

Northwestern

INSTITUTE FOR
POLICY RESEARCH



2015 YEAR IN REVIEW

2015 YEAR IN REVIEW

ON THE FRONT COVER:

From left: In the Evanston Township High School (ETHS) student “Hub,” IPR Director **David Figlio**, ETHS Superintendent **Eric Witherspoon**, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, ETHS Principal and Assistant Superintendent **Marcus Campbell**, ETHS Assistant Superintendent **Pete Bavis**, and District 65 Superintendent **Paul Goren** review ongoing research at the high school that involves IPR faculty and graduate research assistants.

PHOTO CREDITS:

Cover photos: Eileen Molony (front), L.K. Nordby (front inside top), Patricia Reese (front inside bottom), Jim Ziv (back inside top), and Courtesy of the National Science Foundation (back inside bottom). Inside pages: Jim Ziv, pp. 2, 8, 22, 40; Ralph Alswang: p. 3; IPR staff: pp. 4, 9, 13, 24, 42, 56, 57, 74, 81; Emma Adam: p. 5; Katie Scovic: pp. 10, 16, 31, 38, 45, 48, 76, 79, 84; Patricia Reese: pp. 14, 20, 26, 27, 33, 50, 53, 55; Courtesy of SAGA Innovations: p. 29; Jenna Braunstein: p. 35; Sally Ryan: p. 36; Sara Samovalov: p. 52; Courtesy of WTTW’s “Chicago Tonight”: p. 80; Keesha Morrison: p. 83.

Director of IPR: David Figlio

Associate Director of IPR: James Druckman

Business Administrator: Eric Betzold

Director of Communication: Patricia Reese

Assistant Editors: Melanie Kruevelis, Sara Schumacher, and Katie Scovic

Design: Jeanine Shimer

Layouts: Melanie Kruevelis and Patricia Reese

Additional Writing and Reporting: Hilary Hurd Anyaso, Julie Deardorff, and Sara Samovalov

Copy Editing: Evelyn Asch, Eric Betzold, Arlene Dattels, Mariel Soto Reyes, and Jackson Walker

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06-16/2500/PR-MK



From left: U.S. Representative **Bob Dold** (R–IL, 10th District) greets IPR communication researchers **Ellen Wartella** and **Eszter Hargittai**, and IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, prior to IPR’s policy research briefing on “Education in the Digital Age” in May on Capitol Hill.



From left: At a September faculty meeting, IPR researchers **Lori Beaman**, **Christine Percheski**, and **Cynthia Kinnan** talk about interrelated topics in development economics and social demography.

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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR



David Figlio, IPR Director

The latest *Economic Report of the President* landed on my desk as we were putting the finishing touches on this *Year in Review*. I was immediately drawn to the chapter on “Inequality in Early Childhood and Effective Public Policy Interventions,” a topic of key interest at IPR. It was gratifying to see references to nearly a dozen articles and working papers co-authored by six of our experts, including social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** and economist **Jonathan Guryan**—as well as studies co-authored by former IPR graduate research assistants, such as **Katherine Magnuson** (SESP '02), **Aaron Sojourner** (WCAS '09), and **Vivian Wong** (SESP '10), now pursuing great careers at other institutions. The report speaks not just to how IPR researchers are addressing the pressing policy issues of our time—but also to the critical role that IPR faculty play in training up-and-coming policy scholars.

It's not just the White House that thinks IPR researchers are producing quality research: IPR faculty and graduate students received more than 100 awards and research grants from a number of foundations and organizations in 2015. The Guggenheim Memorial Foundation named 175 new fellows last fall, and two of the 13 social scientists were from IPR—sociologist **Monica Prasad** and social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson**. Economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** was appointed for two years as director of The Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution in August. And throughout the year, media outlets from The New York Times and The Economist to more regional ones like our hometown Chicago Tribune and Louisville's Courier-Journal also reached out to IPR researchers for interviews on their latest research findings or their expertise regarding a particular issue or policy (see pp. 78–81 and 86–87).

Beyond their work at the national level, IPR researchers also continued to double down locally, deepening our collaborative relationships with local public agencies and nonprofits. Some of these projects take place in our own “backyard” of Evanston and Chicago, where we often work with local representatives like the Evanston school administrators featured on our cover. These connections are vital to our work as local studies can effectively inform policy and practices outside of the limits of a single city or county (see pp. 6–7).

We also extended our reach globally through collaborations with fellow research institutions abroad, such

as France's Institut Sciences Po and South Africa's Witwatersrand—and at home with Northwestern's Buffett Institute for Global Studies, with which we welcomed Australian parliamentarian **Andrew Leigh** at the first Buffett/IPR joint event, organized last October.

We held or co-sponsored another 55 events over the year, with major lectures by Nobel-prize winning economist **James Heckman** and by New York Times best-selling author **Dale Russakoff**, among others. We also brought IPR expertise to the wider public through our policy research briefings. We held two in 2015, one in Washington, D.C., on digital-age education—where we welcomed U.S. Representatives **Bob Dold** (R-Ill., 10th) and **John Delaney** (D-Md., 6th)—and another in Chicago on women in leadership (see pp. 4–5 and 74–77).

Finally, IPR would not be the great research institute that it is without the collaboration of its faculty, staff, students, and visitors (see pp. 82–85). I thank them all for their efforts and for their outstanding work over the past year.

As always, we value your participation in our community. Keep up with us by visiting ipr.northwestern.edu.

David Figlio, IPR Director and Fellow, Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics

In August 2015, IPR economist Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach was named director of The Hamilton Project, a nationwide economic policy initiative of the Brookings Institution based in Washington, D.C. She will serve until September 2017.





Nobel laureate and University of Chicago economist James Heckman (left) and IPR Director David Figlio discuss Heckman's work on the economics of human development at an IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on April 27.

FIRST GLOBAL DISTINGUISHED LECTURE

On October 27, IPR hosted its first Distinguished Public Policy Lecture given by an international policymaker. Australian parliamentarian **Andrew Leigh** discussed global trends in technology and employment, arguing that we should worry about future technological developments and how they might make some workers worse off. The more we advance technologically, the more potential there is to increase the wage gap, Leigh said. He offered several ideas to help people make more seamless transitions between jobs and accumulate capital, such as job-retraining programs, affordable housing, and tax incentives to help build retirement savings. The event was co-sponsored with the Buffett Institute for Global Studies.

IPR hosted two additional Distinguished Public Policy Lectures in 2015, with **Robert Kaplan**, then-Chief Science Officer for the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, and Nobel economist **James Heckman** of the University of Chicago. Other invited speakers included Harvard sociologist **Bruce Western**, who discussed mass incarceration; Spencer Foundation president **Michael McPherson**, who addressed measuring performance in education research foundations; and journalist and author **Dale Russakoff**, who explored the failed attempt to revitalize Newark public schools (see pp. 26, 35, 37, 58).

MAJOR FACULTY AWARDS AND HONORS

Two IPR faculty were named 2015 Guggenheim Fellows on April 10: IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** and IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson**, who was also elected

a member of the National Academy of Sciences on April 28. Several IPR faculty received awards for their career achievements, including communications studies scholar and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**, IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**, and sociologist and criminologist **John Hagan**, an IPR associate. Education researcher and IPR associate **Cynthia Coburn** was named an American Educational Research Association Fellow. Education professor and IPR associate **James Spillane** received a Lyle Spencer Research Award from the Spencer Foundation. In November, IPR biological anthropologist **Thomas McDade** was elected a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Hamilton Project in Washington, D.C., appointed IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** as its director (see p. 13). IPR health psychologist **Greg Miller** was elected president of the Academy of Behavioral Medicine Research, and IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer** was elected to the International Statistical Institute. IPR faculty also received awards for their publications, including Miller and IPR health psychologist **Edith Chen**, and IPR communication studies researcher **Eszter Hargittai** (see pp. 78–79).

WHITE HOUSE REFERENCES IPR RESEARCH

In February, **Wesley G. Skogan**, who has extensively researched Chicago's community policing efforts, was invited to make a presentation to President Barack Obama's Task Force on 21st-Century Policing in Phoenix. Skogan discussed how policing innovations have pushed the idea of community policing off the mainline agenda, though in the wake of Ferguson and other recent events, people want their police to be responsive to community problems (see p. 58). In July, a report from the President's Council of Economic Advisers, "Economic Costs of Youth Disadvantage and High-Return Opportunities for Change," cited research by IPR economists **Jonathan Guryan** and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie**. Guryan's work pointed out programs that improve opportunities for disadvantaged youth; Schanzenbach's research highlighted the benefits of early education; and Ferrie's study examined the impact of cash transfers on children in poor families.

ALL-IPR EDITORIAL TEAM FOR POLICY REPORT

The Society for Research in Child Development has appointed an interdisciplinary team of IPR faculty to edit its quarterly *Social Policy Report*. The team, led by **Ellen Wartella**, also includes IPR developmental psychologist

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**, IPR clinical and developmental psychologist **Lauren Wakschlag**, IPR cognitive and developmental psychologist **Sandra Waxman**, pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield**, and developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Terri Sabol**.

RESEARCH BRIEFINGS GO TO HILL, CHICAGO

IPR's first policy briefing of 2015, "Education in the Digital Age," took place on Capitol Hill on May 19. IPR faculty **Ellen Wartella**, **Eszter Hargittai**, and **David Figlio** addressed the digital revolution in the classroom, including developing curriculum standards for using technology in pre-kindergarten classrooms; bridging the gap in Internet skills between certain groups of young adults; and observing how online classes compare to traditional instruction. On December 4, IPR held "Women Leaders: Their Potential, Their Challenges" in downtown Chicago. IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly**, IPR development economist **Lori Beaman**, and Brigham Young University political scientist **Christopher Karpowitz** addressed issues of gender inequality at home and abroad and interventions that might increase the number of women in leadership roles (see pp. 34–35, 41).

IPR-LED WORKSHOPS ON RESEARCH, METHODS

IPR researchers led a number of workshops over the course of the year. In May, IPR political scientist **James Druckman** organized the 2015 Chicago Area Behavioral Workshop, which featured leading political scientists, including the University of Michigan's **Donald Kinder**, the University of Chicago's **Cathy Cohen**, and IPR mass communication scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey**. In April, **David Drukker**, StataCorp's Director of Econometrics, led a one-day Stata short course. In the summer, IPR faculty led two Institute of Education Sciences-sponsored workshops: IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** led the Cluster-Randomized Trials workshop, while IPR social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** led another on Quasi-Experimental Design and Analysis (see pp. 41, 55).

TRAINING FOR STUDENTS, POSTDOCS

IPR's Summer Undergraduate Research Assistants Program, in its 18th year of operation and led by IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum**, allowed 43 undergraduates to work alongside IPR faculty mentors on policy-relevant social science research projects. Some undergraduates even traveled with IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** to New Orleans, where they collected saliva samples from schoolchildren to measure



IPR summer undergraduate research assistant Shalin Shah (SoC '16) labels saliva samples in New Orleans as part of his work with IPR psychobiologist Emma Adam, who is using them to measure the stress hormone cortisol in students.

their cortisol levels. IPR also welcomed 4 postdoctoral fellows in 2015, and IPR faculty continue to play integral roles in cross-training graduate students in the Multidisciplinary Program in Education Sciences and in mentoring 32 IPR graduate research assistants (see pp. 84–85).

NOTABLE MEDIA COVERAGE FOR IPR RESEARCH

Media prominently featured IPR research in 2015. In an interview with The Washington Post, **Craig Garfield** discussed his study, co-authored with **Emma Adam**, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, and **Thomas McDade**, showing that men gain weight when they become fathers. The Atlantic highlighted **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller's** research on the health costs of upward mobility. In October, The New York Times focused on a study by **David Figlio**, IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik**, and their colleagues, who found that boys lag behind girls in school achievement, with disadvantaged boys most at risk. Management and organizations associate professor **Lauren Rivera**, an IPR associate, contributed an opinion piece to The New York Times' Sunday Review about her research into the hiring process at elite firms. In addition, a Slate article on the disenfranchisement of felons cited political scientist and IPR associate **Traci Burch's** finding that while black felons tend to support Democrats, white felons are more likely to vote Republican. The Pacific Standard, Time, and others covered developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Claudia Haase's** study on how trust grows with age (see pp. 80–81).

LOCAL RESEARCH, WIDER POLICY SOLUTIONS

EDUCATION

IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** looks at ways to improve college-going and persistence for low-income and disadvantaged students in local schools. IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** evaluates programs that seek to increase high school graduation rates for young African-American males in Chicago middle and high schools. IPR economists **Kirabo Jackson** and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** have studies examining how school funding in various states, including Illinois, affects education outcomes. IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, and his colleagues are collaborating with a local high school to revamp its honors curriculum and create a more inclusive learning environment. Education professor and IPR associate **James Spillane** reviews how organizational structures and principal performance affect learning in local schools.

EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING

IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay-Chase Lansdale** and IPR research associate professor **Teresa Eckrich Sommer** continue to pursue the potential for a two-generation program in Evanston, which seeks to simultaneously promote parental and child learning, as well as parental employment. IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** leads a long-running study of community colleges in Chicago, investigating, among other factors, how these two-year institutions prepare their graduates to get jobs. Education and social policy professor and IPR associate **Barton Hirsch** demonstrates how an after-school program in Chicago can help boost employment prospects for minority youth. In a landmark study of neighborhood segregation, IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** uses data from Chicago neighborhoods to test a revised decomposition model, showing how race and income segregation combine to segregate neighbors of different races by poverty status.

LOCAL FINDINGS APPLY TO WIDER POLICY SOLUTIONS

With two of its three campuses in Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern University provides a stimulating intellectual home for IPR researchers, as well as an ideal “backyard” to explore crucial social policy issues. The geographic area adjacent to these campuses offers the possibility to conduct research in nearby urban, suburban, and rural locales that encompass a wide range of socioeconomic, racial, and demographic factors. These qualitative and quantitative studies in areas from education and health to employment and crime can serve to inform local, national, and even global policy decisions, as well as provide evidence for scale-ups to larger studies.

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HEALTH

IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller** seek to identify multilevel contributors to asthma disparities in Chicago youth. IPR developmental psychobiologist **Emma Adam** and **Figlio** are studying how stress affects local students when they take high-stakes tests. IPR anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman** details the disproportionately high levels of depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior among Latino youth in Chicago communities. Pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield**, with other IPR researchers, investigates how young men, including those in Chicago, fare when they become fathers for the first time. IPR faculty and professors of medical social sciences **Lauren Wakschlag** and **Brian Mustanski** explore the various ways in which smoking by pregnant women can affect their children, drawing participants from the Chicago area for their studies.

RACE, DIVERSITY, AND POLITICS

IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** explores the economic and social experiences of a diverse group of Chicago-area women living with HIV. IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** details interactions between people of different races and ethnicities through the on-campus lab she directs, seeking ways to improve communication between dominant and minority groups. IPR political scientist **James Druckman** studies various features of public opinion in his own on-campus lab, including how partisanship affects public opinion, using local data, as well as data from other localities around the nation. Sociologist, African American studies researcher, and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo** investigates social mobility in Chicago's neighborhoods.

POLICING AND INCARCERATION

IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** examines the Chicago Police Department's efforts to reshape its relationship with communities in Chicago and reset the character of its internal supervisory and decision-making processes. Behavioral scientist and IPR associate **Linda Teplin** details psychiatric disorders among youth detained in Chicago's Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. IPR sociologist **Heather Schoenfeld** investigates how the particular history and political context of states such as Illinois affect how they deal with prison reform.

EVANSTON



IPR development economist Seema Jayachandran discusses her study of gender inequality in developing nations with Australian parliamentarian Andrew Leigh, the first international policymaker to give an IPR Distinguished Lecture, during his visit in October.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Family characteristics and social inequality
- Health and well-being across the lifecycle
- Childhood programs and development
- Effects of school, life, and family contexts

WHY ARE CHILDREN IN INDIA SO SHORT?

Worldwide, 25 percent of children under age 5 are so short that they are considered “stunted”—a key marker of child malnutrition. In India, this problem is particularly pronounced: Nearly 40 percent of children are stunted. In an IPR working paper, IPR development economist **Seema Jayachandran** and Rohini Pande of Harvard University explore why. Compared with children in sub-Saharan Africa, India’s are, on average, shorter, though India is more developed. The researchers analyzed data on more than 174,000 children in India, uncovering one notable exception: First-born Indian sons were more likely to be taller than African first-born sons; this did not hold true for girls. But for those Indian sons who followed, the second was shorter than the first, and the third the shortest of all. The researchers posit that cultural mores drive this puzzling height phenomenon. Why? They point to the birth-order gradient among Hindu, but not Muslim, Indian families. Elderly Hindu parents often live with their oldest sons, who are expected to lead their funerals. This leads parents to invest in their children “unequally.”

WICHÍ MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTIONS

Expanding on her prior work with the Wichí, a remote indigenous population in the Chaco rainforest of Argentina, IPR cognitive and developmental psychologist **Sandra Waxman** and Argentinian psychologist Andrea Taverna have launched a study examining the population’s mother-child interactions from infancy through age 3. The study will look at the Wichí people and their language—since unlike those of most indigenous groups, the Wichí language is actively spoken, and children learn it from infancy. The researchers will also focus on how children interact with the natural world in a remote rainforest, which is a very different environment from a city, where researchers typically study children. This work will broaden the base of research on universal cognitive capacities and the environment’s role in shaping them. Waxman holds the Louis W. Menk Chair in Psychology.

NATIVE AMERICAN MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

IPR social demographer **Christine Percheski** is studying changes in fertility and marriage for Native American women, with former IPR graduate research assistant Sarah Cannon, now a University of Michigan postdoctoral fellow. Their preliminary results showed that the average number of births per woman dropped sharply between 1980 and 2014, partly due to a decline in the percentage of women who were married. Given the ongoing discrimination and social disadvantage Native American women face, this project provides social scientists and policymakers with an important look at changes in their well-being. Furthermore, by documenting large changes in fertility, Percheski and Cannon offer new information on the age structure of the Native American population—which has profound implications for education, employment, and healthcare policy.

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY AMONG U.S. CHILDREN

In an ongoing project supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF), **Percheski** and Duke University’s Christina Gibson-Davis are examining income and wealth inequality, or the gaps in income and net worth between families. Examining factors that have not been fully explored in previous research, they have found that most of the increase in wealth inequality between 1989 and 2013



DIANE WHITMORE SCHANZENBACH, CHAIR

This interdisciplinary program combines the interests of IPR faculty studying the ways in which social programs, policies, and contexts affect the lives of families and children from birth to young adulthood. Many faculty share common interests with scholars in IPR’s research programs on Poverty, Race, and Inequality; Social Disparities and Health; and Education Policy—particularly in studying the impact of public policies on America’s poor.

CHILD, ADOLESCENT, AND FAMILY STUDIES

was concentrated in families with children, rather than elderly households or working-age families without children. They also documented large gaps in wealth among households with children by family type: Families headed by married couples were more likely to have a positive net worth than families led by unmarried parents who were living together—and much more likely to have a positive net worth than families led by a single mother. In future work, Percheski hopes to investigate why this is, why family net worth has changed over time, and if changes in government programs and taxes are widening economic inequality among children.

WOMEN'S FAMILY CHANGES, 1960S–1980S

Percheski and IPR graduate research assistant **Yu-Han Jao** are comparing marriage and childbearing patterns for women born in the early 1960s with those born in the early 1980s. They set out to investigate whether changes have taken place across these groups of women in the associations between childhood family characteristics—such as a mother's education and family income—and their marriage and childbearing behaviors. Their results have demonstrated that the patterns vary by race. For white women, the childhood experiences that predict childbearing and marriage patterns have stayed basically the same, but these associations between childhood experiences and adult family formation have changed for black and Hispanic women.

TWO-GENERATION INITIATIVES

Two-generation initiatives—education programs for low-income, preschool-age children and their parents—are emerging across the United States and were even included in the president's budget for 2016. IPR developmental psychologist **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale** continues research to determine how best to strengthen adult participants' job skills and social capital in such programs. This year, she and IPR research associate professor **Teresa Eckrich Sommer** received funding from the Foundation for Child Development to continue their evaluation of *CareerAdvance*®, a two-generation initiative for approximately 300 families in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The program links postsecondary education and career training of low-income parents to their children's educational enrichment through early childhood education centers. In their first article on *CareerAdvance*, in *Children and Youth Services Review*, the researchers examined parents' persistence in the program, and how many got a healthcare certification. Sixteen months after enrolling, 76 percent of participants had completed at



From left: IPR social psychologist Mesmin Destin, psychologists and IPR associates Robin Nusslock and Vijay Mittal, and IPR psychobiologist Emma Adam discuss her finding that race-related stress contributes to health and academic disparities.

least one job-related certificate, with 59 percent remaining enrolled. Parents who faced greater economic hardship were more likely to get a certificate and stay enrolled, while those experiencing more psychological distress were less likely to complete a certificate. Their research has also received project funding from the Administration for Children and Families. Chase-Lansdale is Frances Willard Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and Associate Provost for Faculty.

ANTHOLOGY OF TWO-GENERATION RESEARCH

Chase-Lansdale co-edited the Aspen Institute's "*Two Generations. One Future: An Anthology*," with Harvard University's Mario Small and Christopher King of the University of Texas at Austin. The more than 30 contributors, who included other IPR researchers, outlined a road map for "2-Gen 2.0" programs, discussing intervention design, practitioner experiences, and state-of-the-art research in program development. In the first section, Chase-Lansdale and Columbia Teacher College's Jeanne-Brooks Gunn examined the major developmental theories underpinning two-generation approaches, and why they are likely more effective than those targeting a single generation. The release celebration, held on April 7 in Washington, D.C., featured a panel discussion by Chase-Lansdale with her co-editors, as well as another Ascend Fellow the Reverend Vivian Nixon, who leads an organization that assists formerly incarcerated mothers and their children. Steve Clemons, an editor at *The Atlantic*, moderated the panel discussion.

PARENTS' SOCIAL CAPITAL AND HEAD START

Head Start and other early childhood education programs serving low-income children are struggling to improve children's attendance. **Chase-Lansdale, Sommer,** and **Terri Sabol**, a developmental psychologist and IPR associate, evaluated the impact of a low-cost intervention designed to increase parents' social capital as a potential influence on children's school attendance. They found the intervention successfully expanded parents' social capital and improved children's attendance. Exploratory analyses of focus groups with parents and staff suggest that parents' level of connection and trust, self-generated partnership strategies, and commitment to their children's education could be factors affecting social capital and children's attendance.

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AND HEALTH

IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam** and her colleagues are examining how histories of exposure to perceived racial-ethnic discrimination relate to a set of biomarkers of stress and health in young adulthood. To do so, they rely on 20 years of prospective data, spanning adolescence through young adulthood, from the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study. The data include information on exposure to race-related and nonrace-related stressors, as well as measures of family functioning, and racial-ethnic identity and coping. The researchers are linking these indicators of racial identity and discrimination to a wide range of stress-sensitive biological measures in young adulthood, including gene-expression measures relevant to the regulation of biological stress. So far, results of the ongoing study have suggested that a cumulative developmental history of higher perceived discrimination is associated with flatter cortisol diurnal rhythms and lower overall cortisol levels in early adulthood—indicators of chronic stress—and that experiences of discrimination in adolescence have particularly strong effects on adult stress biology. In addition, they find that histories of discrimination help explain racial-ethnic disparities in cortisol rhythms.

STRESS AND HIGH-STAKES TESTING

How does stress in a child's life outside of school affect them when taking a test? **Adam** is examining this with education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**, IPR graduate research assistant **Jennifer Heissel**, and their colleagues. The researchers are measuring cortisol—a hormone that indicates stress—in third- to eighth-grade students when they are at home and at school, during times of low stress and high-stakes testing. They will

examine whether background stress in children's lives modifies their stress response to a standardized test, and whether the degree of background stress, as well as stress and stress hormone activation in response to a high-stakes test, has implications for test results. Their results will provide a glimpse into whether the "stress load" that students bring into an exam affects their ability to perform well on the test, a finding which will have implications for understanding and potentially reducing socioeconomic and racial disparities in test scores.

ENSURING BETTER SLEEP FOR TEENS

Only 15 percent of teens get the recommended 8–10 hours of sleep each night—despite research showing that getting enough sleep is important for adolescents, especially when it comes to their health and academic performance. To encourage teenagers to sleep more, **Adam** and her colleagues ran a pilot study of a sleep intervention. The researchers used a personalized texting intervention to encourage teenagers to go to bed earlier to help them get more sleep. Initial results suggest that the texting intervention was successful in getting white teens into bed earlier and sleeping more, but not African-American teens. As many parents of teens already know, getting adolescents to alter their bedtimes is difficult, and this seems particularly true for minority teens. The researchers are searching for approaches to better improve the sleep habits of minority students.

CHILDREN'S RISK FOR FOOD INSECURITY

What predicts whether an American child will live in a food-insecure house—meaning they do not have reliable access to affordable and nutritious food? IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and her colleagues are using 11 years of data from the Current Population Survey, as well as data from two other surveys, to examine the issue. They ask how households facing very-low food security (VLFS) differ from those that avoid severe food insecurity. They have observed that households with more teenagers have higher rates of food insecurity, suggesting that these households have a hard time keeping their fridges filled enough to accommodate the eating requirements of rapidly growing teenagers. Additionally, they are finding positive links between VLFS households with children and their participation in nutrition programs like those that offered free and reduced-price lunch and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), previously known as the Food Stamp Program. This indicates that struggling households continue to have unmet needs. Finally, the

researchers also show that the mental and physical health of adults in the household play an important role in determining the American children's food security status.

SURVEY OF FOOD AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS

More than one-third of American adults and 17 percent of children are obese, and diet quality among Americans has been persistently low. To address these problems, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) provides a range of food and nutrition programs, including SNAP and its supplement, Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), as well as the National School Lunch Program and School Breakfast Program. In an IPR working paper, **Schanzenbach** and Hilary Hoynes of the University of California, Berkeley compare the history and requirements of these four food and nutrition programs, also surveying existing research on them. Their analysis revealed gaps in current research, such as if price subsidies encourage participants to purchase healthier foods, and if models incorporating behavioral economics might be valuable in future research. Another key to improving research on these nutrition programs involves expanding access to administrative data, which Hoynes and Schanzenbach urge the USDA to do.

HOW AUTISTIC CHILDREN TELL STORIES

Children with autism encounter difficulties when trying to use language socially, including for storytelling. In past studies, researchers hand-coded participants' conversations—a labor-intensive and often subjective practice. In the *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Molly Losh** tests a new quantitative tool for describing autistic individuals' storytelling, Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA). LSA characterizes words' meaning by mapping them in a vector space, with words that have similar meanings residing closer together in that space than words with different ones. Losh and her colleague tested LSA among 22 high-functioning children with Autism Spectrum Disorder and 26 nonautistic children. LSA captured that autistic children's retellings of fairy tales differed from the original story and from those of the control group. The researchers' findings demonstrate that LSA can be used as an objective means of capturing how narratives differ, holding promise for future research.

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS AND CHILD WORLD VIEWS

In ongoing work, **Waxman** is investigating how children's media, including educational books, influence the way they view their own relationship with the natural world. She and her colleagues compared illustrations in children's

books written by Native Americans with those authored by non-Native Americans. Native-authored books, which included illustrations with more close-ups and a wider range of viewing angles than those in non-Native illustrations, encouraged young readers to approach the story from different perspectives. These differences might have cognitive consequences for how Native and non-Native children interpret their relation to nature, since previous research has found that books and illustrations can influence children's reasoning. As such, the diverse perspectives of Native illustrations might encourage children to imagine themselves feeling psychologically closer to the natural world.

LANGUAGE AND COGNITION IN INFANCY

In work through her Project on Child Development, **Waxman** continues to uncover new evidence about how language and cognition are linked in the first few months of life. In a *Cognition* article, she and Northwestern graduate student Brock Ferguson reveal the importance of social experiences in interpreting the sounds of language. Infants watched a video in which two people had a conversation—one speaking in English and the other responding in (dubbed) sine-wave tones. When tones were embedded in this rich social exchange, infants interpreted them as if they were language. In *Frontiers in Psychology*, she and her team find that infants who have established a strong link between language and cognition at 12 months have larger vocabularies at 18 months. Together, the studies underscore the importance of infants' experiences in their first year of life. If listening to language boosts infant cognition, then infants who hear little language might be at a disadvantage not only in terms of language skills, but also fundamental cognitive capacities. Waxman's project has received funding from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD).

GENDER INEQUALITY AND FAMILY SPENDING

While research has shown that gender inequality starts at birth, it is maintained in part through the ways parents interact with their children. In an IPR working paper, IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik** and Michal Myck of the Centre for Economic Analysis in Poland investigate this phenomenon, analyzing families' spending patterns to examine inequalities in how parents treat their first-born sons versus first-born daughters. Drawing on eight years of data from the Polish Household Budget Survey, they separated families' spending into categories—including toys, books, and kindergarten—then noted how



IPR psychologists Sandra Waxman (left) and Greg Miller talk through Waxman's work on the link between language and cognition in the first few months of life.

much families spent on each category when the first-born child in the family was a boy versus a girl. Families spent more money on children's clothing when their first-born child was a girl, they showed, but nearly 15 percent less on toys and hobbies and 5 percent less on kindergarten than families whose first-born child was a boy. The findings reveal parents follow a "gender-stereotypical pattern" in their spending, focusing more on activities for boys and appearance for girls. This study is forthcoming in the *Review of Economics of the Household*.

HOME CARE AFTER THE NICU

Taking care of a premature, fragile infant at home after round-the-clock care in the neonatal intensive-care unit (NICU) is an alarming prospect for any parent. Websites, blogs, online communities, and other technologies have considerable potential for helping parents transition from the NICU to home, but little is known about which technologies parents use. Pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield** and his colleagues interviewed 25 Chicago parents of recently discharged premature infants with very low birth weight (those most at risk for sickness and re-hospitalization) to determine which technologies they used. They learned that parents take on different roles when it comes to technology use: Mothers are "information seekers," who comb the Internet for relevant information before passing it on to fathers, while fathers track their babies' health using apps. Both mothers and fathers turned to related blogs for emotional support, and both

voiced privacy concerns when asked if they would share their infant's situation on Facebook or a family webpage. The results provide insight into technological interventions that might be designed to help these parents, such as blog aggregators or personalized family websites with privacy controls.

YOUNG CHILDREN'S SCREEN TIME

Many children are getting more daily screen time than recommended by the American Academy of Pediatrics, spending on average an hour and a half watching television and an hour and a half using a computer. There is evidence that parental television use is associated with higher levels of child television time, but little is known about what predicts children's media use with other technology. Communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**, Alexis Lauricella of Northwestern University, and Victoria Rideout of VJR Consulting examine this question with a sample of more than 2,300 parents of children up to age 8. They evaluated children's time spent with four types of media: television, computers, smartphones, and tablet computers. The researchers revealed parents' own screen time strongly correlated with their child's screen time. They also discovered both parental attitudes and a child's age were significantly associated with children using all four devices, with media technology use increasing with a child's age. Instead of simply recommending that children spend less time with screen media, Wartella and her colleagues suggest that policymakers should consider the family dynamic and home environment, creatively developing ways to influence screen media use at a more family-focused level. Wartella is Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication.

SCHANZENBACH LEADS HAMILTON PROJECT

The Hamilton Project, a national economic policy initiative of the Brookings Institution, appointed **Schanzenbach** as its director for two years starting in August 2015. In addition to her directorship, she is also a senior fellow in economic studies at Brookings. At a time when the nation still grapples with the lingering effects of the Great Recession, she seeks to amplify the project's mission to foster broad-based economic growth through innovative policy proposals. From her vantage point as an IPR fellow and head of IPR's research program on Child, Adolescent and Family Studies, she sees great similarities between IPR and the Washington, D.C.-based project, both of which seek to bridge the worlds of academia and policy.



Following a November 2 colloquium by IPR social demographer Quincy Thomas Stewart (left) on gender and “scholastic worth” in sociology’s top five journals, Stewart, IPR psychologist Alice Eagly, and IPR anthropologist Thomas McDade review the study’s implications.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Economic opportunity and growth
- Poverty and income inequality
- Class dynamics and social mobility
- Affirmative action laws and their effects
- Race, interracial relations, and prejudice

GENDER AND SCHOLASTIC WORTH

In the social sciences, researchers' "scholastic worth" is often associated with how much research they have published, in which journals, and the number of citations that reference their work. But surprisingly little is known about the mechanisms that enable scholars to publish, or prevent them from publishing, in the first place. IPR social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, with Northwestern graduate student Saheli Nath and Indiana University's Fabio Rojas, is exploring how network ties among authors and reviewers influenced publication patterns in top sociology journals from 1980–2012. Using data from 62,424 pairs of scholars who published in sociology's five leading journals—*American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Demography*, *Social Forces*, and *Social Problems*—the work explores how network actors understand how an "elite" group acts as gatekeepers, or "publication police," for the rest of the scholars in the discipline. In addition to network structure, the researchers also investigated the role that gender plays in the network. The preliminary results show that while there are more women than ever in the field of sociology, their peers do not acknowledge these women as often as their increased presence might suggest.

GLOBAL STEREOTYPES OF WOMEN IN SCIENCE

Over the past 40 years, the number of women taking science courses and becoming scientists has increased dramatically in some countries but not in others. In the *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Northwestern graduate student David Miller, IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly**, and Marcia Linn of the University of California, Berkeley, examine why. Specifically, the researchers set out to determine if the number of women who participate in science varies according to stereotypes that typically associate science with men. Through the Project Implicit website, the researchers asked nearly 350,000 participants in 66 nations to rate how much they associated science with males or females. Using an implicit measure, they also assessed how quickly respondents associated

scientific words such as "math" and "physics" to male words such as "boy" and "man." In countries where more women are enrolled in college science courses, they uncovered weaker implicit, or unconscious, gender-science stereotypes as well as weaker explicit, or overtly expressed, gender-science stereotypes. When it comes to careers in science, people in nations with more women working in scientific research generally have weaker explicit, but not implicit, gender-science stereotypes. Surprisingly, they discovered some of the highest rates of gender-science stereotypes in a few countries generally considered to be among the world's most progressive for women. For example, Dutch male-female equality is more equal, but few Dutch women choose to study or go into science. This indicates that male-female equity within science fields is what counts. The silver lining in their research reveals that gender-science stereotypes are weaker in nations with more female science majors and researchers. This suggests that as more women go into science, these stereotypes could decrease.

CAPITALIZING ON DIVERSITY'S BENEFITS

Diversity has many positive effects for organizations, communities, and nations, from spurring creativity to increasing economic growth. But it can also fuel conflict. In *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson**, who holds the MacArthur Chair, and her colleagues outline ways to capitalize on diversity's benefits, such as emphasizing multiculturalism and viewing the world from another point of view—an action that Richeson previously discovered decreases stereotyping. They also highlight barriers to diversity and present policy recommendations to overcome them. For instance, people who lack contact with other cultures are more likely to be distrustful of those unlike themselves. A solution might involve implementing education policies that increase incentives to study abroad. The article was part of a special issue of "Memos to the President from a 'Council of Psychological Science Advisers.'"

DISTANCING AND DISCRIMINATION

How does reflecting on negative experiences from different perspectives change one's feelings and intentions? **Richeson** and her colleagues are exploring this in three studies, investigating what happens to people who deal with incidents of sexism or racial/ethnic discrimination. They asked participants in each study to look at discrimination from either a distanced perspective or from a self-immersed, first-person perspective. Those



JAMES ROSENBAUM, CHAIR

In the research program on Poverty, Race, and Inequality, IPR researchers look at various aspects of poverty, race, and inequality and their consequences for populations in the United States and other nations. The researchers' examinations often overlap with other IPR programs, such as Urban Policy and Community Development, Social Disparities and Health, and Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies.

who looked at events from a self-distanced perspective experienced fewer negative emotions than those viewing them from a self-immersed perspective. However, people who looked at events from a self-distanced perspective were also less interested in engaging in collective action to combat discrimination against their group.

21ST-CENTURY RACE RELATIONS

By 2050, the United States is expected to become a “majority-minority” nation—meaning that minorities will make up the majority of the population. Yet vast disparities still persist between minority and majority groups. In the *Annual Review of Psychology*, Richeson and Tufts University’s Samuel Sommers review social psychological literature to outline a social psychology of race and race relations for the 21st century. Beginning with “What is race?” they pushed forward to a dynamic, malleable, socially constructed model of race, which constantly shifts depending on the time, place, person perceiving it, and who is its target. They then framed and considered new questions about contemporary racial dynamics, examining research on racial diversity, and its effects during interpersonal encounters and on groups. They ended by calling attention to the most important emerging topics in this area, including immigration and renewed attention to racism.

FEWER RACISTS, SAME RACIAL INEQUALITY?

Stewart continues work on a book that scrutinizes the history of racial inequality since the era of Jim Crow laws, roughly 1865–1965, and the social organizations involved in maintaining black-white inequities. Tentatively titled “How Many Racists? How Everyday People Contribute to a System of Social Inequality,” it seeks to shed new light on the widely held notion that a large number of racists is needed to maintain institutional inequalities. By putting recent research into context, Stewart points to a significant decline in the number of people who hold racist beliefs, yet parallel declines in racial inequality have not been registered—statistics that seem to refute the idea that the number of racists is what counts. Using an agent-based model of a Nash Bargaining game, an interactive, two-person bargaining model, Stewart’s investigation demonstrates that a system supported by biased social institutions, even when they are run or used by nonbiased (nonracist) individuals, can maintain racial inequality with a few, or even zero, racists. The book will focus on the social dynamics that lead to racial inequality’s emergence in an artificial society, the actors and factors that sustain it once it is established, and the policies that can be used to undermine racial inequality.

RACE AND DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

IPR sociologist Lincoln Quillian is leading a group of scholars in examining discrimination against racial and ethnic minority groups in countries around the world. Their project is based on a meta-analysis of the results of every field experiment of hiring discrimination. In field experiments, fictionalized candidates from different race or ethnic groups apply for jobs, with the difference in positive responses between groups used as a measure of discrimination. About 100 distinct studies have been identified for analysis. Quillian is conducting the meta-analysis with IPR statistician and research methodologist Larry Hedges, and the data are being analyzed to better understand trends and patterns in race and ethnic discrimination over time and across countries. Two working papers have resulted, one focusing on trends over time in discrimination in the United States and the other on international comparisons in discrimination levels between the United States and Europe. Project funding has come from the Russell Sage Foundation.

THE ‘UNDESERVING’ IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Policymakers, the media, and the general public often deploy the concept of “deservingness” to frame debates around poverty, employment, and the role of government.

Groups with little or no power, typically of a certain race, gender, or social class, are labeled as “undeserving,” thereby limiting their access to resources. In a chapter of *The Oxford Handbook of Poverty and Society*, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** and Northwestern graduate student Elyse Kovalsky provide a historical account of how deservingness has been woven through public discourse and policy in the realms of cash assistance and healthcare in the United States. They have also tracked how it is used to draw boundaries, cast moral judgment, and distribute or withhold resources in new contexts.

PUBLIC VIEWS ABOUT INEQUALITY

Most people assume that Americans care more about equality of opportunity than equality of outcomes. IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** and **Richeson** are testing this proposition, postulating that, in contrast to the traditional view, Americans might now consider rising inequality as a threat to the “American Dream” of open and expanding opportunities. The study, supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, has two main components: First, a media analysis of how American inequality has been discussed over time, followed by a series of social psychological experiments designed to probe the conditions that provoke concerns about inequality, and second, support for policies designed to reduce it. Preliminary results have indicated that rising inequality indeed triggers Americans to believe that their opportunities are fewer and also that people (Republicans and Independents, in particular) support measures that compel employers to reduce pay disparities more than they support government measures to reduce income disparities. The researchers confirmed the findings using a grant from the online data collection platform Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, housed at Northwestern, to field their survey experiment on a representative sample that mirrored levels of partisanship seen in the entire U.S. population.

PUBLIC PREFERENCES FOR REDISTRIBUTION

According to the General Social Survey (GSS), Americans’ confidence in banks and financial institutions sank from more than 30 percent in the mid-2000s to 8 percent by 2010. Despite the rise of public discontent with the private sector, little is known about how the public views corporations’ responsibilities and performance in addressing economic and social problems. In a project receiving support from the Russell Sage Foundation, **McCall** and her colleagues Jonas Edlund and Arvid Bäckström of Sweden’s Umeå University and Christian

Larsen of Aalborg University in Denmark are examining what citizens see as the proper mix and balance of state and market policies. The researchers are exploring this issue after having added new questions to two existing nationally representative surveys in 2014—the GSS in the United States and the International Social Survey Program in Sweden and Denmark. They observed that two-thirds of Americans supported one form of redistribution or the other, whereas just under half supported government redistribution alone. These results illustrate that Americans and Swedes look much less different in terms of their thoughts on redistribution than researchers previously believed. McCall will also pursue collaborations with other European countries, as well as in other regions of the world where inequality is a major issue, such as in Latin America.

ORIGINS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Challenges to affirmative action programs like the recent *Fisher v. University of Texas* Supreme Court case are calling into question how institutions of higher learning, which aim to create diverse student bodies, can take account of race in their admissions processes. Despite the intensity of these debates, however, surprisingly little is known about the origin of such policies. IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** has been exploring a wide range of archival manuscripts to understand why American colleges and universities adopted affirmative action in the first place. His evidence challenges the still-popular idea that the initial advent of affirmative action was primarily a response to campus unrest or urban riots during the late 1960s. Rather, he depicts how affirmative action actually originated in the early 1960s, as key numbers of college and university leaders drew inspiration from the civil rights movement and began seeking new ways to make racial integration a reality at the Northern, Midwestern, and Western universities over which they presided. Chen is completing a book on this topic, as well as an article that tells how the University of Michigan, Cornell University, and University of California, Los Angeles became three of the early adopters of such policies.

DOES FOREIGN AID HELP OR HINDER?

Do countries that receive foreign aid benefit from the influx of wealth, or does foreign aid harm recipient countries? In a project with Northwestern graduate student Diana Rodriguez-Franco, IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** examines the effect of foreign aid on infant mortality using two new instruments for measuring aid: recipient proliferation, which measures the number of

recipients in a donor's aid portfolio, and geostrategic aid, which measures a recipient's affiliation with donors that have high military expenditures. The researchers showed that the two instruments are related to aid, but not influenced by a country's infant mortality rate. Using these measures, they uncovered that a 1 percent increase in the foreign aid a country receives led to a .04–.06 decrease in its infant mortality rate, or 4–6 fewer infant deaths per 100,000 live births. In a second project, Prasad is working with Northwestern graduate student Andre Nickow to understand why foreign aid might hinder development in some cases but not others. To do so, they are comparing the mechanisms of the “aid curse”—the idea that influxes of foreign aid can harm recipient countries—in South Korea and Pakistan. Identifying a key difference between the two countries—the strength of their tax collection systems—they argue that foreign aid can prevent economic growth in countries with less developed tax administrations.

NO MIRACLES FROM MICROCREDIT LENDING

In work with MIT's Abhijit Banerjee, Esther Duflo, and Rachel Glennerster, IPR development economist **Cynthia Kinnan** reports on the first randomized evaluation of introducing a standard microcredit-lending program in a new market. Such microcredit lending programs are led by microfinance institutions (MFIs), which supply loans to poor households, targeting mostly women. In 2005, half of 104 neighborhoods in Hyderabad, India, were randomly selected to open a branch of Spandana, an MFI. Around 18 months after the introduction of the MFI, the researchers surveyed 6,850 households. Results showed that while households that had access to microcredit loans were no more likely to start a new business, those who already had a business invested more in them when loans were available. However, three to four years after the introduction of the neighborhood MFI—when households in treatment areas had been borrowing more money for longer periods—the average business was no more profitable, though the largest businesses did benefit. Households with access to MFIs reduced spending on “temptation goods,” such as alcohol, gambling, and snacks. No improvements, however, were found for health, education, women's empowerment, or other outcomes that microfinance is often believed to affect. The study suggests that while microcredit lending is a valuable part of poor households' portfolios, it does not seem to lead to the miraculous social transformation that some have claimed. Their research was published in the *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*.

AVERAGE IMPACTS OF CREDIT

In further research on microfinance, **Kinnan** and Emily Breza of Columbia University seek to identify the causal impacts of a reduction in credit supply on consumption, entrepreneurship, and employment. They studied district-level data after the state government of Andhra Pradesh, India, issued an emergency ordinance that completely halted microfinance activities in the state. This halt caused a nationwide shock to the liquidity of lenders, particularly lenders with loans in Andhra Pradesh. Kinnan and Breza uncovered that district-level reductions in credit supply were associated with significant decreases in casual daily wages, household wage earnings, and consumption. Furthermore, the effects of the decrease in wages were felt most acutely by the poorest households. The results reveal that microfinance has significant positive effects, some of which are felt by nonborrowers through increased labor demand.

INTERNAL MIGRATION IMPROVES RURAL LIVES

Of the estimated 1 billion migrants worldwide, three-quarters are internal migrants, who move within their home country. In an IPR working paper, **Kinnan** and her fellow researchers examine whether internal migration benefits the members of the household left behind. They did so by capitalizing on two natural experiments in China: its “sent-down” youth policy in the 1960s and 1970s, which dispatched young people from cities to work in rural provinces of the government's choosing; and the government's relaxation of its *hukou*, or household registration system in the 1990s, which made it easier for rural families to send migrants to cities. On the whole, they discovered that internal migration helped rural households. Households with family members who migrated ate better and more consistently over time and invested in “riskier” and more profitable agricultural endeavors, like cash crops. They also found that the sent-down youth program created lasting linkages between rural provinces and urban ones, making it less daunting for migrants to move between them. They note that forming these connections might be a good goal for developing countries as they continue to urbanize.

AGRICULTURAL MICROFINANCE IN MALI

Nearly three-quarters of the world's population who live on a dollar a day live in rural areas, where agricultural work is often the main source of income. Yet microfinance loans, which could potentially be used to increase agricultural productivity, tend to go to small business enterprises rather than agricultural ones. IPR

development economist **Lori Beaman**, Dean Karlan and Christopher Udry of Yale University, and Bram Thuysbaert of Ghent University in Belgium are investigating the impact of agricultural loans on farmers in the West African country of Mali. The researchers partnered with a microfinance institution that offered loans in randomly selected villages. In the 88 villages that received loans, agricultural profits increased, and persisted into the next agricultural season. In villages that were not offered loans, agricultural profits did not increase. Beaman and her colleagues also found that agricultural loans created a screening process, targeting farmers who would generate a larger harvest for a given amount of loan they received. The results demonstrate that microfinance loans can also benefit those working in agriculture.

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND TECHNOLOGY

Sub-Saharan Africa's agricultural productivity has fallen behind that of the rest of the world, largely because few farmers adopt technologies that could increase it. **Beaman** and her colleagues hypothesize that farmers might not adopt such technologies because they do not have trusted information about them. To investigate, they studied adoption of agricultural technologies in approximately 5,600 households in 200 villages in Malawi. In each village, officers from Malawi's Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security selected and trained two "seed" farmers in how to use new technologies to plant corn and improve soil quality. Beaman and her colleagues discovered that farmers adopted new technologies more readily when they knew one of the seed farmers. At the same time, mapping farmers' social networks was data intensive and expensive, so they recommend further research to identify a simpler, more inexpensive procedure to improve technology adoption rates.

RELIGION AND REDISTRIBUTION

Since Karl Marx and Max Weber, social scientists have attempted to understand the impact, or lack thereof, of religion on attitudes about wealth accumulation, redistribution, and inequality. However, the effect of religious ideas on these domains is difficult to identify, at the very least because citizens might select into religious associations whose messages they find appealing. IPR political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl** and her colleagues address this issue through a laboratory experiment in Nairobi, Kenya. Drawing on the content of real-world sermons, the researchers uncovered evidence that contrary to conventional wisdom, exposure to the positive, self-affirming message typical of Pentecostal churches

often influenced people to be more generous with others, while people exposed to the mainline Christian message of social justice behaved the most selfishly and inequitably. In an April 20 IPR colloquium, Riedl discussed implications of these findings for policy preferences in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as for the study of religion and politics more generally. For example, if the prosperity gospel—a message that God rewards individual faith and positive thinking with material riches—continues to incorporate self-affirmation, thereby encouraging political activism, it could be used in partisan mobilization.

WORKING AFTER WINNING THE LOTTERY

When most people fantasize about winning the lottery, they often vow to quit their job upon receiving their winnings. In an IPR working paper, IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** and his colleagues study a large sample of lottery players in Sweden to find out if winners do quit their jobs, and how winning the lottery affects the winner's household. The researchers observed that lottery winners kept working after they won, but they "spent" their winnings by working a little less. They saw very little evidence of early retirement, even for people who won big sums of money. Winners reduced their work hours much more than their spouses, regardless of their gender, leading the researchers to believe that "who wins" in the household determines who takes it easier at their job. These results contradict prior literature, which argues that households pool their unearned income. The study also sheds light on how a person's wealth affects the number of hours he or she wants to work, an important consideration when it comes to taxation policies and public policies that operate by providing people with lump sums of money.

LOTTERIES TO HELP AMERICANS SAVE

Current savings products do not appeal to many low- to moderate-income consumers, and almost half of Americans would have difficulties coming up with emergency funds in 30 days. Prized-Linked Savings (PLS) accounts are one alternative that could encourage people to save by periodically giving depositors the chance to win cash or other prizes. In the *Journal of Public Economics*, IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his colleagues use a laboratory experiment to compare PLS and standard savings products in a controlled way. They found a PLS payment option led to greater rates of saving than a straightforward interest option of the same expected value. Follow-up work should examine the welfare impact of introducing PLS, as well as the interaction between risk and time preferences.

SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH



IPR psychobiologist Emma Adam (front center) poses with members of her lab, which studies how everyday life factors such as school, family, and peer relationships influence levels of stress, health, and well-being in children and adolescents.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Social disparities, stress, and health
- Intergenerational perspectives on health disparities
- Early environments and health trajectories
- Biomarker development and deployment

RACE-BASED STRESS AND EDUCATION

Members of the C.O.A.S.T. (Contexts of Adolescent Stress and Thriving) Lab, led by IPR psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, including Northwestern graduate student Emily Hittner, IPR graduate research assistants **Jennifer Heissel** and **Sara Thomas**, and postdoctoral fellow Royette Tavernier, are examining associations between perceived racial discrimination in adolescence and short- and long-term academic outcomes for African-American and white adolescents. This work extends their research on the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study, a 20-year longitudinal study with funding from the National Institutes of Health (NIH), to a focus on educational outcomes. They are also working to identify which cultural strengths, such as a strong racial-ethnic identity, could help reduce the negative effects of racial discrimination. Initial results suggest that high levels of perceived racial discrimination during adolescence predict substantially lower rates of college graduation around two decades later, but strong racial and ethnic identities and cultural traditions in adolescence and young adulthood can partially reverse these effects.

SHIFT-AND-PERSIST TO LESSEN DISEASE RISK

Individuals from low-socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds are more likely to suffer from mental illness and chronic diseases like cardiovascular disease. Nevertheless, some manage to overcome these obstacles and beat the odds, a phenomenon known as “resilience.” In *Psychosomatic Medicine*, IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller** study a resilience model they call “shift-and-persist” and how it relates to inflammatory processes. Shift-and-persist entails a combination of adjusting to the stresses of daily life (shifting) and, at the same time, developing a purpose and holding onto hope for a better future (persisting). The researchers collected blood samples from and interviewed 122 adolescents and 122 parents from a diverse range of backgrounds about these strategies. They observed that as SES declined,

shift-and-persist was associated with greater sensitivity to the anti-inflammatory properties of glucocorticoids—steroid hormones that reduce inflammation—and was also associated with less low-grade, chronic inflammation overall. This was not true of adolescents or parents at the higher end of the SES spectrum, perhaps because individuals from higher-SES backgrounds benefit more from active coping strategies. The results indicate that adaptive psychosocial traits could regulate inflammatory processes in a way that might lessen chronic-disease risk, particularly in disadvantaged groups. This study received support from the Canadian Institutes of Health Research.

SELF-CONTROL'S HEALTH CONSEQUENCES

Children with better self-control perform better in school, have fewer run-ins with the law, and maintain better mental health. To improve the outcomes of low-income youth, policymakers have begun incorporating character-skills training into school curricula and social services, attempting to bolster self-control. Yet recent data have shown that for low-income youth, self-control might have damaging health consequences. In the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, **Chen, Miller**, and the University of Georgia’s Gene Brody and Tianyi Yu assess self-control in 292 African-American teenagers from predominantly working-poor families, from ages 17–20. They also assess depressive symptoms, substance use, aggressive behavior, and other problems. The researchers collected blood when the teens reached the age of 22 to gauge their epigenetic aging, which measures the discrepancy between a person’s biological and chronological age. Among low-income youth, higher levels of self-control predicted more favorable psychosocial outcomes, including lower rates of depression, substance use, and aggression, as they transitioned into adulthood. However, in these same youth it also forecasted more rapid cellular aging, as reflected in patterns of DNA methylation, which can affect gene expression. The opposite was true for less-disadvantaged youth, whose self-control slowed epigenetic aging. These findings highlight the potential toll of success on disadvantaged youth: Pursuing one’s goals can also undermine one’s health when facing substantial challenges like resource-deprived schools and—particularly salient for African Americans—discrimination. Resilience, the researchers find, is a “skin-deep” phenomenon, in which outward success can mask emerging health problems. The Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) provided support for this research.

SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH

EARLY-LIFE ADVERSITY AND HEALTH

Children who experience chronic stressors are vulnerable to health problems, raising questions about vulnerability and risk. Answers to these questions have started to emerge, but research on this phenomenon has commonly focused on single diseases or organ systems. In *Biological Psychiatry*, Miller, with psychologist, neuroscientist, and IPR associate Robin Nusslock, calls for a second generation of research that recognizes multidirectional transactions among biological systems. They argue that early-life adversity amplifies crosstalk between peripheral inflammation and neural circuitries subserving threat-, reward-, and executive control-related processes. This crosstalk results in chronic low-grade inflammation, contributing to adiposity and insulin resistance, among other predisease states. Inflammatory mediators also predispose individuals to self-medicating behaviors, such as drug use and smoking. Together with inflammation, these behaviors accelerate the pathogenesis of emotional and physical health problems. Miller and Nusslock stress that their neuroimmune network hypothesis provides a prospectus to guide future research.

VACCINE MODEL OF INFLAMMATORY RESPONSE

Clinicians are increasingly measuring levels of C-reactive protein (CRP) as a marker of systemic inflammation to help determine an individual's risk for cardiovascular disease. Recently, several studies have shown that getting the influenza vaccine might provide an in vivo model for probing how a population responds to CRP. It could also potentially provide information on individual differences in inflammatory response and disease risk. In *Vaccine*, IPR biological anthropologists Thomas McDade and Christopher Kuzawa, and the research team of the Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey, measured the CRP of 934 women in the Philippines who received the influenza vaccine. Seventy-two hours after vaccination, CRP was about 30 percent higher than at baseline. In addition, having a lower CRP at baseline was associated with larger CRP response to vaccination. However, the increase in CRP following vaccination was not statistically significant for participants reporting infectious symptoms. This study is likely the first to document differences in CRP response to influenza vaccination in relation to symptoms of infectious disease and baseline concentrations of CRP. Previous work led by McDade on this population showed that higher levels of microbial exposure during infancy predicted lower levels of chronic inflammation. The authors point out that the NICHD-supported study provides an interesting consideration of whether the

absence of correlation between baseline CRP and vaccine response reported in the United States reflects a distinct pattern of regulation that is the result of lower levels of microbial exposure in infancy and higher levels of chronic inflammation in adulthood. McDade directs IPR's Cells to Society: The Center on Social Disparities and Health and is Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology.

EARLY ENVIRONMENTS AND PREGNANCY

Research shows that nutritional and microbial environments in infancy shape the human immune system, but the long-term effects of early environments on regulating inflammation are not known. In this project, supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF), Kuzawa and McDade are investigating how environments in infancy shape levels of inflammation in adulthood. Drawing on data from the Cebu Survey in the Philippines on pregnant women—since dysregulated inflammation during pregnancy contributes to adverse fetal outcomes—the researchers hypothesize that undernourished female babies who are not exposed to common microbes will have elevated levels of inflammation if they later become pregnant. In turn, this elevated inflammation is expected to lead to more premature births and lower birth weights on average. McDade and Kuzawa will also analyze the methylation of inflammatory genes, an epigenetic process



THOMAS MCDADE, CHAIR

IPR's Cells to Society (C2S): The Center on Social Disparities and Health continues to expand its scope of activities to understand how social, economic, and cultural contexts affect physical and mental health, as well as cognitive achievement, at the population level. Faculty research overlaps with other IPR research program areas, including Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies; Poverty, Race, and Inequality; and Education Policy.

with enduring effects on gene activity and expression, and how this process relates to early environments, inflammation, and birth outcomes.

SUPERFUND SITES AND CHILDREN'S COGNITION

Previous research has found that in utero exposure to environmental toxicants—pesticides, fertilizers, solvents, and other man-made products—can produce adverse reproductive outcomes, such as preterm birth, low birth weight, birth defects, and more. But little attention has been devoted to how such toxicants affect children's cognitive development. To gauge these effects, IPR Director **David Figlio**, an economist, IPR graduate research assistant **Claudia Persico**, and University of Florida pediatrician Jeffrey Roth are examining Superfund sites—U.S. locations polluted with hazardous materials that require long-term cleanup—and comparing the development of siblings who were conceived before a site's cleanup with those conceived following. Test scores dramatically improved and rates of disability were cut in half for those children born after a significant cleanup, according to the researchers. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy.

HOW TESTOSTERONE AFFECTS FATHERHOOD

Kuzawa is following up on a groundbreaking 2011 study, in which he and colleagues discovered that a man's testosterone levels drop when he becomes a father. The study was the first to use longitudinal data to prove that this phenomenon—previously observed in birds and other species—was also true in humans, but it left some unanswered questions. In a follow-up study, he is exploring if new fathers who experience larger declines in testosterone are better parents and spouses than those with smaller declines, if a father's testosterone level affects his child's school performance, and if living with his child affects his testosterone levels. Kuzawa continues to conduct this work in collaboration with the Cebu Survey, which has followed the same families for more than three decades. One major new focus of the study involves “allocares,” or when individuals other than parents take care of a child, and its effects on a father's testosterone and parenting skills.

TELOMERE LENGTH ACROSS GENERATIONS

Kuzawa is taking a new NSF-funded study on the intergenerational predictors of telomeres into the field. Telomeres—caps at the end of each strand of our DNA—protect the ends of chromosomes from deteriorating, thereby affecting how cells age. In prior work with Dan Eisenberg, a former Northwestern graduate student now at the

University of Washington, they collected telomere data from Cebu participants. The data revealed that the age of a person's father affected the length of the telomeres he or she inherited, and this effect was cumulative across two generations. Kuzawa is examining if this finding holds true over more than two generations, laying the foundation for questions related to stress' intergenerational impacts.

ASSESSING THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN HEALTH

Mexican-American adolescents are at greater risk for depression and anxiety, and have a higher tendency for suicidal behavior than their non-Hispanic white counterparts, but almost nothing is known about their experiences of being diagnosed and treated in clinical settings. IPR anthropologist **Rebecca Seligman** is assessing responses to and experiences with mental illness and clinical care among Mexican-American adolescents. She is also examining mainstream clinical practices to discover how they fit with youth needs and expectations. For example, her study investigates hidden cultural assumptions in clinical practices and ways to remedy them. Preliminary analyses reveal the importance of adolescents' bicultural identities, how family culture interacts with clinical culture, and the prominence of social issues related to class and gender. The study's results have the potential to influence patient satisfaction with and adherence to treatment, as well as treatment outcomes—factors that are closely tied to risk and resilience, general well-being, and youth success.

MIND-BODY INTERACTIONS IN HEALTH

In another project, **Seligman** is exploring the relationship between meaning and the body, focusing on the neurobiological and cultural mechanisms that mediate this relationship. She examines cases of religious healing, as well as psychiatric disorders and treatments, to illustrate how interacting processes of the mind, body, and brain might condition health and illness. The project speaks broadly to the importance of meaning in health, health disparities, and healing, and underscores in more theoretical terms the premise of Seligman's study on the quality of health services for Mexican-American youth: That cultural and social meanings are integral to successful treatment practices.

THE COST OF PARENTAL EMPATHY

Having an empathetic parent can improve a child's socioemotional health and development, but do parents receive any benefit from being empathetic? In a study published in *Health Psychology*, **Chen**, Northwestern graduate student Erika Manczak, and the University of

SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND HEALTH

British Columbia's Anita DeLongis examine the psychological and physiological consequences of parental empathy in 247 parents and their adolescent children. The researchers assessed markers of inflammation in both groups' blood samples. Parents completed questionnaires about their own empathy, well-being, and self-esteem, as well as their child's ability to regulate emotions. The adolescents wrote daily diary entries over two weeks detailing how they dealt with their emotions. Chen and her colleagues discovered that while adolescents with empathetic parents were better at regulating emotions and had less inflammation, their parents had higher levels of inflammation—though they also had greater self-esteem and purpose in life. The study highlights the importance of considering both the psychological and physical health-related effects of psychosocial traits like empathy. Research support was provided by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research.

THE EFFECTS OF DEBT ON HEALTH

Does having higher financial debt lead to worse health? **McDade**, and a research team that includes **Kuzawa** and IPR associate **Frank Penedo**, who is Roswell Park Professor in Medical Social Sciences, are continuing research on the impact of financial debt on health, with funding from the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities. In 2013, McDade was part of a study that was the first to examine the effect of debt on physical health, instead of just psychological health. The results, published in *Social Science and Medicine*, found a higher debt-to-asset ratio was associated with higher perceived stress and depression, higher diastolic blood pressure, and worse self-reported general health among



IPR health psychologist Edith Chen outlines her work on the psychosocial factors that can protect low-SES children from poor health outcomes at a January 12 IPR colloquium.

8,400 young adults. To further elucidate the effect of financial debt on health, investigators are currently testing samples from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics for three different biomarkers—glycated hemoglobin, C-reactive protein, and Epstein-Barr virus antibodies. Blood samples are collected using a low-cost, field-friendly method of dried blood spots that McDade has developed, and they will be analyzed in Northwestern's Laboratory for Human Biology Research, which he directs.

GENES, EMOTIONS, AND MARRIAGE

Developmental psychologist and IPR associate **Claudia Haase** continues to study a gene involved in the regulation of serotonin, 5-HTTLPR, for which people can inherit two short alleles, two long alleles, or one long and one short allele. In one study, Haase and her colleagues recruited undergraduate students and showed them cartoons while videotaping their facial expressions. In another, young, middle-aged, and older adults viewed a subtly funny film clip. In a long-term study, the researchers are following married couples who come into their lab every 5–6 years to talk about marital conflicts. While previous research had shown that people with two short alleles of 5-HTTLPR were more distressed, angry, or embarrassed in negative situations, Haase's new findings have shown that these people also smiled and laughed more in positive situations, leading the researchers to term the gene's short allele an "emotion amplifier." People with one or two long alleles, on the other hand, were more even-tempered. These differences could help researchers, not to mention counselors and therapists, identify people who might be particularly sensitive to the effects of positive and negative environments, opening up new avenues for intervention. The findings were published in *Emotion*.

NEW INSTITUTE TO FOCUS ON LGBTQ HEALTH

Brian Mustanski, professor of medical social sciences and an IPR associate, leads the Institute for Sexual and Gender Minority Health and Wellbeing, the first university-wide research institute in the United States exclusively focused on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) health. It aims to connect scholars across disciplines to create collaborations and stimulate new research that will improve the health of LGBTQ people across their lives. Mustanski is a leading researcher on LGBTQ health and health inequity issues and also heads Northwestern's LGBT health and development program, IMPACT. He announced the new institute at the fourth Chicago LGBTQ Health Conference on October 31. The conference brought 200 researchers, service providers, and students together

to focus on translational LGBTQ health research, and IPR has been a co-sponsor for the past four years. At the 2015 conference, keynote speaker **Gregorio Millett**, vice president and director of public policy at The Foundation for AIDS Research, discussed his work on President Barack Obama's national HIV/AIDS strategy and underscored the need for community-based research.

LGBTQ ADOLESCENTS AVOID HIV TESTING

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recommend that homosexual men get tested for HIV at least every six months. Previous research has shown that younger men are far less likely to be tested. In the *Journal of Adolescent Health*, **Mustanski** investigates why. He and his colleagues enrolled 302 gay, bisexual, or queer-identified males, between the ages of 14 and 18, in an HIV-prevention program. Participants were asked a series of questions about HIV testing, including how many times they had ever been tested, and barriers that prevented them from being tested. The results revealed that only one-fifth of all participants had ever been tested for HIV, and less than half of those who had been tested had been tested in the prior three months. Nearly 43 percent of participants said they did not know where they could get tested, illustrating that a lack of information is a significant barrier. Others included not believing oneself to be at risk for HIV (more than 34 percent of respondents) and not wanting others to learn they had been tested (nearly 34 percent). The researchers suggest implementing school-based programs and other interventions to increase adolescents' awareness of the importance of HIV testing and facilities where they can get tested.

HIV/AIDS AND LIFE TRANSFORMATIONS

IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** is working on a book manuscript, in which she analyzes the lives of more than 100 women living with HIV/AIDS, how they come to terms with their diagnoses, and how they create futures for themselves. In it, she traces the “transformative project,” which represents a significant shift in how individuals conceptualize and address everyday struggles that are the result of racism, poverty, and sexism. Living with HIV/AIDS is highly stressful and stigmatizing, and it helps bring into focus how individuals navigate emotional unrest and trauma under conditions of severe inequality. Watkins-Hayes argues these significant life transformations should not be viewed as personal and internal, but rather as social and strongly influenced by their environments, specifically the institutional ties and resources that

women can access. The book will provide a glimpse into how women remake—not simply rebuild—their lives after traumas associated with social and economic disadvantage. This project has received funding from the NSF and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

BETTER OUTCOMES WITH PATIENTS

In the journal *Pediatric Blood Cancer*, professor and founding chair of medical social sciences and IPR associate **David Cella** and his colleagues look into the feasibility of implementing a patient-centered symptom monitoring and reporting system. To test its viability, the researchers focused on fatigue in cancer patients from 7–21 years old who were receiving treatment, or had received it in the past six months. The system generated alert emails and graphs of fatigue levels for the patients' parents and doctors. Most parents reported the system helped them deal with their child's fatigue, and most doctors were willing to receive monthly fatigue reports. In *The Journal of Spinal Cord Medicine*, Cella and his colleagues conducted interviews and focus groups to select which questions to include when surveying individuals with spinal cord injuries about their quality of life, resulting in a new measurement system for researchers and clinicians.

CORTISOL AND OVARIAN CANCER'S SEVERITY

Ovarian cancer is the fifth leading cause of cancer death among U.S. women. One potential stress-related biomarker that might have an impact on disease activity is cortisol. Stress, depression, and other psychosocial factors can impact the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis, which regulates cortisol and inflammation levels in the body. Normal cortisol levels start off high upon waking, increase in the half hour after waking, and then decline the rest of the day. **Penedo** and his colleagues studied 113 women with ovarian cancer to see if there was a relationship between their cortisol levels and their likelihood of surviving cancer. Their key finding was that when the HPA axis becomes dysregulated, as evidenced by lack of variation in diurnal cortisol levels over the day and elevated cortisol at night, this dysregulation was associated with decreased survival time in ovarian cancer patients—likely in part because disrupted cortisol output can increase inflammation and affect the tumor environment and immunoregulation. They observe that measuring a person's cortisol at night might be a way to identify patients who might be at risk of a poor prognosis.

HISTORIC POLICY ADDS WOMEN TO STUDIES

For many years, oncofertility specialist and IPR associate **Teresa Woodruff** mounted a campaign to require researchers to account for gender in studies, one in which other IPR faculty have taken part. Recently, the NIH and the Food and Drug Administration adopted Policy NOT-OD-15-102 that instructs scientists to account for the possible role of sex as a biological variable in animal and clinical studies and to factor sex into research designs, analyses, and reporting. Using both sexes' cells allows for comparison in clinical settings. While analyzing two sexes at the outset of a study might initially cost more, it will save money in the long run by preventing the failure of drugs for women and avoiding the withdrawal of drugs from the U.S. market, Woodruff and her fellow researchers note in *Women's Health*. She is Thomas J. Watkins Memorial Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology and directs the Women's Health Research Institute at Northwestern.

CHILDHOOD IRRITABILITY AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Irritable behavior, such as tantrums, in early childhood can indicate an increased risk for mental illnesses, including mood and behavior disorders. So identifying whether such irritability is normal or not as early as possible can lead to early detection and prevention. Since such behaviors are normative, it is crucial to rigorously examine the spectrum of irritability in the context of development, according to IPR clinical and developmental psychologist **Lauren Wakschlag**, IPR associate and clinical psychologist **Amélie Petitclerc**, Northwestern assistant professor Ryne Estabrook, and their colleagues in the *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*. Drawing data from

preschoolers enrolled in the Multidimensional Assessment of Preschoolers Study (MAPS), led by Wakschlag, the researchers assessed irritability over 16 months using the MAP-DB Temper Loss Scale, which measures features of irritability like tantrums and their frequency to distinguish common normative behaviors from those that are cause for concern. Based on the success of this work for enhancing early identification, Wakschlag and her colleagues recently received a new grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for the When to Worry (W2W) study, designed to extend this work to infancy. Wakschlag is professor and vice chair for scientific and faculty development in Feinberg's department of medical social sciences.

MATERNAL SMOKING AND BIRTH DEFECTS

Does maternal smoking during pregnancy cause disruptive behavior in offspring? According to a recent Surgeon General's report, this remains an open question due to conflicting findings of both genetic and teratologic behavioral studies. Estabrook, **Wakschlag**, and **Mustanski** combined these methods into the longitudinal Midwest Infant Development Study–Preschool to resolve divergent findings. Using high-quality sibling data, they found mothers' prenatal smoking has an independent effect on the disruptive behavior of their children, minus heritability effects. In other findings, Wakschlag and her colleagues also used propensity score matching to demonstrate the robustness of the independent association between maternal smoking and disruptive behavior, after rigorously controlling for the sociodemographic factors of smoking while pregnant. Taken together, these investigations point to the possibility that prenatal smoking causally contributes to risk pathways, as well as defining a research agenda.

LECTURER FINDS A HEALTHCARE DISCONNECT

Robert Kaplan, the then-Chief Science Officer at the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, delivered an IPR Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on February 9. The disconnect between U.S. healthcare and the lives of patients reflects a disconnect between current scientific thinking and the design of the American healthcare system, Kaplan said. Instead of throwing more money at the U.S. healthcare system in the hopes that it will improve, Kaplan suggested reallocating the annual \$2.8 trillion in U.S. healthcare expenditures, perhaps giving more funding to social services. He also recommended investing more in clinical and behavioral research.



From left: IPR researchers Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Lauren Wakschlag, Elise Chor, Terri Sabol, and Teresa Eckrich Sommer pause for a photo after Wakschlag's October 12 lecture on disruptive behavior among preschoolers.



From left: IPR faculty researchers Nicola Bianchi, James Rosenbaum, Jonathan Guryan, and Morton Schapiro, Northwestern professor and president, attend a brainstorming session on how to improve outcomes in higher education through more innovative uses of data from student records.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Evaluations of education interventions and programs
- School spending and student outcomes
- Improving academic achievement
- College transitions and persistence
- Education in the digital age

THE SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ACHIEVEMENT

IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges** and his colleagues seek to document the social distribution of academic achievement in the United States. They are examining various achievement gaps, including gender gaps, racial and ethnic gaps, and social class gaps to determine how this distribution has changed in the past few decades. They focus in particular on differences in student achievement between schools and within schools. Hedges, who is Board of Trustees Professor in Statistics and Education and Social Policy, and his colleagues will seek to triangulate research whenever possible—that is, see whether different sources of evidence will lead to the same conclusions. They will also study existing longitudinal evidence on achievement gaps and attempt to coordinate it with cross-sectional evidence. Combining these data, they hypothesize, will help them to understand why differences in patterns of academic achievement emerge between population subgroups. It will also help them understand questions such as: How large are achievement gaps when students enter school? How do these gaps grow over time? How do social and school contexts affect the initial gaps and their growth? Last, if differences between schools grow over time, what is associated with this growth? The project is the first to compile evidence on the national variation in academic achievement and has led to further projects on developing an evidence base for planning future evaluation studies, understanding generalizability, and making sense of inequality. The Spencer Foundation is funding the work.

FAMILY DISADVANTAGE AND THE GENDER GAP

Boys continue to fall behind girls when it comes to high school and college graduation rates and are more likely to have a criminal record, particularly African-American boys and boys from lower-socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds. In an IPR working paper, education economist and IPR Director **David Figlio**, IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik**, and their colleagues

explore why boys fare worse than girls by matching birth certificates with health, disciplinary, academic, and high school graduation records for more than 1 million children born in Florida between 1992 and 2002. They found that boys born to unmarried mothers with low levels of education, raised in low-income neighborhoods, and enrolled at poor-quality public schools had more problems. They were more likely to be truant and punished for behavioral problems in elementary and middle school, performed worse on standardized tests, were less likely to graduate from high school, and were more likely to commit serious crimes as juveniles than their sisters. Notably, these differences were not present at birth. As pointed out by *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and others, these results demonstrate that policy interventions to help boys from poor and minority backgrounds should account for their sensitivity to disadvantage. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy.

NARRATIVES TO OVERCOME CHALLENGES

How can disadvantaged students overcome the past challenges that have come to define their personal narratives? IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin** is the principal investigator of an ongoing project helping students experience resilience through school-based narrative interventions. Along with Northwestern colleague Dan McAdams and postdoctoral fellow Brady Jones, Destin is working to teach adolescents how to reframe the way they think about their personal narratives so that past challenges can be turned into stories that help them reclaim their past and move forward with their future. The researchers are examining how doing so might affect students' prosocial orientations, academic motivation, and academic outcomes. The project has received funding from Character Lab, a nonprofit that supports the development and evaluation of school-based interventions.

INTERVENTIONS FOR AT-RISK STUDENTS

The high school graduation rate for students in Chicago Public Schools (CPS) was just under 70 percent for 2015, which falls to 53 percent for African-American males, who also tend to be more disadvantaged and at higher risk for violence than their white peers. With support from the National Institutes of Health (NIH), IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** is collaborating with researchers at the University of Chicago's Urban Education Lab, which he co-directs, to study ways to improve outcomes for disadvantaged male youth in Chicago high schools.

In one study, Guryan and his co-authors evaluated Match tutoring—an intensive, individualized, daily math-tutoring program provided by SAGA Innovations that aims to improve the skills and knowledge of low-income, low-achieving teens. Implementing a randomized-controlled trial, they showed that students enrolled in Match tutoring for just one year improved their performance on a standardized math test enough to reduce the test-score gap between black and white students by one-third, performed better in math and other classes, were more engaged in school, and were less likely to be arrested for a violent crime. They also examined a nonacademic intervention—the B.A.M. (Becoming a Man) program, a sociocognitive-skills intervention developed by the Chicago nonprofit Youth Guidance. Promising initial results from both interventions led to an expansion during the 2014–15 school year, and the researchers continue to measure both the isolated effects of the interventions, and also consider whether combining academic and nonacademic interventions could be most effective in improving outcomes. Their results were covered by The New York Times and Fox News Chicago.

DO MENTORS HELP STUDENT ENGAGEMENT?

In another program evaluation, with funding from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child



Struggling schools, declining school funding, persistent achievement gaps, and recruiting and retaining effective teachers are just a few of the critical issues that school districts across the nation face. More rigorous research is needed to understand these issues and to create effective solutions. IPR's Education Policy program groups fellows from a variety of disciplines and aligns with other research programs, including Quantitative Methods for Policy Research.

**Jon Guryan (l.) with then-Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan.*

Health and Human Development (NICHD), **Guryan** is evaluating interventions meant to engage students and decrease student truancy. Guryan and his co-investigators are testing whether one intervention—a program of mentoring, monitoring, and case management—can prevent student disengagement and push students on a more positive track. Randomized across 120 schools and approximately 4,000 students enrolled in grades 3-8 in CPS schools, the experiment uses both in-person surveys, as well as administrative data, to track a variety of outcomes, including academic achievement and overall health. By comparing students receiving the status quo services offered by CPS with those receiving the intervention, they hope to gain new insight into preventing school failure and student disengagement. Their final evaluation of the program will also include a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis of the intervention.

RESEARCHING EARLY MATH EDUCATION

In recent years, a new focus on STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) education, as well as high-quality early education, has led to renewed discussion about the importance of early-age mathematics instruction. Social policy professor and IPR associate **Cynthia Coburn** is part of a national network of scholars investigating early math skill development through an initiative called DREME (Development and Research in Early Mathematics Education). The researchers are building off of existing research showing the long-term benefits of high-quality preschool instruction, as well as the connection between early math development and later achievement. The network involves four separate studies related to early math, which will create new resources for early childhood educators, examine how to develop math thinking and executive functioning, foster parent engagement in children's math learning, and study the effects of curriculum alignment from pre-kindergarten through third grade.

AGE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Do students who are older than their classmates have an advantage in school? In an IPR working paper, economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** and Elizabeth Cascio of Dartmouth College estimate the effects of students' relative age in kindergarten. Using data from Tennessee's Project STAR (Student-Teacher Achievement Ratio)—originally an experiment in small class sizes—they observed and compared children who entered school at the same age, but were randomly assigned to kindergarten classrooms with different class ages on average. Contrary

to popular wisdom, the researchers did not observe benefits for children who were older relative to their classmates. In fact, it helped younger students to be around older peers—who tended to have higher test scores in the early stages of education; they received a number of benefits, such as higher test scores up to eight years later, reducing the likelihood of being held back a grade and increasing the prospect of taking a college entrance exam.

ADDRESSING THE SUMMER READING GAP

Once children enter school, a reading gap between students from high- and low-SES backgrounds appears and begins to grow. It is likely exacerbated by summer vacation, as low-SES students are less likely to receive continued reading instruction in the months away from school. As part of a large-scale study supported by the U.S. Department of Education, **Guryan** and his colleagues are running a multiyear, multidistrict randomized controlled trial to implement and evaluate Project READS, a summer reading program developed by Harvard University's James Kim. In one arm of the study, the researchers examined the effects of increased access to books and comprehension lessons on 824 third-grade children across 14 elementary schools in North Carolina. They found the intervention's effects were most positive when students were given books that matched their reading level and their interests, along with teacher instruction at the end of the school year. Overall, children in high-poverty schools gained more from the summer reading program than those in wealthier schools. Despite those benefits, the researchers note that it did not fully close the reading gap between low- and middle-SES students, highlighting the persistence of socioeconomic disparities in reading access and comprehension.

CHALLENGES OF THE COMMON CORE

The Common Core State Standards (CCSS) have been controversial since their release in 2010. In *Challenging Standards: Navigating Conflict and Building Capacity in the Era of Common Core*, co-edited by education professor and IPR associate **James Spillane** and the University of Pennsylvania's Jonathan Supovitz, education researcher and IPR associate **Carol Lee** examines the challenges of adopting CCSS, using English Language Arts (ELA) high school standards as a case study. She wrote about how these national-level standards do not provide the infrastructure and resources—such as teacher preparation and teacher and staff learning opportunities—necessary for successful implementation in schools and classrooms. She also honed in on the conceptual challenges of adopting Common Core, as the ELA standards

outline benchmarks but fail to account for different learning processes. While standardization is critical to Common Core's success, Lee identifies the challenges of standardizing access to resources and conceptual know-how in schools. Lee is Edwina S. Tarry Professor of Education and Social Policy, and Spillane is Olin Professor of Learning and Organizational Change.

ISOLATING EFFECTS OF SINGLE-SEX SCHOOLS

Existing studies on single-sex schooling suffer from biases due to the fact that students who attend single-sex schools differ in unmeasured ways from those who do not. In an experiment in Trinidad and Tobago, IPR labor and education economist **Kirabo Jackson** is isolating the effect of single-sex schooling from other confounding factors by comparing outcomes in co-educational and single-sex classrooms with the same teachers, schooling environments, and external supports. He aims to discover single-sex education's effects on academic achievement, sociobehavioral outcomes, and participation in science, technology, engineering, and math in middle school. Preliminary findings suggest most students performed no better in single-sex schools, with girls in single-sex schools taking fewer math and science courses. The Spencer Foundation has provided funding for the project.

WHAT MAKES AN EXCELLENT TEACHER?

In previous work, **Jackson** has developed a new method for identifying how teacher quality affects high schoolers' outcomes. In new work, he aims to provide evidence on how better to identify high-quality teachers who improve students' "soft" skills, which are the broad set of skills needed to succeed as adults. Jackson will compile a uniquely comprehensive longitudinal data set in collaboration with the Chicago Consortium of Public School Research and document how measures of these skills in childhood predict adult success. He will also determine the extent to which teachers who improve soft skills in childhood have a causal effect on adult outcomes, including educational attainment, criminal activity, employment, and earnings. This work is being supported by the Carnegie Foundation.

CHICAGO'S SMALL HIGH SCHOOL INITIATIVE

The "Small Schools Movement" is built on the idea that smaller high schools might provide better learning environments, especially for disadvantaged students. But do they improve student outcomes? **Schanzenbach**, along with the University of Chicago's Amy Claessens and Lisa Barrow of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago,

investigated 22 new small high schools created by CPS between 2002 and 2006 in the *Journal of Urban Economics*. On average, the researchers found that students who chose to attend a smaller public Chicago high school tended to be more disadvantaged and have lower average test scores entering high school. In their study, they controlled for this selection bias and compared students living in the same neighborhoods but at different distances from a smaller school—these distances were considered the “cost” of switching to that school. On the one hand, they discovered that students living closer to a small school were more likely to attend that school and that students at small schools were more likely to stay enrolled and eventually graduate. On the other, they did not see correlated increases in standardized test scores, a measure of student achievement.

STRATEGIES TO IMPROVE COLLEGE SUCCESS

Destin continued work on a series of experiments measuring pathways to college achievement. In collaboration with a local high school, one field experiment sought to reduce socioeconomic gaps in achievement by alerting students to opportunities for advancement, regardless of their socioeconomic status. Destin randomly assigned students to receive information suggesting that social status is malleable and that people can work to climb the social ladder. He and his colleagues then measured participants’ academic motivation and persistence, finding that students from low-SES backgrounds who received the information scored higher than those who did not. Another experiment targeted parents of eighth-grade students, providing them with strategies for discussing college with their children. Initial results of this intervention reveal that such strategies can lead to positive outcomes for both parents and children: Parents in the treatment group planned to discuss college and financial aid sooner with their children, and they also believed that it was more important for their children to persist through academic difficulty.



IPR social psychologist Mesmin Destin studies social and psychological factors that contribute to disparities in educational outcomes.

ALTERNATIVES TO FOUR-YEAR DEGREES

Only 20 percent of students who enroll in community college manage to get a bachelor’s degree, and those from low-SES backgrounds with low test scores are even more unlikely to do so. In a recent project, IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** and project coordinator Caitlin Ahearn studied students’ options beyond traditional bachelor’s programs. They identified a number of benefits of “sub-baccalaureate” programs, such as associate’s degrees or certificate programs, which train students for jobs in manufacturing and computer science. They emphasized that certificate and associate’s degree programs only take one to three years to complete—versus the national average of six years to complete a bachelor’s degree—and sub-baccalaureates still conferred a major advantage over a high school diploma, both in terms of earnings and other career rewards, like having a job with regular hours. While students from low-SES backgrounds who had low test scores were less likely to complete a four-year college degree than their higher-SES peers with higher test scores, their chances of completing a sub-baccalaureate program were the same. Part of the problem, the researchers contend, was a lack of information on alternatives to bachelor’s degree programs. They point to the need for interventions that provide high school students and those considering college with more information on possible alternatives to bachelor’s degree programs.

RESEARCH AGENDA FOR THE ‘FORGOTTEN HALF’

Rosenbaum was lead author on “The New Forgotten Half and Research Directions to Support Them,” a report commissioned by the William T. Grant Foundation. It found 37 percent of on-time high school graduates enrolled in community colleges and planned to pursue bachelor’s degrees, but 46 percent of them dropped out within eight years. Those who dropped out fared no better in the labor market than peers with a high school diploma and no college experience. Using nationally representative data, the report illustrates the obstacles such students face after entering college and discusses institutional challenges. It also outlines a research agenda to help these young adults move beyond “some college.”

TWO-YEAR COLLEGES AND CAREER ENTRY

Once enrolled at two-year colleges, how do students settle on a career? In an ongoing project with Spencer Foundation support, **Rosenbaum** is honing in on the college-to-career transition at two-year colleges. He is examining how college occupational programs work, what information students need to succeed, and factors behind successful career-entry for these students. **Rosenbaum** is studying skills training, as well as the role of advising, employer contacts, and other program procedures meant to help students enter into careers. In addition to qualitative data, such as interviews with staff and surveys of students in public and private two-year colleges, the evaluation will collect quantitative institutional data. The researchers seek to inform administrators and educators on how to design better college occupational programs, advise students, and assist them in their career starts. In particular, they hope to shed light on the specific college procedures that lead to better employment outcomes for workers attending two-year colleges. IPR research coordinator **Chenny Ng** wrote an op-ed for The Washington Post based on this body of work.

CAN SERVICES BOOST COLLEGE SUCCESS?

Rosenbaum and IPR graduate research assistant **Jiffy Lansing** completed their study on One Million Degrees (OMD), a Chicago-based nonprofit that supports low-income community college students through school and work. Looking at three cohorts of students, **Rosenbaum** and **Lansing** examined the effects of OMD’s comprehensive support programming, which seeks to promote economic, human, cultural, and social capital. The researchers interviewed and shadowed OMD staff, conducted focus groups with scholars, observed OMD workshops and events, and analyzed all OMD program

materials. The 18-month study also took into account student characteristics and specific community college contexts, as well as linkages between OMD and its program partners, such as the City Colleges of Chicago, to understand how these factors might influence community college student success. Findings suggest OMD scholars are accumulating human capital in the form of educational persistence to an associate’s degree, and OMD is also fostering social and human capital in the form of connections to new social networks and increased working knowledge of academic and workplace norms.

1-HOUR PROGRAM CLOSSES ACHIEVEMENT GAP

First-generation college students, whose parents do not have four-year degrees, typically earn lower grades and face more obstacles to success than continuing-generation students, or those who have at least one parent with a college degree. In *Psychological Science*, **Destin** and his colleagues test a novel difference-education intervention. In the study, first- and continuing-generation students attended an hour-long university program welcoming new students. It included a discussion where a diverse panel of college seniors relayed how their backgrounds affected their college experiences. The researchers then followed up with the students two years after the initial intervention to assess their behavioral and hormonal responses to stressful college situations. For first-generation students who attended the panel, the achievement gap between them and students with a college-educated parent closed by 63 percent. These students also experienced less stress and anxiety, adjusted better to college life, and were more academically and socially engaged than those in the control group. Furthermore, the ratio of hormones among the first-generation students who attended the panel signified a healthier, more balanced response to the stress of making speeches and taking tests.

‘WARM’ MESSAGES HELP LOW-SES STUDENTS

In a series of experiments published in the *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, **Destin** and Northwestern graduate student **Alexander Browman** measure how a student’s perception of her or his college climate on socioeconomic diversity affects the student’s academic motivation and concept of self. They randomly assigned students to read different statements about their university’s support for low-income students and socioeconomic diversity. Some students read “warm” statements, suggesting that their university supported socioeconomic diversity through a commitment to



Following a presentation of their research on alternatives to bachelor degrees, research study coordinator Caitlin Ahearn and IPR education researcher James Rosenbaum speak with Wallace Grace (left) of the education nonprofit OneGoal Graduation.

financial aid or the federal work-study program, for example. The second group received “chilly” statements, suggesting that the university’s focus was on serving high-income students and was less concerned with socioeconomic diversity. The low-SES students who read the “warm” messages reported greater academic confidence and identified more strongly as high-achievers—and perceived their universities as more socioeconomically diverse—than those who read the “chilly” statements. The results point to how important it is for universities to pay attention to student perceptions of institutional support of socioeconomic diversity in promoting low-SES students’ academic motivation and educational expectations.

TENURE-TRACK PROFESSORS AND TEACHING

Over the past year, adjunct faculty across the country have threatened walkouts and engaged in collective bargaining to protest wages and working conditions, highlighting changes in the higher education landscape in which colleges and universities increasingly rely on both nontenure- and tenure-track faculty. **Figlio** and Northwestern University president, professor, and IPR economist **Morton Schapiro** are comparing how teaching by these two faculty groups affects student learning, using data on more than 15,000 Northwestern freshmen from 2001–08. With Kevin Soter (WCAS ’12), now at Stanford University Law School, they pointed to how students were more likely to take a second course and to earn a higher grade in it when a nontenure-track

instructor taught the introductory course, regardless of the subject. Interestingly, the beneficial effects of adjunct faculty were bigger for two groups—those who were less academically prepared and those who tended to take more difficult classes. The IPR working paper also called into question whether the rise of hiring full-time designated teachers in U.S. higher education is “cause for alarm.” Rather, the three researchers suggest that such a trend might offer colleges and

universities a way to be great institutions of research and of undergraduate learning at the same time. The study was published in *The Review of Economics and Statistics*.

EFFECTS OF EXPANDING EDUCATIONAL ACCESS

Does increasing access to education always lead to positive effects? Not necessarily, according to research by economist and IPR associate **Nicola Bianchi**, who examined an Italian reform that drastically increased enrollment in college-level STEM programs in the 1960s. Tracking data for thousands of students affected by the reform, Bianchi unearthed unintended consequences of making education more accessible. With Italy’s education reform in 1961, graduates of technical high schools, designed to train industry-sector professionals, were allowed to enroll in STEM majors at universities for the first time. This policy change resulted in a 216 percent increase in students enrolled in STEM programs. Bianchi observed that the increased enrollment in STEM majors was not matched by an increase in university resources, leading to overcrowding, fewer resources per student, and a lower-quality learning experience. Additionally, graduates of university-prep schools—who could enroll in STEM programs before the reform—were less likely to enroll in STEM majors following the reform. Bianchi also looked at students’ income later in life to measure the policy’s long-term effects, finding that students who enrolled in STEM majors post-reform earned less than they would have prior to it. The research suggests that

such indirect effects must be taken into account when it comes to policies aimed at expanding educational access.

SCHOOL SPENDING AND STUDENT OUTCOMES

Some policymakers, based on research conducted in the 1960s, have argued that spending more on schools does not improve them. Policymakers have also cited the fact that per-pupil spending has increased since the 1970s but test scores have not. New research, however, challenges this long-held and influential view. Starting in the 1970s, certain state supreme courts began mandating increased spending on schools with high percentages of low-income students. In *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Jackson, IPR graduate research assistant **Claudia Persico**, and Rucker Johnson of the University of California, Berkeley examine the long-run effects of school finance reforms on state distributions of school spending, academic achievement, and adult outcomes. They used detailed, nationally representative data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics on children born between 1955 and 1985 and who were followed through 2011. They determined that students who attended these higher-poverty schools following the school finance reforms did better later in life, earning higher wages and more education, than similar students who went to the schools before the reforms. Also, the spending was even more beneficial for low-income students following the reforms. While the results underscore that spending does matter, the way in which the money is spent is also important. Schools that received more money spent it on reducing class sizes, increasing teacher salaries, and lengthening school days—all of which served to improve student outcomes.

TRANSITIONS IN SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Most research treats a person's socioeconomic status as static. In a recently launched National Science Foundation project, **Destin**, IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson**, and Northwestern's Michelle Rheinschmidt-Same are examining how accounting for SES changes, such as those in income or education, might influence a person's achievement and well-being. Since people typically pursue upward mobility through the avenue of higher education, the researchers will study how well changes in status-based identity over time predict academic motivation, grades, and psychological well-being among college students. The project seeks to address socioeconomic disparities in achievement and well-being and to improve outcomes of college students from low-SES backgrounds. By treating socioeconomic status as a dynamic process, the project also opens

the door for new research into the subtleties of how changes in an individual's SES can influence thoughts, behaviors, and important life outcomes.

NEW STATE POLICY RESEARCH CENTER

Recent years have seen a massive shift from federal to state and local accountability for education combined with a push for local and state education leaders to incorporate more research in policymaking. As such, the Institute of Education Sciences (IES), the research arm of the U.S. Department of Education, has sought to help states and school districts develop research relevant to their needs. To this end, IES recently allocated \$5 million to create the National Center for Research in Policy and Practice, led in part by education and social policy professors and IPR associates **Cynthia Coburn** and **James Spillane**. Headquartered at the University of Colorado-Boulder, the center will study how education leaders—such as school district supervisors and principals—deploy research in their decision making. It will seek to measure the ways schools and districts currently use research, identify the conditions that affect research use, and determine ways to make research more meaningful.

FAN FORUMS MIRROR HISTORY CLASS

In the *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, digital learning expert and IPR associate **Jolie Matthews** examines how people talk about history in an online fan community. Matthews analyzed 2,641 posts made over five months on a fan website for the television series “The Tudors” about the reign and marriages of King Henry VIII. She looked at what sources its members used during their discussions and how they deployed them. Though the fan community centered on a television show, Matthews discovered that many of the members' practices were similar to those practiced in classrooms. These included contextualizing and corroborating information, in addition to drawing on reputable sources to back up one's argument, such as books written by academically trained historians. The findings shed light on potential ways for educators to better measure student knowledge in the digital age, as well as how technology might enhance innovative historical exploration outside of the classroom.

D.C. BRIEFING: EDUCATION IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Learning in online classes, the Internet skills gap, and preschool iPad use were a few of the topics presented to the 65 congressional staffers, researchers, academics, and journalists attending IPR's May 19 policy research briefing on Capitol Hill. IPR communication studies

researchers **Ellen Wartella** and **Eszter Hargittai** joined **Figlio** to discuss technology's impact on education, point out a few misconceptions, and offer suggestions about its effectiveness and use in classrooms. The briefing was co-sponsored by U.S. Representatives **Bob Dold** (R-10th) and **Mike Quigley** (D-5th) of Illinois and attended by Dold and U.S. Representative **John Delaney** (D-6th) of Maryland. Drawing on two recent studies, Wartella discussed technology's impact on young children, both at home and in the classroom. Rather than barriers to access, Wartella and her colleagues found secondary barriers related to teachers' comfort, training, and parental expectations. In her extensive research into young people's Internet skills, Hargittai underscored that those from less-privileged backgrounds are less skilled at using the Internet than their more-privileged peers. She argued that a classroom intervention could help to bridge these digital-skill deficits. Figlio reviewed existing studies of online learning, finding that more online learning is associated with worse outcomes for low achievers. While there are many very successful online education models, he said, the issue lies in taking those models to scale.

HECKMAN ON LIFELONG PRESCHOOL EFFECTS

On April 27, **James Heckman**, a Nobel laureate and University of Chicago economist, spoke about his game-changing work on human potential as the IPR Spring 2015 Distinguished Public Policy Lecturer. Throughout his career, Heckman has examined the efficacy of interventions to boost human development across the life cycle. During his conversation, Heckman reviewed his research on whether the Civil Rights Act of 1964 boosted African-American employment in the South, as well as his work on early-education programs. He discussed his findings on the long-term effects of the Perry Preschool and Abecedarian programs of the 1960s and 1970s, which boosted participants' socioemotional skills and improved their physical health. Later in life, participants went on to earn more money than peers not in the program. He argued teachers and parents should work to foster socioemotional skills in schools over all education stages. He also took issue with the current emphasis on test scores, saying it removes the focus from such skills. Heckman cited his research on GED (General Educational Development) programs as an example of the deleterious effects of an overreliance on test scores: High school graduates outperformed GED holders on almost every measure, with GED holders lacking the same lifelong character skills that Perry had fostered in preschoolers.



At a December 1 lecture, author Dale Russakoff recounts the successes and failures of a high-profile effort to transform the school system of Newark, New Jersey, into a national model.

A \$200-MILLION PRIMER ON SCHOOL REFORM

At a December 1 IPR lecture, author and journalist **Dale Russakoff** described a high-profile effort to transform the struggling school district of Newark, New Jersey. Drawing from her New York Times best-seller, *The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools?* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015), Russakoff described the five-year, \$200 million effort to transform Newark's failing schools, while also creating a national model for fixing struggling urban school districts across the country. The reform led to an updated system for teacher evaluations and the growth of the charter school system. However, this charter school expansion has led to decreased funding for public schools, and 60 percent of students in Newark are left in low-performing, underfunded district schools. Based on the city's experience, she stressed the need for reforms that address poverty at the community level when it comes to improving education for the nation's poorest children. The lecture was co-sponsored by Northwestern's Medill School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications, and the University's School of Education and Social Policy.

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS

Spencer Foundation President Michael McPherson greets attendees of his November 10 Performance Measurement and Rewards special lecture, where he discussed ways to measure success within a research foundation.



RESEARCH TOPICS

- Performance in government & nonprofits
- Healthcare markets and regulation
- Patents and intellectual property
- Corporate governance and firms' social responsibility

PERFORMANCE IN A RESEARCH FOUNDATION

The Spencer Foundation, one of the nation's premier research foundations, must spend 5 percent of its more than \$525 million endowment each year. Yet how can one define "success" when it comes to this expenditure, particularly when its effects will not be evident for years to come? In a November 10 Performance Measurement and Rewards special lecture, Spencer Foundation President **Michael McPherson** addressed this conundrum. He argued that the most successful foundations are those with a clear mission, and those that pursue activities that follow their mission and strategy. McPherson also discussed the Spencer Foundation's three main, interconnected activities, which include building the capacity of future generations of education researchers; creating communication and networking links between researchers, those who might benefit from their research, and the public; and grantmaking, the most difficult area in which to assess progress. Finally, McPherson highlighted the Spencer Foundation's efforts to assess its own progress—including an ambitious evaluation led by IPR education researcher and statistician **Larry Hedges**—of its dissertation and postdoctoral fellowship programs, despite the fears of the program's beneficiaries and the organization administering the program.

INVITED SCHOLARS ADDRESS PERFORMANCE

Over the year, IPR's Series on Performance Measurement and Rewards in the Public and Nonprofit Sectors welcomed three speakers on Northwestern's Evanston campus. On February 25, IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** discussed her research on state reforms to school finance systems, how the reforms affected school funding, and how they influenced students' academic achievement. On April 15, the University of Chicago's **Tomas Philipson** spoke about the effects of nonadherence in healthcare—when patients do not initiate or continue the care their healthcare providers recommend to them. On May 27, IPR health and law scholar **Michael Frakes** highlighted his work on the relationship between medical

liability forces on the one hand and medical errors and healthcare quality on the other.

THE PERILS OF PAY-FOR-PERFORMANCE

Government and nonprofit activities are often difficult, if not impossible, to measure and assign monetary value to. As a result, these difficulties prevent the adoption of systems that align rewards with "performance." IPR economist **Burton Weisbrod** is writing a book, under contract with Stanford University Press, to consider the unintended—but foreseeable and counterproductive—consequences of the rising tide of efforts that involve adopting incomplete and biased measures of "performance" and then rewarding them. Titled "[The Perils of Pay-for-Performance: Why Strong Rewards in Public and Nonprofit Organizations Do Not Work](#)," the book will cover a wide array of public and nonprofit sector services, such as higher education, hospitals, policing, museums, private charities, K–12 education, and the federal judiciary. For example, the debate surrounding No Child Left Behind (NCLB) has centered on whether the strong rewards for performance under NCLB—and its increasing reliance on measurable performance—should be expanded to other areas of government and the nonprofit world. Weisbrod emphasizes how the forces at work in these systems cause strong rewards to be strategically "gamed," so that it is not truly good performance that is rewarded, but measured performance—even when that is systematically overstated. He explains why the two concepts are systematically different—why, in short, larger rewards in public schools improve test scores but not learning. Weisbrod is John Evans Professor of Economics.

WHAT MAKES A GOOD HEALTHCARE MERGER?

2015 was a year defined by massive healthcare mergers. The number of hospital mergers increased 70 percent over 2010, and four of the nation's five largest insurers proposed mergers as well. In *The New England Journal of Medicine*, healthcare economist and IPR associate **Leemore Dafny**—an expert on healthcare mergers—and her colleague, cardiologist Thomas Lee of Press Ganey Associates, discuss what makes for a "good" and a "bad" merger. Good mergers, they wrote, reduce healthcare costs, improve outcomes for patients, or do both of these things, enabling healthcare providers to generate competition and also to respond to it. Bad mergers are those that intend to reduce competition, or lead to higher healthcare prices without improving healthcare's efficiency or patient outcomes. Companies hoping to

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS

merge must consider the extent to which a merger could generate “cognizable efficiencies,” or measurable improvements in costs or quality, an action that most companies have so far eschewed. Dafny and Lee laid out potential cognizable efficiencies, which included forgoing capital expenditures that would otherwise have occurred and consolidating care for a specific group of people, making it easier to hire a team to focus solely on these people. They conclude that while mergers might threaten competition in general, specifying cognizable efficiencies at the outset could hold companies more accountable, enabling a “good” merger. Dafny is Herman Smith Research Professor in Hospital and Health Services in Northwestern’s Kellogg School of Management.

THE GREAT RECESSION AND HEALTH SPENDING

Recently, Kellogg healthcare economists and IPR associates **David Dranove** and **Craig Garthwaite**, with research assistant professor Christopher Ody, found that private health spending during the Great Recession and recovery decreased the most in the places hardest hit by the recession. In *Health Affairs*, they continue this investigation, focusing this time on people covered by public health insurance—specifically, by Medicare. Using data from the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services’ spending files and the Bureau of Labor Statistics’ information on local unemployment, they discovered that growth in Medicare spending slowed down during the Great Recession by approximately \$4 billion. However, only 14 percent of the slowdown in spending from 2009–12 could be attributed to the recession’s lingering effects. The economy had less of an impact on Medicare spending than it did on private spending because those covered by Medicare were older and likely less affected by economic conditions, since they did not work as much as the younger people covered by private insurance. The researchers estimated that if Medicare recipients had worked at the same rate as younger people before the Great Recession began, the economic downturn would have had twice the effect on Medicare spending. Dranove is Walter McNerney Distinguished Professor of Health Industry Management.

HOSPITALS AS INSURERS OF LAST RESORT

American hospitals are required to provide emergency medical care to the uninsured. How much does this cost them? In an IPR working paper, IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo**, **Garthwaite**, and Tal Gross of Columbia University used panel data methods and case studies from statewide Medicaid disenrollments, finding the uncompensated care costs of hospitals increased in

response to the size of the uninsured population. The findings suggest each additional uninsured person costs local hospitals \$900 annually in uncompensated care. In addition, increases in the uninsured population lowered hospital profit margins, and hospitals could not pass along all increased costs to privately insured patients. For-profit hospitals were less affected by these factors, indicating that nonprofit hospitals hold a unique role as part of the social insurance system.

LIABILITY AND PHYSICIAN PRACTICES

When physicians are more liable for their mistakes, do they provide better or worse care to their patients? IPR health and legal scholar **Michael Frakes** and MIT’s Jonathan Gruber are exploring the relationship between the pressure of medical liability and the extent and quality of medical care. To identify changes in liability pressure, they are examining liability rules unique to the Military Health System (MHS) and the full database of MHS healthcare records over a 10-year period. They are creating counterfactual environments that allow them to study physicians completely immune from liability, rather than in the capped liability environments scholars have assessed previously. They plan to use these methods to estimate how liability immunities affect various healthcare outcomes.



BURTON WEISBROD, CHAIR

Scholars from the fields of economics, law, management, political science, social policy, and statistics have focused research and public policy analysis on the measurement and rewarding of “performance” in nonprofit organizations and government. They examine how good performance is being measured and search for common problems, solutions, and reward mechanisms that provide incentives for efficiency. Research complements IPR’s programs on Education Policy and Urban Policy.

PATENT TROLLS AND EXCESSIVE PATENTING

“Patent trolls” are those who buy up a portfolio of patents for inventions they did not create, then threaten lawsuits against inventors who might infringe on them. Some have pointed fingers at the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office (PTO) for practices that seem to encourage excessive patenting. But does its structure encourage “over-granting”? **Frakes** and Melissa Wasserman of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign took up the issue and set out to calculate if the amount of time an examiner has to review a patent affects the number she or he eventually accepts or rejects. The researchers studied 9,000 PTO patent examiners over more than a decade as they received promotions. Once promoted, the PTO expected them to spend 10 percent less time evaluating each application before making a decision to accept or reject a patent. After sorting through 1.4 million patent applications between 2001 and 2012, the researchers concluded that overall grant rates rose as examiners were promoted. Examiners also searched less for “prior art”—information related to the patent already available to the public—and rejected fewer patents when promoted.

PROCRASTINATION AMONG PATENT EXAMINERS

In another project with Wasserman, **Frakes** is studying procrastination in the PTO. While most existing research has used experimental settings to study procrastination, **Frakes** and Wasserman are examining individual behaviors of patent examiners in the workplace. They consider two recent concerns that have been raised with the PTO: claims of rampant procrastination among patent examiners and concerns that procrastination will increase with the PTO’s growing telecommuting program. Patent examiners’ productivity initially worsened when they began working outside of the office, but after a few years their procrastination returned to the same levels as before they started telecommuting. Their results suggest that the PTO and others should account for such effects in their telecommuting or “work from home” policies.

CORPORATE GOVERNANCE AND POLICY

Previous research has shown that corporate governance—such as the rules that owners and board members put in place to direct a company’s activities—can affect market value for public companies. But little evidence explains why this is the case. In the *Journal of Banking & Finance*, law and finance professor **Bernard Black**, an IPR associate, and his colleagues examine the mechanisms through which firm-level corporate governance affect firm market values in emerging markets like Korea. In previous

work, **Black** used data from 1998–2004 to create a Korean corporate governance index including almost all public companies listed on the Korea Stock Exchange during that time. Using this index, they analyzed the effects of a 1999 legal reform that changed the board structure of “large” firms—those with over \$2 trillion in assets—and found that better corporate governance resulted in higher firm market value. Building from this work, **Black** and his co-authors consider why this happens. They ultimately point to a “tunneling channel,” by which better governance reduces cash-flow tunneling—when value is extracted from some firms in a business group to benefit other firms and the people who control the group—which then increases the market value of the firm. They also offer that better governance can negate the damaging effects of related-party transactions—such as mergers and equity issuances to insiders—and makes firm profitability more sensitive to industry profitability, findings that are consistent with reduced tunneling.

HOW ACTIVISTS SHAPE FIRM RESPONSIBILITY

From the prominent boycott of Nike in the 1990s to the #boycottWalmart trend on Twitter, activists are increasingly pushing corporations to be more socially responsible. This has prompted researchers to ask: Do activists actually influence firms’ corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices directly? Professor of management and organizations and IPR associate **Brayden King** is working on two projects that study the link between activists’ activities and companies’ CSR policies. In work with Mary-Hunter McDonnell of the University of Pennsylvania, **King** examined two avenues by which activists’ campaigns can shape firms’ activities. First, activists might protest a company or boycott it completely in response to an undesirable practice, putting public pressure on the company to change its policies. Additionally, activists can lead firms to build up a socially responsible image to protect against potential activist campaigns in the future. Though **King** and McDonnell confirmed this proactive approach to CSR exists, it did not seem to deter future activism. In a second project, with McDonnell and Sarah Soule of Stanford University, **King** explored whether corporations are more receptive to social activism over time. Using a longitudinal study of activist campaigns against 300 large firms between 1993–2009, the researchers uncovered a dynamic process: Repeated, contentious interactions with activists led companies to become better at managing social issues and to pay more attention to activist campaigns.



IPR development economist Lori Beaman describes her research on the short- and long-term impacts of electoral quotas on female representation and gender prejudice at a December 4 IPR policy research briefing in Chicago on women leaders.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Public opinion and political participation
- Parties, partisanship, and cooperation
- Political communication and issue frames
- Legal changes and policy implications
- News, technology, and online behavior

SCHOLARS DISCUSS RACE, VOTING, NEWS

More than 80 faculty and graduate students gathered on May 9 for the ninth annual Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior workshop, organized by IPR political scientist **James Druckman**. At the workshop held on Northwestern's Evanston campus, **Donald Kinder** of the University of Michigan spoke about his research detailing how racial prejudice in the American public increased around certain policies after President Obama's election in 2008. **Cathy Cohen** and **Christopher Berk** of the University of Chicago discussed how the use of social media stimulates young adults' political engagement. IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** and **Michael Stern** of the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center explained that, while rather expensive, collecting survey results by means of home visits, rather than on the web, can provide more thorough and accurate data. Georgia State University's **Toby Bolsen**, formerly an IPR graduate research assistant, asked if voters are more likely to contribute to the public good. He conducted a randomized experiment on water conservation using water meter data and voting records for 100,000 Georgia households. He found that households that vote frequently were more inclined to conserve water. To close the day, IPR mass communication scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey** discussed a new data-sharing partnership meant to increase information about how U.S. millennials consume international news.

CHALLENGES, PROMISE OF WOMEN LEADERS

At a December 4 IPR policy research briefing with nearly 90 attendees in Chicago, IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly**, IPR development economist **Lori Beaman**, and Brigham Young University political scientist **Christopher Karpowitz** dove into an interdisciplinary discussion of possible ways to ensure that more women attain—and maintain—positions of power. Eagly began with a discussion of gender stereotypes: While Americans tend to think of men as “agentic,” or as people who are assertive and take charge,

she explained, they think of women as “communal,” or as individuals who are nice, friendly, and caring. But Americans think of leaders as being more agentic than communal, meaning that gender stereotypes of men match well with those held for leaders, while those for women do not. Karpowitz then presented his work on the effects of gender diversity in group decision making. He showed that gender effects within a group vary by decision-making rules: Women in majority-rule groups—where decisions are made when over half of group members reach consensus—tend to talk significantly less than men, but women tend to contribute more in unanimous-rule groups—where all group members must reach consensus—pointing to the importance of decision-making rules and norms in promoting gender equity. Rounding out the conversation, Beaman discussed her research on the effects of legislative quotas in India, and her finding that requirements for female representation in village councils led to more women being elected and created long-run impacts: In villages that had a woman leader for more than a decade, voters tended to be less prejudiced about women leaders overall. “These women leaders might be able to have a big influence beyond just their direct policies, by serving as role models for future generations of girls,” Beaman concluded.

PRESIDENTS OFTEN IGNORE CITIZENS' VIEWS

As a representative democracy, the United States is founded on the premise that elected officials are responsive to citizens' opinions. This is not, however, the political system presented in **Druckman's** book, *Who Governs? Presidents, Public Opinion, and Manipulation* (University of Chicago Press, 2015), co-authored with the University of Minnesota's Lawrence Jacobs. In it, the authors combined quantitative research and archival evidence from the confidential archives of three former presidents—Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan—to show that policy formation in the White House looks very different from what democratic theory would suggest. They revealed that presidents often ignore citizen views when crafting policy and expand their ability to make policy by influencing which issues are salient and turning the public's focus to their personality, rather than policy issues. The authors ultimately argue that scholars and pundits should turn their attention away from demanding or expecting unilateral responsiveness to citizens' preferences, and instead focus on ways the political system can stimulate competition and participation. Druckman is Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR associate director.

LANGUAGE USE IN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

As a presidential candidate, is it better to use language that fits in during a debate or to stand out? IPR associate **Brian Uzzi** and his co-authors examine language-style matching (LSM)—when two people subtly match each other’s speaking or writing style in an exchange—and how it affects reactions to U.S. presidential debates. According to communication research, matching an opponent’s language should improve observers’ evaluations by making arguments more persuasive and easier for observers to process. An alternative theory proposes that LSM will negatively affect their evaluations of a candidate who mimics a debate opponent’s linguistic style, as said candidate will come across as a follower. In their first study, Uzzi, who is Richard L. Thomas Professor of Leadership and Organizational Change, and his co-authors analyzed U.S. presidential debate transcripts from 1976–2012. They discovered that candidates who matched their opponents’ linguistic style rose in the polls. In a second study, they used a simulated negotiation scenario to test how variations in LSM affect evaluations of the two negotiating. They found that the person who mimicked their opponents’ language received more favorable impressions from observers. Both studies imply that presidential candidates might consider mimicking their opponents’ language in debates.



JAMES DRUCKMAN, CHAIR

The 2016 presidential election, which was in full swing in January 2015, brought several issues to the forefront: from debates over bipartisanship and income inequality to discussions of climate change and gender. IPR faculty continue to examine key aspects of the ways in which social, political, and institutional dynamics shape and constrain U.S. policymaking. Researchers analyze the role of government, policymakers, public opinion, and the media, among others.

PRESIDENTS AND POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING

While most presidents enter the Oval Office with lofty ambitions, it is a widely held belief that they are short-term actors operating within a very constrained environment. As such, presidential advisors and scholars alike expect presidents to adjust their goals and maneuver within their office’s existing constraints—such as limited resources and entrenched partisan divisions. In a chapter of *Recapturing the Oval Office: New Historical Approaches to the American Presidency*, IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** suggests the opposite: Presidents might actually work to change their environments. Taking the “unlikely case” of President Dwight Eisenhower, Galvin explained that presidents can go beyond achieving goals under certain constraints to working to remove them altogether. He revealed how even President Eisenhower, courted by both parties and often considered “above” party lines, ultimately engaged in party-building efforts to reshape his political environment. Galvin argues that this suggests a new approach to studying the presidency and measuring presidential contributions to history.

POLITICAL PARTIES, SHIFTS IN U.S. POLITICS

From which party rules the day to how coalitions form around certain policies, it has long been observed that major U.S. political shifts are often tied to changes in the political parties. But surprisingly little research has addressed how and why parties change in the first place. Research by **Galvin**, in *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*, offers a new approach to conceptualizing political parties and how and why they change. The generally held view is that parties change to reflect the preferences of the politicians who use them and the environment in which they exist. Galvin argued this view misses how party structure—such as institutional arrangements and group alliances—can determine party function. For example, he found that structural changes in the two national party committees—such as how they accumulated and deployed their resources—allowed the parties to evolve into modern “service” parties that seek to bolster party strength and facilitate electoral victories. By understanding American political parties not only through their environments but also through their specific institutional arrangements, Galvin’s research paves the way for future work on the structural elements that make political parties more or less successful within the broader political environment.

IS BIPARTISANSHIP DEAD?

According to conventional wisdom, the U.S. Congress has become increasingly polarized in recent years, resulting in declining bipartisan cooperation. At the same time, writes IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** in her book, *Is Bipartisanship Dead? Policy Agreement and Agenda-Setting in the House of Representatives* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), research on congressional bipartisanship has focused mainly on trends in roll-call voting, which has become more partisan over time, and on overlooked co-sponsorship coalitions, which have remained more bipartisan. Harbridge looked beyond roll-call voting—when a representative votes “yea” or “nay” as her or his name is called—and also considered the time before roll-call voting, to examine how much bipartisan agreement in the House of Representatives has declined since the 1970s, if at all. In analyzing co-sponsorship and voting patterns from the last 45 years, she determined that party leaders in the House moved from prioritizing legislation with bipartisan agreement in the 1970s to prioritizing legislation with partisan disagreement by the 1990s. Harbridge then examined the factors that create these increasingly partisan roll-call agendas, including public opinion and district sorting, or the extent to which a legislator represents a politically homogeneous area. She concludes that bipartisanship is not dead, but legislative and electoral processes have encouraged members of Congress to prioritize partisan disagreement instead.

HOW PARTISAN CONFLICT SHAPES U.S. VIEWS

As partisan conflict increases, public support for Congress tends to decrease. Yet survey evidence suggests that citizens do support partisanship if it advances their party’s positions. In a forthcoming *American Politics Research* article with Northwestern graduate student DJ. Flynn, **Harbridge** seeks to understand how partisan conflict affects Americans’ evaluations of how Congress is doing. First, the researchers tested when party conflict is seen positively by comparing citizens’ evaluations of Congress across different legislative strategies—partisanship versus compromise—and outcomes of partisanship, such as a win for one’s own party, a win for the opposing party, and gridlock. Second, they investigated whether gridlock’s effect on public opinion differs depending on whether gridlock is attributed to ideological disagreements or to party strategy. Third, they considered whether issue differences and party agreement over end goals shape citizens’ reactions to partisan conflict. Their results indicate that citizens disapprove when partisan conflict prevents Congress from acting on important, national issues. In fact, more partisan

citizens were more likely to approve of Congress’ handling of policymaking when a policy debate resulted in a win for the other party than when the debate ended in a stalemate, but only on consensus issues, where the parties agreed over end goals. Citizens were also significantly more accepting of legislative inaction when it was characterized as the result of genuine ideological disagreements between the two parties.

LEGISLATIVE HOLDOUTS

While widening policy differences between Democrats and Republicans are often pinpointed as the reason behind political stalemates, **Harbridge’s** research suggests that legislative opposition also stems from other reasons. In collaboration with Sarah Anderson of the University of California, Santa Barbara and Daniel Butler of Washington University in St. Louis, Harbridge examined “legislative holdouts,” or when a legislator votes against a policy that is closer to their ideal policy than the status quo. The researchers leveraged a unique survey of state legislators detailing their views of their states’ gas tax and their willingness to vote for a compromise policy—midway between their most preferred policy and the status quo. They found that 28 percent of legislators would hold out, choosing the status quo over the compromise policy. Furthermore, Harbridge and her colleagues discovered that holding out was most common among certain groups: Republicans, members of the majority party, and those legislators who feared voter retribution for compromise. The researchers conclude that the current political climate in Congress might be “the perfect storm for legislative holdouts,” and that this might be a factor contributing to policy gridlock in recent years.

WHAT MOST INFLUENCES STATE LEGISLATORS?

Research has long held many factors determine legislators’ actions, including constituencies, political parties, party leaders, and their own political views. In a forthcoming *Legislative Studies Quarterly* article, formerly an IPR working paper, **Harbridge**, along with Anderson and Butler, surveyed state legislators and discovered that legislators’ own views were the strongest influence on their behavior. The researchers also determined, however, that party leader influence was an important factor, depending on each state’s legislative rules. When information and resources were centralized with party leaders, such as when the majority party controlled the agenda, party leaders’ power within the legislative chamber increased. Conversely, when party leaders had less control over resources, such as when term limits exist,

the power of party leaders diminished. In those chambers where party leaders' power was greater, they found, legislators were more likely to align their own policy preferences with the anticipated preferences of party leaders. So, while legislators' own views were the greatest predictor of their behavior, powerful party leaders can have an important effect beyond direct party influence—an effect that existing research has ignored.

STATE POLICIES AND WAGE THEFT

Wage theft—when employers pay their employees below the minimum wage—is often thought of as an economic issue. An IPR working paper by **Galvin** suggests a political dimension, as well. Most studies have focused on federal regulations, not the state ones that he examined. Drawing together new information on state wage-and-hour laws and estimates of minimum-wage violations, he is also examining the effects of 10 recent state laws. Previous research has suggested that government regulation did little to combat employer incentives to underpay workers, but Galvin's work shows that policy matters: States with stronger wage-theft penalties saw lower levels of wage theft on average; however, a policy's structure and its enforcement matter a great deal. For wage-theft policies to be effective, he identified three necessary conditions: favorable partisan majorities in state government, coalitions of workers' advocates lobbying for change, and the enforcement of new penalties. He concludes that advocacy group pressures and political alignments do have an impact, and that wage theft results from policy choices—and not solely economic forces.

EXPLAINING THE PUBLIC-SECTOR PAY GAP

According to existing research, high school graduates experience a “pay premium” in the public sector, earning more on average than their private-sector counterparts, while college graduates earn less in the public sector than in the private sector. In an IPR working paper, law professor and IPR associate **Max Schanzenbach** reassesses the public-sector pay gap—the difference in earnings between public- and private-sector workers—to determine how differences in pay might come from differences in skill. Schanzenbach used two measures of skill in his analysis: the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), an intelligence test, and college major. He observed that higher AFQT scores translate into higher pay for college-educated workers in the private sector, but not in the public sector, suggesting that the public sector fails to pay college-educated workers according to skill. As such, those with higher AFQT scores were

much less likely to work in the public sector. He also found that differences in college major explained as much as 60 percent of the public-sector pay gap: Workers with lower-compensated majors were more likely to enter the public sector, and those with typically higher-paying majors were more likely to take jobs in the private sector. Though the public sector might offer tangible benefits, such as job benefits and job security, the results indicate that high-skilled workers will continue to seek private-sector jobs if the public sector fails to pay them according to their skill. Schanzenbach is Seigle Family Professor of Law.

BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS, LAW

IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** continues to study the involvement of organized business in American politics, policymaking, and the law. He is laying the foundations for a long-term research project that aims to shed new light on how the legal and political mobilization of business has shaped public policy in the United States. In collaboration with Northwestern graduate student Joshua Basseches, he is writing a paper that examines selected changes in bankruptcy law, corporate taxation, and the regulation of medical devices to work out a new theoretical perspective on the structural sources of business influence. He has also started work that draws on research literature from several disciplines to consider whether and how the political power of business distorts the quality of democratic representation.

THE ORIGINS OF REAGAN'S 1981 TAX CUT

Tax cuts have been a central element of the rise of “neoliberalism” in America—a free-market philosophy that promotes markets over government intervention, which President Ronald Reagan endorsed during his time in office. Drawing on recently released archives from the Reagan Library, IPR sociologist **Monica Prasad** is examining the origins of Reagan's first major tax cut, part of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Also known as the “Laffer curve” tax because of its relationship to “supply-side” economics and the theory put forth by economist Arthur Laffer in 1974, the 1981 tax cut lowered marginal tax rates across the board and set the tone for the decline of progressive taxation in the years to come. As a fellow at the Russell Sage Foundation, Prasad is working on a book about Reagan's first tax cut, and the effects of the tax-cut movement on inequality and political conservatism today. This project is supported with funding from Prasad's CAREER award from the National Science Foundation.



From left: IPR economists Kirabo Jackson and Charles F. Manski discuss Manski's research probing why more than a dozen studies of right-to-carry gun laws using the same datasets have arrived at such vastly different conclusions.

IMPROVING PREDICTIONS OF VOTER TURNOUT

As campaigns and candidates try to gauge where they stand leading up to an election, knowing why people vote and why voter turnout varies across elections has become a top concern of social scientists. In research published in *Electoral Studies*, IPR economist **Charles F. Manski** and Adeline Delavande of the University of Essex (U.K.) used hypothetical election scenarios and election data on voter turnouts to isolate the effects of a single election and to study variations in election characteristics not captured in real-world scenarios. Using the American Life Panel, a nationally representative, online survey, they presented a number of hypothetical election scenarios to more than 4,000 participants. For each respondent, they varied measures such as the strength of preference for one candidate over the other, how close the election was, and how long it would take to vote, and then asked them the likelihood they would vote in that election. After analyzing the responses, the researchers showed that a respondent's decision to vote was most affected by how long it would take to vote and how close the election was—not candidate preference. They used respondents' actual voting behavior in the 2012 election to corroborate their results, revealing that respondents who said they were most likely to vote were more likely to vote in the 2012 election. The research, supported by the National Institute on Aging, not only reveals the value of using hypothetical scenarios to measure voting probabilities, but also points to the factors behind a citizen's decision to head to the polls on election day. Manski is Board of Trustees Professor in Economics.

WHITE WORKING-CLASS VOTER PREFERENCES

Between one-third and one-half of the white working class in America votes Republican, a trend that has held steady for several decades. Scholars disagree, however, as to why the white working class votes Republican: Is it due to their economic preferences or their preferences on cultural and moral issues? While past research has relied solely on survey data, **Prasad** and her colleagues took a new approach, conducting in-depth interviews with 120 white working-class voters. The researchers uncovered that these voters primarily support Republican economic policies—and even associate “conservatism” with the avoidance of debt and excessive consumption rather than a general respect for tradition. At the same time, they explained why economic preferences might be misunderstood as moral and cultural beliefs: By and large, white working-class voters believe morality and personal responsibility will help them prosper economically—a phenomenon the researchers call “walking the line.” This finding sheds light on how beliefs about morality inform the economic preferences of white working-class voters and adds nuance to the ongoing scholarly debate about why they vote for Republicans.

YOUNG AMERICANS' CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In *Education, Citizenship, and Social Justice*, social policy professor and IPR associate **Dan Lewis** challenges the conventional view that young Americans are politically unengaged. Along with Molly Metzger of Washington University in St. Louis, a former IPR graduate research assistant, and others, Lewis conducted a longitudinal study of more than 1,000 college students' civic learning

experiences in high school, as well as of their online and offline political engagement. The researchers discovered that college students who experienced civic learning in high school—through, for example, learning about ways to improve their community—were more likely to take political action, such as contacting a public official or participating in a protest. They also revealed that students who were more politically engaged online were also more likely to take part in offline political activities. Their findings suggest that young Americans are far from unengaged—they are simply engaging in different ways—and that educational, online, and offline experiences can help promote more political and civic engagement.

COMMUNICATING STATISTICAL UNCERTAINTY

In 1963, Princeton economist Oskar Morgenstern called on federal agencies to publish error estimates for official economic statistics and embrace their uncertainty. Today, more than 50 years later, U.S. federal statistical agencies, such as the Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor, typically report official economic statistics as point estimates, without accompanying measures of error. As a result, many news articles that use official statistics, such as gross domestic product (GDP), household income, and employment, present the estimates with little, if any, mention of the possibility of error—which might encourage policymakers and the public to believe that such errors are inconsequential. In an IPR working paper that has been published in the *Journal of Economic Literature*, **Manski** reiterates Morgenstern’s call for agencies to mitigate misinterpretation of official statistics by better communicating uncertainty to the public. He offers different ways to communicate transitory uncertainty, which occurs when agencies initially have incomplete or insufficient data, but later revise estimates when new data become available: These include permanent uncertainty, or uncertainty that cannot be fixed over time due to issues such as nonresponse or finite sample sizes; and conceptual uncertainty, which arises from unclear definitions of concepts being measured. **Manski** urges researchers to study how policymaking would change if agencies communicated uncertainty “regularly and transparently.”

RIGHT-TO-CARRY LAWS AND CRIME RATES

In the wake of mass shootings like on December 2 in San Bernardino, California, public debate erupts over whether citizens should be allowed to carry guns. But do such laws deter crime—or lead to more of it? Despite dozens of studies looking at the effects of right-to-carry (RTC)

gun laws, researchers have arrived at vastly different conclusions using the same datasets. Why does this happen, and how should it inform research? In an IPR working paper, **Manski** and the University of Virginia’s John Pepper conducted their own analysis of the impact of RTC laws, which allow individuals to carry concealed handguns, on crime rates. The research duo argues for combining data with varying assumptions—rather than a single set as is typically done—so that it is clear how different assumptions affect the results. **Manski** and Pepper’s more flexible analysis accounts for the fact that the effects of such laws might vary across years, states, and crimes. After analyzing how RTC laws affected crime in Virginia, Maryland, and Illinois between 1970 and 2007, they found no easy answers. Under some assumptions, they did not find any effects for RTC laws on crime rates. Under others, RTC laws seemed to increase rates for certain crimes, decrease them for some crimes, and have varying effects for others. The study follows from one of **Manski**’s longstanding research aims—to explain why acknowledging uncertainty in policy research, and thus policymaking, is so important. This study, like many others he has conducted, clarifies why researchers using the same data can arrive at such wildly different results, and the role assumptions play in shaping findings.

KNOWLEDGE AND MANDATING VACCINATIONS

When faced with an outbreak of a communicable disease, should state governments require vaccinations to protect the health of their citizens—or should such decisions be voluntary? Deciding on the right course of action when it comes to vaccines is difficult because officials are working in an environment of “partial knowledge”—that is, they can point to some of a vaccine’s effects, but not all. **Manski** addresses this topic in an IPR working paper. While randomized trials have been important in the evaluation of noninfectious disease treatments, they do not shed light on population-wide disease transmission. In particular, they miss the effect of “herd immunity,” or how vaccinating a certain portion of the population can break the chain of disease transmission, as the people vaccinated no longer spread the disease. **Manski** set out to address ways for states to operate in an environment of partial knowledge by providing quantifiable criteria. He posed several criteria for decision making—expected utility, minimax, and minimaxregret—and derived the policies they yield. His findings point to formal decision analysis as a means to improve upon prevailing vaccine mandating procedures.

INEQUALITY'S ADVOCACY-SCIENCE CHASM

In a forthcoming *Journal of Social Issues* article, IPR social psychologist **Alice Eagly** outlines the “chasm that can develop” between research findings and advocates’ claims on social inequality issues such as racial and gender diversity. Advocates typically claim that having women on corporate boards leads to better firm performance and that more diverse work groups are higher performing. Policymakers might also believe in these generalizations. However, research has produced mixed and inconclusive findings. Repeated meta-analyses—which aggregate and statistically integrate relevant studies—have found either small or null average correlations between the proportion of women on corporate boards and their firm’s performance, and between racial and gender diversity in groups and overall group performance. Eagly, who is James Padilla Professor of Arts and Sciences, stresses the need for research that identifies the conditions under which diversity improves or hinders performance. She also calls for social scientists to go beyond just looking at performance gains to accounting for other effects of diversity that might be just as, if not more, important, such as promoting social justice. She emphasizes that social scientists have a key role to play as “honest brokers,” who should seek to communicate relevant scientific findings rather than distort scientific knowledge to fit advocacy or policy goals.

ENGAGING WITH ONLINE POLICY CONTENT

While many news organizations rely on detailed behavioral data to understand how consumers engage with their brand, they have fallen behind when it comes to understanding audience engagement. In a new project, IPR mass communication scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey** is investigating how news organizations can increase users’ engagement with public policy content online, while also trying to understand what promotes users to share this type of content. To do so, Mersey and a team of Northwestern researchers will partner with KPCC, Los Angeles’ public radio station, and a data management company, to gather detailed behavioral and social data on audiences who interact with KPCC’s digital content. They will rely on this natural population of users to single out the types of content users engage with most—varying the content’s format, length, frequency, etc.—to create ways of increasing their engagement. The team will also measure how long users spend interacting with, commenting on, and sharing public policy content. They hope to shed light on users’ social networks and how social influence affects distributing public policy content online.

RED, BLUE, AND PURPLE MEDIA

In a recent study, media scholar and IPR associate **Stephanie Ederly** examined how different audiences take advantage of the ever-expanding news media environment. Culling data from a national survey of 1,191 U.S. adults, Ederly performed a cluster analysis—a statistical method that puts data into distinct groups—to categorize the types of media consumption. Her analysis uncovered six main clusters: news avoiders, online-only news consumers, TV and print media consumers, liberal and online news consumers, conservative news consumers, and news omnivores. She described how these different groups vary in their political ideology, party identification, and types of media consumed—for example, conservative news consumers use TV, radio, and the Internet versus the more liberal online-only group. She also fleshed out the demographic profiles for those in the groups of these new patterns of news consumption by age, gender, educational attainment, and others.

WOMEN AND WIKIPEDIA

Though millions of Internet users edit one or more pages of Wikipedia each month, only 16 percent of the site’s editors are women. This gender gap reflects a “matter of public concern,” IPR communication studies researchers **Eszter Hargittai** and **Aaron Shaw** write in *Information, Communication & Society*. They investigated the causes of Wikipedia’s gender disparities, paying particular attention to interactions between a contributor’s gender and their Internet skills. The researchers drew on panel survey data from a diverse group of 547 young adults attending an urban public university, measuring each participant’s level of Internet skills based on their understanding of 27 Internet-related terms. Only 21 percent of women surveyed had edited a Wikipedia page, in comparison with 38 percent of men. A person’s Internet skill level was also a robust predictor of whether someone would become a Wikipedia contributor: Those who possessed more advanced Internet skills were considerably more likely to contribute. To reduce these disparities, Hargittai, the Delaney Family Professor, and Shaw recommend future research on which specific Internet skills might help encourage contributions to websites like Wikipedia.

BELIEFS ABOUT GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

It is no secret that American public opinion is divided over global climate change. Yet little work compares what Americans think about climate change with the views of other key actors in the debate, such as the scientists who study it and congressional representatives



IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge presents her research on legislative holdouts, and their implications for gridlock, at an October 12 IPR colloquium.

who make laws about it. Recent work by IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, IPR social policy professor **Fay Lomax Cook**, and Toby Bolsen of Georgia State University, a former IPR graduate research assistant, provides a more comprehensive view of beliefs on climate change that draws together data on three groups: the American public, scientists who publish research on energy technologies, and legislative aides in Congress. The researchers found that the views of these three groups diverged greatly on the issue. Scientists and policymakers were more likely than the public to express a belief in the existence of climate change. But while both the public and policymakers were ideologically polarized over climate change, most scientists were not, as they agreed that climate change exists. Politicizing the issue can make citizens uncertain about whether to trust scientific information on the topic, despite clear scientific consensus about the reality of human-induced global warming.

ELIMINATING THE LOCAL WARMING EFFECT

Can a single warm day affect public opinion about climate change? In an IPR working paper now published in *Nature Climate Change*, **Druckman** tests the limits of the so-called “local warming effect”—a phenomenon that occurs when people base their beliefs about global warming on the daily temperature. He used a two-group experiment, where one group was asked to consider not only the local temperature that day but also temperature variations and trends over the year. The other group received no such prompt. All of the participants were then asked to answer a list of questions assessing the day’s temperature, the

number of days over the year that seemed to be warmer than usual, as well as their thoughts and concerns about global warming more broadly. Druckman revealed that those who received the prompt no longer connected their perceptions of daily local temperatures with estimates of the number of warm days in the year, thereby eliminating the local warming effect. The results suggest that prompting people to think of global warming in terms of broader changes can eliminate the local warming effect in an experimental setting. But, as Druckman concludes, creating this type of prompt in a real-world setting means reframing public discourse on the issue.

CLIMATE CHANGE: ADAPTATION AND MITIGATION

While much of the discussion around climate change today focuses on reducing greenhouse gas emissions and limiting reliance on fossil fuels—known as mitigation—scientists and some policymakers think that successful adaptation will require changes in infrastructure and technology. In the *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, law professor and IPR associate **David Dana** and his colleagues examine whether paying more attention to adapting to climate change reduces support for mitigating its causes. Their first experiment tested whether respondents were more likely to support an irrigation technology if it was intended for mitigation—reducing greenhouse gas emissions—or for adaptation—helping farmers adapt to warmer-than-expected temperatures. Analyzing the results, Dana and his colleagues turned up that political ideology, more than how a message was framed, determined whether respondents supported the new technology. Liberals were more likely to rate climate change as a political priority and more likely to support such a plan than conservatives. For political moderates, however, those who were told the technology would be used for adaptation were more likely to rate climate change as a high political priority. The researchers corroborated their findings with another experiment. Across both, they find no evidence that discussing adaptation reduces support for mitigation or concern about climate change more broadly. Dana is Kirkland & Ellis Professor of Law.

DRUG, ALCOHOL USE BY COLLEGE ATHLETES

Rates of student-athlete drug and alcohol consumption can be difficult to measure, as student-athletes are likely to underreport their use of drugs and alcohol even when asked anonymously. In a *Social Science Quarterly* article, that was an IPR working paper, **Druckman**, with Northwestern graduate student Mauro Gilli and

two former IPR graduate research assistants, Samara Klar of the University of Arizona and Joshua Robison of Aarhus University in Denmark, provided an alternative to measuring drug and alcohol consumption through self-reporting: The researchers used a list experiment instead, whereby college athletes in the NCAA Big Ten Conference were randomly assigned to one of two groups. The first group received a list of statements, some of which addressed using drugs and alcohol, and were asked to count the number of statements with which they agreed, while the second group was given the same list of statements—minus those related to drugs and alcohol—and asked to do the same. By comparing the number of statements with which each group agreed, the researchers were able to aggregate the consumption of drug and alcohol use. They found that a much higher percentage of college athletes use drugs and alcohol than indicated by self-reports. When asked directly, only 4.9 percent of college athletes self-reported taking banned performance enhanced drugs, versus 37 percent who admitted doing so in their survey responses. When it came to heavy drinking, 46 percent of college athletes admitted to drinking more than five drinks in a week, compared with only 3 percent who self-reported doing so. Their findings imply that current research using self-reporting vastly understates drug and alcohol use among college athletes.

QUALITATIVE METHODS IN APD SCHOLARSHIP

Why has organized labor declined in the United States? What accounts for the rise of modern interest group politics? American Political Development (APD) scholarship, a subfield dedicated to explaining substantial changes in the American political system over time, seeks to answer such questions. But, as IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** points out in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, this type of scholarship falls short in its methodological discussions. He examined the varied ways APD researchers explore historical data, including historical narrative studies, causal narratives, and process tracing. All of these methods have benefits and drawbacks, Galvin noted, and researchers should be more upfront about discussing these and the contributions their work makes. Such discussion will enable future researchers to test existing APD hypotheses in other settings—and perhaps even help researchers to identify stronger evidence to test a hypothesis more easily.

AUTOMATING CONTENT ANALYSIS

In *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity, and Redistribution* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** used public opinion data from 1980 to closely examine people's perceptions of income inequality. In work with IPR graduate research assistant **Derek Burk**, Northwestern postdoctoral fellow Laura Nelson, and graduate student Marcel Knudsen, McCall has extended the analysis of media coverage on inequality and related policy issues that she began in her book. This represents a unique opportunity because, while McCall initially hand-coded the articles in her media analysis, new content analysis software has since been introduced. Her Russell Sage Foundation-funded study compared hand-coding—the “gold standard” of textual analysis, particularly for complex concepts like inequality—with these new programs in documenting trends in covering inequality. In the new work, she describes the strengths and weaknesses of several different kinds of automated textual analysis programs, including supervised and unsupervised machine learning (SML and UML) and dictionary programs, finding that SML programs performed remarkably well.

INVESTIGATING CITIZEN ADVOCACY GROUPS

Citizens are often unaware of “public-private” programs, even if they benefit from them, such as receiving a government-sponsored home loan. They are also unaware of when they are being excluded from these programs, which is where citizens' advocacy groups come in. In *Studies in American Political Development*, political scientist and IPR associate **Chloe Thurston** examines the role that citizens' advocacy groups played in alerting their members to shortcomings of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934 and the early GI Bill in 1944. She traced how the FHA encouraged homeownership by incentivizing private lenders to insure loans for homes. However, the FHA's internal *Underwriting Manual* promoted practices like redlining that made it extremely difficult for blacks to access them. This led the NAACP and other groups to band together to induce private lenders to provide loans to blacks. As another example, the 1944 GI bill offered returning World War II veterans home loans backed by the Veterans Administration. But what did it matter if a WWII veteran had a home loan when there was not enough affordable housing to go around? Thurston explained how the American Legion successfully lobbied Congress to adopt new terms for the bill that made housing more accessible.

QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR POLICY RESEARCH

Participants in the ninth annual Cluster-Randomized Trials (CRT) Summer Research Training Institute, led by IPR statistician Larry Hedges, consider ways to apply CRT methods to an education research study.



RESEARCH TOPICS

- Improvements to experimental design and quality
- Data use, quality, and cost in policy research
- Facilitation of research networks and best practices
- Interdisciplinary training in methodological innovation

IMPROVING EDUCATION EXPERIMENT DESIGNS

A project led by **Larry Hedges**, IPR statistician and research methodologist, with the University of Chicago's Eric Hedberg and IPR project coordinator **Zena Ellison**, seeks to establish design parameters for education experiments at state, local, school, and classroom levels. Many current education experiments use designs that involve the random assignment of entire pre-existing groups, such as classrooms and schools, to treatments, but these groups are not randomly composed. As a result, statistical clustering occurs (when individuals in the same group tend to be more alike than those in different ones). Experimental sensitivity depends on the amount of clustering in the design, which is difficult to know beforehand. This project, which has received funding from the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences (IES), seeks to provide empirical evidence on measures of clustering, such as intraclass correlations and related design parameters, and make them available to education researchers. It has already produced important results, including new methods of calculating standard errors for intraclass correlations and the software to compute them—and will support future study designs. Project data are publicly available on IPR's website. Hedges is Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education and Social Policy and directs IPR's Center on Improving Quantitative Methods for Policy Research.

DATABASE OF RESEARCH GENERALIZABILITY

The importance of STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) knowledge to innovation and economic growth has prompted many school districts to implement interventions promoting STEM in their schools. But experiments evaluating the effectiveness of these interventions give insight into just one population of students in just one school or school district, leaving researchers at a loss as to how to use results from one

study to make statistical claims about another population or place. Supported by a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant, **Hedges** and Columbia University's Elizabeth Tipton, a former IPR graduate research assistant, are creating a statistical approach that will make it possible to do this, and also to plan education experiments to be more generalizable to other populations. The project will develop a public-use database to better understand the populations to which researchers might want to generalize the results of STEM studies. The new statistical method will be tested, with support from the NSF and IES, using data from 20 studies, and the researchers will share their knowledge of these methods through training at national conferences.

NODE SAMPLING SCHEME FOR NETWORK DATA

In cellular biology, data collection often uses “bait-prey” technologies to determine relationships between pairs of proteins, with one protein acting as “bait” to find an interacting protein, its “prey.” One such bait-prey technology is CoIP immunoprecipitation (CoIP). Due to budget, logistical, and other constraints, it is often too costly to map all relationships among proteins using CoIP. IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer** and Northwestern's Denise Scholtens came up with a sampling scheme to select baits for CoIP experiments that incorporates accumulating data. Their sampling scheme led to a marked increase in how many complexes were correctly estimated after each round of sampling. Further development of these methods could expand researchers' ability to measure and understand a wide array of network data.

NEW PREVENTION RESEARCH STANDARDS

A decade ago, the Society of Prevention Research endorsed standards for evidence related to research on interventions for prevention, a rapidly evolving field. By doing so, the society intended to render research reviews more consistent and determine what evidence was necessary to demonstrate an intervention's effectiveness. In its flagship journal *Prevention Science*, IPR social psychologist **Thomas D. Cook** and his colleagues review previous standards and introduce “next-generation” ones. They argue that developing and testing new interventions can form the basis of larger, more effective prevention systems, and that requires a more flexible research cycle of preventive interventions. While other researchers focus solely on large-scale interventions that might change policy or legislation, Cook and his colleagues call for research on smaller group interventions, such as those aimed at improving childcare and family services.

They assert that these smaller interventions were as likely as broad policy changes to spur meaningful change. The researchers recommend an open-minded approach to holding onto rigorous standards for evidence, reasoning that improving a person's well-being can be accomplished by simpler means, like disseminating knowledge about what children and adolescents need to do to develop successfully. Cook is Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair of Ethics and Justice.

IMPROVING TIME-SERIES DESIGNS

Some programs do not lend themselves well to randomized control trials or regression discontinuity designs. One example of this occurs when researchers attempt to evaluate national or state programs— which are often expensive, apply to the entire population, are expected to have a broad impact, and are open to all who are eligible. In these cases, when researchers find it more difficult to compare groups that have been exposed to these interventions and groups that have not, they often use interrupted time-series (ITS) designs. In the *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*, Cook and two former IPR postdoctoral fellows, Manyee Wong of the American Institutes for Research and the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Peter Steiner, examine how the ITS design can conflict with threats to internal validity. They



LARRY HEDGES, CHAIR

Most researchers and academics tend to stick with the research methods they know, learned mainly in graduate school—even though they might not represent current best practices or the most appropriate method. This is why statistician and education researcher Larry Hedges established IPR's Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research, or Q-Center. The work of interdisciplinary Q-Center faculty often overlaps with IPR's education and social policy researchers.

contend a better design is needed and experimented with adding more design elements to the basic ITS structure, creating a multiply supplemented ITS design. Using it to estimate the national effects of No Child Left Behind, they revealed that it affected eighth-grade math—a new discovery, since other researchers only confirmed positive effects on fourth-grade math—and possible effects on fourth-grade reading. They speculate as to why No Child Left Behind affected achievement in this way.

BIAS REDUCTION IN QUASI-EXPERIMENTS

Observational studies—in which researchers observe subjects and measure variables without assigning treatments—must account for selection bias because individuals are not selected into treatment groups at random. In the *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*, Cook and his colleagues, including Steiner, consider ways to reduce selection bias in quasi-experiments. Specifically, they consider the selection of covariates—variables that can be used to control for selection bias—in quasi-experiments that have many covariates, but where little is known about the process used to generate data. The researchers observed the effects of covariate selection in two datasets, each of which has at least 150 covariates. They found that if the number of covariates within a domain was held constant, increasing the number of domains increased the bias reduction. But if the number of domains was held constant, including more covariates also increased the bias reduction. Drawing from the data, they determined that the greatest bias reduction occurred when each domain contained at least five covariates, but that the number of domains was more important than the number of covariates in each domain. The researchers hold that more attention should be paid to selecting covariates at the design stage, as the choice of covariates and their reliable measurement is key to decreasing selection bias in quasi-experiments.

ESTIMATING NETWORK DEGREE DISTRIBUTIONS

Surveying a large online social network like Flickr, YouTube, or Amazon is prohibitively costly for researchers, who almost always choose to study smaller samples. But do smaller samples allow one to generalize results to the larger network? In the *Annals of Applied Statistics*, Spencer and Boston University's Yaonan Zhang and Eric Kolaczyk look at this issue as a linear-inverse problem and propose a least-squares estimator that solves it. By simulating this approach and applying it to online social media networks, they found that their method performs well regardless of the type of network,

even when the sampled network was much smaller than the larger network. The method, as they demonstrated, reconstructed distributions of various subcommunities within online social networks corresponding to Friendster, Orkut, and LiveJournal.

MORE ACCURATE EARTHQUAKE HAZARD MAPS

In 2011, the 9.0-magnitude Tohoku earthquake and the resulting tsunami killed more than 15,000 people and caused nearly \$300 billion in damages. The shaking from the earthquake was significantly larger than Japan's national hazard map had predicted, devastating areas forecasted to be relatively safe. Such hazard-mapping failures prompted three Northwestern researchers—**Spencer**, geophysicist and IPR associate **Seth Stein**, and IPR graduate research assistant **Edward Brooks**—to search for better ways to construct, evaluate, and communicate the predictions of hazard maps. In two articles, the scholars pointed out several critical problems with current hazard maps and offered statistical solutions to improve mapping. Currently, no widely accepted metric exists that can gauge how well one hazard map performs compared with another. In the first article, the researchers used 2,200 years of Italian earthquake data to highlight several different statistical models that could be used to compare how well maps work and to improve future maps. Since underestimating an earthquake's impact can leave areas ill-prepared, the scholars developed asymmetric models that weighed underprediction heavily and could account for the number of affected people and properties. In a second article, the scholars offered further methodological guidance on when—and how—to revise hazard maps using Bayesian modeling, which allows multiple probabilities to stack up with evidence. Stein is William Deering Professor of Earth and Planetary Sciences, and both articles began as IPR working papers.

CENSUS ACCURACY AND BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Along with IPR graduate research assistant **Zachary Seeskin**, **Spencer** considers how to measure the benefits that would stem from improving the accuracy of the next U.S. Census in 2020 in two IPR working papers. In the first, the researchers took into account two high-profile census uses—apportionment and fund allocation. Apportionment of the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives is based on census tallies, and distortions in census results mirror distortions in the number of seats allocated to each state. Spencer and Seeskin expect that roughly \$5 trillion in federal grant and direct assistance monies will be distributed at least partly on the basis of population



IPR social psychologist Thomas D. Cook has pioneered the use of quasi-experimentation in education research methodology.

and income data following the 2020 Census, highlighting how distortions in census results also cause distortions in the allocation of funds. After describing loss functions to quantify the distortions in these two uses, they then undertook empirical analyses to estimate the expected losses arising from alternative profiles of accuracy in state population numbers. In a second working paper, Spencer and Seeskin performed a cost-benefit analysis of the 2016 Census of South Africa. The South African government uses its census for funding allocations and had to decide whether to conduct a 2016 census or use an alternative method. Conducting a census would provide it with up-to-date data on births, deaths, and migration, but the government could also consider a more cost-effective option using less exact, but also less expensive, postcensal population estimates. Based on the researchers' evidence, the government took the decision to forego the 2016 census and will seek to improve its capacity for producing postcensal estimates.

DATA BIASES IN SOCIAL NETWORK SAMPLES

Businesses, government agencies, and others increasingly rely on big data to understand individual behavior, often culling their data from social network sites like Facebook and Twitter. In the *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IPR communication studies researcher **Eszter Hargittai** uses survey data to establish that people did not randomly select into various social network sites. In fact, the opposite was true: Many sociodemographic factors, and even Internet skills and use, determined which social network sites a person used. The study suggests that the biases reflected in users of social network sites limit the generalizability of findings that only use certain such sites as their samples. For instance, a study based on sociobehavioral data gathered

on Facebook users might not apply to Internet users more generally, let alone the population as a whole. The trove of behavioral data that lies in social network sites is vast and expanding, but Hargittai, who is Delaney Family Professor, urges researchers to address such limitations by triangulating their findings when possible and explicitly stating the limits of their sample.

PROTECTING PRIVACY IN STATE DATASETS

IES has spent more than \$600 million helping states develop longitudinal data systems to better understand and improve American school systems performance. Yet concerns about protecting privacy and the Federal Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) are creating data-access barriers for researchers. With funding from IES, NSF, and the Spencer Foundation, and with the cooperation of a dozen states, **Hedges** and his research team are investigating methods to make large datasets available while still protecting individuals' privacy.

MATCHED ADMINISTRATIVE DATA NETWORK

With support from NSF, IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, continues to lead a national effort to bring scholars, policymakers, and administrators together to develop "next-generation" datasets that link administrative data, such as welfare and school records, to population data, such as birth certificates and death records. While creating these large-scale datasets requires collaboration across levels of government and scholarly disciplines that can sometimes be complicated, it also creates opportunities to obtain valuable insights and knowledge, especially when evaluating early childhood investments and interventions. In an IPR working paper, Figlio, with IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik** and Kjell Salvanes of the Norwegian School of Economics, examine the use of matched administrative datasets in education research in the United States and Norway. They identified how these sets can inform issues ranging from classroom technology to class-size effects, and highlighted how access to comprehensive data can lead to better research designs and data-driven education policies. A number of IPR scholars are part of the data network, including economists **Jonathan Guryan** and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, psychobiologist **Emma Adam**, and biological anthropologists **Christopher Kuzawa** and **Thomas McDade**. Figlio is Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics. McDade is Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology.

ACCESSIBILITY IN SURVEY EXPERIMENTS

IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, with sociologist **Jeremy Freese**, now at Stanford University, are co-principal investigators of Timesharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS), an online platform for survey experiments that has received NSF support. TESS aims to make survey experiments both easier and cheaper for researchers to conduct. Studies are in a variety of social science areas, including anthropology, economics, psychology, political science, sociology, communication studies, and cognitive science. Researchers have analyzed the use of Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a fast-growing—and cheaper—alternative to conducting survey experiments to examine crowd-sourced data. They have identified conditions when investment in a probability sample is necessary. Investigators are now using MTurk to explore the robustness of TESS experimental results over time. TESS is in the process of partnering with the Open Science Foundation to provide an unparalleled resource for developing studies that build on past work, as well as for reanalyzing data and replicating extant work.

PRIZES AND MINORITIES' BIOMEDICAL CAREERS

Though minority groups are the fastest-growing segments of the American population, they are underrepresented in biomedicine: Less than 8 percent of nearly 7,000 doctorates in the biological and biomedical sciences in 2007–08 were awarded to African Americans and to Hispanics. As such, universities and independent organizations have implemented programs to encourage underrepresented groups to complete degrees and enter scientific research careers, such as the Annual Biomedical Research Conference for Minority Students' prizes for minority student research. **Hedges** and IPR research associate **Evelyn Asch** seek to understand whether such prizes encourage minority students to enter biomedical research careers—and if they do so, why. Some of the factors the researchers consider are the effects of changing perceptions of minority students, once they are prizewinners; students' beliefs in their ability to be successful scientists; and students' sense of themselves as scientists. The researchers will also see if one individual's winning a prize affects others in the same institution. Data are being collected from the individuals, public sources, and surveys in which winners explain how winning a prize affected them, and in which runners-up detail how the competition for prizes affected them. The project will offer insight into how to increase the number of minority biomedical researchers. The National Institute of General Medical Sciences provides project support.



From left: On July 30, NCER Commissioner Thomas Brock presented a certificate to Stacy-Ann January, with IPR Q-Center Director Larry Hedges and Spyros Konstantopoulos of Michigan State University. January completed the ninth IES/NCER Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials, directed by Hedges and Konstantopoulos.

SUPPORTING LEARNING THROUGH RESEARCH

The annual conferences of the Society for Research in Educational Effectiveness, co-founded by **Hedges**, continue to serve as national meeting points for those interested in the latest in education research. Its spring 2015 conference took place from March 5–7 in Washington, D.C., on “Learning Curves: Creating and Sustaining Gains from Early Childhood Through Adulthood.” IPR faculty, including **Figlio**, **Cook**, and Hedges, were on hand to present some of their latest projects, and keynote speeches were given by some of the nation’s leading education researchers, who included the University of California, Irvine’s **Greg Duncan**, an IPR faculty adjunct, and **Mark Greenberg** of Pennsylvania State University.

IES-SPONSORED RESEARCH TRAINING

The ninth Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials (CRT), sponsored by IES and its National Center for Education Research (NCER), took place from July 20–30 in Evanston. Organized by **Hedges** and **Spyros Konstantopoulos** of Michigan State University, the institute seeks to provide researchers from around the country with a rigorous methodological framework and perspective. The sessions encompassed a broad range of topics in the design and execution process, from relevant statistical software to more conceptual challenges, such as the framing of results. The institute culminated in a mock

proposal process, allowing groups to receive feedback from their fellow participants and institute faculty, thereby improving their readiness to apply for competitive IES grants. Sessions were also taught by former IPR graduate research assistants **Elizabeth Tipton** of Columbia University and **Chris Rhoads** of the University of Connecticut. **Cook** ran another IES/NCER Summer Research Training Institute on Design and Analysis of Quasi-Experiments in Education with his longtime collaborator, the University of California, Merced’s **Will Shadish**, who sadly passed away in March 2016. Other organizers included former IPR graduate research assistant **Vivian Wong**, now at the University of Virginia, and former IPR postdoctoral fellows **Coady Wing**, now at Indiana University, and **Peter Steiner** at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. The 2015 institute exposed participants to a variety of quasi-experimental designs, which are distinct in their use of methods other than randomization to compare groups. Working closely with workshop leaders and fellow attendees to understand and analyze these designs, participants were able to hone their methodological skills while also making important connections with other education researchers. NCER Commissioner **Thomas Brock** attended the CRT institute’s certificate ceremony, calling research and training like those offered in the workshops, “one of the most important and useful things IES can do to ensure that the studies we fund are high quality.”



From left: IPR political scientist Laurel Harbridge, IPR sociologist Anthony Chen, political scientist and IPR associate Traci Burch, and IPR statistician Bruce Spencer discuss Burch's research on neighborhood organizational opportunities and voter turnout.

RESEARCH TOPICS

- Community policing and criminal justice
- Mass incarceration
- Race and income segregation
- Locational attainment
- Survey methods

SKIN COLOR AND CRIMINAL SENTENCING

While African Americans account for 12 percent of the U.S. population, they make up 36 percent of its prison population. In the *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, political scientist and IPR associate **Traci Burch** finds that skin color also affects how a person fares in the criminal justice system. Using data on first-time offenders in Georgia, Burch analyzed the effects of an offender's race and skin color on sentencing. She considered whether the offender is white, or a light-, medium-, or dark-skinned African American. For first-time offenders, Burch found that African Americans received sentences that are 4.25 percent higher than those of whites even after controlling for legally relevant factors like the type of crime they committed. But Burch highlighted how this figure masked skin-color effects. When she controlled for socioeconomic and marital status, dark- and medium-skinned African Americans received sentences that were more than 5 percent longer than those given to whites, while light-skinned African Americans received the same sentences as whites. Depending on the crime, these percentages could mean months or years added to prison time.

THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF RACE

Social science researchers often use physical characteristics, such as skin color, to classify race in their studies. In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IPR social demographer **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, the University of Pennsylvania's Tukufu Zuberi, and Evelyn Patterson of Vanderbilt University contend that race is not such a neatly measurable variable. Instead, they categorize it as a dynamic process in which social relations and shared experiences result in different outcomes for different groups in society. They examined crime studies to illustrate the methodological shortfalls of defining crime and race as static variables, rather than capturing them as dynamic social processes. They urge researchers to consider how race variables are defined and measured. They conclude with methodological recommendations for

measuring race as a social process, including the nuanced ways in which race and racial classification can affect gene expression.

CONSERVATIVE STATES AND PRISON REFORM

Long known as the world's biggest jailer, the United States is experimenting with prison reform. California's prison downsizing experiment is the nation's largest. But Republican states are the ones leading the way, according to IPR sociologist **Heather Schoenfeld**, who is investigating why states are seeking reform and how these efforts might help the United States reverse mass incarceration. In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Schoenfeld argues that while California was implementing its reforms, states with "far more conservative credentials," like Texas and Georgia, were pushing forward with their own unmandated efforts—perhaps even aided by the rise of the Tea Party and its mistrust of big government. These Republican-dominated states have set reforms into motion that aim to save money by sending fewer people to prison and investing in rehabilitative programs to reduce recidivism. In an earlier era, these efforts might have been derided as "soft on crime." Schoenfeld hopes her research framework will lead to a better understanding of why a state like Georgia has embarked on a series of reforms, but not



LINCOLN QUILLIAN, CHAIR

This interdisciplinary program combines the interests of IPR faculty studying the ways in which social programs, policies, and contexts affect the lives of families and children from birth to young adulthood. Drawing from several fields, many faculty share common interests with scholars in IPR's research programs on Poverty, Race, and Inequality; Social Disparities and Health; and Education Policy—especially when studying the impact of public policies on America's poor.

Florida, “which is one of those states where reform is moving very, very slowly,” she said. However, even in states like California and Georgia, “passing reforms is just half the battle,” according to Schoenfeld.

U.S. MASS INCARCERATION AND INEQUALITY

The United States has often been referred to as the “world’s largest jailer” due to its unmatched level of mass incarceration. Harvard sociologist **Bruce Western**, who has pioneered research on America’s “prison boom,” pointed to the pernicious and widespread effects of mass incarceration at the Social Inequality and Difference Lecture on May 7. He discussed how those who are incarcerated are often neglected by measures of economic well-being, such as the Current Population Survey (CPS), which “significantly overestimates” how many low-income African-American men are employed by failing to include data on U.S. prisoners. Western also explained how the damaging effects of mass incarceration spread beyond those who are jailed. While about 500,000 Latino and 650,000 white children have a parent behind bars, 1.2 million African-American children have an incarcerated parent—or 1 out of every 9 black children. “The people who are affected by incarceration are also passing along disadvantages to their children,” Western concluded. IPR and Northwestern’s Department of Sociology jointly organized the event.

EXPUNGEMENT, STIGMA OF CRIMINAL RECORDS

U.S. criminal records are more accessible than ever, but little research exists on how people with criminal records seek to overcome the negative consequences associated with such a past as they apply for jobs, housing, and financial aid. IPR social policy professor **Simone Ispalanda** and the University of Pennsylvania’s Charles Loeffler interviewed 53 individuals who petitioned the courts to expunge their criminal records; 46 percent had extensive criminal records, while the rest had more minor criminal records. Both those with extensive records and those with minor records tried, but failed, to persuade potential employers and landlords to overlook their record. It was common for them to experience rescinded job offers, rejected apartment applications, and more difficulty accessing financial aid for continuing education. Participants also expressed distress that criminal justice contact could follow them throughout their lives, subjecting them to stigma. The researchers suggest that policymakers should consider the differences in impact of how publicly available criminal records will affect those with extensive records versus those with minor ones.

21ST-CENTURY POLICING TASK FORCE

In December 2014, in the midst of heightened tensions between police officers and the public, President Barack Obama established the Task Force on 21st-Century Policing. IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan**, who has conducted extensive research on Chicago’s community policing efforts, was invited to make a presentation on February 13 in Phoenix. During his presentation, Skogan sought to answer, “What happened to community policing?” He explained that while community policing is one U.S. idea that has successfully implanted itself in other countries, “It’s not clear where it is on the agendas [of police departments] today.” The Great Recession hit municipalities—and therefore, police budgets—hard, leading many departments to cut community policing programs. Yet where there is a “political will,” there is a way, and Skogan says the popularity of community policing with the public and officers makes him think that this might be a prime opportunity to “breathe new life into it.” The task force submitted a preliminary version of its report to the president in March identifying policing best practices. In particular, the task force is examining how to foster strong, collaborative relationships between the police and the communities they serve.

CPD ACCOUNTABILITY TASK FORCE

Skogan also participated in the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force, serving on its Community Engagement Committee and advising the Police Oversight Committee. As one of the 46 experts on the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force, he led a December 2015 survey asking 1,200 randomly selected Chicagoans about their experiences with the Chicago police. The survey helped to inform the task force’s recommendations, which were released in a 190-page report in April 2016. The report documents widespread racial disparities, excessive use of force, accountability failures, and inadequate recruitment and training. It also offers more than 100 recommendations to address the current ills facing the CPD that include relaunching community policing, which Skogan has extensively studied in Chicago; dismantling several current agencies and boards; making statutory changes; improving training; renegotiating with police unions; and adding more body cameras.

ETHNIC MINORITIES’ TRUST IN POLICE

The deaths of African Americans at the hands of police in Baltimore, Ferguson, and Chicago have likely spurred more research on the relationship between minorities and police. In Europe, however, less is known about

what influences trust between police and different ethnic minorities. **Skogan** is attempting to fill this gap. Working with Maarten Van Craen of Belgium's University of Leuven, Skogan considered how factors such as discrimination and social capital—the collective value of social networks—shaped Polish immigrants' views of law enforcement in Belgium. While social capital did not play an important role in explaining the immigrants' trust in police, the researchers singled out how the immigrants' perceptions of discrimination informed their views on law enforcement. The results demonstrated that even when minority groups have much in common with the majority population—as was the case here where both groups are predominately white and Catholic—minorities were still highly vulnerable to discrimination. Finally, the researchers warn against generalizing the role of social capital in shaping minority group members' trust in police since the experiences of each minority group are not necessarily alike.

THE HOUSING BOOM AND COLLEGE-GOING

In a recent IPR working paper, IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** and his University of Chicago co-authors Kerwin Kofi Charles and Erik Hurst look into a less-studied, but significant consequence of the Great Recession's housing bubble—its effects on college enrollment. The researchers used data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses and the 2005–13 waves of the American Community Survey to study college enrollment as it related to housing market prices. They discovered a significant decrease in college enrollment rates in “high-boom markets,” or areas where housing price increases were in the top one-third, as compared with less affected housing-market areas. These decreases were concentrated in two-year colleges and community colleges, rather than bachelor's degree programs. Notowidigdo and his colleagues observed that the enrollment drop stemmed from housing-related job opportunities, including jobs in construction, finance, real estate, or insurance. Though employment opportunities dried up when the bubble burst, those who decided not to enroll in college during the boom did not return to college during the bust, leading to long-term effects on college enrollment. The findings suggest a so-called “scarring” effect of the housing boom-and-bust cycle, whereby fluctuations that create temporary increases in job opportunities ultimately lead to long-term decreases in college enrollment and economic outcomes.

IMPROVING LOCATIONAL ATTAINMENT STUDIES

A large body of literature in sociology has analyzed migration to help understand the basis of racial, ethnic, and economic neighborhood segregation. Most of these studies have relied on models relating individual characteristics and neighborhood of residence, called “locational attainment” models. In *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IPR sociologist **Lincoln Quillian** explores how sociologists currently conduct locational attainment analyses and offered guidance on the analyses that work best when examining how household characteristics influence neighborhood characteristics. He focused on two methods: traditional modeling methods for locational attainment research, and discrete-choice models, which allow researchers to consider several attributes that simultaneously influence locational attainment. He contrasted the two methods, showing how problems with traditional modeling might be addressed with discrete-choice modeling. Then, using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID)—a longitudinal survey of U.S. individuals and families—Quillian estimated residential mobility with both models. While the models produced similar results, he finds that discrete-choice better allows researchers to examine how multiple-place characteristics simultaneously guide migration.

CREATING A NEW NATIONAL HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Working with Jens Ludwig of the University of Chicago, **Quillian** discusses the advantages and disadvantages of a proposed household panel to help social scientists and policymakers better understand U.S. housing and neighborhood issues in the *Journal of Economic and Social Measurement*. Currently, social scientists often use major panel data studies, such as the PSID, to study housing and neighborhood dynamics and their roles in shaping Americans' quality of life. However, as the co-authors explained, existing data sources fail to answer certain key questions: These include the effects of residential mobility and the long-term effects of certain neighborhood conditions, due to, for instance, household crowding and home quality. After exploring current social science datasets, the scholars call for creating a new household panel survey or supplementing existing large-scale surveys like the PSID to better address housing and neighborhood issues. They offer several design ideas for a new national household panel survey, which incorporate metrics to gauge the housing unit's condition, household finances, and if the household has experienced a history of homelessness or incarceration.

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Not Too Late: Improving Academic Outcomes for Disadvantaged Youth by Philip Cook, Kenneth Dodge, George Farkas, Roland Fryer, **Jonathan Guryan**, Jens Ludwig, Susan Mayer, Harold Pollack, and Laurence Steinberg (15-01)

The Effect of Hospital Acquisitions of Physician Practices on Prices and Spending by Cory Capps, **David Dranove**, and *Christopher Ody* (15-02)

Who Gets to Look Nice and Who Gets to Play? Effects of Child Gender on Household Expenditure by **Krzysztof Karbownik** and Michal Myck (15-03)

Does Medical Malpractice Improve Healthcare Quality? by **Michael Frakes** and Anupam Jena (15-04)

Effects of Census Accuracy on Apportionment of Congress and Allocations of Federal Funds by **Zachary Seeskin** and **Bruce Spencer** (15-05)

Cost-Benefit Analysis for a Quinquennial Census: The 2016 Population Census of South Africa by **Bruce Spencer**, Julian May, Steven Kenyon, and **Zachary Seeskin** (15-06)

Hospitals as Insurers of Last Resort by **Craig Garthwaite**, Tal Gross, and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (15-07)

Deterring “Wage Theft”: Alt-Labor, State Politics, and the Policy Determinants of Minimum Wage Compliance by **Daniel Galvin** (15-08)

Limits and Opportunities of Campaigning on the Web by **James Druckman**, Martin Kifer, and Michael Parkin (15-09)

The Emergence of Forensic Objectivity by **Jeremy Freese** and David Peterson (15-10)

Relaxing Migration Constraints for Rural Households by **Cynthia Kinnan**, Shing-Yi Wang, and Yongxiang Wang (15-11)

No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Inter-Personal Discussions by **James Druckman**, Matthew Levendusky, and *Audrey McLain* (15-12)

Education Research and Administrative Data by **David Figlio**, **Krzysztof Karbownik**, and Kjell Salvanes (15-13)

The Political Relevance of Irrelevant Events by *Ethan Busby*, **James Druckman**, and *Alexandria Fredendall* (15-14)

Can a Scaffolded Summer Reading Intervention Reduce Socioeconomic Gaps in Children’s Reading Comprehension Ability and Home Book Access? Results from a Randomized Experiment by **Jonathan Guryan**, James S. Kim, Lauren Capotosto, David Quinn, Helen Chen Kingston, Lisa Foster, and North Cooc (15-15)

Family Disadvantage and the Gender Gap in Behavioral and Educational Outcomes by David Autor, **David Figlio**, **Krzysztof Karbownik**, Jeffrey Roth, and Melanie Wasserman (15-16)

How Do Right-To-Carry Laws Affect Crime Rates? Coping with Ambiguity Using Bounded-Variation Assumptions by **Charles F. Manski** and John V. Pepper (15-17)

The Effect of Wealth on Individual and Household Labor Supply: Evidence from Swedish Lotteries by David Cesarini, Erik Lindqvist, **Matthew Notowidigdo**, and Robert Östling (15-18)

The Effects of School Spending on Educational and Economic Outcomes: Evidence from School Finance Reforms by **Kirabo Jackson**, Rucker Johnson, and **Claudia Persico** (15-19)

Why Are Indian Children So Short? The Role of Birth Order and Son Preference by **Seema Jayachandran** and Rohini Pande (15-20)

U.S. Food and Nutrition Programs by Hilary Hoynes and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (15-21)

Friendship at Work: Can Peer Effects Catalyze Female Entrepreneurship? by Erica Field, **Seema Jayachandran**, Rohini Pande, and Natalia Rigol (15-22)

Housing Booms and Busts, Labor Market Opportunities, and College Attendance by Kerwin Kofi Charles, Erik Hurst, and **Matthew Notowidigdo** (15-23)

Motivation and Incentives in Education: Evidence from a Summer Reading Experiment by **Jonathan Guryan**, James S. Kim, and Kyung Park (15-24)

Beyond Income: What Else Predicts Very Low Food Security Among Children? by Patricia Anderson, Kristin Butcher, Hilary Hoynes, and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (15-25)

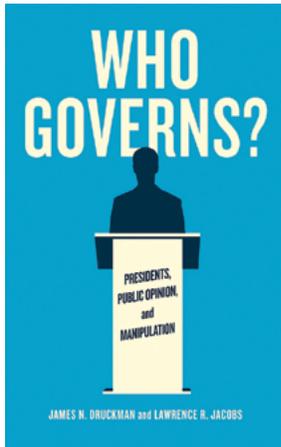
Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Attitudes: Evidence from India by Diva Dhar, Tarun Jain, and **Seema Jayachandran** (15-26)

Thinking, Fast and Slow? Some Field Experiments to Reduce Crime and Dropout in Chicago by Sara Heller, Anuj Shah, **Jonathan Guryan**, Jens Ludwig, Sendhil Mullainathan, and Harold Pollack (15-27)

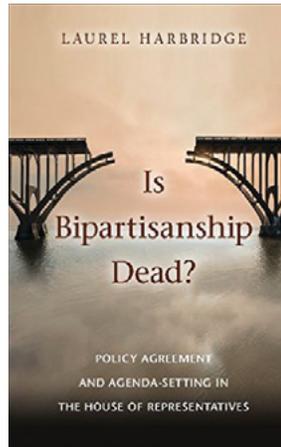
First in the Class? Age and the Education Production Function by Elizabeth Cascio and **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** (15-28)

**Current IPR faculty and student names are in bold. Current Northwestern colleagues and former students are in italics.*

FACULTY FELLOWS



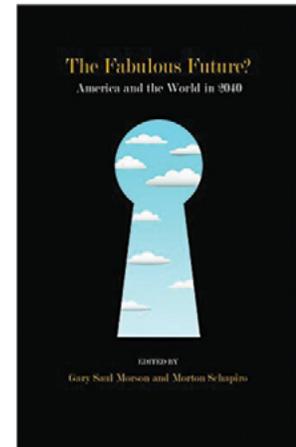
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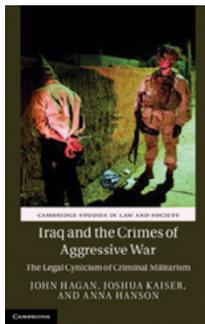


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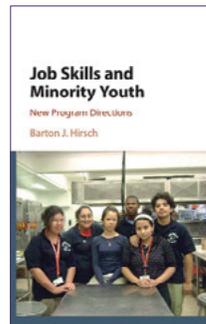


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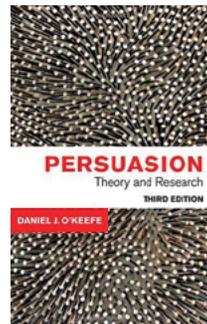
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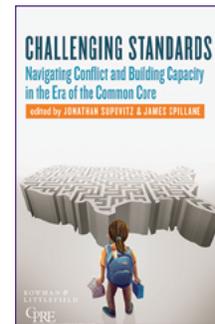
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IPR sociologist Leslie McCall explains her findings on Americans' views about economic inequality at an IPR colloquium on April 6.

IPR DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC POLICY LECTURES

February 9, "Patient-Centered Outcomes: Do We Need a New Paradigm for Biomedical Research?" by **Robert Kaplan**, then-Chief Science Officer, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; Professor Emeritus of Health Policy and Management, University of California, Los Angeles

April 27, "The Economics of Human Development: A Conversation with James Heckman" by **James Heckman**, Henry Schultz Distinguished Service Professor of Economics; Founding Director, Center for the Economics of Human Development, University of Chicago; and Recipient of the 2000 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences

October 27, "Humans Need Not Apply: Will the Robot Economy Pit Entrepreneurship Against Equality?" by **Andrew Leigh**, Member of Parliament for Fraser, House of Representatives, Parliament of Australia; Shadow Assistant Treasurer; and Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.
Co-sponsored with the Buffett Institute for Global Studies

IPR POLICY RESEARCH BRIEFINGS

May 19, Washington, D.C., "Education in the Digital Age" by **David Figlio**, IPR Director and Fellow, and Orrington Lunt Professor of Education and Social Policy and of Economics; **Eszter Hargittai**, April McClain-Delaney and John Delaney Research Professor in Communication Studies and IPR Fellow; and **Ellen Wartella**, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Communication and IPR Associate. *Co-hosted by U.S. Representatives Bob Dold (R-10th) and Mike Quigley (D-5th) of Illinois*

December 4, Chicago, "Madam President? Women Leaders: Their Potential, Their Challenges" by **Lori Beaman**, Associate Professor of Economics and IPR Fellow; **Alice Eagly**, James Padilla Chair of Arts and Sciences, Professor of Psychology, and IPR Fellow; and **Christopher Karpowitz**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Brigham Young University

IPR FAY LOMAX COOK MONDAY COLLOQUIA

January 12, "Poverty and Children's Health: Protective Psychosocial Factors" by **Edith Chen**, Professor of Psychology, Co-Director of the Foundations of Health Research Center, and IPR Fellow

January 26, "The Effects of School Spending on Educational and Economic Outcomes: Evidence from School Finance Reforms" by **Kirabo Jackson**, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

February 2, "Class Action: Socioeconomic Discrimination in Law Firm Hiring" by **Lauren Rivera**, Associate Professor of Management and Organizations and IPR Associate

February 16, "The Civic Culture Structures: Neighborhood Organizational Presence and Voter Turnout" by **Traci Burch**, Associate Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate

February 23, "Not Too Late: New Evidence from Chicago on Improving Academic Outcomes for Disadvantaged Youth" by **Jonathan Guryan**, Associate Professor of Human Development and Social Policy, IPR Fellow, and Chair of the IPR Research Program on Education Policy

March 2, "Research Opportunities at the Chicago Census Research Data Center" by **Bhash Mazumder**, Director, Chicago Census Research Data Center (CRDC), and Senior Economist, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; and **Frank Limehouse**, Economist and CRDC Administrator, U.S. Census Bureau

March 9, “Making Sense of Mental Healthcare: Cultural, Political, and Social Dimensions of Psychiatric Treatment Among Mexican-American Youth” by **Rebecca Seligman**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology and IPR Fellow

April 6, “How Americans Think Politically About Economic Inequality” by **Leslie McCall**, Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

April 13, “The Democratization of Education: Its Apparent Paradox, a Plausible Explanation, and Its Empirical Proof” by **Louis-André Vallet**, Professor of Sociology, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Sciences Po. *Co-sponsored with the School of Education and Social Policy’s Global Initiative*

April 20, “Religion’s Limits on Redistribution: Evidence from an Experiment in Nairobi, Kenya” by **Rachel Beatty Riedl**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate

May 4, “The Effect of Wealth on Individual and Household Labor Supply: Evidence from Swedish Lotteries” by **Matthew Notowidigdo**, Associate Professor of Economics and IPR Fellow

May 11, “The High Cost of ‘Free’ Voter IDs” by **Richard Sobel**, Visiting Scholar, Northwestern University

June 1, “Young Men’s Health and the Transition to Fatherhood: Looking Beyond Father’s Day” by **Craig Garfield**, Associate Professor of Pediatrics and Medical Social Sciences; Director of Research, Division of Hospital-Based Medicine, Lurie Children’s Hospital of Chicago; and IPR Associate

October 5, “Psychological Approaches to Reducing Socioeconomic Disparities in Educational Outcomes” by **Mesmin Destin**, Assistant Professor of Psychology and Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Fellow

October 12, “Legislative Holdouts” by **Laurel Harbridge**, Assistant Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow

October 19, “Preschoolers Are Not Delinquent! A Science of When to Worry in Early Childhood” by **Lauren Wakschlag**, Professor and Vice Chair for Scientific and Faculty Development, Medical Social Sciences; and IPR Fellow

November 2, “Acknowledging Gender Inequality in the Academy: A Network Analysis” by **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, Associate Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

November 9, “Wage Theft, Public Policy, and the Politics of Workers’ Rights” by **Daniel Galvin**, Associate Professor of Political Science and IPR Fellow

November 16, “The New College-for-All Reality and Pathways Out of Poverty” by **James Rosenbaum**, Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR Fellow; and **Caitlin Ahearn**, Research Study Coordinator

November 23, “The Social Structure of Policy Implementation: Mathematics and Science Professional Development in the Wake of Common Core” by **Cynthia Coburn**, Professor of Education and Social Policy and IPR Associate

November 30, “The Impact of Access to Migration: Evidence from Rural China” by **Cynthia Kinnan**, Assistant Professor of Economics and IPR Fellow

C2S WORKSHOPS

January 23, “Emotion in Couples,” **Claudia Haase**, Assistant Professor of Human Development and Social Policy and IPR Associate

May 15, “Black Death: Persistent Disparities in Changing Times,” by **Quincy Thomas Stewart**, Associate Professor of Sociology and IPR Fellow

Q-CENTER COLLOQUIA

February 11, “Quality and Statistical Analysis of Sets of National Files” by **William Winkler**, Principal Researcher, U.S. Census Bureau

March 10, “Revisiting the Impacts of Teachers” by **Jesse Rothstein**, Associate Professor of Public Policy and Economics, University of California, Berkeley

April 7, “Psychometrics Behind Adaptive Testing and Adaptive Learning” by **Hua-Hua Chang**, Professor of Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

April 23, “Estimating Average Treatment Effects Using Stata” by **David Drukker**, Director of Econometrics, StataCorp

September 30, “Is It a Computing Algorithm or a Statistical Procedure: Can You Tell or Do You Care?” by **Xiao-Li Meng**, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and Whipple V.N. Jones Professor of Statistics, Harvard University

November 4, “Sensitivity Analysis with Relaxed Parametric Assumptions” by **Jennifer Hill**, Professor of Social Sciences, New York University



PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT AND REWARDS SERIES

February 25, "School Finance Reform and the Distribution of Student Achievement" by **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach**, Associate Professor of Education and Social Policy, IPR Fellow, and Chair of IPR's Research Program on Child, Adolescent, and Family Studies

April 15, "Non-Adherence in Healthcare: A Positive and Normative Analysis" by **Tomas Philipson**, Daniel Levin Professor of Public Policy Studies, University of Chicago

May 27, "Does Medical Malpractice Law Improve Healthcare?" by **Michael Frakes**, Associate Professor of Law and IPR Fellow

November 10, "What Constitutes 'Good Performance' of an Education Research Foundation President?" by **Michael McPherson**, President, Spencer Foundation

JOINT ECONOMICS/IPR SEMINARS

April 16, "Can Tracking Raise the Test Scores of High-Ability Minority Students?" by **David Card**, Class of 1950 Professor of Economics, University of California, Berkeley

May 7, "Party On: The Returns to Social Skills and Networks in the Labor Market" by **Adriana Lleras-Muney**, Professor of Economics, University of California, Los Angeles

May 19, "A Distributional Framework for Matched Employer-Employee Data" by **Stéphane Bonhomme**, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago

May 21, "Loss in the Time of Cholera: Long-Run Impact of a Disease Epidemic on the Urban Landscape" by **Erica Field**, Associate Professor of Economics, Duke University

June 11, "Field of Study, Earnings, and Self-Selection" by **Magne Mogstad**, Assistant Professor in Economics and the College, University of Chicago

September 24, "Building State Capacity: Evidence from Biometric Smartcards in India" by **Karthik Muralidharan**, Associate Professor of Economics, University of California, San Diego

November 5, "Tourism and Economic Development: Evidence from Mexico's Coastline" by **Benjamin Faber**, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of California, Berkeley

November 19, "Knowledge of Future Job Loss and Implications for Unemployment Insurance" by **Nathan Hendren**, Assistant Professor of Economics, Harvard University

December 10, "Electoral Incentives and the Allocation of Public Funds" by **Maurizio Mazzocco**, Associate Professor of Economics, University of California, Los Angeles

December 17, “Exporting and Firm Performance: Evidence from a Randomized Trial” by **David Atkin**, Assistant Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS, AND OTHER EVENTS

April 14, “Inequalities in Access to Higher Education in France: The Role of Institutional and Market Devices” by **Agnès van Zanten**, Professor of Sociology, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Sciences Po. *Co-sponsored with the School of Education and Social Policy’s Global Initiative and its Human Development and Social Policy Program*

April 24, “Stata Short Course” by **David Drukker**, Director of Econometrics, StataCorp

May 7, “Mass Incarceration and the Road to Reform” by **Bruce Western**, Guggenheim Professor of Criminal Justice Policy, Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, Harvard University. *Jointly organized with the Department of Sociology*

May 8, “Chicago Area Political and Social Behavior Workshop,” organized by **James Druckman**, Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science and IPR Associate Director, with keynote lectures by **Donald Kinder** of the University of Michigan, **Cathy Cohen** and **Christopher Berk** of the University of Chicago, IPR sociologist **Jeremy Freese** and **Michael Stern** of the National Opinion Research Center, Georgia State University’s **Toby Bolsen**, and IPR mass communication scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey**. *Co-sponsored with the Weinberg College of Arts and*

Sciences and the Department of Political Science

July 20–30, “Summer Research Training Institute on Cluster-Randomized Trials,” directed by **Larry Hedges**, Board of Trustees Professor of Statistics and Education and Social Policy, Professor of Psychology, and Director of the IPR Q-Center, with **Spyros Konstantopoulos**, Professor of Measurement and Quantitative Methods, Michigan State University. *Supported by the National Center for Education Research in the Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education*

August 3–14, “Summer Research Training Institute on Designs and Analysis of Quasi-Experiments in Education,” directed by **Thomas D. Cook**, Joan and Sarepta Harrison Chair of Ethics and Justice; Professor of Sociology, Psychology, and Education and Social Policy; and IPR Fellow. *Supported by the National Center for Education Research in the Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education*

October 31, “LGBTQ Health Conference: Bridging Research and Practice,” organized by **Brian Mustanski**, Professor of Medical Social Sciences, IPR Associate, and Director of Northwestern’s IMPACT Program, with a keynote by **Gregorio Millett** of The Foundation for AIDS Research. *Organized by the IMPACT Program and The Center on Halsted, with bronze-level support from IPR*

December 1, “The Prize: Who’s in Charge of America’s Schools?” by **Dale Russakoff**, author and former Washington Post reporter. *Co-sponsored with the School of Education and Social Policy and the Medill School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications*

“Unless you make deliberate efforts to measure institutional populations, incarceration is often going to be overlooked in our social account of the economic well-being of the population.”

Bruce Western, Guggenheim Professor of Criminal Justice Policy, Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, Harvard University

May 7, “Mass Incarceration and the Road to Reform”

“To improve education for the poorest kids, you need to maximize resources at the school level—a challenge that will require cooperation of every force in education: reformer, union, politician, parent, and philanthropist.”

Dale Russakoff, Author and former Washington Post reporter

December 1, “The Prize: Who’s in Charge of America’s Schools?”

“We tell people that we have the best medical care system in the world, [but] if you look at our health system in relation to other wealthy countries, we’re doing quite poorly.”

Robert Kaplan, then-Chief Science Officer, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

February 9, “Patient-Centered Outcomes: Do We Need a New Paradigm for Biomedical Research?”

AWARDS, HONORS, AND PRESENTATIONS OF NOTE

FACULTY FELLOWS

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, launch of *Two Generations. One Future: An Anthology from the Ascend Fellowship*, that she co-edited, Washington, D.C., April 7; “Expanding Opportunities for Parents and Children Simultaneously,” keynote, Forum on Promise of Two-Generation Programs, University of Texas, Dallas, September 25

Fay Lomax Cook, “PhD Production and Employment in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: Pipelines and Pathways,” keynote, 20th Anniversary Conference, Office of Behavioral and Social Science Research, National Institutes of Health, Washington, D.C., June 24

Thomas D. Cook, “Justifying Randomized Experiments: A New, Oblique, and Contingent Justification,” keynote, 10th RCTs in the Social Sciences Conference, York University, U.K., September 9

Edith Chen, George A. Miller Award for Outstanding Article, General Psychology, American Psychological Association

Mesmin Destin, Award for Outstanding Full-Time Professor, School of Education and Social Policy

James Druckman, Karl Rosengren Faculty Mentoring Award, Northwestern University, 2014–15; “Do Politics Hinder Scientific Communication?,” Distinguished Speaker Series in Political Science, University of British Columbia, April 8

Alice Eagly, President, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues; Docteur en Sciences Economiques Honoris Causa, Université de Lausanne, Switzerland, 2015; Highly Commended Paper by Emerald Group Publishing

David Figlio, President, Association for Education Finance and Policy; “How Early Health Affects Children’s Life Chances,” Sulzberger Memorial Lecture, Duke University, January 13; “The Fragile-Y Effect: Family Environment and the Gender Gap in Behavioral and Educational Outcomes,” Conference on Human Capital, University of Toronto, May 28

Daniel Galvin, E. LeRoy Hall Award for Excellence in Teaching, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, 2015

Laurel Harbridge, “Who is Punished? How Voters Evaluate Male and Female Legislators Who Do Not Compromise,” MacMillan-Center Workshop, Yale University, December 17

Eszter Hargittai, Top-Cited Article for 2010–14, American Sociological Association; Galbut Outstanding Faculty Award, School of Communication

Larry Hedges, “Understanding Heterogeneity of Treatment Effects,” keynote, 10th RCTs in the Social Sciences Conference, York University, U.K., September

9; “Recent Developments in Multivariate Meta-Analysis,” Sells Award Lecture, Society for Multivariate Experimental Psychology, Los Angeles, October 17

Charles F. Manski, “The Relevance of Microdata for Evidence-Based Policies,” Third International Monetary Fund Statistical Forum, Frankfurt, November 19; “How Does Measurement Contribute to Uncertainty in Public Policy, and What Can Be Done About It?” 2015 Policy Summit, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Pittsburgh, June 18

Leslie McCall, Fellow, Advanced Research Collaborative, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2015–16

Thomas McDade, Carlos Montezuma Professor of Anthropology; Elected Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science

Greg Miller, Elected President, Academy of Behavioral Medicine Research; George A. Miller Award for Outstanding Article, General Psychology, American Psychological Association; “The Biological Residue of Childhood Socioeconomic Adversity,” Tyler Lecture, University of Oregon, October 16; “Lessons from Baker Hall,” 100th Anniversary Lecture Series, Department of Psychology, Carnegie Mellon University, November 2

Monica Prasad, Fellow, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; Fellow, Russell Sage Foundation

Jennifer Richeson, Fellow, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; Elected Fellow, National Academy of Sciences; Distinguished Scientist Lecture, Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences Directorate, National Science Foundation, Arlington, Virginia, May 7

James Rosenbaum, Panelist, “The New Forgotten Half and Research Directions to Support Them,” American Youth Policy Forum, Washington, D.C., May 1; “The New College-for-All Reality,” Chicago Donors Forum, July 22

Morton Schapiro, NASPA President’s Award, Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education

Wesley G. Skogan, 2015 Distinguished Achievement Award, Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy, George Mason University

Bruce Spencer, Elected Member, International Statistical Institute

Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Elected Member, Editorial Board, American Sociological Review; Chair, Presidential Search Committee, Spelman College

Burton Weisbrod, “Research on Nonprofits: What I Think I Know and What I Don’t Know,” plenary, Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action Conference, Chicago, November 19

FACULTY ASSOCIATES

Cynthia Coburn, Fellow, American Educational Research Association; “Pathways from Research to Policy: Implications for Researchers,” keynote, British Educational Research Association, Belfast, September 17

Eli Finkel, “Transactive Goal Dynamics Theory,” keynote, International Association of Relationship Research Self-Regulation and Close Relationships Mini-Conference, Amsterdam, July 10

Elizabeth Gerber, Elizabeth Hurlock Beckman Award, Wells Fargo Foundation

John Hagan, Cesar Beccaria Gold Medal, German Society of Criminology

Brian Mustanski, Invited speaker, National Institute of Minority Health and Health Disparities, Planning Workshop on Behavioral Interventions to Prevent HIV Among Diverse Young Men Who Have Sex with Men, Bethesda, Maryland, February 13; Invited speaker, National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases and National Institute of Mental Health, “Accelerating HIV Prevention Research for Adolescents,” Rockville, Maryland, June 22–23

Mary Pattillo, “The Future of Black Metropolis,” keynote, City/Cité: A Transatlantic Exchange, Chicago, November 3; “School Choice?,” keynote, Chicago Humanities Festival, October 31

Daniel Rodriguez, “Federalism, Localism, and the Shape of Constitutional Conflict,” Jefferson Memorial Lecture, University of California, Berkeley, April 1

Terri Sabol, Illinois’ Quality Rating and Improvement Systems and the National Context, Illinois Early Childhood Research Policy Forum, Naperville, Illinois, June 25

Max Schanzenbach, Seigle Family Professor of Law

James Spillane, “A Comparative Study of School Systems: Infrastructure, Practice, and Instructional Improvement,”

with D. Peurach; Lyle Spencer Research Award, Spencer Foundation; “Designing Educational Infrastructures for Collaboration: The Real Challenge of Instructional Innovation,” keynote, Queensland Principals’ Conference, Brisbane, Australia, February 27; “Leading and Managing Instruction in Education Organizations and Systems: Leadership in 3-D,” keynote, Redesigning Pedagogy Conference, Singapore, June 2

Ellen Wartella, B. Aubrey Fisher Mentorship Award, International Communication Association

Teresa Woodruff, “Oncofertility: The Preservation of Fertility Options for Young People with Cancer,” 53rd Annual Meeting, Japan Society of Clinical Oncology, Kyoto, October 29; Alvin Goldfarb Lectureship, North American Society for Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology Society Annual Clinical Research Meeting, Orlando, Florida, April 17

Steven Epstein, Eli Finkel, Carol Lee, Lee Lockwood, Bruce Spencer, and Charles Whitaker, Faculty and Administration Honor Roll 2015–16, Associated Student Government, Northwestern University

GRADUATE STUDENTS AND POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS

Camelia Hostinar, Outstanding Doctoral Dissertation Award, Society for Research in Child Development

Zachary Seeskin, Dissertation Fellowship, U.S. Census Bureau

Nathan VanHoudnos, Outstanding Predoctoral Fellow Award, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education

IPR statistician Bruce Spencer (left) and IPR graduate research assistant Zachary Seeskin study census accuracy leading up to the 2020 Census.



FACULTY IN THE MEDIA—SELECTED MENTIONS



From left: Northwestern professors Gary Morson and Morton Schapiro, University president and an IPR economist, talk about their edited volume, *The Fabulous Future?*, on WTTW's "Chicago Tonight."

In a *Slate* article on the juror selection process, law professor and IPR associate **Shari Seidman Diamond** explained that judges have more faith in jurors who are confident in their own fairness, but this might not indicate a juror's ability to be fair, January 22.

Writing for *Quartz*, IPR developmental psychologist **Emma Adam** discussed how the "everyday discrimination" faced by racial and ethnic minorities can lead to harmful effects on stress hormones, sleep, and long-term health outcomes, January 28.

The New York Times covered research by IPR economist **Jonathan Guryan** and his colleagues that found an intensive tutoring and mentoring program improved math scores for low-income youth, January 31.

IPR education researcher **James Rosenbaum** spoke to *The Atlantic* about public housing relocation and how moving to suburban neighborhoods can help unlock "unseen potential" in low-income children, February 3.

In *The American Prospect*, IPR social psychologist **Jennifer Richeson** and Northwestern University's Shana Bernstein wrote that civil rights struggles should not be segregated by race or community, February 18.

IPR political scientist **Rachel Beatty Riedl** penned a *Washington Post* op-ed about ongoing efforts to remove presidential term limits in several African countries, February 16.

In a *Washington Post* op-ed, IPR political scientist **James Druckman**, IPR social policy professor **Fay Lomax Cook**, and Georgia State University's Toby Bolsen discussed the politicization of scientific knowledge on issues like climate change, February 27.

Crain's Chicago Business highlighted research by IPR political scientist **Wesley G. Skogan** on how procedural justice training can improve police officers' attitudes toward the community, March 12.

A *Slate* article on the disenfranchisement of felons cited political scientist and IPR associate **Traci Burch's** finding that while black felons tend to support Democrats, white felons are more likely to vote Republican, March 17.

In *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, IPR political scientist **Laurel Harbridge** wrote that U.S. Representatives have few incentives to facilitate bipartisan agreement, even if bipartisanship is not dead, May 4.

In *The New York Times*, Jason Furman, chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisors, pointed to research by IPR economist **Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach** on the long-term benefits of early exposure to food stamps, and research by economist and IPR associate **Joseph Ferrie** on the benefits of a temporary income-assistance program, May 11.

In an interview with *Newsweek*, social psychologist and IPR associate **Eli Finkel** talked about his research on what today's men and women are looking for in a partner, May 18.

U.S. News & World Report covered a study co-authored by IPR psychologist **Alice Eagly**, which surveyed nearly 350,000 people in 66 nations to determine the prevalence of stereotypes associating science with men, May 18.

Fox News reported on research by communication studies researcher and IPR associate **Ellen Wartella**, who discovered that teens are most likely to seek health information online, even though they might not trust that information, June 2.

The New York Times quoted IPR sociologist **Leslie McCall** on Americans' growing concern about inequality and what should be done to reduce it, June 3.

The Wall Street Journal detailed a finding by **Christopher Kuzawa**, an IPR anthropologist, that human brains are "hungriest" at age 4, consuming up to 66 percent of the body's energy, June 10.

Pacific Standard explored IPR social psychologist **Mesmin Destin's** finding that students who learn about college affordability in middle school have higher expectations for their futures, July 2.

The Atlantic discussed a study co-authored by IPR health psychologists **Edith Chen** and **Greg Miller**, who uncovered that upward mobility can take a toll on minorities' health, July 16.

In an interview with *The Washington Post*, pediatrician and IPR associate **Craig Garfield** discussed his study, co-authored with IPR fellows **Emma Adam**, **Lindsay Chase-Lansdale**, and **Thomas McDade**, showing that men gain weight when they become fathers, July 21.

UPI cited IPR clinical and developmental psychologist **Lauren Wakschlag** on “when to worry” about behavioral issues in early childhood, August 3.

WBEZ’s Curious City talked to sociologist and African American studies researcher and IPR associate **Mary Pattillo** about the causes of concentrated black poverty in Chicago, August 12.

Morton Schapiro, Northwestern professor, president, and IPR economist, and Barry Glassner, president of Lewis & Clark College, wrote in *The Los Angeles Times* that colleges should take “trigger warnings”—which are advance warnings that alert readers to potentially distressing material—seriously, August 30. Schapiro also appeared on WTTW’s “Chicago Tonight” with his co-editor Gary Morson to discuss their edited volume, *The Fabulous Future?*, July 2.

In *The Washington Post*, IPR political scientist **Daniel Galvin** explained his research on wage theft—when workers are not paid what they are owed by their employers, September 6.

In the *Chicago Tribune*, IPR sociologist and African American studies researcher **Celeste Watkins-Hayes** highlighted the persistence of inequality in sports, as in the case of Serena Williams—an African American woman playing in a sport that is dominated by wealthier whites, September 7.

An op-ed in *Forbes* cited healthcare economist and IPR associate **Leemore Dafny** on how large health insurance mergers negatively affect consumers, September 28.

IPR mass communication scholar **Rachel Davis Mersey** told India’s *FirstPost* that companies use research to determine “personas,” which help companies understand the individuals they are targeting, September 28.

Bloomberg highlighted a finding by IPR economist **Matthew Notowidigdo** and his colleagues that the housing boom of the late 1990s and early 2000s caused a “slowdown” in college attainment, September 29.

The New York Times’ Upshot covered a study by IPR Director **David Figlio**, an education economist, IPR research associate **Krzysztof Karbownik**, and others, showing that boys are more sensitive to disadvantage than girls, October 22.

On *Phys.org*, IPR graduate research assistant **Edward Brooks**, IPR statistician **Bruce Spencer**, and geophysicist and IPR associate **Seth Stein** spoke about new ways to measure the accuracy of earthquake hazard maps, October 29.

Vox featured a study by IPR economist **Kirabo Jackson**, IPR postdoctoral fellow **Claudia Persico**, and UC-Berkeley’s Rucker Johnson showing that increased school funding can improve student outcomes, October 30.

In a *Huffington Post* op-ed, IPR psychologist **Sandra Waxman** wrote that investing in children aged zero to three can reduce the “word gap” between children from low- and high-income families, November 30.

Fortune discussed research by management and organizations associate professor and IPR associate **Lauren Rivera**, showing how top firms hire based on perception of a candidate’s “fit” rather than skill, December 7.

In *The Guardian*, IPR sociologist **Anthony Chen** noted that existing research does not support the claim that affirmative action worsens academic outcomes for its beneficiaries by “mismatching” them with their academic environments, December 11.



IPR anthropologists Rebecca Seligman and Christopher Kuzawa discuss Seligman’s research on mental healthcare among Mexican-American youth.

FACULTY FELLOWS

Emma Adam, Human Development and Social Policy

Lori Beaman, Economics

Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Human Development and Social Policy

Anthony Chen, Sociology

Edith Chen, Psychology*

Fay Lomax Cook, Human Development and Social Policy*

Thomas D. Cook, Sociology, Psychology, Education and Social Policy

Mesmin Destin, Psychology, Education and Social Policy

James Druckman, Political Science

Alice Eagly, Psychology

David Figlio, Education and Social Policy and of Economics

Michael Frakes, Law

Jeremy Freese, Sociology

Daniel Galvin, Political Science

Jonathan Guryan, Human Development and Social Policy

Laurel Harbridge, Political Science

Eszter Hargittai, Communication Studies

Larry Hedges, Statistics, Education and Social Policy, and Psychology

Kirabo Jackson, Human Development and Social Policy

Cynthia Kinnan, Economics

Christopher Kuzawa, Anthropology

Charles F. Manski, Economics

Leslie McCall, Sociology*

Thomas McDade, Anthropology

Rachel Davis Mersey, Journalism

Greg Miller, Psychology*

Matthew Notowidigdo, Economics

Christine Percheski, Sociology

Monica Prasad, Sociology*

Lincoln Quillian, Sociology*

Jennifer Richeson, Psychology, African American Studies

James Rosenbaum, Education and Social Policy

Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Human Development and Social Policy

Morton Schapiro, University President; Economics, Strategy, and Education and Social Policy

Rebecca Seligman, Anthropology

Wesley G. Skogan, Political Science

Bruce Spencer, Statistics

Quincy Thomas Stewart, Sociology

Lauren Wakschlag, Medical Social Sciences

Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Sociology, African American Studies

Sandra Waxman, Psychology*

Burton Weisbrod, Economics

FACULTY ASSOCIATES

Nicola Bianchi, Strategy

Henry Binford, History

Bernard Black, Finance, Law

Pablo Boczowski, Communication Studies

Ann Borders, Medical Social Sciences

Traci Burch, Political Science

Héctor Carrillo, Sociology

Jenifer Cartland, Pediatrics

David Cella, Medical Social Sciences

Cynthia Coburn, Human Development and Social Policy

Jeannette Colyvas, Human Development and Social Policy, Learning Sciences

Leemore Dafny, Strategy

David Dana, Law

Shari Seidman Diamond, Law

Jack Doppelt, Journalism

David Dranove, Strategy

Matthew Easterday, Learning Sciences

Stephanie Edgerly, Journalism

Steven Epstein, Sociology

Joseph Feinglass, General and Preventive Medicine

Joseph Ferrie, Economics

Eli Finkel, Psychology

William Funk, Preventive Medicine

Craig Garfield, Pediatrics

Craig Garthwaite, Strategy

Elizabeth Gerber, Mechanical Engineering

Loren Ghiglione, Journalism

Claudia Haase, Human Development and Social Policy

John Hagan, Sociology, Law

Barton Hirsch, Human Development and Social Policy

Paul Hirsch, Management and Organizations

Jane Holl, Pediatrics

Simone Ispa-Landa, Human Development and Social Policy

Seema Jayachandran, Economics

Benjamin Jones, Strategy
Brayden King, Management and Organizations
Craig LaMay, Journalism
Carol Lee, Education and Social Policy, Learning Sciences
Donna Leff, Journalism
Dan Lewis, Human Development and Social Policy
Lee Lockwood, Economics
Molly Losh, Communication Sciences and Disorders
Jolie Matthews, Learning Sciences
Michael Mazzeo, Strategy
Therese McGuire, Strategy
Brian Melzer, Finance
Julie Lee Merseeth, Political Science
Vijay Mittal, Psychology
Quinn Mulroy, Human Development and Social Policy
Brian Mustanski, Medical Social Sciences
Robert Nelson, Sociology
Robin Nusslock, Psychology
Daniel O’Keefe, Communication Studies
Thomas Ogorzalek, Political Science
Benjamin Page, Political Science
Mary Pattillo, Sociology, African American Studies
Frank Penedo, Medical Social Sciences
Penelope Peterson, Human Development and Social Policy, Learning Sciences; Dean of the School of Education and Social Policy
Amélie Petitclerc, Medical Social Sciences
Robert Porter, Economics
Eva Redei, Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences
Rachel Beatty Riedl, Political Science
Lauren Rivera, Management and Organizations
Andrew Roberts, Political Science
Daniel Rodriguez, Law, and Dean of the School of Law
William Rogerson, Economics
Leonard Rubinowitz, Law
Terri Sabol, Human Development and Social Policy
Max Schanzenbach, Law
Heather Schoenfeld, Human Development and Social Policy
Madeleine Shalowitz, Healthcare Studies
Aaron Shaw, Communication Studies
Michelle Shumate, Communication Studies
Teresa Eckrich Sommer, Research Associate Professor

James Spillane, Education and Social Policy, Learning Sciences
Seth Stein, Earth and Planetary Sciences
Reed Stevens, Learning Sciences
Jennifer Tackett, Psychology
Linda Teplin, Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences
Susan Thistle, Sociology
Chloe Thurston, Political Science
Brian Uzzi, Management and Organizations
Ellen Wartella, Communication Studies
Charles Whitaker, Journalism
Teresa Woodruff, Obstetrics and Gynecology



Celeste Watkins-Hayes

ADJUNCT FACULTY & FACULTY EMERITI

Dennis Chong, University of Southern California
Greg Duncan, University of California, Irvine
John Heinz,[‡] Law
John McKnight,[‡] Communication Studies
Michelle Reininger, Stanford University
[‡]*Faculty emeriti*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Anthony Chen, Sociology
Edith Chen, Psychology*
James Druckman, Political Science
David Figlio, Education and Social Policy
Jonathan Guryan, Human Development and Social Policy
Christopher Kuzawa, Anthropology
Thomas McDade, Anthropology
Jennifer Richeson, Psychology, African American Studies
Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Human Development and Social Policy
Bruce Spencer, Statistics
Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Sociology, African American Studies

ADMINISTRATION

David Figlio, Director
James Druckman, Associate Director
Eric Betzold, Business Director
Patricia Reese, Communications Director

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Arlene Dattels, Accounting Assistant

Ellen Dunleavy, Office and Program Assistant

Lena Henderson, Finance and Administration Coordinator

Cynthia Kendall, Assistant to the Director

Melanie Kruvelis, Assistant Editor

Sara Samovalov,[‡] Assistant Editor

Sara Schumacher, Assistant Editor

Katie Scovic, Assistant Editor

Daniel Taki, IT Specialist

Beverly Zack,[‡] Program Assistant

RESEARCH ASSOCIATES AND SCHOLARS

Evelyn Asch, Prizes' Impact on Minority Students' Entry into Biomedical Research Careers, Adviser: Larry Hedges

Elise Chor, Two-Generation Research Initiative, Adviser: Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

Krzysztof Karbownik, Neonatal Health and Cognitive Development, Adviser: David Figlio

Aaron Miller, Laboratory for Human Biology Research, Adviser: Thomas McDade

Paki Reid-Brossard,[‡] Designing Evaluation Studies Project, Adviser: Larry Hedges

RESEARCH STAFF

Amy Anderson, Two-Generation Research Initiative

Devika Basu, Foundations of Health Research Center

Allison Cooperman, Two-Generation Research Initiative

Zena Ellison, The Generalizability of Findings from Education Evaluations

Frank Fineis, Statistical Disclosure Control in State Longitudinal Education Data Systems

Amy Glazier-Torgerson, Two-Generation Research Initiative

Jungwha Ham, Foundations of Health Research Center

Robin Hayen, Foundations of Health Research Center

Lauren Hoffer, Foundations of Health Research Center

Van Thanh Thi Le, Foundations of Health Research Center

Valerie Lyne, Center for Improving Methods for Quantitative Policy Research (Q-Center)

Cheng Yen Ng, College-to-Careers Project

Kay Vause, Foundations of Health Research Center

VISITING SCHOLARS

Elizabeth Oltmans Ananat, Duke University

Rob Greenwald, Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness

Dagmar Müller, Uppsala University (Sweden)

Lucas Tilly, Uppsala University (Sweden)

POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS

Camelia Hostinar,[‡] Biological Embedding of Early-Life SES, Adviser: Greg Miller

Arend Kuyper, IES Postdoctoral Training Grant, Adviser: Larry Hedges

Cynthia Levine, Biological Embedding of Early-Life SES, Adviser: Edith Chen

Nathan VanHoudnos, IES Postdoctoral Training Grant, Adviser: Larry Hedges

GRADUATE RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Eddie Brooks, Earth and Planetary Sciences

Derek Burk, Sociology

Claudia Castillo, Human Development and Social Policy

Wendy Chan, Statistics

Stephanie Lee Chapman, Economics

Natalie Daumeyer, Sociology

Elizabeth Debraggio, Human Development and Social Policy

From left: IPR labor economist Matthew Notowidigdo speaks with IPR economist Burton Weisbrod about Notowidigdo's study using lottery prizes to examine wealth and labor supply.



Cynthia (CC) DuBois, Human Development and Social Policy
Olivia Healy, Human Development and Social Policy
Jennifer (Jenni) Heissel, Human Development and Social Policy
Ole Hexel, Sociology
Adam Howat, Political Science
Courtenay Kessler, Human Development and Social Policy
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**SUMMER UNDERGRADUATE
RESEARCH ASSISTANTS**

Sarah Acs, Sociology
Ellen Anderson, Economics and Statistics
William Antone, Industrial Engineering and Psychology
Kaho Arakawa, Industrial Engineering and Economics
Allie Atkins, Anthropology
He Chen, Political Science and Legal Studies
Jim Chen, Industrial Engineering and Economics
Andrew Cheng, Biology and Sociology
Nancy Dunbar, Psychology
Amy Eisenstein, History

Ben Henken, Economics and Political Science
Shih-Yung Huang, Mathematics and Economics
Tianqi Jiang, Economics and Statistics
Emily Sarah Kahn, Social Policy
Isaac Kennedy, History and Psychology
Josh Klingenstein, Economics and International Studies
Haksoo Lee, Mathematics, Economics, and MMSS*
Jennifer Lee, Political Science and Economics
Cierra Levy, Communication Studies
Camille Liu, Economics and Music Performance
Eric Lullo, Political Science and International Studies
Nick Medrano, Human Development and Psychological Services
Elizabeth (Bit) Meehan, Political Science
Michael Miller, Economics and Political Science
Sarah Morimoto, Chemistry and Dance
Francesca Pietrantonio, Cognitive Neuroscience, Psychology, and Integrated Marketing & Communications
Kelsey Pukelis, Economics and MMSS*
Rachel Riemenschneider, Political Science and International Studies
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Simone Rivera, Political Science and Legal Studies
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Helen Rucinski, Sociology and Music Performance
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Margaret Smith, Anthropology
T'Keyah Vaughan, Biology and Science in Human Culture
Xiwen Wang, Political Science and MMSS*
Weronika Wasilewski, Learning and Organizational Change and Psychology
Deanna Williams, Psychology
Yuanhan Xu, Economics
Richard Yu, Economics and Mathematics
Yining Zhang, Economics
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*MMSS: *Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences*

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Institute of Education Sciences

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From left: Northwestern Provost **Daniel Linzer**, Buffett Institute for Global Studies Director **Bruce Carruthers**, Australian Parliamentarian **Andrew Leigh**, and IPR Director **David Figlio** meet before Leigh's Distinguished Public Policy Lecture on the implications of future technological developments for work and inequality in October.



IPR social policy professor **Fay Lomax Cook** plants a flag at the South Pole during a visit to Antarctica to learn more about the research portfolio of the National Science Foundation's (NSF) polar programs. Cook is currently on leave serving as assistant director for the NSF, where she heads the Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences Directorate.

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POLICY RESEARCH

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