understanding Health Disparities

Since its founding in 1968, another significant period of social unrest, IPR's researchers have tackled disparities in many insidious and persistent forms, whether racial, wealth, gender, education, social, health, or others.

In 2007, a new generation of IPR researchers came together, with unique expertise in emerging academic areas like "psychobiology" or "biological anthropology." Their idea was to bring together the social, life, and biomedical sciences to study how social, racial, and economic disparities "get under a person's skin." To do this, they founded C2S, which McDade now directs, as a catalyst for probing how these social connections matter to human health and development.

Their research relies on innovative biological and other traditional measures to understand how a person's environment and experiences at home, at school, at work, and even before being born, can have long-lasting effects that shape health and opportunities across a life. Inside this newsletter are studies that highlight this interdisciplinary work and how they might apply to better understanding the impact of COVID-19.

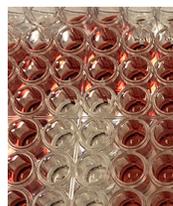
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Honors for Research Excellence

IPR faculty elected to august bodies, receive prestigious awards

Several IPR faculty experts received prestigious honors over the past several months, including election as members to the American Academy of Arts & Sciences and the National Academy of Education, as well as a receiving a Guggenheim fellowship.



Cynthia Coburn and Kirabo Jackson

American Academy of Arts & Sciences

Four of the IPR’s faculty experts were elected to the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, one of the nation’s oldest honorary scientific societies, in April. They were health psychologist **Edith Chen**, sociologist and African American studies researcher **Mary Pattillo**, education researcher **James Spillane**, and oncofertility specialist **Teresa Woodruff**.



Edith Chen

Courtesy of E. Chen

“Being elected to the academy is a great honor and a tremendous recognition of these faculty members’ many research accomplishments and expertise,” said IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**. “They represent what is best about IPR—exceptional interdisciplinary researchers who engage in policy-relevant research—and we congratulate them on this high honor.”



Mary Pattillo

These five faculty are part of the 276 members of the class of 2020, which includes distinguished academics, artists, journalists, scientists, and leaders across many fields and professions. The academy has elected more than 13,500 members since its founding in 1780.

National Academy of Education

IPR faculty experts **Kirabo Jackson** and **Cynthia Coburn** were two of 15 prominent education scholars elected to the National Academy of Education on February 20.

Coburn, an education sociologist, and Jackson, a labor economist, join a distinguished roster of more than 200 scholars, including 8 current IPR faculty out of 12 Northwestern elected members.

Northwestern was the only university to have two fellows elected this year.

Guggenheim Fellow

Sociologist and IPR associate **Héctor Carrillo** was named a Guggenheim fellow and a fellow of the American Council of Learned Sciences.

Carrillo’s research focuses on sexualities, migration, race/ethnicity, transnationalism, health promotion and HIV/AIDS, and he has begun a new research project on the “sociology of genealogy.” His latest [book](#) *Pathways of Desire: The Sexual Migration of Mexican Gay Men* (University of Chicago Press, 2018) won the 2020 Distinguished Scholarly Book Award from the American Sociological Association.



Héctor Carrillo

M. Wnuk

For more awards and honors, see page 26 and [read](#) more about them on our website.

Child Health as Human Capital

Distinguished IPR Lecturer Janet Currie on how public health insurance improves lives



R. Hart

Princeton's Janet Currie (left) chats with IPR Director and economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach before the start of the lecture.

As IPR's Fall 2019 Distinguished Public Policy Lecturer, Princeton [economist Janet Currie](#) highlighted the mounting evidence for "Child Health as Human Capital" for the 80-plus in attendance.

"Janet is truly a pioneer in the economic analysis of child development," IPR Director and economist [Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach](#) said in introducing her on November 21. "She has numerous top journal publications that have shaped—and reshaped—this important field."

When it comes to understanding human capital, economists used to focus exclusively on education. Today, however, child health is considered on its own. Currie reviewed studies that detail how external events like pollution and stress had large effects on an adult when she or he was exposed in utero. When referring to such research, people often ask whether nature or nurture is more important. But that question is "nonsense," Currie explained. "It's really the interaction between the two that matters," she said.

In asking what can be done to address disparities between poor and rich mothers, Currie pointed to a little-known period in the 1980s when Medicaid expanded eligibility for low-income pregnant women and children. Then, only about 12% of all 18-to-44-year-old women were eligible for Medicaid. These women were mainly poor and minority. By the early 1990s, 43% of all women were potentially eligible in the event of pregnancy.

Examining the evidence on mental health, Currie questioned whether some of the improvements seen in children's earnings as adults could be due to improvements in mental health.

"Just as the U.S. can serve as a laboratory to see the effect of public health insurance, it's also a ... good laboratory for understanding the effects of treatment given how much variation in treatment there is," Currie said.

"Child health, I hope I've convinced you, is an important form of human capital," Currie said. "Healthier children earn more and live longer, healthier lives."

Janet Currie is the Henry Putnam Professor of Economics and Public Affairs at Princeton University and co-directs the Center for Health and Wellbeing. Read more about the event [here](#).

'The World's Greatest Anti-Poverty Program'

New York Times reporter recounts one family's journey from Manila to Galveston

"Migration is to the Philippines as what cars once were to Detroit. It's the civil religion," said [Jason DeParle](#), a New York Times senior reporter, at a February 26 lecture on his latest [book](#), *A Good Provider Is One Who Leaves*.

No country does more to promote migration than the Philippines, DeParle told the audience. He detailed how global migration allowed one family living in Manila's slums to leave poverty.

IPR co-sponsored the event with the Medill School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications.

As a young reporter in 1987, DeParle moved into the home of Tita and Emet Comodas and their five children while on a fellowship in the Philippines studying poverty. The Comodas lived in Leveriza, a Manila shantytown.

To support his family, Emet took a job in Saudi Arabia, where he earned 10 times more than he did in Manila. The job provided money for school uniforms, medical care, and indoor plumbing. It would also eventually pay for his and Tita's middle child, Rosalie, to go to nursing school. She would also work abroad, eventually finding a spot as a nurse in Galveston, Texas.

"The light-bulb moment for me in understanding the importance of global migration was learning that remittances—the sums that migrants send home—are three times the world's foreign aid budgets combined," DeParle said.

Jason DeParle is a New York Times senior reporter covering poverty and a two-time Pulitzer Prize finalist. He is the author of "A Good Provider Is One Who Leaves: One Family and Migration in the 21st Century" (2019, Viking Press). Read more [here](#).



Jason DeParle

J. Braunstein

Social Science Research in a COVID-19 World

IPR researchers apply their research, launch new projects to tackle pandemic's wide-ranging effects



As COVID-19 continues to spread in the U.S. and around the globe, its effects have been wide-ranging and abrupt, throwing untold tens of millions out of work, shutting down societies and economies, shredding healthcare systems and safety nets. For the most part, the world's attention has been focused on the medical, biological, and epidemiological aspects of the coronavirus, but social science researchers have also been hard at work to understand and address its ravaging effects on society at large, IPR's interdisciplinary faculty experts among them.

"IPR's strength lies in the diversity of its scholars, who come together across many different fields," said IPR Director **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, an economist. "Not only are they working on immediate aspects of the crisis in the short term, but also on fundamental issues that in the long term will contribute to rebuilding our society and institutions once this crisis is over."

Heeding the Call for Evidence

IPR experts are responding to unparalleled calls from governments, foundations, and citizens for more evidence to answer pressing questions about the virus' effect on our social, cultural, political, and economic institutions. In speaking with the media, they have

already taken on the task of translating and applying their research to myriad issues from unemployment and the social safety net to how the crisis affects childcare and family relationships. Many faculty are in the process of launching or revamping research projects related to various aspects of the virus.

The Institute also quickly reconvened around emerging pandemic-related research from IPR's interdisciplinary faculty by revamping its signature Monday colloquium series.

IPR Associate Director **James Druckman**, a political scientist, led the effort to create the virtual series in a matter of days.

"Many IPR faculty quickly have pivoted their research to focus on the coronavirus," Druckman said. "We recalibrated our spring series to highlight this ongoing work and to provide a cross-disciplinary forum for feedback."

Videos of the some of these revamped colloquia can be viewed [online](#).

Learning from the Past

IPR researchers have parsed other brutal "shocks," such as the 1918 influenza pandemic and the Great Recession, tracing their devastating socioeconomic effects over time.

IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller** studied the 2009 Great Recession's

effects on African American teens' health, finding that the longer they experienced economic hardship, the higher their epigenetic aging—that is, their cells look "older" than they are chronologically (see pp. 10–11).

Economist and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie** and his colleagues compared brothers born in 1919 to those who were born in another year, discovering that those exposed in utero to the 1918 flu had fewer years of schooling and were less likely to graduate from high school.

IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson** and his co-authors examined how recessionary cuts to per-student spending by 10% across all four years of high school reduced students' likelihood of graduating and lowered their test scores. Racial wealth inequalities also rose, according to research by IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** and her colleagues. They discovered that the 2009 recession halved the net worth of the wealthiest African American and Hispanic families.

Faculty researchers are also bringing their expertise to the table in thinking about the lessons and research insights they have taken away from public health crises, like HIV-AIDS.

Rapid Research Production

IPR researchers are working every day to research various aspects of the coronavirus pandemic. Recent studies cover food insecurity, the reliability of COVID-19 drug trials, policing and crime, and the pandemic's impact on gender equality, to name but a few.

IPR faculty have produced new working papers at a quicker pace—36 for 2020 to date versus 31 for all of 2019—as well as rapid research reports to get their work out more quickly.

"IPR will continue to cover our faculty's related research initiatives as long as the epidemic continues," Schanzenbach said.

To read more about current projects, see pages 5–11 and 20–25 and also visit IPR's working paper [series](#), rapid research [reports](#), and news [page](#).

Easing the Impact of COVID-19

Social and behavioral scientists offer research insights to address isolation, prejudice, relationships, polarization, and other pressing issues



While urgent action is called for to mitigate the devastating effects of COVID-19, the authors point out that the lessons drawn here will serve not only for this pandemic but also for future threats to public health. They also identified additional areas

As the COVID-19 pandemic continues to spread, with the U.S. now leading the world in reported cases, an international team of leading social scientists came together to analyze what the social and behavioral sciences can tell us about current [responses](#) to the pandemic.

“Our [paper](#) provides some insights from the past century of work on related issues in the social and behavioural sciences that may help public health officials mitigate the impact of the current pandemic,” the authors wrote in the study, published in *Nature Human Behaviour* on April 30.

The interdisciplinary team of more than 40 researchers counted psychologists, neurobiologists, sociologists, political scientists, economists, and media and legal scholars in its ranks. Among them were IPR faculty political scientist **James Druckman** and psychologist **Eli Finkel**. Stanford sociologist Robb Willer and New York University neural psychologist Jay Van Bavel led the overall effort.

“The paper makes clear that the social sciences provide a body of knowledge that helps understand responses to COVID-19 and provides concrete suggestions about how best to respond,” Druckman said.

for further research and note that the research is still ongoing, so policy findings should be interpreted with caution.

With regard to **stress and coping**, the researchers point to how loneliness can worsen stress and mental and physical health. But here, they offer, technology can help. To highlight the connective power of the virtual world, they suggest using the term “physical distancing,” instead of social distancing. Tools like FaceTime and Zoom can keep families and friends connected, and the researchers also suggest showing those less familiar with such technology how to use them.

Fear is the most common **threat-navigating** response to a pandemic, and targeting it can be useful in some situations but not others. Also, people often hold an “optimism bias,” the belief that the disease will impact others, but not them. The authors suggest that communication strategies should strike a balance between breaking through optimism bias without causing excess fear and anxiety.

Communicating sound scientific information to the public during a pandemic is essential, but conspiracy theories, misinformation, and fake news have all risen during the COVID-19 outbreak. The researchers note that some evidence shows that educating people with factual

information first can reduce the spread of conspiracy theories. The researchers suggest that governments and social media companies develop and test interventions to counter misinformation, while reinforcing belief in accurate information.

As governments across the world strive to reach near-universal levels of testing, social distancing is currently the best way to slow the spread of the coronavirus pandemic. The researchers note that **social context** can shape this response, with so-called “tight” and “loose” cultures responding differently to collective threats. Tight cultures, like Japan or Singapore, behave in a more orderly and collective manner than loose, or more permissive, ones, like Brazil or the U.S.

Group behavior is shaped by what is perceived as “moral”—which actions are admired and emulated, and which are shunned. **Moral decision-making** does not proscribe or encourage behaviors through the law, the researchers say, but it can still be shaped by policy. The authors describe how Americans tend to show low levels of trust in those who make decisions like the triage calls that many hospitals with limited resources currently face. They say, therefore, it may be best to portray such decisions as coming through orders of government agencies.

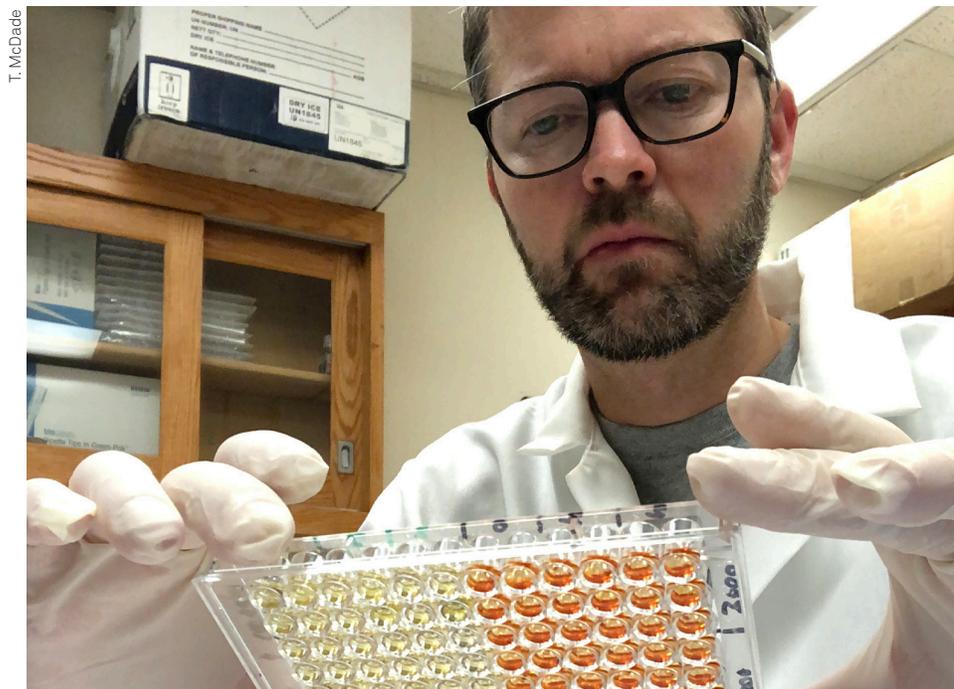
Because a pandemic requires that leaders persuade people to significantly change their behaviors, building **trust in leaders’ voices** is key. Reaching out in localities and using local voices led to increased compliance with public health measures in Liberia during the Ebola crisis, for example.

From their study, the scientists generated a list of research-driven [insights](#) for public health experts, community leaders, and policymakers.

James Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate Director and fellow. Eli Finkel is professor of social psychology and management and organizations and an IPR associate.

A New Test for SARS-CoV-2 Antibodies

Research seeks to understand race, place inequities in Chicago's communities and beyond



T. McDade

Thomas McDade views an assay plate containing samples of reconstituted blood collected from a simple finger prick that are ready for analysis.

Northwestern University researchers have received a \$200,000 grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF) to generate scientific insights into the determinants of SARS-CoV-2 exposure with a minimally invasive approach to community-based serological testing.

The project is one of the latest at Northwestern to receive a rapid research (RAPID) grant from the NSF, which has called for immediate proposals that have potential to address the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic.

“The goals of this project are inherently about understanding the causes and solutions to the dramatic race and place inequities in COVID-19 across the city of Chicago and in other communities around the county.”

—**Brian Mustanski**, ISGMH Director, Professor of Medical Social Sciences, and IPR Associate

The team of Northwestern scientists includes IPR anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, and Feinberg School of Medicine faculty Nanette Benbow, Alexis Demonbreun, Richard D'Aquila, Elizabeth McNally, and **Brian Mustanski**.

Working with e-health experts in the University's Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing (ISGMH), a web-based, “no-contact” research platform was developed to investigate the origins of social inequities in COVID-19 across Chicago's neighborhoods.

Recruited participants will go to a home page with their smart phone or computer where consent is administered electronically, as is a survey. A kit is mailed for the collection of a finger-stick, dried-blood-spot (DBS) sample, which is returned to the lab and analyzed for IgG antibodies against the receptor binding domain of SARS-CoV-2.

Test results will be combined with survey responses and neighborhood-based administrative data to investigate the individual-, household-, and community-level predictors of exposure.

“The goals of this project are inherently about understanding the causes and solutions to the dramatic race and place inequities in COVID-19 across the city of Chicago and in other communities around the county,” said Mustanski, who directs ISGMH and is an IPR associate.

One aim of the research is to develop a protocol for detecting neutralizing antibodies in DBS samples. This aim addresses an important limitation of current antibody tests which detect the presence of binding antibodies, but cannot quantify the presence of the neutralizing antibodies in the laboratory, which are candidates for conferring protection against re-infection by preventing the virus from entering host cells. The protocol will then be applied to samples from another aim to investigate the factors that predict the development of neutralizing activity to SARS-CoV-2. A potential next step in future research will be to see if they protect people from re-infection.

“The broader impacts of this research include the generation of data on the predictors of viral spread in the community that can be used to mitigate future outbreaks and improved methods for antibody testing to inform estimates of herd immunity,” McDade said. “The project also integrates research and education, and includes public outreach activities on the role of antibody testing for SARS-CoV-2.”

Thomas McDade is the Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology and director of Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health, and an IPR fellow. Brian Mustanski is director of the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing and professor of medical social sciences and psychiatry and behavioral sciences, and an IPR associate.

For more about the Screening for Coronavirus Antibodies in Neighborhoods, or SCAN, study or how to participate, visit their [website](#).

The project, “RAPID: Next phase serological testing for SARS-CoV-2 for biocultural research,” is funded by NSF award number 2035114.

Research in a Rapidly Changing World

Survey by sociologist Beth Redbird shows how COVID-19 is changing our social fabric

Research by its very nature is a yearslong—sometimes decades long—endeavor, but when you are dealing with a global crisis that changes by the day, the norms fly out the window.

That's what happened for IPR sociologist **Beth Redbird** in early March, when she and her husband were watching the news and hearing increasingly dire projections about the coronavirus pandemic.

"As we were watching the president's address on March 11, I realized there was a lot going on that I could be surveying," Redbird said.

She decided to focus on how the pandemic would change our social fabric. As a social scientist whose research is focused on inequality and household well-being, Redbird knew she could help answer that question—but she had to move fast.



Beth Redbird

Redbird got to work that night, writing up survey questions and reaching out to other faculty for more questions (many responded quickly, eager to help with the project).

Within days, the [CoronaData U.S.](#) project was underway. Focused on public opinions, behaviors and attitudes related to COVID-19, the nationally representative survey asks how isolated respondents feel, how they are preparing, whether they think the pandemic is a hoax, and whether they think the crisis is fostering a sense of solidarity or community.



S. Benoit

Redbird's research focuses on the ways in which communities construct their own economic systems—and the resulting inequality.

"Beth invites students to think about examples of social inequality in their lives, which builds a really robust and multi-perspective foundation for everyone," said **Kat Albrecht**, a graduate student in sociology, who has collaborated on research with Redbird and worked as a teaching assistant in her classes.

Just days after its launch, Redbird's CoronaData U.S. project received a National Science Foundation (NSF) Rapid Grant in recognition of its importance and scope. Another piece of the survey project, Redbird says, is data preservation about the government response to the crisis.

In a recent IPR presentation, Redbird shared some preliminary results of her ongoing survey project.

"The response has been really decentralized," Redbird said, "It's been led by counties and mayors and city managers. And it's difficult to map that—to know where and when there are shutdowns, or bans on crowd sizes, where

events have been cancelled, and where politicians are taking this seriously and where they are not."

Once the pandemic peaks, Redbird and her research team will retool the survey to focus on what it is like to live in an isolated world and what actions people think the country should take in the pandemic's aftermath.

Redbird's research team includes IPR fellows like political scientist **Tabitha Bonilla**, anthropologist **Thomas McDade**, and fellow sociologist **Andrew Papachristos**, among others.

"This work takes a lot of resources—a lot of effort, people, and time," Redbird said. "And everyone has been eager to help. We've created this big community of researchers who've decided to focus their expertise on this big social crisis, and Northwestern makes that happen."

Beth Redbird is assistant professor of sociology and a fellow with IPR and Northwestern's Center for Native American and Indigenous Research. [Watch her presentation on the survey.](#)

The project, "The Social and Behavioral Impact of COVID-19," is funded by NSF award number 20272278.

‘I’ve Never Seen Numbers This Bad’

IPR’s Diane Schanzenbach details the nation’s widespread COVID-19 food crisis, calls on lawmakers to act



People wait in line outside a food pantry at St. Bartholomew’s Roman Catholic Church in Queens, NY.

IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** has studied food insecurity for most of her academic career, but when some of the first data on food insecurity in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic came through in April, she was shaken.

“I’ve never seen numbers this bad,” Schanzenbach said.

She has tracked survey measures of food insecurity since they were first collected in 2000 as well as over the last global economic crisis, the Great Recession, in 2007–09.

As one of the foremost experts on the food safety net in the nation, Schanzenbach has undertaken a real-time study of figures from the COVID Impact Survey with research assistant **Abigail Pitts**. So far, they have analyzed data from late April to July, comparing the numbers to those collected between 2011 and 2018. To date, they have written five rapid research reports available on IPR’s website. Schanzenbach also worked with an IPR summer undergraduate research assistant **Natalie Tomeh** to create a publicly available app using the Census data.

Food insecurity can be measured in various ways, but they are looking at responses to two of the survey items: “We worried our food would run out before we got money to buy more,” and “The food that we bought just didn’t last, and we didn’t have money to get more.”

Schanzenbach and Pitts’ analyses mirror what the media have reported—a deepening food crisis, as seen in the people lined up for blocks at some food banks and the skyrocketing numbers of Americans overall going to food banks. They find that compared to the months before the crisis, the rates of food insecurity have doubled overall and have tripled for families with children.

Rates of food insecurity are high across urban, suburban, and rural areas and all racial and ethnic groups, with those low-income families making less than \$40,000 per year especially hard hit. They show, for instance, that nearly half of all African American families with children are in the midst of a food crisis in their homes, with White and Latino families also experiencing higher rates of food insecurity.

Additionally, the two researchers uncover wide variation in rates of food insecurity across the nation. In their May 18 report, 1 in 10 residents in Texas and New York reported having used a food pantry within the past week, while it was 1 in 20 for Colorado and Florida residents.

Schanzenbach, who also sits on the board of directors of the Greater Chicago Food Depository, one of the nation’s largest food banks, put a human face on the numbers in a May 22 opinion [piece](#) published in The Hill.

In it, she describes how Tahari, a boy in a Mickey Mouse face mask who loves math and reading, was waiting in line for assistance at a food bank on Chicago’s South Side.

“His most immediate need is food,” Schanzenbach wrote, noting how in this widespread crisis hunger “doesn’t have a geographic location or political affiliation.”

Schanzenbach offers that Congress already has one of the most effective tools available to address the crisis, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), originally known as the Food Stamp Program. Schanzenbach urges legislators to increase benefits immediately by 15%. In testimony before the U.S. Senate in 2017, she cited a USDA statistic that every \$5 in new SNAP benefits can generate as much as \$9 of economic activity.

“It would be unconscionable and heart-breaking to miss the opportunity to ease the suffering and spur economic growth in this next round of stimulus aid,” Schanzenbach continued in the op-ed. “This is not a crisis that charity alone can address.”

IPR Director Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach is the Margaret Walker Alexander Professor of Human Development and Social Policy. Abigail Pitts is a research assistant at Northwestern University. Natalie Tomeh is an IPR summer undergraduate research assistant. View their rapid research reports and the app [here](#).

Police Training Reduced Complaints and Use of Force Against Civilians

The initiative reduced complaints by approximately 10%

Getty Images



A Northwestern University evaluation of a procedural justice training program involving more than 8,000 Chicago Police Department (CPD) officers shows it reduced complaints filed against police by approximately 10%. It also reduced use of force by 6% in the two years following officers' training.

"The CPD is undergoing significant reform on multiple fronts, through a consent decree, including new top leadership and now a response to an unprecedented health epidemic," said IPR sociologist [Andrew Papachristos](#), co-author of the [study](#) that was published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.

"Fundamental to such reforms is repairing trust with the larger community. Reducing force and misconduct in a way that is fair and transparent by adopting procedural justice strategies is one key way to repair trust," he continued.

The study by IPR postdoctoral fellow [George Wood](#), along with Tom Tyler of Yale University and Papachristos, shows that this approach to police training, which typically

only takes one day, can reduce complaints and improve community relations.

"It's particularly notable that these reductions were achieved through a training program, which was scaled up to include a sizable majority of the officers within the CPD," Wood said.

The procedural justice model emphasizes transparency and responding to community concerns, as well as police treating citizens in encounters with dignity, courtesy, and respect. Such training is one of the strategies recommended by President Obama's 2015 [Task Force](#) on 21st-Century Policing, which argues for transparency and efforts by officers to build popular legitimacy with civilians instead of harsher "command-and-control" police techniques.

The CPD officers who took part in the training also received fewer sustained complaints, or complaints that were found valid, and had fewer complaints that resulted in a settlement payout by the city. The researchers' estimates suggest 500 fewer incidents of use of force by trained officers between 2011 and 2016.

The researchers tracked use of force over a five-year period by using official forms that must be filled out by an officer when engaging in certain actions, ranging from a wristlock to discharging a firearm. They tracked complaints using CPD administrative records.

"By reducing force and hostility, this type of training might help the process of rebuilding trust between police and civilians—and because the training is relatively short and can be staggered over time, it will not be a major disruption of policing activities," Wood said.

The methodology used the phased roll-out of training in which officers were trained at different times over a four-year period between January 2012 and March 2016. This roll-out meant that, within a given time period, the researchers could compare trained officers to officers who had not yet undergone training.

The researchers also observe that procedural justice training significantly changes how officers behave in the field, and the impact of such training lasts for at least two years.

According to the researchers, such training efforts could not only change police behavior on the streets, but reform how entire departments operate. That could be a major factor in reducing misconduct and the undue use of force.

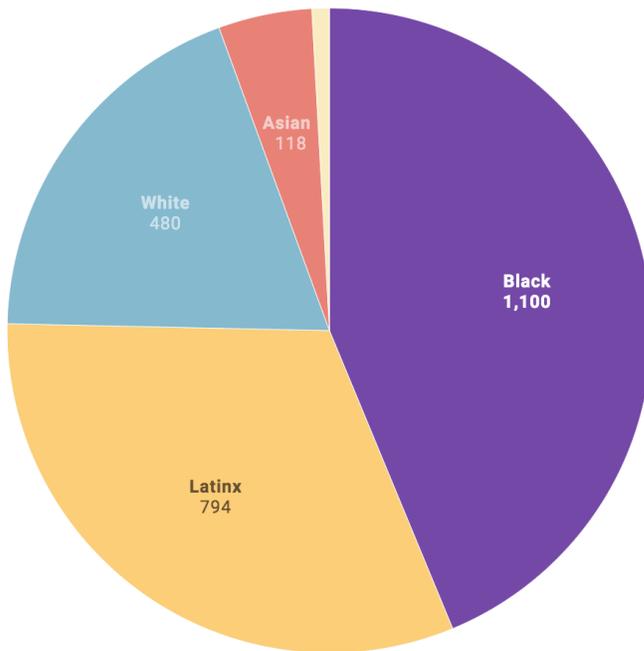
The Northwestern Neighborhood and Network Institute ([N3](#)), directed by Papachristos and where Wood is a postdoctoral fellow, has been researching the causes and consequences of police misconduct and use of force.

Andrew Papachristos is professor of sociology and an IPR fellow. He directs the Northwestern Neighborhood & Network (N3) Initiative, housed within IPR. George Wood is an IPR and N3 postdoctoral fellow. [Learn](#) more about other N3 studies and reports on policing and networks.

COVID-19 and Disparities (Continued from page 1)

COVID-19 Deaths in Chicago by Race/Ethnicity

Black Latinx White Asian Other



Death rates are as of June 23, 2020
 Chart: IPR • Source: [Chicago Public Health Department](#) • [Get the data](#) • Created with [Datawrapper](#)

Testing to Map COVID-19’s Racial Disparities

Testing is key to understanding racial disparities in COVID-19, and McDade is working with colleagues in the Feinberg School of Medicine, including IPR associate [Brian Mustanski](#), professor of medical social sciences, to roll out a new at-home test for SARS-CoV-2, the virus that causes COVID-19, antibodies. (Read more on p. 6.)

Racial Discrimination Can Lead to Worse Health

When levels of cortisol, the hormone associated with stress, remain flat throughout the day, a slew of negative health consequences [follow](#), including a weakened immune system that could leave one more susceptible to deadly viruses like COVID-19. Consistently flat cortisol levels have been linked to increased risks for fatigue, cancer, depression, and obesity, as well as various autoimmune disorders.

In one study, IPR developmental psychobiologist [Emma Adam](#) and her fellow researchers measured cortisol levels in 120 Black and White adults, collecting self-reports of their perceived racial discrimination (PRD). For Black adults, the researchers showed higher reported discrimination predicted lower and flatter daily cortisol levels. Thus, the extra stress and dysregulated cortisol levels associated with racial discrimination might place individuals of color at a higher risk for worse health.

It remains to be seen if these also play a role in higher case and death rates from COVID-19, but Adam does point to a lack of access to healthcare and other structural forms of discrimination as likely contributors.

Adam is currently studying how to adapt existing studies and create new ones to capture how COVID-19 is affecting adolescents during a pandemic. She is also examining application of existing knowledge

on adolescent stress and health for creating evidence-based recommendations to improve their mental and physical health.

How Social Stratification Affects Stress and Health

As the U.S. economy continues to reel with massive rises in food insecurity and unemployment, affecting the most vulnerable Americans, IPR researchers are exposing how social stratification is linked to stress and health. McDade was part of a study that was the first to examine the effect of debt on physical health. The results found that a higher debt-to-asset ratio was associated with higher perceived stress and depression, higher diastolic blood pressure, and worse self-reported general health.

Another project is now examining how housing and neighborhood quality affect child health. Both studies build on McDade’s [investigations](#) of how socially patterned environments in infancy contribute to social disparities in adult health outcomes. With debt levels and homelessness both rising due to COVID-19, these studies could offer important insights into how the disease could affect health and wellbeing.

Economic Downturns Worsen the Poorest Teens’ Health

What is the effect of an economic downturn like the one we are in now on health? IPR health psychologists [Edith Chen](#) and [Greg Miller](#) have examined how the Great Recession [affected](#) the health of young African Americans in rural Georgia.

They first compared the health of 330 African American teens from low-income families before and after the recession in 2007 and 2010 at ages 16 and 19 respectively. In addition to collecting self-reports on their health, the researchers measured how fast their cells aged, or epigenetic aging, and chronic stress.

Both of these increase risk for diseases, such as heart disease or diabetes. The researchers could then link health outcomes to household wealth. Those who lived in stable, low-income households had the best health, while those in households that slipped from low-income

to poverty status were worse off. But health was worst for those young people who lived in poverty at the start of the recession and then sank even deeper into it afterwards.

Results from a later study at age 25 showed similar patterns. Miller says the study shows how economic conditions and health are interrelated and why policymakers should consider creating programs to monitor cardiovascular health. It also means making sure that those most exposed to economic hardship can be physically active and have access to healthy, affordable food during shelter-in-place orders.

Racial Bias in Medicine Can Affect Treatment

Psychologist and IPR associate [Sylvia Perry](#) studies racial bias in medicine, and her work has direct implications for the racial disparities around COVID-19.

In a recent study, Perry and her colleagues [surveyed](#) 164 doctors, nurses, and other medical professionals in the U.S. and France, finding that American healthcare workers viewed White patients as more personally responsible for their health and more likely to adhere to doctor's recommendations, relative to Black patients. French healthcare workers did not display significant racial bias toward patients. In the same way, Perry explained, some in healthcare blame racial minorities for what they assume are risky behaviors for contracting COVID-19.

She said that medical practitioners must instead recognize structural racism at work, which "manifests in ways such as less access to care, greater underlying health conditions, and greater discrimination when they seek out care." Biased beliefs among healthcare workers could influence whether minority patients seek a diagnosis or make them fearful about how they will be perceived if they test positive for COVID-19.

Druckman has similar findings from a [study](#) of minority college athletes who have suffered injuries. His study reveals that given injuries of equal severity, the sports medical staff

surveyed believed that Black athletes experienced less pain than White athletes.

Druckman and his co-authors suggest the results could be used as a "starting place" for educating all medical workers about how social class, and the hardship it conveys, does not make one impervious to physical pain.

A Collaborative Partnership to Move Toward Health Equity

In addition to mapping how environments and health are linked, IPR researchers are also finding ways to recast structures that can stand in the way of achieving health equity.

The Center for Health Equity Transformation (CHET) was established in 2018 under the directorship of health scholar and IPR associate [Melissa Simon](#) to build research infrastructure, conduct workforce development, and work closely with community partners to advance health equity. One of its initiatives to address inequity is the Chicago Cancer Health Equity Collaborative (ChicagoCHEC), a community-academic partnership.

Founded by Simon and community health scholar and IPR associate [Joe Feinglass](#) with colleagues at the University of Illinois at Chicago and Northeastern Illinois University, the collaborative is designed to break down what Simon calls "how we do business" and create a more equitable

structure for cancer prevention and treatment in the city and beyond.

Simon describes one approach to changing the usual top-down academic to community structure as "elevating" community partners' status in implementation research to "citizen scientists."

Simon sees the collaborative as an

opportunity to transform the architecture of U.S. healthcare by addressing social determinants of health and bringing talented low-income and minority students into the health professions.

This focus on the needs of Chicago's most distressed and marginalized communities encompasses culturally sensitive and empowering approaches to social distancing, stay-at-home orders, and hygiene guidelines crucial to these communities that have been hardest hit by COVID-19.

[Find out more about these and other related studies by C2S and IPR faculty.](#)



Melissa Simon

Courtesy of Feinberg



Pexels

RESEARCH NEWS AND INFOGRAPHICS

What Can College Football Teach Us About Democracy?

College athletics were a political minefield even before the COVID-19 pandemic cast uncertainty over the future of a billion-dollar industry. According to IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, these programs can also serve as a laboratory to study policymaking.

Druckman and his co-author, Elizabeth Sharrow of the University of Massachusetts Amherst, set out to survey student-athletes and administrators in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). It oversees more than half a million student-athletes and 1,300 institutions. (Northwestern is an NCAA Division I university.)

In a recent [working paper](#), the two researchers show that NCAA student-athletes face many of the same challenges in trying to reform policies as groups fighting for change in the political sphere.

Just as in politics, student-athletes need to form coalitions to pressure those in power. When student-athletes of different races and genders interact, those in majority groups come to sympathize with the attitudes of and reforms advocated by underrepresented groups.

However, the structure of college sports largely segregates groups by gender and race and inhibits coalition building. Moreover, administrators who might represent these groups do not do so because of institutional pressures to endorse the status quo.

In their survey, Druckman and Sharrow ask more than 3,400 respondents about two current policy debates: equal resources for men and women in sports (Title IX) and if players should be paid or otherwise be able to profit from their participation in NCAA sports. They then ask respondents to allocate monies to a hypothetical NCAA budget.



Northwestern's football team takes the field.

Echoing the aforementioned segregation dynamic, they find that approximately 80% of male student-athletes reported spending less than 25% of their time with female student-athletes. Fewer than 5% of white student-athletes spend a quarter of their time interacting with African Americans.

Challenges around policy change may intensify even as women and minorities reach positions of power within the organization. Druckman and Sharrow's research shows that women and minority NCAA administrators begin to identify more with the institution than with their own social groups. Rather than acting as advocates for these underrepresented athletes, they stand by the institution.

Druckman invoked sociologist Robert Michels' "iron law of oligarchy," which posits that complex organizations will devolve into oligarchies, in describing the conundrum: As people enter an institution, they come to identify more with its leadership than their own social identity.

"There are lessons here for identity politics, and for public opinion. Understanding preference formation requires the consideration of institutions," Druckman said.

Druckman and Sharrow conclude that unlike psychology, sociology, and economics, a field of "sports political science" does not yet exist. That may be a loss not just for researchers, but for democracy itself.

James Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate Director.

2,000 High School Students

IPR education researchers **James Rosenbaum** and **Gorana Ilic** [examined](#) the successes and trade-offs they found in one urban high school counseling office that attempted to boost college enrollment rates. They looked at a public high school serving almost 2,000 students, finding that through an unusual level of commitment, coordination, and support, it reached a college enrollment rate 20 percentage points higher than others in its district and 10 percentage points higher than others in the state.

James Rosenbaum is professor of education and social policy and of sociology, and an IPR fellow. Gorana Ilic is an IPR research coordinator.

Improving the Success of Kidney Transplants

In a new [study](#), IPR economist **Charles Manski** and his colleagues apply econometric analysis to improve prediction of transplant success. Their new model predicted better matching between donors and recipients, which enables using less immunosuppression therapy to reduce organ transplant rejections.

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

Racial Wealth Gap Growing for Families with Children

The wealth gaps between Black and White families with children, and between Hispanic and Black families, have widened since the Great Recession in 2007–09, even though the long-time gap between Black and White families' earnings and wages, or income, has stayed the same. By 2016, Black families had just 1 cent, and Hispanic families had 8 cents, for every \$1 of wealth held by white families, according to a [study](#) by IPR sociologist **Christine Percheski** and Christina Gibson-Davis of Duke University.

Using Federal Reserve data, Percheski and Gibson-Davis compared the wealth—meaning assets minus debts—of households with children for Black, White, and Hispanic families over the period. A family's wealth is key to children's future success in education, jobs, and opportunities.

During this time of protests against racial injustice, Percheski and Gibson-Davis point to the necessity of profound policy changes to address racial inequality, such as reducing discrimination in housing and mortgage lending and overhauling how the U.S. finances higher education, among others.

Christine Percheski is associate professor of sociology and an IPR fellow.

“The level of racial economic inequality in the U.S. is staggeringly high, and that is an important part of the story of racial violence and racial injustice and health disparities of the COVID pandemic.”

— Christine Percheski

New Tool Provides Critical Information for Addressing the Global Water Crisis

IPR anthropologist **Sera Young** is leading a multidisciplinary, international team of more than 40 researchers, which has [developed](#) a tool that can fill a critical data gap around water security and provide actionable, policy-relevant information to address the global water crisis.

The 12-item Household Water Insecurity Experiences Scale ([HWISE](#)) quantifies experiences of household water insecurity in an equivalent way across low- and middle-income countries. Based on data from more than 8,000 households in 23 countries, the HWISE Scale measures the multiple components of water insecurity—adequacy, reliability, accessibility and safety—across disparate cultural and ecological settings. In addition, it only takes 3 to 5 minutes to ask the 12 simply phrased items.

The questions prompt respondents to reply “never, rarely, sometimes, often, or always” to experiences with water insecurity in the last four weeks, including: How frequently did you or anyone in your household worry you would not have enough water for all of your household needs? How frequently did you



change what was being eaten because there were problems with water? In the last four weeks, how frequently has your main water source been interrupted or limited?

With these responses, a water insecurity score can be generated for each household. These data can then be used to better understand the prevalence of water insecurity, its causes and consequences, and to inform policy development. Higher scores (i.e., greater water insecurity) are strongly associated with greater food insecurity and stress, lower economic productivity, physical injury, altered infant feeding practices, and adverse health.

Sera Young is associate professor of anthropology and an IPR fellow.

Believing in a Positive Future Can Help Resist Stigma

An estimated 77 million Americans, or as many as 1 in 3, have a criminal record, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics. This can lead to stigma and discrimination, making it challenging to find employment, get housing, or apply for student financial aid.

In a recent [study](#), IPR sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** examined the role emotions play in allowing people with a criminal record to resist stigma. Between 2012 and 2013, she interviewed 17 people with felony convictions who had applied for expungement in Illinois.

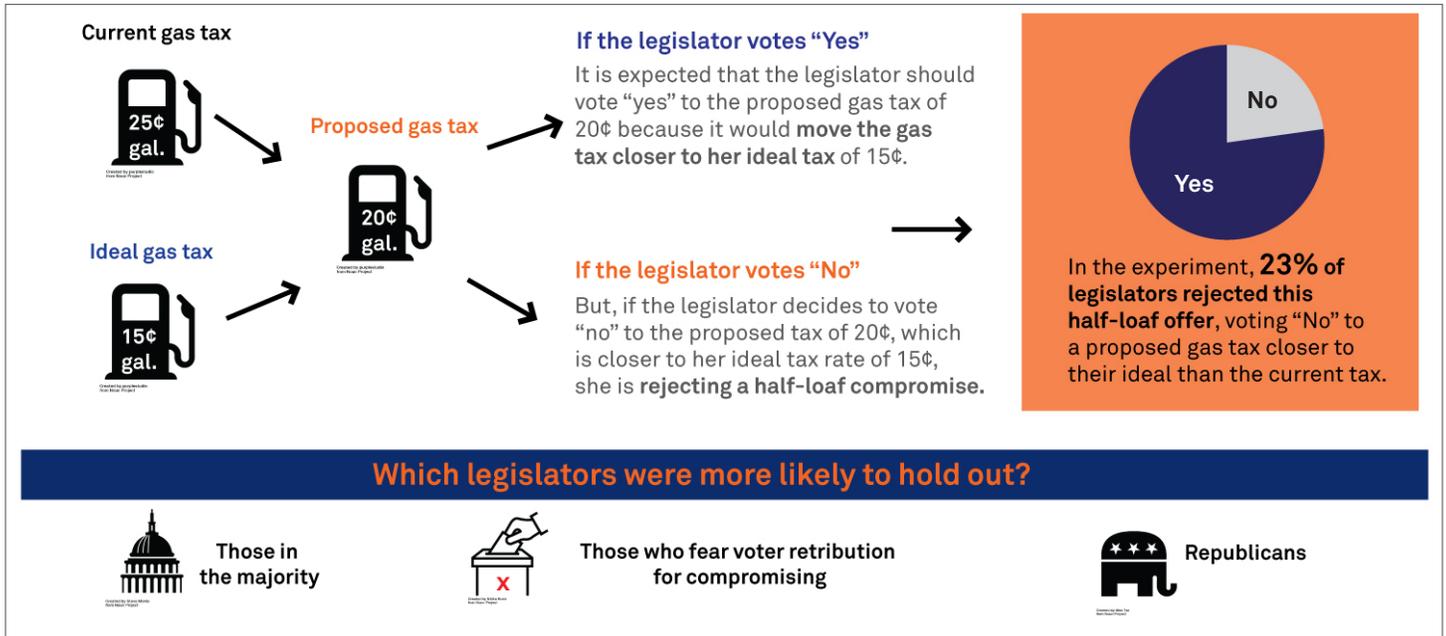
Rather than succumb to negative self-views, the study participants used anger and optimism to combat the stigma they experienced.

“I came away with a very strong feeling that in many cases, the criminal record itself is what's holding people back,” Ispa-Landa said. “It's not their criminal past, it's the actual legal artifact that's holding them back.”

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

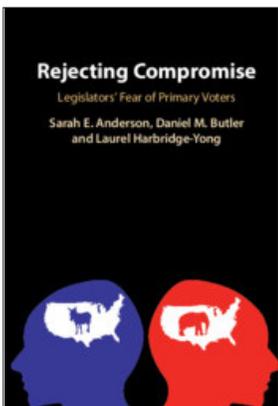
Why Do Legislators Reject ‘Half-Loaf’ Compromises?

Researchers ask 257 state legislators if they would support a bill to move their state gas tax closer to their preferred tax rate than the current tax in their state



Source: Anderson, S., D. Butler, and L. Harbridge-Yong. 2020. *Rejecting Compromise: Legislators’ Fear of Primary Voters*. Cambridge University Press. Images from the Noun Project.

With an approval rating of just 23%, the 116th Congress is viewed negatively by a vast majority of Americans. “Do-nothing Congress” is a frequent complaint heard on



television and tossed around on social media and the web. But while many see Congress as gridlocked due to polarization among its members, IPR political scientist

Laurel Harbridge-Yong and her colleagues, Sarah Anderson of the University of California, Santa Barbara and Daniel Butler of the University of California, San Diego, offer an additional explanation: Legislators reject ‘half-loaf’ compromises.

In their new [book](#), *Rejecting Compromise: Legislators’ Fear of Primary Voters* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), the researchers show that instead of finding common ground, policymakers might vote “no” even when a policy moves closer to their ideal policy than what currently exists. In other words, they reject the idea that “a half loaf is better than none.”

Gauging how often legislators reject half-loaf compromises across all legislation is nearly impossible to measure in practice since doing so requires mapping the positions of a current policy, a proposed policy, and a legislator’s preference. Yet Harbridge-Yong and her colleagues managed to capture all of these measures by creating a hypothetical voting scenario.

They surveyed 257 state legislators to see whether they might vote “no” on a state gas tax closer to their ideal tax than the current gas tax in their state. Their results reveal

that 23% of state legislators surveyed rejected a compromise that moved policy halfway closer to their preferred policy outcome.

Seeking to understand why legislators reject these half-loaf offers, the researchers find that one of the key predictors of rejecting compromise was the perception that voters would punish them for compromising. This fear focused on voters in primary elections. They also show that, in this experiment, Republicans and those in the majority were more likely to vote “no.”

So, while legislative gridlock is widely painted as a result of polarized policy positions that cannot be reconciled, Harbridge-Yong and her colleagues show that gridlock can occur even when a compromise policy is offered, if some lawmakers choose to hold out for the whole loaf.

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

'50 Years of Women' at IPR

IPR researchers have pioneered vital research on women's issues and gender roles



From left clockwise: IPR psychologist Alice Eagly gives a briefing on women in leadership with IPR economist Lori Beaman (J. Ziv); IPR sociologist Simone Ispa-Landa studies the intersection of race and gender (S. Drey); Current IPR director Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach and former IPR Director Fay Lomax Cook are two of IPR's three female directors (J. Brown); IPR economist Seema Jayachandran gives a talk; IPR sociologist and African American researcher Celeste Watkins-Hayes discusses her research on HIV/ AIDS at the IPR@50 Conference (R. Hart); IPR developmental psychologist Onnie Rogers works with a student (M. Wnuk); Oncofertility specialist and IPR associate Teresa Woodruff.

IPR faculty have pioneered vital research on women's issues and gender roles across social, economic, educational, psychological, and health topics since its founding more than 50 years ago.

"Northwestern has long recognized the value of diversity and interdisciplinarity as reflected in their hiring and support of such strong female scholars like those we have at IPR," said **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, IPR director and economist.

IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly** has conducted research into women and leadership. Eagly studies stereotypes people hold about women and their capabilities, finding in a meta-analysis of the last 72 years of research that women are now perceived as equally competent as men, but that men are still presumed to have more leadership qualities.

A new [generation](#) of female researchers, represented by IPR developmental psychologist **Onnie Rogers**, is also blazing the research trail of racial and gender stereotypes. Rogers recently looked at girls in the U.S. and China to examine how the pressure to conform to masculine behaviors can affect their wellbeing.

IPR's examination of women's and gender issues extends to other countries: In India, entrenched gender attitudes are being altered, as IPR development economist **Seema Jayachandran** has discovered. Another IPR development economist, **Lori Beaman**, shows that quotas for female representation in village councils in India led to more women being elected and a reduction in prejudice against women leaders.

Anthropologist **Sera Young** has tracked the effects of mothers' and children's malnutrition in developing countries, which led to the development of an innovative measure for water insecurity (see p. 13).

More and more women have stepped into the job market since the 1950s, but women's labor market participation has dropped relative to other countries in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development since 2000, as Schanzenbach uncovers in a chapter of the volume she co-edited, *The 51%: Driving Growth Through Women's Economic Participation* (The Hamilton Project, 2017). She points to factors including a lack of affordable quality childcare and paid parental leave.

Research by IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** reveals that after the birth of their children, cohabiting mothers return to work sooner and work more hours than married mothers.

Women's education also affects their family lives. Investigations by IPR sociologist **Julia Behrman** demonstrate that community-level declines in education where husbands have completed more school than wives, or "educational hypergamy," in Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe was linked to increased domestic violence.

In her award-winning study of girls at non-elite schools in both the U.S. and Africa, *How Girls Achieve* (Harvard University Press, 2019), IPR public policy expert **Sally Nuamah** explores the specific approaches schools need to take to promote girls' educational excellence and makes the case for "feminist schools" that orient girls toward a lifetime of achievement.

IPR sociologist **Simone Ispa-Landa** breaks down how gender and racial stereotypes affect Black adolescents bussed from an urban to a suburban school, finding that the Black girls were stereotyped and socially excluded.

Other IPR research includes sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes'** novel study of women with HIV/AIDS and oncofertility specialist and IPR associate **Teresa Woodruff's** hand in ensuring that sex is considered as a biological variable in basic science research at the National Institutes of Health.

Coming years will bring more research into women and their roles in the world. Though progress has been made, much remains to be done, as shown in two recent studies from Eagly: While it is encouraging that children when asked to draw a scientist are more likely than before to draw a female scientist, her study of gender stereotypes over the last 72 years reveals that "Men are still viewed as more ambitious, aggressive, and decisive than women, and that agency stereotype has not substantially changed since the 1940s."

When Heating Is More Affordable, Fewer People Die

OVERVIEW

Heating represents the largest portion of annual home energy spending in the United States, despite being used for only part of the year. Low-income households often face a difficult choice between paying for adequate heating or spending on other necessities. IPR economist **Seema Jayachandran**, **Janjala Chirakijja** (PhD 2018) of Monash University in Australia, and **Pinchuan Ong**, Northwestern PhD student, are the first to find a direct effect between lower heating prices and a reduction in the number of Americans who die in winter.

FINDINGS

While more people die in winter, fewer die when the price of heating is more affordable. A majority (58%) of American households use natural gas to heat their homes. Jayachandran and her co-authors show that as the price of natural gas fell over the late 2000s—mainly due to shale gas production, or fracking—winter deaths in households heating with natural gas fell by 1.6%. From 2005–10, this lowered the overall U.S. death rate in winter by 0.4% and prevented more than 11,000 deaths per year.

When heating costs are high, many Americans have to make tough spending choices. They may decide to cut heating to save money, or they may forgo other necessities to pay to heat their homes. Though households use less heating when its price

POLICY TAKEAWAYS

- Heating prices affect poorer U.S. households the most, as they are forced to make tough decisions on spending tradeoffs.
- Lower heating costs lead to fewer winter deaths, mainly from respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, which medical research has shown are exacerbated by exposure to the cold.
- These findings highlight the potential health benefits of policies to assist low-income people in paying their energy bills.



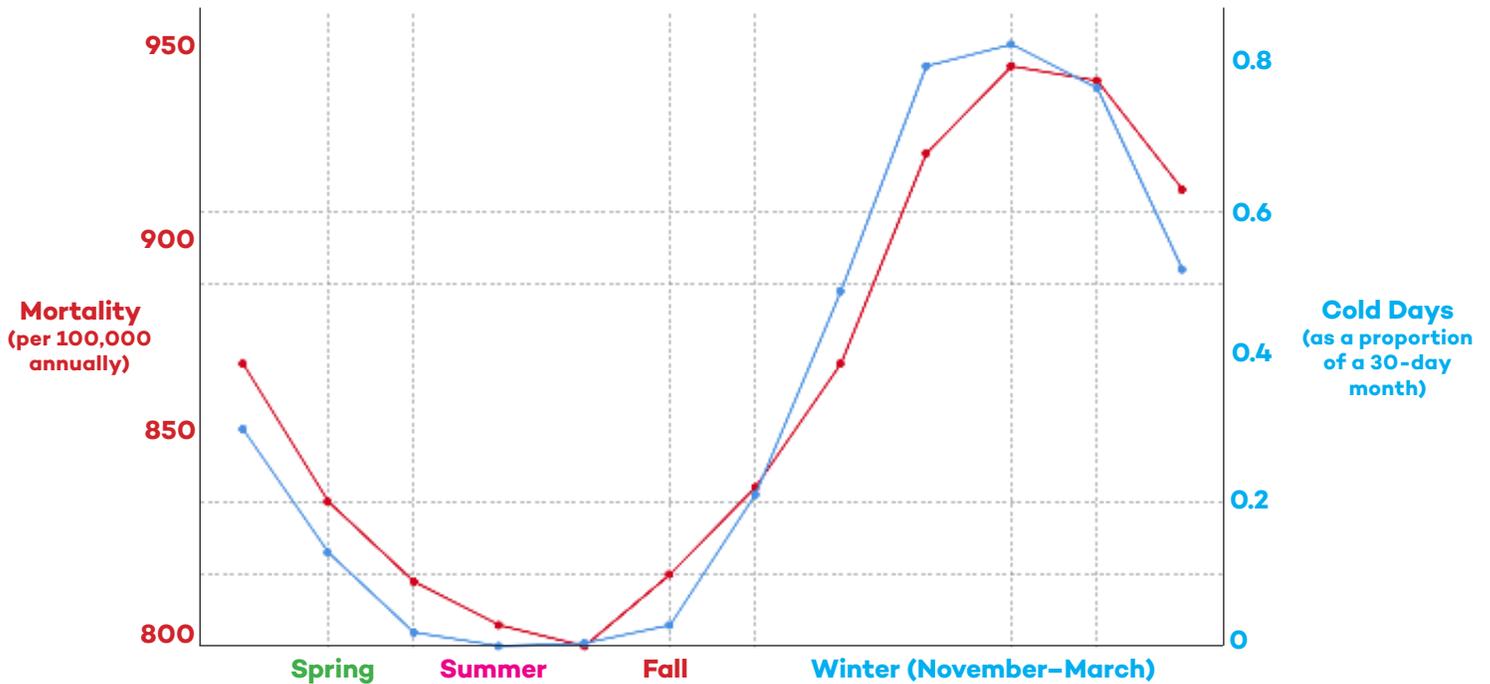
IPR economist **Seema Jayachandran** focuses on health and gender in developing countries, as well as conservation and political economy.

spikes, their energy bills still increase on net. Because they have to spend a larger share of their budget on heating, they might purchase less food or medicine as a result.

Heating prices have more significant effects on deaths among the poor. Previous studies have shown that when winter deaths spike, it is usually among people living in poorly insulated, older homes, suggesting indoor temperature is a crucial factor. The new research shows that as heating costs fell, winter deaths from causes exacerbated by the cold, including emphysema, pneumonia, and heart attacks, fell the most. These findings reveal a potential health benefit of programs, like the federal Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), which assist low-income families in paying energy bills.

Shale gas production, or fracking, may have positive effects beyond lowering energy costs. From 2005–10, the decline in natural gas prices due to fracking saved each household \$315 annually. Beyond cost savings, fracking might lower some health risks. For instance, by displacing coal-generated power, it can reduce pollution. But other work has shown harmful health effects, such as from its use of toxic chemicals. The authors call for more study on how fracking affects Americans' health overall.

Inexpensive Heating Reduces Deaths in Winter



As the number of cold days increase, winter death rates rise to match. The decline in natural gas heating costs is linked to fewer deaths in winter.

METHODOLOGY

The researchers combine data collected by the U.S. government on the national prices of natural gas and electricity, and data on the number of households using different energy sources for home heating in U.S. counties. They compare households using natural gas for heating with those using electricity. They assess how mortality in winter months responds to energy prices, focusing on causes that are exacerbated by exposure to cold such as pneumonia and heart attacks. They find a statistically relevant connection between the mortality rate and heating price in winter months. There is no such link in non-winter months when inadequate heating should not be a major factor.

REFERENCE

Chirakijja, J., S. Jayachandran, and P. Ong. 2019. [Inexpensive Heating Reduces Winter Mortality](#). IPR Working Paper 19-09.

FACTS AND FIGURES

- In the United States, 17% of households spend more than 10% of their income on home energy.
- The price of natural gas, the source of 58% of home heating in America, fell by 42% relative to electricity between 2005 and 2010.

On average, this saved natural gas-using households an estimated \$315 each year.
- This price decline caused a 1.6% decrease in the winter mortality rate for households using natural gas, preventing more than 11,000 deaths per year from 2005–10.

FACULTY SPOTLIGHTS

Julia Behrman

Taking a global perspective on the family

IPR sociologist **Julia Behrman** got hooked on Africa when she conducted research in Senegal as an undergraduate looking at reproductive health services in 2005.

“After college, I wanted to find a way to go back to Africa,” Behrman said. “Once I started traveling to countries, part of the interest was understanding how different the different places are—differences that often get erased in popular representations of sub-Saharan Africa.”

After a stint with a policy research organization that took her to Burkina Faso, Tanzania, and Uganda, as well as Bangladesh, Behrman completed her PhD in sociology at New York University in 2017.

Her research interests have led her back to Africa to investigate shifts in women’s roles when they become more educated, global trends in family change, and how migration affects the size of families and when they have children.

Schooling, Gender, and Family

Behrman’s dissertation research focused on changes in women’s status and family dynamics in East Africa, where governments rapidly increased schooling for girls. She wanted to understand what happens inside families when women attend school at similar rates to men. In particular, she examined how and why fertility and family outcomes might change with education, even as women’s economic, social, and political status remained unchanged.

When women spend more time in school, it plays a big role in bringing down fertility rates. Yet Behrman observed first-hand the poor quality of the schools, making her wonder how education could affect women.



C. Gall

“When you actually visit schools, they’re 70 kids in a classroom, and the conditions aren’t great,” she recalled.

Behrman found that women’s rising education levels in Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe led to increased violence against them. She suggests that the mechanism lies in men feeling their traditionally dominant role in the family under attack.

Global Trends in Family Change

Behrman is also exploring big-picture questions about why and how families are changing around the world. What factors, such as women’s employment or migration, lead to family change? How do social norms about men’s and women’s roles in families spread?

In a [working paper](#), Behrman and two Oxford colleagues trace changing ideas about male dominance within the family in 28 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. They focus on men’s decision-making about their wives’ health as a measure of women’s status inside the family.

Mapping husbands’ dominance in decision-making about women’s health and education at the national and local levels over about a decade, the researchers find that although on average men’s dominance declined, there is large variation between, and even within, countries.

Behrman noted that tracking trends in family dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa contributes to building a more complete picture of gender norms and behaviors throughout the world—not just in developed countries.

“I am trying to expand to a global perspective and also bring some of the literatures from low-income and high-income countries together,” she said.

Migration and Family Change

Behrman is the lead investigator of a research project that compares the fertility of African and Asian women who migrated to France to similar women who remained in their home countries.

“When you compare migrants to French women, it looks like their fertility is much higher than the average, but when you compare them to women from their home countries, it’s actually much lower,” she said. “It challenges this idea that there’s not assimilation going on in the first generation.”

In France, Behrman points out, there is a right to healthcare for migrants, but in the United States, there is not. How does differing access to healthcare, especially to reproductive healthcare, affect migrants? What is the role of healthcare policy?

“I want to interject more of this sort of policy orientation, the reproductive healthcare angle, into the demographic debates about migration and fertility,” Behrman said.

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

Jordan Gans-Morse



Courtesy of C. June of the Marshall Center

Jordan Gans-Morse, who has [studied](#) Ukraine, its government, and its relationship with Russia for roughly 20 years, has found his once relatively niche area of expertise directly in the spotlight in the aftermath of President Donald Trump's impeachment.

"Never in my wildest imagination would I have expected Ukraine to be at the center of a U.S. scandal," Gans-Morse said. "Suddenly now, everyone cares about Ukraine, and unfortunately, for very sad reasons."

Gans-Morse's research is focused on corruption, including both its causes and the best ways to fight it.

"There's this compelling question of who, in a place where you know corruption is widespread, wants to go into government? Do they do so idealistically, and then get corrupted inside of the government? Do they do so because they know even early on that the point is to make money illicitly, or is it more complicated than that?"

In his ongoing research, Gans-Morse hopes to answer those questions in service of limiting the predatory behavior of corrupt governments around the world.

Jordan Gans-Morse is associate professor of political science and an IPR associate.

Sylvia Perry



Courtesy of S. Perry

Her own experiences with racial bias [influenced](#) psychologist and IPR associate **Sylvia Perry**'s decision to get her PhD in psychology to study bias. As a teenager, a group of her White friends told her she was their first Black friend—and that the friendship fostered empathy toward Black people and weakened stereotypes they held.

Perry has explored how people react to bias and their personal awareness since graduate school at the University of Illinois at Chicago. One of her recent studies, for example, examines White parents' awareness of racial bias and how they talk about it with their children.

"Many White parents don't have very many day-to-day experiences with Black people. Their children don't have day-to-day experiences with Black children," Perry pointed out. "As a result, a lot of times White parents feel like they don't have the tools to have these discussions with their children."

To fill this gap, Perry's lab is currently observing conversations between parents and children about race. They hope to use them to inform the development of curricula for schools and to provide tools for parents to facilitate these discussions.

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

Molly Schnell



Courtesy of M. Schnell

Many students studying economics pursue finance, but IPR economist **Molly Schnell** was [drawn](#) to it for a different reason.

"One thing that I really liked about economics is that it's very policy relevant," Schnell said. "Rather than focusing on just interest rates or GDP, economics is a toolbox that can be used to answer a range of questions that can be very impactful for people's lives."

Working in a South Side school through a University of Chicago neighborhood program as an undergraduate gave her a chance to observe how policy decisions had underfunded schools, which diminished the quality of their classrooms.

It was formative in terms of seeing "policy in action." Even though she did not study education, Schnell explained that it was eye-opening to witness the difference in these students' experiences compared to her own, and the degree to which spending choices could influence academic trajectories.

"It's hard to find a corner of the healthcare system that economics doesn't have something to say about," Schnell said.

Molly Schnell is assistant professor of economics and an IPR fellow.

To read full versions of these and other faculty spotlights, visit ipr.northwestern.edu.

IPR WORKING PAPERS

Public Opinion, Crisis, and Vulnerable Populations: The Case of Title IX and COVID-19 ([WP-20-34](#))

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

Parallel Inverse Aggregate Demand Curves in Discrete Choice Models ([WP-20-33](#))

Kory Kroft, University of Toronto; René Leal Vizcaíno, Bank of Mexico; and **Matthew Notowidigdo** and **Ting Wang** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Endogenous Quality Investments in the U.S. Hospital Market ([WP-20-32](#))

Craig Garthwaite (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; Christopher Ody, Analysis Group; and **Amanda Starc** (Economics/IPR), Northwestern University

Social Norms as a Barrier to Women's Employment in Developing Countries ([WP-20-31](#))

Seema Jayachandran (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

How Affective Polarization Shapes Americans' Political Beliefs: A Study of Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic ([WP-20-30](#))

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; *Samara Klar*, University of Arizona; Yanna Krupnikov, Stony Brook University; Matthew Levendusky, University of Pennsylvania; and John Barry Ryan, Stony Brook University

Salience and Taxation with Imperfect Competition ([WP-20-29](#))

Kory Kroft, University of Toronto; Jean-William Laliberté, University of Calgary; René Leal Vizcaíno, Bank of Mexico; and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Racial Disparity in Arrests Increased as Crime Rates Declined ([WP-20-28](#))

Beth Redbird (IPR/Sociology) and **Kat Albrecht**, Northwestern University

Measuring Racial Disparity in Local and County Police Arrests ([WP-20-27](#))

Beth Redbird (IPR/Sociology) and **Kat Albrecht**, Northwestern University

Civic Capital and Social Distancing During the COVID-19 Pandemic ([WP-20-26](#))

John Barrios, University of Chicago; Efraim Benmelech, Northwestern University; Yael Hochberg, Rice University; **Paola Sapienza** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; and Luigi Zingales, University of Chicago

Statistical Decision Properties of Imprecise Trials Assessing COVID-19 Drugs ([WP-20-25](#))

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

High Seroprevalence for SARS-CoV-2 Among Household Members of Essential Workers Detected Using a Dried Blood Spot Assay ([WP-20-24](#))

Thomas McDade (IPR/Anthropology); Elizabeth McNally, Aaron Zelikovich, Richard D'Aquila, **Brian Mustanski** (MSS/IPR), **Aaron Miller** (IPR), Lauren Vaught, Nina Reiser, Elena Bogdanovic, Katherine Fallon, and Alexis Demonbreun, Northwestern University

Why Didn't the College Premium Rise Everywhere? Employment Protection and On-the-Job Investment in Skills ([WP-20-23](#))

Matthias Doepke (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and Ruben Gaetani, University of Toronto Mississauga

Males at the Tails: How Socioeconomic Status Shapes the Gender Gap ([WP-20-22](#))

David Autor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **David Figlio** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; *Krzysztof Karbownik*, Emory University; Jeffrey Roth, University of Florida; and Melanie Wasserman, University of California, Los Angeles

A Public Health Framework for COVID-19 Business Liability ([WP-20-21](#))

Daniel Hemel, University of Chicago; and **Daniel Rodriguez** (Law/IPR), Northwestern University

Bounding the Predictive Values of COVID-19 Antibody Tests ([WP-20-20](#))

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

Parental Monitoring and Children's Internet Use: The Role of Information, Control, and Cues ([WP-20-19](#))

Francisco Gallego, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile; **Ofer Malamud** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; and Cristian Pop-Eleches, Columbia University

Party Domination and Base Mobilization: Donald Trump and Republican Party Building in a Polarized Era

([WP-20-18](#))

Daniel Galvin (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

This working paper is forthcoming in The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics.

How Do Partisans Navigate Elite Intragroup Dissent? Leadership, Partisanship, and the Limits of Democratic Accountability

([WP-20-17](#))

Alexandra Filindra, University of Illinois at Chicago; and **Laurel Harbridge-Yong** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

Expected Profits and the Scientific Novelty of Innovation

([WP-20-16](#))

David Dranove and **Craig Garthwaite** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; and Manuel Hermosilla, Johns Hopkins University

It Takes a Village: The Economics of Parenting with Neighborhood and Peer Effects

([WP-20-15](#))

Francesco Agostinelli, University of Pennsylvania; **Matthias Doepke** (Economics/IPR), Northwestern University; Giuseppe Sorrenti, University of Amsterdam; and Fabrizio Zilibotti, Yale University

Estimating the COVID-19 Infection Rate: Anatomy of an Inference Problem

([WP-20-14](#))

Charles F. Manski (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and **Francesca Molinari**, Cornell University

This working paper was published electronically in the Journal of Econometrics.

The Impact of COVID-19 on Gender Equality

([WP-20-13](#))

Titan Alon, University of California, San Diego; **Matthias Doepke** (Economics/IPR) and Jane Olmstead-Rumsey, Northwestern University; Michèle Tertilt, University of Mannheim

From Cells to Society and Back Again

([WP-20-12](#))

Thomas McDade (IPR/Anthropology), Northwestern University; and Kathleen Mullan Harris, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Using Social and Behavioral Science to Support COVID-19 Pandemic Response

([WP-20-11](#))

Jay Van Bavel, New York University; ... **James Druckman** (IPR/Political Science) and **Eli Finkel** (Psychology/Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; Robb Willer, Stanford University, et al.

This working paper was published in Nature Human Behaviour (see p. 5).

Does Affective Polarization Undermine Support for Democratic Norms?

([WP-20-10](#))

Jon Kingzette, The Ohio State University, **James Druckman** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; **Samara Klar**, University of Arizona; Yanna Krupnikov, Stony Brook University; Matthew Levendusky, University of Pennsylvania; and John Barry Ryan, Stony Brook University

Point of Reference: A Multisited Exploration of African Migration and Fertility in France

([WP-20-09](#))

Julia Behrman (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University; and Abigail Weitzman, University of Texas at Austin

Developmental Changes in Auditory-Evoked Alpha Activity Underlie the Increasing Precision with Which Infants Link Language and Cognition

([WP-20-08](#))

Kali Woodruff Carr (IPR), **Danielle Perszyk**, Google; Elizabeth Norton and Joel Voss, Northwestern University; David Poeppel, New York University; and **Sandra Waxman** (IPR/Psychology), Northwestern University

Sign Language Promotes Object Categorization in Young Hearing Infants

([WP-20-07](#))

Miriam Novack (IPR/Psychology), Northwestern University; Diane Brentari and Susan Goldin-Meadow, University of Chicago; and **Sandra Waxman** (IPR/Psychology), Northwestern University

School Effects on Socioemotional Development, School-Based Arrests, and Educational Attainment

([WP-20-06](#))

Kirabo Jackson (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; Shanette Porter, Mindset Scholars Network; John Easton and Alyssa Blanchard, University of Chicago Consortium on School Research; and **Sebastián Kiguel** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University

This working paper is forthcoming in the American Economic Review.

Effects of Scaling Up Private School Choice Programs on Public School Students

([WP-20-05](#))

David Figlio (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; **Cassandra Hart**, University of California, Davis; and **Krzysztof Karbownik**, Emory University

The Cost of Being Too Patient

([WP-20-04](#))

Paola Giuliano, University of California, Los Angeles; and **Paola Sapienza** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University

This working paper was published in the American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings.

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IPR WORKING PAPERS

(Continued from page 21)

Microentrepreneurship in Developing Countries

[\(WP-20-03\)](#)

Seema Jayachandran (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Socioeconomic Decline and Death: Midlife Impacts of Graduating in a Recession

[\(WP-20-02\)](#)

Hannes Schwandt (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; and **Till von Wachter**, University of California, Los Angeles

Econometrics for Decision Making: Building Foundations Sketched by Haavelmo and Wald

[\(WP-20-01\)](#)

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

Social Norms as a Barrier to Women's Employment in Developing Countries

[\(WP-19-31\)](#)

Seema Jayachandran (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Local Exposure to School Shootings and Youth Antidepressant Use

[\(WP-19-30\)](#)

Maya Rossin-Slater, Stanford University; **Molly Schnell** (IPR/Economics) and **Hannes Schwandt** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; **Sam Trejo**, Stanford University; and **Lindsey Uniat**, Yale University

Candidate-Gender Bias and the Partisan Gender-Gap in Office

[\(WP-19-29\)](#)

Sara Saltzer and **Mary McGrath** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

A Research Agenda for Climate Change Communication and Public Opinion: The Role of Consensus Messaging and Beyond

[\(WP-19-28\)](#)

Robin Bayes, Northwestern University; **Toby Bolsen**, Georgia State University; and **James Druckman** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

The Convenience of Large Urban School Districts: A Study of Recruitment Practices in 37 Randomized Trials

[\(WP-19-27\)](#)

Elizabeth Tipton (IPR/Statistics), Northwestern University; **Jessaca Spybrook**, Western Michigan University; **Katie Fitzgerald** (IPR/Statistics), Northwestern University; **Qian Wang** and **Caryn Davidson**, Western Michigan University

All Medicaid Expansions Are Not Created Equal: The Geography and Targeting of the Affordable Care Act

[\(WP-19-26\)](#)

Craig Garthwaite (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; **John Graves**, Vanderbilt University; **Tal Gross**, Boston University; **Zeynal Karaca**, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality; and **Victoria Marone** and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

The Illusion of Affective Polarization

[\(WP-19-25\)](#)

James Druckman (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University; **Samara Klar**, University of Arizona; **Yanna Krupnikov**, Stony Brook University; **Matthew Levendusky**, University of Pennsylvania; and **John Barry Ryan**, Stony Brook University

The Economic Consequences of Bankruptcy Reform

[\(WP-19-24\)](#)

Tal Gross, Boston University; **Raymond Kluender**, Harvard Business School; **Feng Liu**, School of Economics and Institute for Advanced Research; **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and **Jialan Wang**, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Impacts of Physician Payments on Patient Access, Use, and Health

[\(WP-19-23\)](#)

Diane Alexander, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; and **Molly Schnell** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

How Institutions and Social Identity Affect Policy Change: The Case of College Sports

[\(WP-19-22\)](#)

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

Precise or Imprecise Probabilities? Evidence From Survey Response on Late-Onset Dementia

[\(WP-19-21\)](#)

Pamela Giustinelli, Bocconi University; **Charles F. Manski** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and **Francesca Molinari**, Cornell University

Does Vocational Education Work? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mongolia

[\(WP-19-20\)](#)

Erica Field, Duke University; **Leigh Linden**, University of Texas at Austin; **Ofer Malamud** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; **Daniel Rubenson**, Ryerson University; and **Shing-Yi Wang**, University of Pennsylvania

The Federal Reserve's Current Framework for Monetary Policy: A Review and Assessment

[\(WP-19-19\)](#)

Janice Eberly (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; **James Stock**, Harvard University; and **Jonathan Wright**, Johns Hopkins University

This working paper appeared in the International Journal of Central Banking.

From Personal to Partisan: Abortion, Party, and Religion in the California State Assembly, 1967–96 ([WP-19-18](#))

David Karol, University of Maryland, and **Chloe Thurston** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

This working paper was published in Studies in American Political Development.

The Impact of Car Pollution on Infant and Child Health: Evidence from Emissions Cheating ([WP-19-17](#))

Diane Alexander, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, and **Hannes Schwandt** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University

Public Service Motivation as a Predictor of Altruism, Dishonesty, and Corruption ([WP-19-16](#))

Jordan Gans-Morse (Political Science/IPR), Northwestern University; Alexander Kalgin, Andrei Klimenko, and Andrei Yakovlev, National Research University Higher School of Economics; and Dmitriy Vorobyev, Ural Federal University

Self-Selection into Corrupt Judiciaries ([WP-19-15](#))

Jordan Gans-Morse (Political Science/IPR), Northwestern University

The Role of Neonatal Health in the Incidence of Childhood Disability ([WP-19-14](#))

Todd Elder and Scott Imberman, Michigan State University; **David Figlio** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; and *Claudia Persico*, American University

This working paper was published in the American Journal of Health Economics.

School Segregation and Racial Gaps in Special Education Identification ([WP-19-13](#))

Todd Elder and Scott Imberman, Michigan State University; **David Figlio** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; and *Claudia Persico*, American University

The Political Effects of Policy Drift: Policy Stalemate and American Political Development ([WP-19-12](#))

Daniel Galvin (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University, and Jacob Hacker, Yale University

This working paper was published in Studies in American Political Development.

The Effects of Growing-Season Drought on Young Adult Women's Life Course Transitions: Evidence From Malawi ([WP-19-11](#))

Liliana Andriano, University of Oxford, and **Julia Behrman** (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University

Female Disadvantage in Under-Five Mortality in India: Measuring Explicit Gender Discrimination Using Data on Twins ([WP-19-10](#))

Ridhi Kashyap, University of Oxford; and **Julia Behrman** (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University

Inexpensive Heating Reduces Winter Mortality ([WP-19-09](#))

Janjala Chirakijja, Monash University; **Seema Jayachandran** and **Pinchuan Ong** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University
(See the related IPR policy research brief on pp. 16–17.)

Reshaping Adolescents' Gender Attitudes: Evidence From a School-Based Experiment in India ([WP-19-08](#))

Diva Dhar, University of Oxford; Tarun Jain, Indian School of Business; and **Seema Jayachandran** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University

Born in the Family: Preferences for Boys and the Gender Gap in Math ([WP-19-07](#))

Gaia Dossi, London School of Economics; **David Figlio** (IPR/SESP) and **Paola Sapienza** (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University; and Paola Giuliano, University of California, Los Angeles

Is the Energy Demand of the Developing Brain Related to Lifetime Obesity Risk? ([WP-19-06](#))

Christopher Kuzawa (IPR/Anthropology), Northwestern University, and Clancy Blair, New York University

This working paper was published in The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.

Meta-Analysis for Medical Decisions ([WP-19-05](#))

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

Why Replications Do Not Fix the Reproducibility Crisis: A Model and Evidence from a Large-Scale Vignette Experiment ([WP-19-04](#))

Adam Berinsky and Teppei Yamamoto, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and **James Druckman** (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

An Extra Year to Learn English? Early Grade Retention and the Human Capital Development of English Learners ([WP-19-03](#))

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

This working paper was published in the Journal of Public Economics.

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IPR WORKING PAPERS

(Continued from page 23)

Does School Spending Matter? The New Literature on an Old Question ([WP-19-02](#))

Kirabo Jackson (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University

Labor's Legacy: The Construction of Subnational Work Regulation ([WP-19-01](#))

Daniel Galvin (IPR/Political Science), Northwestern University

What Is a Good School and Can Parents Tell? Evidence on the Multidimensionality of School Output ([WP-18-32](#))

Diether Beuermann and Francisco Pardo, Inter-American Development Bank; and **Kirabo Jackson** (IPR/SESP) and *Laia Navarro-Sola*, Northwestern University

Testing, Stress, and Performance: How Students Respond Physiologically to High-Stakes Testing ([WP-18-31](#))

Jennifer Heissel, Naval Postgraduate School; **Emma Adam** and **David Figlio** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; and Jennifer Doleac and Jonathan Meer, Texas A&M University
This working paper was published in Education Finance and Policy.

Do Children Benefit from Internet Access? Experimental Evidence from Peru ([WP-18-30](#))

Ofer Malamud (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University; Santiago Cueto, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Peru; and Julian Cristia and Diether Beuermann, Inter-American Development Bank
This working paper was published in the Journal of Development Economics.

Long-Time Out: Unemployment and Joblessness in Canada and the United States ([WP-18-29](#))

Kory Kroft, University of Toronto; Fabian Lange, McGill University; **Matthew Notowidigdo** (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; and Matthew Tudball, University of Bristol
This working paper was published in the Journal of Labor Economics.

Meta-Analysis of Field Experiments Shows Significantly More Racial Discrimination in Job Offers than in Callbacks ([WP-18-28](#))

Lincoln Quillian, **John Lee**, and **Mariana Oliver** (IPR/Sociology) Northwestern University

Preferred Pharmacy Networks and Drug Costs ([WP-18-27](#))

Amanda Starc (Kellogg/IPR), Northwestern University, and Ashley Swanson, University of Pennsylvania

THE STATE OF THE NATION: A 50-STATE COVID-19 SURVEY

A consortium of four universities that includes Northwestern, Harvard, Northeastern, and Rutgers has been conducting a national survey investigating public opinion and various aspects of the COVID-19 pandemic. Since April 2020, the consortium has put out five reports that reveal Americans' policy preferences on a wide variety of topics, such as:

- Approval of state governors and President Trump's management of the COVID-19 outbreak
- Trust in institutions and leaders
- Support for vote by mail
- Economic consequences and health concerns
- Information and misinformation about COVID-19

The reports drill down to include partisan and racial and ethnic differences in responses. IPR political scientist **James Druckman** is one of the researchers involved in conducting the survey and analyzing the data.

Read the reports [here](#).

Can Network Theory-Based Targeting Increase Technology Adoption? ([WP-18-26](#))

Lori Beaman (IPR/Economics), Northwestern University; Ariel Ben Yishay, College of William and Mary; Jeremy Magruder, University of California, Berkeley; and Ahmed Mushfiq Mobarak, Yale University

Safety Net Investments in Children ([WP-18-25](#))

Hillary W. Hoynes, University of California, Berkeley; and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University
This working paper is part of the Brookings Papers on Economic Activity.

The names of former IPR undergraduate and graduate research assistants and former research staff are in italics. To download full copies of IPR working papers and abstracts, [peruse](#) the series.

IPR RAPID RESEARCH REPORTS

As COVID-19 continued to spread in the U.S. and the world, IPR launched a series of Rapid Research Reports in May 2020 to provide faculty with a new means to quickly disseminate preliminary research findings and analyses.

The Chicago Neighborhood Policing Initiative: Preliminary Findings and Lessons Learned ([July 7, 2020](#))

Dawna Leggett, Wayne Rivera-Cuadrado, Karlia Brown, Kat Albrecht, Soledad McGrath, and Andrew Papachristos (IPR/Sociology), Northwestern University

In January 2019, the Chicago Neighborhood Policing Initiative (CNPI) was launched. The Northwestern Neighborhood & Network Initiative (N3) began evaluating CNPI during its initial rollout. Analyses of the first year of implementation are presented in this report. They include findings on officer and community perceptions of one another, perceptions of public safety, and community satisfaction with police performance; an assessment of CNPI's impact on community trust; and preliminary recommendations.

How Much Has Food Insecurity Risen? Evidence from the Census Household Pulse Survey ([June 10, 2020](#))

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach (IPR/SESP) and Abigail Pitts, Northwestern University

In this report, we estimate current rates of food insecurity and the extent to which food insecurity rates have increased in national data and by state using the Census's Household Pulse Survey (CHHPS). We find that food insecurity has doubled overall, and tripled among households with children. Food insecurity is elevated across all states, with some states experiencing extremely high rates and/or increases in food insecurity. Across the nation, 7% of households reported receiving free food during the prior week.

Food Insecurity in the Census Household Pulse Survey Data Tables ([June 1, 2020](#))

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach (IPR/SESP) and Abigail Pitts, Northwestern University

In this report, we analyze food insufficiency rates from the first two weeks of CHHPS summary tables and transform them to be comparable to other measures of food insecurity both during COVID-19 and prior to it. We take several approaches to the transformation, based on the relationship between food insecurity and food insufficiency in other datasets. We also explore using other CHHPS information to serve as a proxy for food insecurity and conclude that the elevated rates measured in CHHPS reflect increased need and are not being driven in a meaningful way by a lack of variety on store shelves. Estimates of food insecurity from the CHHPS are similar to those found in the COVID Impact Survey and indicate that food insecurity rates have at least doubled.

Worried About Having a Baby During the Pandemic? ([May 26, 2020](#))

Hannes Schwandt (IPR/SESP), Northwestern University

Much research has shown that pregnancy conditions not only affect the mother but can also harm her children. Studies have shown that if a mother gets the flu during her pregnancy, a resulting infection can lead her to give birth prematurely—and strong cases could even affect the children as adults. From what we know so far about the coronavirus, the good news is that it seems to impact pregnant women much less than influenza does. Maternal influenza infections typically activate immune system responses, which have been shown to impair fetal development, but this does not seem to be happening here.

Estimates of Food Insecurity During the COVID-19 Crisis: Results from the COVID Impact Survey Week 2, May 4–10, 2020 ([May 18, 2020](#))

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach (IPR/SESP) and Abigail Pitts, Northwestern University

In this report, food insecurity was statistically unchanged between the April and May surveys and remains greatly elevated. Overall food insecurity more than doubled to 22% in the pooled April and May COVID Impact Surveys compared to the predicted level for March. Food insecurity remains particularly elevated among respondents with children, with 1 in 3 respondents with children reporting food insecurity. Among those with children, the April-May measure of food insecurity is 2.85 times beyond what we had predicted for March.

Estimates of Food Insecurity During the COVID-19 Crisis: Results from the COVID Impact Survey Week 1, April 20–26, 2020 ([May 13, 2020](#))

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach (IPR/SESP) and Abigail Pitts, Northwestern University

Using data from the COVID-19 Impact Survey, we find sharp increases in food insecurity in April 2020 during the COVID-19 health emergency. Relative to predicted rates for March, in April food insecurity doubled overall and tripled among those with children. We see that food insecurity increased by more than April's unemployment rate increase predicted it would, especially for families with children. We find that 7% of respondents overall, and nearly 20%, or nearly 1 in 5, respondents who are experiencing food insecurity, reported receiving benefits from food pantries. But rates of food insecurity and interaction with food pantries varied widely across the states and metro areas. The report includes an appendix of linear regression model tables to predict food insecurity.

Recent Faculty Awards and Honors

IPR labor economist **Kirabo Jackson** was named the Abraham Harris Professor of



Jonathan Guryan

Education and Social Policy. IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** was named the Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Human Development and Social Policy. IPR

economist **Jonathan Guryan** was named the Lawyer Taylor Professor of Education and Social Policy.

Several IPR faculty were included in the Northwestern Associated Student Government Faculty Honor Roll for 2019–20. They were political scientist **John Bullock**, anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman**, and psychologists **Robin Nusslock** and **Eli Finkel**.



Sally Nuamah

IPR social policy expert **Sally Nuamah** received the Clarence Stone Scholar Award from the American Political Science Association's Urban and Local Politics

Section. Her book *How Girls Achieve* (Harvard University Press, 2019) was named one of the “Best Books for Educators in 2019” by the University of California, Berkeley’s Greater Good Magazine. Nuamah’s book and that of IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** *Remaking a*



Celeste Watkins-Hayes

Life: How Women Living with HIV/AIDS Confront Inequality (University of California Press, 2019), were finalists for the 2020 PROSE Awards by the Association of American

Publishers, and Nuamah’s book won in the category of education practice.

Fay Lomax Cook was named a Distinguished Visiting Fellow of the National Academy of Social Insurance (NASI), and IPR Director and economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** was elected as a NASI fellow.

Professor and founding chair of medical social sciences and IPR associate **David Cella** was elected to the National Academy of Medicine, and was listed in Clarivate Analytics’ Web of Science Highly Cited Researchers.



David Cella

IPR associate and finance professor **Janice Eberly** was elected Vice President of the American Economic Association.

Social networking expert and IPR associate **Noshir Contractor** was elected to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Yang Qu** was named a 2020 Rising Star by the Association for Psychological Science.



Yang Qu

IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** was made a fellow of the Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations’ Center for Innovation in Worker Organization.

IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges’** article “How to Do a Systematic Review” was among the Annual Reviews’ most downloaded of 2019.

[Read more about IPR faculty awards and honors.](#)

Soledad McGrath Joins IPR’s N3 as Executive Director

On May 1, **Soledad Adrianzén McGrath** (WCAS 1998) [joined](#) the Northwestern Neighborhood & Network Initiative, or **N3**, as its first executive director.

McGrath, who returns to Northwestern where she received her B.A. in Comparative Literature and Latin American Studies, has worked as a corporate and pro bono lawyer, public policy advocate, and a program officer for the Joyce and MacArthur Foundations. She holds a law degree from Emory University.



Soledad McGrath

“Since launching her career as a corporate lawyer, Soledad has been committed to working on behalf of underserved communities,” said IPR sociologist **Andrew Papachristos**, N3’s founding faculty director. “Her vision, leadership, and commitment to engaged research and practice represents a watershed moment for N3, IPR, and Northwestern.”

Papachristos started N3 when he joined Northwestern from Yale University in 2018. N3 leverages network science to study how neighborhood residents and institutions are connected and how those networks relate to crime and gun violence.

McGrath compares N3 to an exciting “start-up” and is ready to help guide the research group as it considers its direction over the coming 5–10 years. She sees N3 as already making a mark at Northwestern.

“I see my role as building on a really strong foundation that already exists,” McGrath said.

FACULTY SOUNDBITES

“There are things that a well-connected and trusted politician can do even from the middle of self-isolation, such as speaking to communities and populations who distrust Trump and providing a platform to people with good ideas about what to do next.”

– **Monica Prasad**

“Where’s Joe? What Biden Could Learn From Reagan About Running in a Crisis,” *Politico Magazine*, March 25

Getty Images



“A lot of what we know about how people scroll through their news feed not clicking on things, [they’re] still reading posts or headlines, without clicking on the link.”

– **Stephanie Edgerly**

“Facebook to Warn Users Who ‘Liked’ Coronavirus Hoaxes,” *Associated Press*, April 16

“Gilead will make a good amount of money selling [COVID-19 treatment drug Remdesivir]. ... In the end, really, the other firms aren’t necessarily looking at the price Gilead charges. What they’re really looking at is, what is the payoff that they get on their investment?”

– **Craig Garthwaite**

“Remdesivir Priced at More Than \$3,100 for a Course of Treatment,” *NPR*, June 29

“Older adults may not think of themselves as being at heightened risk for COVID-19 because old age carries a lot of stigma. There’s a huge reluctance to view oneself in those terms.”

– **Claudia Haase**

“When Older Relatives Shrug at Coronavirus Restrictions,” *New York Times*, April 15

“Though race and racism are at the top of Americans’ public discussion, most White parents don’t talk about those issues with their kids. ... [T]he more White parents talk with their children about the realities of American racism, the more aware those kids are, as adults, of inequalities in American life.”

– **Onnie Rogers**

“Most White Parents Don’t Talk About Racism with Their Kids,” *The Conversation*, June 24

“Everybody with young kids has to provide all of the childcare all of a sudden. And we argue that the vast majority of this extra work will fall on women, therefore making it difficult for them to work as usual.”

– **Matthias Doepke**

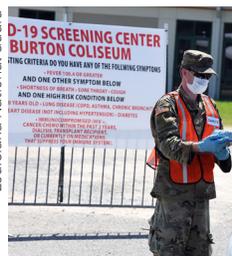
“Why This Economic Crisis Differs from the Last One for Women,” *The New York Times*, March 31

“I think the real challenge for schools is how do you provide developmentally appropriate, high-quality learning experiences while maintaining safety of students and staff. ... You walk into any high-quality classroom, it’s active.”

– **Terri Sabol**

“As Schools Prepare to Reopen, the Gap Between 3 and 6 Feet Is Feeling Hard to Bridge,” *Boston Globe*, July 12

Louisiana National Guard



“Anti-vaxxers read something about autism being caused by vaccinations, and they won’t let that go even though there’ve been

refutations of the original claims. ... Maybe hydroxy[chloroquine] has a similar kind of effect on these particular audiences.”

– **David Rapp**, “Coronavirus Gets a Promising Drug. MAGA World Isn’t Buying It,” *Politico*, May 2



T. Ydb, Flickr

“COVID-19 brought its own set of issues around disparities, but also highlights issues that have been there all

along. ... A lot of it’s risk reduction, rather than completely being able to avoid risk. Not everyone has the luxury of being able to socially distance or stay at home.”

– **Ann Borders**

“Of the COVID-19 Pregnancy Cases Reported in Illinois, Black and Latina Women Make Up Over 70%,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 2

“Usually boycotts are effective not because they affect revenue or sales but because they affect reputation. So when a company is the target of a boycott, it’s not that consumers are refusing to buy the product that makes the boycott effective.”

– **Brayden King**

“Boycotting Facebook: Eddie Bauer, Ben & Jerry’s and Other Companies Join Campaign to Halt Ads,” *USA Today*, June 23

“It sounds like people trying to take control of their world, which is what happens in big moments ... people who had no understanding of epidemiology are now talking about the definition of ‘pandemic,’ [much the way those] who didn’t know the definition of ‘fascism’ before the 2016 presidential election were all of a sudden discussing it with authority.”

– **Annette D’Onofrio**

“Unprecedented! Sham-demic! Coronavirus Cliches Are Spreading and There’s No Flattening the Curve,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 6

Find more media clips from IPR experts on the [website](#).

Tackling Early Childhood Education

Alan Perez (WCAS 2020) writes about ‘real-world’ work of presenting policy proposals

Researchers, policymakers, and students from the School of Education and Social Policy gathered at Illinois Gov. J.B. Pritzker’s office in Chicago on March 9 to tackle some of the state’s pressing early childhood education issues.

As part of IPR developmental psychologist **Terri Sabol**’s “Crafting Child Policy” course, students presented recommendations to the governor’s Early Childhood Funding Commission and other state officials to improve the state’s early care and education programs. The presentations touched on a wide range of topics, including diversity in early education, kindergarten readiness, and the effect of the opioid crisis on families.

“It’s exciting to see students diving into the research on some of the most pressing topics facing Illinois’ early childhood system,” said Elliot Regenstein, a member of Gov. Pritzker’s Early Childhood Funding Commission, said. “And I was extremely impressed at how well the students understood the issues and crafted thoughtful proposals to address them.”

I was among the students who made recommendations to improve Illinois’ state-funded pre-kindergarten program. My group recommended that the state expand its current Preschool For All program, which prioritizes enrollment for the most at-risk students, to a universal program open to all 4-year-olds in the state. We compiled research, including a study by IPR Director and economist **Diane Schanzenbach** that showed high-quality universal preschool programs benefit children and families, especially those who are low-income.

The idea for this course began three years ago. Sabol wanted to make her courses “more relevant and less abstract.”

“The challenge for teaching is to ensure that my students make meaningful connections between the science of child development and real-world contexts,” she said.

As an economics and social policy major, I appreciated working with students from different academic and social backgrounds



S. Drey

Students, including Alan Perez (center), offered policy proposals to staff in the governor’s office.

to tackle very important policy issues. While I focused on the impact of pre-K expansions on the existing childcare market, for example, others in my groups looked into coaching to improve how teachers interact with their students. Together, we developed a more comprehensive policy solution that was ultimately better for children.

Alan Perez graduated in June 2020 and is now a research assistant at Brown University. Terri Sabol is assistant professor of human development and social policy and an IPR fellow. Read his full [article](#).

Rethinking How We Study Civil Wars

IPR’s Ana Arjona examines how a tendency to focus on violence can warp perceptions



D. Robertson

Ana Arjona

Having spent her career studying the local dynamics of conflict zones, political scientist and IPR associate **Ana Arjona** is now turning to investigate how her field examines civil wars—and the potential pitfall it runs in such an examination.

“Civil wars are about more than violence ... a lot of unexpected things happen in conflict zones,” Arjona said at a November IPR colloquium.

Arjona points to how the field of political science generally tends to favor the study of

overt violence in a civil war at the expense of other factors—and how such a narrow perspective can warp perception of the topic.

Even without outright violence, the mere presence of military forces in a civilian area can have deadly effects. In the recent Colombian civil war, for instance, she described how the attitudes about the war’s eventual settlement differed measurably: The attitude of a person who lived in a territory ruled by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, differed from those who avoided FARC rule.

Identifying different experiences of war is critical, Arjona argued, otherwise, generalizations made about civil war’s effects are flawed. Rather, she encourages her colleagues to think about the different phenomena to escape the limits of a violence

bias. Doing so could lead not just to a new understanding of civil war’s effects in areas like nutrition and economic development, but a new definition of “civil war” altogether.

If a conflict doesn’t produce a certain number of deaths per year, but still features lengthy military occupation, she asked, should it be treated as a civil war?

That question, according to Arjona, opens new research avenues that could have implications for the fields of political science and economics alike.

“This matters for development—and trying to understand more how democracy plays out in the aftermath of war,” Arjona said.

Ana Arjona is associate professor of political science and an IPR associate. Read more [here](#).

Building an ‘Evidence-Based Ecosystem’

At the STEPP Center, IPR’s top statistical minds aim to boost policymaking

R. Hart (left), M. Wnuk (right)



STEPP Center co-founders Larry Hedges and Elizabeth Tipton

“The function of social science is to help people understand which things they know are absolutely true,” said IPR’s **Larry Hedges**, one of the world’s pre-eminent educational researchers and statisticians, when announcing the establishment of the Statistics for Evidence-Based Policy and Practice, or **STEPP** Center at IPR.

In launching STEPP in 2019, he and co-director and fellow IPR statistician **Elizabeth Tipton** (PhD 2011) aimed not just to address today’s pressing issues, but to develop the methodological tools to solve tomorrow’s problems across many fields.

Tipton says interdisciplinary cooperation will be key to STEPP’s overall contribution to the policy sphere.

“We want to hear from policymakers and practitioners about what their questions are, and then we want to think about whether social scientists have adequate methods to answer those questions,” Tipton said. “We are interested in improving connections between research and practice.”

Since its founding, the STEPP Center has hosted a set of meetings with an international set of participants, including two in-person meetings in Washington, D.C., and several

virtual meetings and attended one meeting hosted by its partner in the Gates Foundation. To further the center’s mission, it hosted a set of colloquia at the STEPP Center that brought scholars from Northwestern and other universities, including IPR faculty **Ronald Ackermann**, **Cynthia Coburn**, **Steven Franconeri**, and **James Druckman**.

STEPP has also arranged for a set of relevant scholars from other institutions to visit and support its work, including Adetayo Kasim of Durham University and Eric Hedberg of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

The center seeks to help foster an “evidence-based ecosystem,” Hedges said, marked by the rise of research clearinghouses such as What Works Clearinghouse for education or the Cochrane Collaboration for medicine. These entities seek to translate evidence for practitioners and policymakers, Hedges notes.

Such translation efforts, however, require collaboration between academics and practitioners to break apart difficult concepts like “treatment impacts” and “heterogeneity of results” and render them into easily accessible language. STEPP seeks to set those conversations in motion.

Tipton compared STEPP’s work going forward to the core role that statistics plays in science, providing the framework through which researchers can provide sound policy analysis. When stakeholders across the board are vexed by gaps between research and practice, it might be because researchers simply do not yet have the tools available to ask their questions properly—and that is where the STEPP Center comes in.

“We’re kind of like these hidden engineers in the background creating methods for people to analyze data. Once they have these tools, they can do new types of analyses, which turns into telling us something new about the world,” Tipton said. “[Researchers] are like pilots, wanting to explore new areas, yet limited because their airplane can’t fly as far, or as fast, as they’d like because nobody has developed the necessary engine part.”

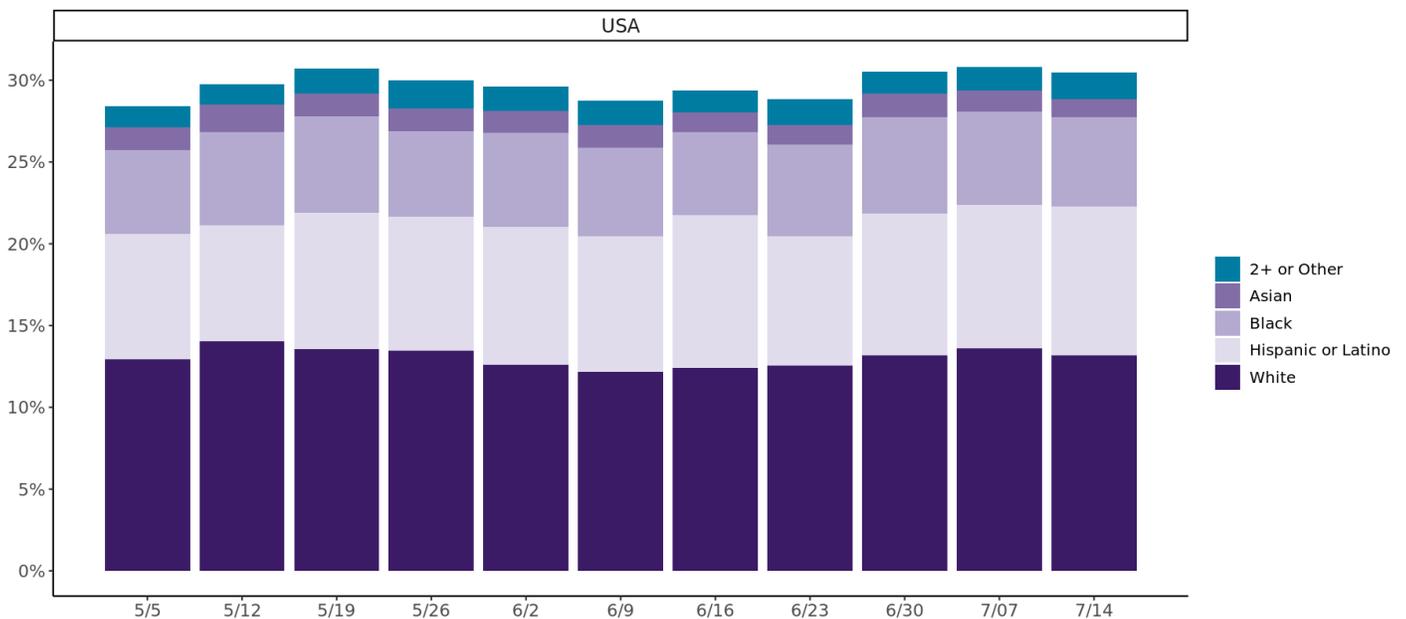
“Our goal is to develop those necessary parts and to build ‘airplanes’ that can fly,” she said.

Larry Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics, Education and Social Policy, and Psychology. Elizabeth Tipton is associate professor of statistics. Both are IPR fellows.

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New Data Tool Details Food Insecurity Across the United States



Since May, IPR Director and economist [Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach](#) has been using data from two nationally representative surveys to examine food insecurity across America during the COVID-19 pandemic (see p. 8). Now, she and IPR summer undergraduate research assistant [Natalie Tomeh](#) have developed a tool to visualize that data. The app shows the unprecedented rise in levels of food insufficiency—also known as food insecurity—and illustrates the need for an urgent policy response.

According to weekly data released by the U.S. Census Bureau's Household Pulse Survey, from late April to late June more than

25% of all respondents, and nearly 30% of respondents with children, reported food insecurity. Although the country as a whole is experiencing elevated levels of food insecurity, some states and regions have been hit much harder than others.

Disparities in food insecurity across racial and ethnic groups are large. From April 23–June 23, 41.1% of Black respondents' households experienced food insecurity in the prior week, as did 36.9% of Hispanic respondents' households and 23.2% of White respondents' households.

View their data visualization tool [here](#).